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Children's Research Centre, Trinity College Dublin

The Body, Masculinities and Racism

Social relations between migrant and dominant group boys in three inner city primary schools in Dublin

Lindsey Garratt

HDip [Stats], MSocSc, BA

PhD Thesis submitted to the School of Social Work and Social Policy, University of Dublin, Trinity College. Supervisor Professor Robert Gilligan.

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This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Patricia Ruiz De Azua

To laugh often and much;
to win the respect of intelligent people
and the affection of children;
To earn the appreciation of honest critics
and endure the betrayal of false friends;
To appreciate beauty,
to find the best in others;
to leave the world a bit better
whether by a healthy child,
a garden patch, or a redeemed social condition;
To know even one life has breathed easier
because you lived here.
This is to have succeeded.

To Laugh Often and Much – Ralph Waldo Emerson

Summary	.....	8
Chapter1: Introduction	.....	9
	Immigration to Ireland: A Statistical Overview.....	10
	Diversity in Ireland.....	12
	'Irish' Citizenship.....	16
	Migrant Children in Primary School in Ireland.....	17
	Structure of Thesis.....	20
Chapter 2: Rationalizing Immigration	.....	22
	Introduction.....	22
	Macro Assimilation, Multiculturalism and Integration.....	22
	Public Opinion, Education and Labour Market Vulnerability	29
	'Race' and Racialization.....	32
	Nationalism and the Nation State.....	35
	Whiteness.....	39
	Conclusion.....	45
Chapter 3: The Importance of Embodiment	.....	46
	Introduction.....	46
	Human Capital and Acculturation.....	47
	The Theoretical Framework of Pierre Bourdieu.....	48
	Masculinities: Embodying Rationality.....	55
	The Irrational Body: Gender, Socio-Economic Status and Racialisation.....	57
	Disentangling the Body from Sexuality.....	71
	Phenomenology: Beyond Mind Body Dualism.....	77
	Conclusion.....	83
Chapter 4: Emotions, Affect and Interactional Ritual	.....	85
	Introduction.....	85
	Perception and Apperception.....	85
	Social Identity Theory.....	87
	Erving Goffman, Interaction, Rituals and Encounters.....	92
	Emotion and Affect.....	97
	The Desire for Recognition.....	108
	Conclusion.....	109
Chapter 5: Methodology	Brief Summary of Literature.....	110
	Introduction.....	112
	Children as Active Subjects – A Child Centered Methodology.....	112
	Qualitative Phenomenological Research Paradigm.....	114
	Embodying the Least-Adult Role.....	115
	Data Set Summary.....	118
	TII, Children Youth and Community Relations Project.....	120
	Research Procedure – Learning Together.....	124
	Data Collection Methods.....	127
	Emergent Aims of PhD Study and Research Questions.....	132
	Data Analysis.....	135
	Reflexivity, Ethics and Challenges.....	138
Section 2 – Findings and Discussion	.....	147
Chapter 6: The Doxa and Hegemonic Masculine Habitus of the Child World	.....	148
	Introduction.....	148
	Doxa.....	148
	Local Context of the Hegemonic Masculine Habitus.....	153

	Child World Context of Hegemonic Masculine Habitus.....	160
	Vignette 1.1 Case Study Class.....	165
	Conclusion.....	168
Chapter 7: Symbolic Capital and Deference	.....	170
	Bodily Hexis of Hegemonic Habitus.....	170
	Exposed Encounters.....	174
	Deference.....	181
	Invisible Encounters.....	184
	Visible Encounters.....	185
	Exposed Through Skin Colour.....	187
	Vignette 2.1 Child World of School 3.....	189
	Conclusion.....	192
Chapter 8: Symbolic Violence in the Child World	.....	194
	Introduction.....	194
	Covert Symbolic Violence.....	194
	Overt Symbolic Violence.....	203
	Vignette 7.1 Themba.....	212
	Conclusion.....	216
Chapter 9: Affect and Reflexivity	.....	217
	Introduction.....	217
	Affective Outcomes.....	217
	Self-Consciousness Action.....	221
	Reflexive Habitus and Symbolic Domination.....	226
	Reflexivity and the Objective Body.....	233
	Vignette 8.1 John.....	235
	Conclusion.....	238
Chapter 10: Resilience Strategies and Positive Detachment	.....	240
	Introduction.....	240
	Reinterpreting Orthodoxy.....	240
	Vignette 10.1 Oisin.....	242
	Unawareness of Doxa and Orthodoxy	251
	Vignette 10.2 Jamil and Kareem.....	251
	Positive Detachment – Peter.....	256
	Vignette 10.3 Peter.....	256
	Conclusion.....	259
Chapter 11: Discussion and Conclusion	.....	261
	Introduction.....	261
	Phenomenological Objectification of the Body.....	261
	Habitual Schemas of Apperception.....	263
	Embodied Affect.....	272
	Reflexivity, Affect and Double Estrangement.....	274
	Possible Policy Implications.....	277
	Concluding Comments.....	283
	Bibliography.....	288
Appendix 1:	Parent and Teacher Information and Consent Form Phase 1	319
Appendix 2:	Information and Consent Form Children, Phase 1.....	321
Appendix 3:	Information Booklet Principal.....	325
Appendix 4:	Interview Schedule, Phase 1.....	326
Appendix 5:	Parent Teacher Consent Phase 2.....	346
Appendix 6:	Children Information and Consent Phase 2.....	349
Appendix 7:	Interview Schedule Phase 2.....	351

Summary

This thesis explores the interactions and relationships between twenty migrant group boys and thirty-nine dominant group boys in three inner city multi-ethnic primary schools in North Inner City Dublin. Social relations between boys are analysed from a Bourdieusian phenomenology of social space to contend that racism and hegemonic masculine gender identities mutually construct each other through their intersection in the corporeal schema of the habitus.

Data from two phases of fieldwork are analysed. The first phase was collected as part of the larger Trinity Immigration Initiative [TII], Children Youth and Community Relations Project [CYCR], 'Learning Together' and consist of fifty-five children, forty-seven boys and eight girls from three 2nd class groups [7-8 years old] collected over three periods of three weeks each between January and May 2008. Phase two revisits and re-interviews class group three one year on in May 2009 for the author's PhD study alone. In both phases children were interviewed individually or in dyads according to their preference, thus a total number of forty-two interviews, from fifty-nine participants, fifty-one boys and eight girls, thirty-nine children from the dominant group and twenty from migrant backgrounds are examined in this thesis. Additionally, the data also comprises approximately sixty-five hours of observation notes on the 'child world of the school', space in which the children's attention was primarily on their peers in the absence of overt adult supervision and control, and twenty-nine hours of in-classroom observation from the wider CYCR project.

A child centred phenomenological qualitative methodology is adopted in this study which is rooted in a reflexive and ethical ethos. Therefore the findings are emergent from the data and seek to explore and examine the embodied root of gendered and racial dispositions within young boys social relations. Thus the body is analysed both as an object of value within child world field and also as the site of habitual processes of misrecognition and apperception. To conclude the effect and affect of this for inter-ethnic relations between children is explored and its implications assessed in terms of educational and integration policy.

Chapter 1: Introduction

I have found out you write for the Daily Express. Now, aren't you ashamed of yourself? Why should I be ashamed of myself? Asked Gabriel, blinking his eyes trying to smile. Well I'm ashamed for you, said Miss Ivors frankly. To say you'd write for a rag like that. I didn't think you were a West Briton.

The Dead, Dubliners - James Joyce (1914)

I start with a quote from James Joyce's most famous short story *The Dead,* written in 1914, perhaps an odd choice to begin a discussion on the modern Republic of Ireland [hereafter called Ireland], however in debates and scholarship in the area of immigration the familiar rhetoric which starts all discussions is that immigration to Ireland is a very new and sudden phenomenon. While of course this is statistically true in relation to other countries, implicit within these discussions seems to be an assumption that the beginning of significant levels of immigration to Ireland also marked the beginning of diversity. Thus, this chapter aims to analyse the root of this contention while also providing a context for the centrality of the body and gender within the discussion of social relations between migrant and dominant group boys outlined in this thesis.

However before this discussion can begin a word on the vocabulary used in this thesis is needed. 'Ireland' refers to the Republic of Ireland, 'child' or 'children' refers to those 0-13 years of age inclusively and 'young people' or 'adolescents' those between 14 – 17 years. 'Immigrant' and 'migrant' are used interchangeably and describe those who were born in another country but moved to Ireland, or a person born in Ireland but with one parent who was not born in Ireland. Those who were born in Ireland to two parents born in Ireland are described as 'dominant group members'. These terms are extremely problematic as they typify and somewhat homogenise individuals into groups which are quite disparate, and many may not view themselves as part of the group I am designating them to. However I prefer these terms to 'non-national', 'foreign-national', 'newcomer' or an unqualified 'Irish' designation. Indeed while 'majority group' is often used, dominant group members are not always the majority group in their localities[1], however despite their minority status in some contexts the data from this study seems to suggest they

[1] Discussed on page 11

remain dominant in relation to what and whom is authorised as the embodiment of 'Irishness' and 'masculinity' within the child world field and within their locality, thus a designation of 'dominant group' seems a more apt description.

Immigration to Ireland: a Statistical Overview

In the 2006 census a question in relation to ethnicity included for the first time, 420,000 'non-Irish nationals' were recorded living in Ireland or 10% of the overall population. While 188 nationalities were documented 82% of these were from 10 countries and those with over 10,000 nationals came from eight states, China, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Nigeria, Poland, the U.K and the U.S.A. (C.S.O, 2008). British nationals living in Ireland have a long history, which will be discussed below, however in the modern era the largest numbers of British migrants arrived to Ireland in the 1970s and 1980s. Of the EU15[2] nations excluding the UK the majority of people immigrated between 2001 and 2006, and of the EU25[3] accession states the majority of migrants moved to Ireland between 2002 and 2006 with 44% arriving after 2005 (A. Barrett & Bergin, 2009). For children under the age of 14 the available CSO data from 1996 - 2006 suggests that between 1996 and 2002 the percentage of children not born in the Irish State or to at least to one parent not born in the state fell from 4.6% to 4.2% but by 2006 this figure was 6.2%, or in real terms describes an increase from 34,131 to 52,500 children (P. Curry, Gilligan, Garratt, & Scholtz, 2011). However these national figures do not reveal the full story of migrant populations in Ireland. Internationally, migrant families have historically settled in urban areas and particularly into big cities (Eurydice, 2009). The situation in Ireland is no different with the largest concentrations of migrant populations in Dublin City, Fingal North Dublin, South Dublin, Cork City and Galway City (C.S.O, 2009). Looking at the 2006 figures for Dublin the 'non-Irish[4]' population accounted for 13% of residents, 47% of which were 'non-EU' citizens. In the North Inner-city electoral area 33% of the population were 'non-Irish' and 46.9% of this group, 16% of the North Inner-city Dublin population as a whole, came from outside the EU. See table 1.1. Indeed, when this analysis is taken down to electoral divisions the 'white-

[2] Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, U.K.

[3] Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia

[4] 'Non-Irish' and 'non-EU' and 'Irish' are the terms used by the Central Statistics Office and are not terms used by this author

Irish[5]' population were the largest minority in six of the 19 local electoral divisions of North Inner-city Dublin. In three of those areas 'white-Irish' people made up approximately 40% of the population with 'non-Irish white' people accounting for between a quarter and a third of the population, and 'non-white' people accounting for between a fifth and a quarter of the community (Scholtz, 2008).

Table 1.1 'Non-Irish' classified by nationality, 2006

	EU (incl UK)	EU not incl UK	Rest of the World	Total Migrant Population	Total Population
Ireland	**275775**	**163227**	**145276**	**421051**	**4172013**
% of total migrant population	65.5	38.8	34.5		
% of total population	6.6	3.9	3.5	10.1	
Dublin	**80020**	**58982**	**71093**	**151113**	**1163437**
% of total migrant population	53.0	39.0	47.0		
% of total population	6.9	5.1	6.1	13.0	
North Inner City Dublin	**9308**	**8313**	**9175**	**18483**	**56327**
% of total migrant population	50.4	45.0	49.6		
% of total population	16.5	14.8	16.3	32.8	

(Source: CSO - http://beyond2020.cso.ie/Census/TableViewer/tableView.aspx accessed Sep 2011)

However the latest complete census data available is from 2006 before the economic recession, data from Census 2011 is only beginning to be released at the time of writing. Indeed the 2010 Quarterly National Household Survey [QNHS] suggests that 2009 was the first year since 1995 that the numbers of people leaving Ireland was greater than those arriving, though this drop seems to be largely due to sharp drop in those immigrating [109,500 in 2007 - 30,800 in 2010], rather than as large an increase in those emigrating [42,200 in 2007 - 65,300 in 2010] (QNHS, 2010).

[5] Term used by Central Statistics Office not by author

Indeed preliminary data from census 2011 shows an increase in population between 2006 and 2011; while the majority of this due to natural increases it also includes an average annual inflow of 23,730 people (C.S.O, 2011). In terms of children under the age of 14 the QNHS 2010 data also reveals that even with slowing immigration there remains a net inflow of immigrant children under the age of 14. While this has slowed since 2008 it was still five times higher in 2009 than emigration rates and three times higher in 2010[6] (QNHS, 2010). Thus, it can be speculated from this data while Ireland has become a less attractive immigration destination those settled in Ireland especially with families are not leaving the country.

Diversity in Ireland

Indeed if the history of immigration internationally has one clear message is that while labour shortages in a growing economy may be a pull factor for immigration an economic downturn does not reverse this trend, as people develop social networks, inter-marry and establish families in their new society (Favell, 1998). Thus, further emigration plans or a return to one's country of origin becomes more remote in relation to the time spent in one's new society; this seems to be particularly true for adult migrants to Ireland who tend to be in the family building stage of life (Kring, Bobek, Moriarty, Salamonska, & Wickham, 2009).

Moreover though there is perhaps an insidious level to the discussion of the *suddenness* of immigration to Ireland or the insistence that migrants will not simply return home and multiculturalism is here to stay, as both arguments seem to implicitly argue that Ireland was once somewhat of a homely space and 'Irishness' a monolithic concept only troubled by the development of large scale immigration. It presumes diversity in Ireland is simply a modern creation foisted upon the nation rather than an integral part of it. Not only has Ireland experienced immigration in much earlier periods of time for instance in the much cited Hungarian refugees of 1956 and the long established Chinese population (R. Lentin, 2001; O'Toole, 2000), but the Irish Free State[7] only came into existence in 1922 making it less than 100 years old, a very short period of time in which to claim a norm of a settled homely

[6] Numbers of migrant children in North-Inner city will be analysed in the methodology chapter

[7] The 'Irish Free State' came into being through *The Anglo-Irish Treaty* of 1922, and the 'Irish Republic' officially came into being after *The Republic of Ireland Act* of 1948

nation. Before 1922 Ireland was a British colony and highly stratified along geographical and socio-economic lines. The area known as 'the Pale' largely consisted of the greater Dublin area and parts of the surrounding counties of the Leinster province[8], and represented the supposed civilised heart of Ireland in contrast to those 'beyond the pale' characterised as unrefined savage peasantry (Tormey, 2007). Hence as far back as 1488 a strong urban rural divide was established in the 'Irish identity', with urbanised Ireland largely located within the pale and the cities of Belfast and Cork and legitimate citizenship based upon their urban sedentary 'civilized' identities in opposition to the supposed unsophistication and semi-nomadism of rural areas (B. Walter, 2001). Indeed a distinction between settled and nomadic communities remains today, with a long history of anti-traveller marginalisation and racism (McVeigh, 1998). However being from the pale did not necessarily bring privilege in terms of legitimate 'Irishness', especially with the establishment of The Irish Free State. Indeed even though many important battles during the war of independence and civil war were fought in urban areas with large numbers of working class urban volunteers, those from the pale area and urbanised Ireland have historically been characterised as less than fully Irish. The insult of being a 'West-Brit/ion' in terms of one's geographical location and/or taste preferences has long served to undermine belonging within the nation (Kiberd, 1995).

Indeed understanding diversity in Ireland would be difficult without examining the material base of apparent 'Irish' heritage. Under the Gaelic revival movement which can be traced back to 1877 and reached artistic peaks in the 1920s and 1930s the Gaelic language, sport and music were 're-discovered' from largely remote parts of Western Ireland. However instead of being seen as geographically specific these norms were propagated as the true heritage of the whole island (Kiberd, 1995) and later institutionalised in the first Fianna Fáil government under Eamonn DeValera[9] who imagined a return to Ireland's 'true' pastoral identity (Hutchinson, 1987). For many however, this manifestation of nationality did not represent their identities or

[8] The island of Ireland is split into four provinces Munster, Connaught, Leinster and Ulster [largely within Northern Ireland]

[9] Eamonn DeValera was the second Taoiseach [prime minister of Ireland] and lead the Fianna Fáil party from 1926 – 1959, He can also be designated as a migrant as he was born in New York in 1882, his mother was an emigrant from Ireland and his father an emigrant from Cuba.

experiences. Declan Kiberd (1995) argues this sense of alienation from supposed 'Irishness' is at the core of James Joyce's work largely set in Dublin and that the population of Dublin has always provided an alternative representation of 'Irishness' as both the political and financial heart of Ireland and home to both the Anglo-Irish[10] community as well as the industrialised urban poor. Thus Dublin has a long history of socio-economic 'class' divisions within the identities of its populations, and therefore shares more in common with canonical analyses of 'class' struggles within industrialised democracies than with the focus on land ownership in rural areas, and a pastoral and 'Gaelic' identity pursued by the first Fianna Fáil government.

Moreover though, Mike Cronin (1999) claims this construction of Irishness is intimately connected to the construction of masculinities within Ireland. Cronin (1999) contends that one of the most powerful cultural institutions of 'Irishness' is the Gaelic Athletics Association [GAA] founded during the Celtic revival. He argues the GAA has gained much of its symbolic power through a 'primordialist' interpretation of nationalism rooted in an imagined Celtic past, which serves to disguise the construction of modern 'Gaelic' sports[11] in the nineteenth century. Indeed, Whelan (1993) believes the GAA has played a central role in maintaining a division of 'Irishness' along geographical lines, as its largely rural fan base[12] has impacted on who has traditionally been understood as truly 'Irish'. Moreover, participation in these sports has also been connected to authentic and honoured representations of 'Irish' masculinity. Ní Laoire (2005) argues Irish masculinity has traditionally been built around gendered divisions of labour, land-ownership and the strong patriarchal role of the father, which has been largely policed by the Catholic Church and the GAA in their role at the heart of rural Irish communities (also see H. Ferguson, 2001).

---

[10] As discussed below

[11] 'Gaelic' sports supported by the GAA are primary Gaelic football and Hurley 'Cáman'. Gaelic football is played with a football slightly smaller than a soccer ball and its closest comparative is 'Australian Rules', which can be bluntly be described as a combination of the skills used in soccer football, hand ball and rugby league. Hurley is played with a wooden sticks or 'hurl' and a ball similar in size to a hockey ball but with raised ridges called a 'sliotar'. An all-female version of this game is also played called 'Camogie'.

[12] This is most pronounced in the game of Hurley which is almost exclusively a rural game, Gaelic Football is more popular in urban areas, indeed Dublin's team won the 'All Ireland' championships in Gaelic football in 2011. However according the GAA's description of Hurley it is the 'most pure representation of an indigenous Gaelic game'.

However this characterisation of hegemonic 'Irish' masculinity contrasts quite significantly from that found within North-Inner City Dublin[13]. Indeed at the level of sports participation alone, soccer [hereafter called football] is by far the most popular sport, however until recently the GAA designated this as a 'garrison game' or 'foreign sport'[14] and Cronin (1999) maintains the high level of support for football in Dublin has traditionally been used as evidence of the incongruousness of a simultaneous claim of both an urban and 'Irish' identity. Conversely though working-class urban soccer supporters have also dismissed GAA members as 'culchies'[15] and have constructed their authentic 'Irishness' through their working class status and in opposition to wealthy rural landowners and the urban upper middle class or 'West-Britons[16]' traditionally supporters of rugby (Bryson, 2011; M Cronin, 1997). Thus in trying to define an 'authentic Irishness'[17], no such monolithic description can be found as a complex network of rural/urban, socio-economic class, landownership, sports participation and masculine identities need to be traversed.

When we also consider that this re-imaging of Irishness was also intimately connected to the ascendancy of the Catholic Church (Inglis, 1998), those of Protestant and Presbyterian backgrounds also became increasingly associated with colonisation and as 'Anglo-Irish', a qualified 'Irish' identity, whose suspect loyalty has perhaps been heightened by the largely protestant unionist community and on-going sectarian violence in Northern Ireland until recent years (Bryson, 2011). Moreover, the hegemony of Catholicism was also at least partially responsible for anti-Semitic attitudes towards the long established Jewish population of Ireland (McVeigh & Lentin, 2002), as well as the demonization of LGBT individuals. Indeed homosexuality was only de-criminalized in Ireland in 1995 under a direct constitutional challenge and pressure from EU directives (Conrad, 2001). Hence disparate claims of Irishness and the othering of certain populations from a true

[13] This will be examined in more detail in methodology chapter

[14] 'Rule 42' which prohibits the use of GAA property for 'foreign sports', stood unamended until 2005 when the temporary use of Croke Park during the redevelopment of Lansdowne road (now called Aviva stadium the base of Irish soccer and rugby) was approved. Additionally 'rule 21' which banned members of the British forces from membership of the GAA was only abolished in 2001.

[15] 'Culchie' is a term of abuse used to describe a person from rural Ireland as unlearned or naïve.

[16] 'West Briton' is used as a term of abuse for those seen as adopting 'British' tastes and attitudes and is largely reserved for the middle-classes and those from the area of the 'Pale' which constitutes the greater Dublin area.

[17] The use of authentic here presumes there is no such thing as a truly authentic identity of Irishness or masculinity but what is viewed as authentic is a construction, developed and sustained by those with cultural capital.

'Irish' identity significantly pre-date any contemporary debates in relation to immigration.

However, while the creation of a national master narrative is not unique to Ireland[18] Hutchinson (1987) argues that a particular facet of nationalism in Ireland is that cultural nationalism through the Gaelic revival and the GAA rather than political nationalism has constructed the modern Irish State. Thus, the oft cited phrase that the cultural is the political is perhaps especially apt in the Irish context and remains poignant through the continued importance of cultural identities and symbolism in Northern Ireland (J. Connolly & Dolan, 2010; R. Lentin, 2001). Indeed McVeigh (1998) argues the process of nation building before and after the creation of the free state heightened racism towards traveller groups and increased their marginalisation as the 'we' of the nation defined itself against 'others'. Thus, to contend that diversity in Ireland is a new thing is to ignore the Jewish, Protestant, British, Anglo-Irish, Traveller and Chinese populations as well the devaluing of certain communities based on rural and urban norms, sexuality, the legacy of colonisation and sectarian violence and political unrest in Northern Ireland. Therefore while Ireland may not have experienced the large scale migration that other European countries experienced after world war two[19], to contend that Ireland has ever been a settled homogeneous community is to see history within a very short time period and to ignore other forms of diversity. Thus, how can the fairly wide spread belief in a once homogenous 'Irish' nation continue to be propagated? While the next chapter will look at the dynamics of nationalism in more detail, Tormey (2007) argues perhaps one key aspect to the discussion of Ireland's new found plurality is that the current layer of diversity is now a 'visible' one written onto the bodies of 'black' peoples.

'Irish' Citizenship

The saliency yet the silence of 'race' in Ireland has perhaps been most poignantly demonstrated in the debates surrounding the 2004 citizenship referendum, which removed the right to Irish citizenship based on *jus soli* to *jus sanguinas*. In which a

[18] This will be discussed in the next chapter

[19] However it certainly experienced high levels of emigration which itself also disturbed any idea of a settle homely nation

child born in Ireland no longer has an automatic right to citizenship unless at least one of their parents is an Irish citizen[20]. Such a move was particularly contentious given the ties of 'Irishness' to land ownership and the conflation of a people with a land heightened by the island geography of Ireland (Gibbons, 1996; A. Lentin & Lentin, 2006; A. Smith, 2010). Lentin and Lentin (2006) and Tormey (2007) argue this referendum was passed with a 70% approval rate due to implicit racial discourses surrounding 'black' pregnant women claiming asylum in Ireland. Moreover, Tormey suggests that such overwhelming support for this amendment came through the construction of citizenship as a 'moral regime' in opposition to 'foreign-nationals and their foetuses as 'suspect patriots'' (2007: 69). In other words, proponents of the referendum presented the amendment as a 'rational' response of a loyal government to its people, in contrast to the supposed self-centredness of African origin mothers. Therefore while the issue of racism in a conception of 'Irishness' was never explicitly mentioned the 'blackness' of a migrant's body became synonymous with a subversion of Irish citizenship. Indeed, Tormey suggests that the word 'Irish' became an 'index of exclusion' (2007: 84) a way to designate the authentic from the false, used in place of discussions of race and blood citizenship. While Connolly et al (2009) warn against a presumption that ethnic divisions and conflicts can only exist in relation to physical markers, the amendment to citizenship in light of what the Minister for Justice and Law reform in 2004 said was a problem 'everyone with eyes can see' (quoted in Tormey, 2007) points to the importance of what Puwar (2004) describes as the phenomenal materiality of 'black' bodies as symbols of 'space invasion'. Indeed children born before this change to the citizenship legislation are now of primary school age and along with those who have themselves migrated are in the popular imagination the first generation of children understood as 'immigrants' to have supposedly brought with them multiculturalism and plurality into 'Irish' schools.

Migrant Children in Primary School in Ireland

The majority of scholarship in the area of immigration in Ireland has been conducted with adults focusing on their social networks and labour market participation (B. Fanning, 2007, 2010; 2011; 2007; King-O'Riain, 2007; Mac Einri & White, 2008;

[20] This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3

Roder & Muhlau, 2012; Wickham & Bruff, 2008). Moreover the work with young migrants has largely been conducted with teenagers and looks at secondary schools responses to linguistic and racial plurality (Audrey Bryan, 2008; Fionda, 2010; Gilligan et al., 2010; Kitching, 2010b; Little, 2007). The emphasis on language also pervades research with children in the younger years within an overarching framework of educational attainment (McDaid, 2010, Department of Education and Science, 2007). However there is a growing body of work which has tried to analysis the experiences of migrant children and the social relations between migrant and dominant group children (McGorman & Sugrue, 2007; Ni Laoire, Bushin, Carpena-Mendez, & White, 2009; Smyth, Darmody, McGinnity, & Byrne, 2009; Smyth, McCoy, & Darmody, 2004).

Researching children's experiences and perspectives is perhaps especially important for several key reasons[21]; children in multi-cultural schools have no choice but to interact with individuals from diverse backgrounds which their parents may miss out on or strategically try to avoid, thus they are to the forefront of integration. These children are also somewhat forging their own paths, as the lack of established migrant pathways and networks does not provide them with a conventional route to follow. Moreover as the first generation to grow up together these children's attitudes, experiences and interactions will form the 'foundation for the future, both for themselves and for the communities in which they grow up[22]' (P. Curry et al., 2011).

The current Irish literature does provide some cause for concern on the nature of these relationships. In the largest qualitative school based research with migrant and dominant group children in primary schools Devine and Kenny (2002) identified the major barriers to inclusion in three schools as primarily related to language difficulties and conceptions of sameness and difference based on skin colour. Moreover, they found children appeared to have a vocabulary of racially abusive terms to use in the 'back stage' of the school, spaces in which teachers were not as able to supervise. Drawing on this data Devine, Kenny and MacNeela (2008) have

[21] This will be explored in more depth in the methodology section

[22] However children should not simply be analysed in relation to their existence as future adults and this will be discussed in the methods section.

argued that name-calling, especially racist name calling is a tool children draw on to assert their status over one another and strengthen and consolidate friendships between those who are the 'same' and those who are 'different'. Indeed the saliency of skin colour for belonging and otherness is analysed by Devine (2006) as connected to wider racist and nationalist discourses of 'Irishness' as monolithic white, Catholic and settled. Similar patterns of exclusion based on skins colour were also found by Ní Laoire (2009) and within *Where To From Here? Inter-Ethnic Relations among Children in Ireland* (P. Curry et al., 2011) the book which has emerged from the CYCR project. While positive social relations between migrant and dominant group children were found it was more common for these groups to have tendency towards separateness and distance, and when interactions did occur there was clear evidence of overt racial bullying. Moreover prejudice, marginalisation and separateness tended to be reinforced through children's games and sports participation particularly for boys' interaction with each other. Thus in light of Tormey's (2007) contention that racism is a hidden but powerful factor within Irish public discourse which has been directed at some of these children even before they were born, and the current literature which seems to indicate that racism and the designation 'others' in relation to skin colour is prevalent within children's social relations, an examination of prejudice in light of the phenomenological existence of the body seems to be required.

Indeed, Allison James (2000) has contended that any account of children or childhood must be rooted in an embodied perspective, as the process of growing up places the body at the heart of a child's identity. While some scholars favour a clear distinction between studies of real embodied children, growing, learning, working and playing; and studies of childhood as a social institution, cultural representation, discourse and practice; as research into children's agency has developed[23], a number of scholars have begun to emphasise the importance of the body in childhood for relationships between peers, gender identities, self-esteem and bullying (A James, 2000; M. L. Lyon & Barbalet, 1994; McGuffey & Rich, 1999; Paechter, 2006; Prout, 2000; Woodhead, 2003a). Thus, the absence of a rigorous analysis of embodiment in relation to immigration and acculturation for children is perhaps a surprising paucity

[23] Analysed in the methodology section

in the Irish and international literature, as the issue of 'racism' remains of central importance for policy considerations but simultaneously the phenomenological materiality of the body seems absent from debate. Hence as scholars within the sociology of the body argue, the body seems to remain an 'absent presence' in much of the scholarship in this area (Shilling, 2005).

However the emphasis of the body in this thesis does not simply come from a paucity of theoretical and policy analysis, but has primarily emerged from a practical engagement in the field of study in two periods of field work and an extensive period of analysis, through which persistent themes of masculinities construction and racialisation within boys' social relations could not be understood without directly analysing their embodied habitual root.

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2: Critically reviews the concepts of assimilation, integration and multiculturalism and examines their root within western rational enlightenment discourses. The implications of rationality are also examined in relation to racialisation, nationalism and the construction of the nation state.

Chapter 3: Attempts to highlight how the duality of mind and body in western rational thought has marginalised visible minority groups. The intersection between masculinities construction and embodiment is explored and the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Merleau-Ponty is analysed in order to construct an ontologically secure argument for the centrality of the body in our experience.

Chapter 4: Critically discusses the body as an object in the field of interaction. The work of Goffman is outlined and the implications of stigma for one's self conception and bodily affects of emotion are explored.

Chapter 5: Outlines the child centred methodology of this study and the qualitative phenomenological paradigm is explored. The phases of fieldwork and data collection methods are described and the ethical and reflexive challenges of this study are considered.

Chapter 6: Is the first findings chapter and analyses the construction of hegemonic masculinity within the child world field in relation to the local cultural context of North-Inner city Dublin and familial relationships, and considers how this is enacted and constructed within the child world field.

Chapter 7: Explores the child world field in detail and elaborates the different forms of encounters between the boys. This chapter contends that a spectrum of visibility and invisibility within the child world field serves to both undermine and validate certain boys' reputations and status within the class and allows them to accumulate symbolic capital.

Chapter 8: Outlines symbolic violence within the field, the forms it takes and how it is justified through the hegemonic masculinity of the child world field.

Chapter 9: Explores the affective and reflexive consequences of symbolic violence for migrant boys within the child world field.

Chapter 10: Explores resilience strategies to symbolic violence within the child world field.

Chapter 11: Endeavours to summarise the findings chapters and some theoretical and policy implications of this study are suggested.

Chapter 2: Rationalising Immigration

As long as there are entrenched social and political distinctions between sexes, races, or classes, there will be forms of science whose main function is to rationalise and legitimise these distinctions

Elizabeth Fee

Introduction

To understand the underlying dynamics behind integration policy in Ireland the terminology used to conceptualise this area must be critically interrogated, not only to reveal the genesis of concepts but also to clarify their link to practice. The terms 'assimilation', 'multiculturalism' and 'interculturalism' at once describe different policy approaches to immigration, as well as theoretical frameworks which attempt to conceptualise how migrant groups integrate and relate to dominant society at the individual, group and cohort level. However these terms do not seem to retain a consistency of meaning throughout the whole corpus of literature especially in relation to how they are used with other important concepts such as 'acculturation', 'biculturalism' and 'integration'. Moreover, an analysis of these macro concepts reveals implicit assumptions of rationality and embodiment in relation to nationalism and the nation-state which both pervades but is simultaneously hidden within international policy debates. Thus, this chapter seeks to highlight how ideas of rationality not only imbue acculturation policies but also how its unexamined position within nationalist discourses covertly marginalises visible minority groups as an antonym to rationality through an identification with embodiment. Hence, this chapter will review the major international literature on assimilation, multiculturalism and integration in relation to children's acculturation journeys and, but is also at pains to explore the dialectical relationship between rational policy approaches and the racialisation and embodiment of minority groups, particularly in relation to 'rational' identities of whiteness and national belonging.

Macro Assimilation, Multiculturalism and Integration

One of the major quantitative research projects on migrant children's acculturation outcomes comes from the United States, Ruben Rumbaut and Alejendro Portes' study, *Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study* (CILS) which followed 5,200

second and 1.5[24] generation young people from the ages of thirteen to twenty-four, with the aim of understanding how young migrants assimilate to American society and identify barriers in this process.. The concept of assimilation arguably remains central within the major American literature, however, it is generally understood as the end point of a multi-layered 'acculturation process', which describes the stages migrants go through as they adjust to living in a new society. For instance in Park's (1950) 'race relations cycle', assimilation is said to occur at the end of a process of contact, competition and accommodation where the norms of dominant society are internalised by the migrant population. Conversely though, in the influential *Assimilation in American Life* (M. Gordon, 1964) internalisation is only the first step in acculturation. For Gordon this process is not said to be complete until 'structural assimilation' occurs where migrant groups enter the social cliques, clubs and institutions of 'core society', as he argues this leads to 'identification assimilation', were immigrant communities develop 'a sense of people-hood based exclusively on [the] host society' (Gordon, 1964: 71). Thus, in the canonical American texts the term 'assimilation' is used with acculturation to describe a system of upward mobility, were migrants embrace Anglo-Saxon norms. Warner and Srole (1945) call this 'straight-line assimilation' which occurs generationally as children embrace the norms of dominant society in advance of their parents.

Policies of assimilation are not only associated with American policy but also with French society where it has a somewhat negative reputation as an approach which forces migrant communities to shed cultural distinctions and conform to a perceived 'norm' of society. The French approach to assimilation comes from the somewhat different historical tradition of colonialism in which French colonies have been viewed as 'départements', integral parts of France itself (Wistrich, 2001). Indeed, French immigration policy has reflected this and allows the free flow of people to and from former French colonies. However migrant groups in France can only access French citizenship through allegiance to the Republic of France, the French language and dominant culture. Thus, while citizenship is not based on ethnicity, immigrants are expected to assimilate to French culture and their children must have a French education and choose French citizenship when they are young adults

[24] 2nd generation refers to children born in the U.S.A, of at least one migrant parent, 1.5 generation describes children who emigrated to the U.S.A at least 5 years prior to taking part in CILS.

(Lynch &Simon, 2003). Furthermore the root of French nationalism in republicanism and a secular public system has arguably prioritised assimilation over religious freedom and minority rights, as debated in the controversy regarding Muslim women's right to don the head scarf known in Arabic as 'hijab' or wear a veil which covers the face in public (Begag, 1990; Brinbaum & Cebolla-Boado, 2007; Carter, 2008; Ferrari, 2006).

However, recent analysis of American immigration has questioned whether assimilation can occur through conformity to dominant society alone. Portes and Zhou (1992, 1993) and later Portes and Rumbaut (2001) have argued, following Gans' (1992) 'second generation decline scenario', that acculturation can be dissonant and take place through a process of 'segmented assimilation', where migrant groups experience downward mobility as they are incorporated into America's domestic minorities forming a 'rainbow underclass', a process which seems to effect visible minority migrants disproportionately (Ellis & Almgren, 2009; Kasinitz, Battle, & Miyares, 2001; Portes & Fernandez-Kelly, 2008; Alex Stepick, Dutton Stepick, Eugene, Teed, & Labissiere, 2001; A. Stepick & Stepick, 2010). This has also been in seen in France with the development of urban migrant ghettos largely populated by migrants from North African and or of Muslim background (Sargent & Larchanche, 2007). Consequently, the exact definition of the word 'assimilation' and its appropriateness in a discussion of acculturation is rarely discussed. Recent work suggests that simplistic straight-line assimilation is largely a defunct concept, not only in light of segmented assimilation but also due to the upward mobility of migrant groups through the retention of cultures of origin (Richard Alba & Nee, 1997). This is especially true for migrant children, as those with parents who strongly retain the practices and values of their country of origin appear to be more protected from educational and economic decline than those seeking to shed cultural distinctions (Vermeulen, 2010). Thus, how does a concept of 'assimilation' sufficiently capture this complexity?

Indeed within the Canadian literature, assimilation has been disentangled from acculturation and is defined as only one of many outcomes, of which it is one of the least desirable. In Berry and Phinney's et al. (2006) seminal work *Immigrant Youth in Cultural Transition* they contend that young migrants have four primary

acculturation attitudes; assimilation, separation, marginalisation and integration, however they are not always free to choose their position as these attitudes are influenced by macro acculturation perspectives, that of the melting pot, segregation, exclusion and multiculturalism. Thus, assimilation in this analysis is linked with the melting pot and describes the ridding of cultures of origin in preference for dominant society. While a separation attitude is connected to a segregationist society and marginalisation with exclusion the preferred pairing for Berry et al (2006) is an integrationist attitude and a multicultural society.

Indeed, since the 1980s multicultural policy has explicitly if not implicitly been the position of many Western European nations notably that of the United Kingdom (Favell, 1998). Arguments in favour of multiculturalism have largely drawn from classic political philosophy on the nature of freedom and justice in liberal egalitarian states (Laegaard, 2009). Most prominently Will Kymlicka (1989, 1995, 2004) has argued that culture provides the context in which meaningful choices can be made and is therefore a Rawlsian (1971) 'primary good'. Thus, if origin cultures are suppressed through assimilation, the cultural context of meaningful choice is threatened and the assertion of universal freedom of choice becomes incredible. Therefore, Kymlicka argues assimilation is not only a problem for minority groups but for dominant society, as equality is vital for the existence of liberal egalitarian justice. Hence, minority cultures must be protected in order for all people to have the capacity to make meaningful choices and for the liberal state to be upheld. This thesis on free choice and the importance of culture runs throughout the multicultural literature and policy perspectives though sometimes the emphasis is on societal well-being (Raz, 1994), the politics of recognition (Parekh, 2000) or fundamental interests (Miller, 1995).

For Berry et al. (2006) and LaFromboise et al (1993) though, a true multicultural society should allow and encourage migrant groups to maintain positive intergroup identities while simultaneously developing a national identity through engagement with wider institutions at the mezzo and macro level. Moreover, multiculturalism in this form is supported by longitudinal studies which have shown the most beneficial psychological outcomes when migrant children have been able to maintain their cultures of origin while also engaging in wider society (Berry et al., 2006;

LaFromboise et al., 1993; Pachter & Coll, 2009; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2002). Indeed, in Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2002) on-going mixed method analysis of migrant children in the *Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation Study* (LISA) they argue there are three main identity outcomes for migrant children as they adapt to American society: ethnic flight; adversarial identities and; transcultural identities. In their analysis, 'ethnic flight' is associated with alienation from one's culture of origin and a desire for complete assimilation into the dominant culture. As a result, an adversarial identity is linked to alienation from one's origin culture and then again from the dominant culture, a situation which leads to marginalisation. Transcultural identities however 'creatively fuse aspects of both cultures – the parental tradition and the new culture – in a process of transculturation that blends two systems that are once their own and foreign' (2002: 113). This ability to traverse and combine two cultures is known as a 'bicultural competency', developed through 'bicultural efficacy', the confidence to move between cultures with the belief that one can maintain relations in both traditions without losing one's cultural identity (LaFromboise et al., 1993; Ramirez, 1983). For Berry et al (2006) this is an integrationist attitude and it is best served in a multicultural society which promotes and values cultures of origins.

In recent years there has been significant recoil from multiculturalism. World events such as the riots in France, Britain and the Netherlands, the attacks on the World Trade Centre, the Pentagon, London and Madrid and the 'War on Terror' have arguably been used as evidence that multiculturalism doesn't work (Cheong, Edwards, Goulbourne, & Solomos, 2007; Fekete, 2006; Kundnani, 2007). Due to the promotion and protection of separate social and cultural organizations for minority groups, the contention against multiculturalism is that it creates ghettoisation and a sense of alienation from dominant society. Moreover, it is argued that equality is largely based on ineffectual anti-discrimination and anti-racism legislation built upon a politics of recognition which allows racism to go unchecked beyond formal workplace policies (Fomina, 2006; Hesse, 1999). Thus, even though empirical research drawn from studies with children suggests that parallel societies are developed through a dialectical relationship of separation attitudes and macro segregation perspectives rooted in racism (Berry et al., 2006; Rumbaut & Portes, 2001) for the majority of multiculturalism's detractors it is the instigator of

separation and impedes the development of civic responsibility and the creation of a cohesive society (Scheffler, 2009; Schweppe, 2007). Hence, with the concept of multiculturalism damaged, a new policy and theoretical model seems to be in ascendancy; 'integration'.

Although for Berry (2006) integration is an individual acculturation attitude best encouraged and responded to by multiculturalism, integration policy is understood as somewhat of a middle ground between assimilation and multiculturalism. In Berry et al (2006) the concept of 'integration' describes a process of mutual accommodation, where migrant groups adapt to dominant society while dominant society augments to reflect and incorporate migrant groups. Integration policy fundamentally differs from multicultural policy. While it does not encourage the tolerance of a multiplicity of opinions, values and beliefs, it focuses on renegotiating common core values and goals through a dialogue between migrant and dominant group members (Carens, 2009). This is the approach which the Republic of Ireland has explicitly chosen to adopt.

Integration Policy in Ireland

In 2007 the Irish government officially adopted an integration strategy in relation to the acculturation of migrant groups and set up the junior ministry of the Office of the Minister for Integration to co-ordinate the government's integration policy. To date, the most important general policy response is outlined in *Migration Nation: Statement on Integration Strategy and Diversity Management (2008)*. Additional documents framing integration policies which, for example, affect children's acculturation have been produced by the Department of Justice with *Planning for Diversity: The National Action Plan Against Racism 2005 – 2008* [NAPAR] (2005), the development of the English Language Support program [ELS] in *Circular 0053/20007* (2007) by the Department of Education and Skills and through the proposed guidelines for curriculum reform in *Intercultural Education in the Primary School* (2005) by the National Council for Curriculum Assessment [NCCA]. However, in terms of everyday impact on children's lives, *Circular 0053/2007* is the most significant policy development. The 'English as a Second Language' [ELS] program in primary and secondary schools employs English language support teachers to provide supplementary English as a second language lessons to children

identified as needing support. These lessons are provided on a withdrawal basis at a cost of €120m *per annum*, however, as of 2009 five hundred ELS teachers have been cut from the primary and secondary school systems (P. Curry et al., 2011). ELS has been heavily criticised for its lack of nuance in responding to the diversity of needs, learning strategies and levels of English language proficiencies of the student body, as well as adopting outmoded teaching techniques (Lyons & Little, 2009). Moreover, the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), which ranks 31 states in Europe and North American on a 100 point scale of integration best practice, ranks Ireland as one of the worst states for education integration policy at 25 points, only significantly higher than Lithuania, Latvia and Bulgaria and on par with Slovenia and Slovakia (MIPEX, 2010). Furthermore, Rachael Fionda (2010) argues ELS policy is not only inadequate for an inclusive integration strategy but reproduces dominant culture's ideology through a process of hegemony. This mirrors the analysis of Audrey Bryan (2008, 2009, 2010) and Karl Kitching (2010a, 2010b) who contend Ireland's wider integration policy approach covertly propagates power inequalities and others minority groups. Thus, for Devine (2011) Ireland's 'integration' policy is simply an assimilationist approach by another name. Indeed, the integrationist approach suggested by Berry (2006) argues that the core values of society must be renegotiated. This viewpoint raises an important question: Can the State ever be a neutral negotiator, broker or instigator of policy reform in relation to a true revision of core society?

For Kymlicka (2001, 2002) the liberal state is essentially a nation building one and therefore cannot be separated from culture. For instance, State decisions on language, internal boundaries, public holidays and state symbols inevitably involve the recognition, accommodation and support of certain ethnic and national groups. Hence, calls for the 'benign neglect' of minority cultures on the grounds of State neutrality is illogical as no separation of State and ethnicity can exist. Thus, Kymlicka (1995) contends that state policy cannot approach immigration from a standpoint of disengagement from culture but must ask what aspects of diverse cultures can be justifiably promoted to ensure minorities are treated as fairly as possible. This approach to multiculturalism can be defined as liberal nationalism and focuses on *tolerance* of minority groups and immigrants. Paradoxically, while immigration is discussed, the focus of analysis is not on migrant populations but how

multiculturalism is ultimately viewed as a means to an end for the protection and construction of the liberal national project (Laegaard, 2009). Thus, this perspective is motivated by the self-interest of dominant society and not by humanitarian values alone. Hence, if *tolerance* is the modus operandi can true mutual *acceptance* ever occur? Quantitative data from liberal national states offers some insight into how opinions regarding immigration are formed and affected.

Public Opinion, Education and Labour Market Vulnerability

In a comparison of national surveys in seven countries Lynch and Simon (2003) contend that from the period when surveys of this type began, usually between the 1940s and 1980s, there has never been a majority of people in any country and at any time in favour of immigration or liberalising immigration policies. The authors argue this to be true for both traditional receiver and sender countries. Furthermore, in every country analysed but Japan, white northern European immigrants were the preferred immigrant groups and public opinion favoured tightening controls on visible minorities. Sides and Citrin (2007) argue that the literature exploring the sources of opinions toward immigration can be divided into 'interest' and 'identity' based explanations. 'Interest' based opinions refer to the economic reality of a country and the perception of material wealth that its citizens have while 'identity' refers to a sense of identification with the nation-state and the perception of a national cultural identity.

The majority of the debate concerning immigration in public discourse has been interest based and until recently, the literature largely supported this perspective. Sides and Citrin (2007) argue that a common understanding of the interest based concept is that individuals in countries with poor economic conditions are be more likely to hold negative views against immigrants than people in a wealthier country with a wider range of economic opportunity. In that category the former group perceives their personal finances to be at risk and in direct competition with immigrants for employment. Mayda (2006) links economic insecurity to negative perspectives in a cross country comparison as does Kessler (2001) within the U.S.A. In an assessment of immigration attitudes in several countries Citrin et al (1997) argued those from marginalised groups tend to hold more overtly discriminatory

views and Scheve and Slaughter (2001) concluded that labour market competition underpins attitudes to immigration. Through a framework of intergroup conflict Esses et al (1998) and Sniderman et al (2004) argue that competition for limited resources between marginalised immigrant and 'native' populations lies at the heart of exclusionary behaviours and explicit prejudice within certain communities. In addition, Fetzer (2000) contends there is a correlation between support for anti-immigration groups and a rise in unemployment rates in the U.S.A, France and Germany.

However within the last decade there has been almost a complete shift in perspective and interest based explanations have been put into question. This is largely due to the analysis of two large scale surveys; the European Social Survey [ESS] 2002-03 and the Eurobarometer 53 survey on racism and xenophobia. The ESS surveyed 20 European countries on attitudes towards immigrants and Eurobarometer 53 surveyed 15. Both studies include Ireland in their investigation. In Hainmueller and Hiscox's (2007) analysis of the 2003 ESS, they argue that conventional interest perspectives have been built on a misinterpretation of data. While some groups may be more hostile to immigration, it is not labour market pressures but education levels that are responsible for antagonism. Thus, the interest based literature has taken education levels as a marker of labour market vulnerability to extrapolated economic arguments without looking at the direct effect of education in itself. Using the ESS 2003 Hainmueller and Hiscox (2007) argue that whether one is in or out of the labour force, and/or directly competing with immigrant populations for employment, the overriding factor in immigration opinions is related to education levels. Hence, those with more years of education are generally less hostile to immigrants 'regardless of the skill attributes of the immigrants in question' (Hiscox, 2007: 399). Indeed knowledge of immigration levels and policies within one's country has also been linked to lower levels of discrimination (Sides & Citrin, 2007).

This has been further explored in the analysis of personal values and discriminatory opinions. For instance, within the literature there is a contention that those who can be categorised as possessing humanitarian-egalitarian values and higher education levels also hold more positive or neutral attitudes toward immigrants (Federico & Sidanius, 2002; Leong & Ward, 2006; Rabinowitz, Wittig, von Braun, Franke,

2005). While those with lower education levels are thought to display more overtly prejudice views and hold conservative values (Lambert & Chasteen, 1997). Leong and Ward (2006) elaborate this argument through an analysis of Eurobarometer 53. Using the theoretical insights of both Schwartz's (2003, 2006) comparative sociology and Hofstede's (2001) cultural dimensions theory they conclude that people who value mastery, defined as a need to control the social environment; traditional notions of masculinity; power distance through a respect and deference for a social hierarchy; a tendency for uncertainty avoidance and collectivism, were the least likely to favour immigration regardless of their economic situations. Furthermore, traditional notions of masculinity and mastery were highly correlated with negative attitudes toward multiculturalism while individuals who valued harmony were the least likely to require assimilation from migrant populations. Leong and Ward (2006) argue this is reflected at the national level as countries characterised by harmony are less likely to demand cultural assimilation as a prerequisite for acceptance. While those typified by high levels of uncertainty avoidance, power distance and traditional masculinity tend to oppose multicultural and liberal immigration policies on the basis that migrants are a threat to their identity and in-group collectivism.

Sides and Citrin's (2007) analysis of the ESS 2003 also contradicts the interest based arguments. They found little evidence that national economics or demographic factors have a significant effect on public opinion. Nor did they find that economics play an important role at the individual level. Individuals who portray higher levels of social trust, have achieved an advanced level of education, socialise with migrant friends and are embedded in social networks which are positive towards immigrant groups were more open to immigration regardless of economic factors, factors which mirror Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) findings. Thus, for Sides and Citrin (2007) and Leong and Ward (2006) the most important aspect in the formation of public opinion at the macro and micro levels comes from an identity and value basis, in which negative attitudes originate from a belief that a collective national identity exists and can be threatened by difference. Thus, the conception of the nation-state seems to play a significant role in attitude formation. Therefore, the liberal nationalism which largely underpins European states has arguably failed to foster favourable attitudes towards immigration (Pehrson & Green, 2010; Strabac &

Listhaug, 2008; Vieira & Trindade, 2008). This seems particularly salient in the Irish case as Audrey Bryan has argued that integration policy in Ireland, outlined in *Migration Nation,* is largely framed through a 'corporate-style multiculturalism that formulates the contribution of migrants almost exclusively in terms of their labour, and the resulting economics benefits they offer the nation' (2010: 254). Therefore in light of the economic downturn the deficiency of this approach in addressing the more embedded root of xenophobia[25] and racism may be exposed. Indeed, theorists from both post-modern racialisation studies and Bourdieusian analysis of the State have different perspectives, attributing this failure to liberalism's root in enlightenment rationality. They contend such an approach does not combat racism and xenophobia but creates the conditions in which they can exist and thrive.

'Race' and Racialisation

Xenophobic attitudes have been found to be disproportionally directed at non-EU migrants in Europe (Baugartl & Favell, 1995; Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; David, 2009; Favell, 1998; A. E. Kessler & Freeman, 2005; Lahav, 2004). Moreover, there is evidence that visible[26] minority migrants are more likely to be victims of racism and prejudice than their 'white' counterparts (Kovacic & Erjavec, 2010; Saroglou, Lamkaddem, Van Pachterbeke, & Buxant, 2009). Data from MIPEX (2010) suggests that there has been an overall tendency for European immigration policies to tighten controls on immigration by visible minority groups. For instance while Britain has explicitly adopted a multicultural strategy which does not require migrant groups to assimilate, it has simultaneously moved to restrict immigration from the Commonwealth since the 1960s. Before 1962 the free flow of migrants from former colonies was encouraged. After the so-called 'race riots' of the 1960s immigration by visible minority groups was harshly curbed by splitting the Commonwealth into 'old' and 'new' States, a system which severely restricted immigration from the 'new' countries of India, Pakistan, Hong Kong and the West Indies while allowing immigration from Ireland to remain unchecked (Joppke, 2004; Lynch & Simon, 2003). Within Ireland, immigration policy largely favours EU migration but is

[25] The working definition of xenophobia used here is from Baumgartl and Favell as the 'the dread of 'foreigners' as a group, whether defined legally as 'immigrants', or by their strangeness as a visible group, it is taken as a classic device of self-definition as part of an 'in-group' in opposition to an 'out-group'' (1995: 379)

[26] 'Visible' minority describes minority groups that are phenotypically different to majority society , a problematic term discussed below.

unfavourable to immigration from Africa, South Asia and the Middle East, as visas available to people from these states is strictly related to labour market demands. In contrast, a number of working holiday, student and business visas are available for those from the U.S.A, Australia, New Zealand, Hong Kong, Japan and the Republic of Korea and there is continued free flow of migration between the U.K. and Ireland (DFA, 2011). Moreover, the asylum process in Ireland has been criticised as one of the harshest in Europe with the 2004 Citizenship amendment largely viewed as a way to curb the asylum applications of individuals originating from non-EU States (Lentin, 2007; Ni Raghallaigh, 2007). Conversely, citizenship for the descendants of the emigrant 'Irish' diaspora remains open for any individual who has Irish parents or grandparents, despite having never lived or visited Ireland (DFA, 2011). Indeed in the 2010 MIPEX Ireland is now ranked 16th along with Slovenia and Greece in terms of integration policy, down two places from 14th in 2007. It is ranked 4th worst for family re-unification for non-EU migrants with 'discretionary procedures and basic unequal rights which set some of the most unfavourable conditions for non-EU residents to integrate' (MIPEX, 2010: www.mipex.eu/ireland, access date 04/07/2011). Ronit Lentin (2007) argues these policy developments stem from institutional racism, however how ontologically secure is the term or idea of 'race'?

Contemporary biology no longer uses the concept of 'race' although human populations can be divided according to many criteria such as physical characteristics, blood composition and skeletal types. These differentials are now understood as the result of ecological influences rather than pre-existing fundamental genetic types (Rosenberg et al., 2010). Within the social sciences a significant body of work argues these human characteristics or phenotypes are only given meaning through a process of racialisation. While there is some tension in the literature as to the consistency of meaning and use of the term 'racialisation' (Barot & Bird, 2001), Murji and Solomos argue it has become 'a core concept in the analysis of racial phenomena, particularly to signal the processes by which ideas about 'race' are constructed, come to be regarded as meaningful, and are acted upon' (2005: 1). The current use of the term is arguably influenced by several key texts: It is explored from a psychosocial approach in Fanon (1967) who emphasises the racialisation of thought through colonialism; Banton's (1977) ideational approach which analyses the categorisation of 'race' in the nineteenth century; Miles's (1989, 1993) neo-

Marxist analysis which argues racialisation is an ideological practice beyond biological categorisations alone and; Hall's (1997) cultural method which contends racialisation signifies 'others' within social and political relations. While these texts offer somewhat disparate definitions of what racialisation is, Back and Solomos argue that the concept of racialisation has been fundamental in moving the debate beyond the ontological certainty of 'race' to perhaps the more important question of 'why certain racialised subjectivities become a feature of social relations at particular points in time and in particular geographical spaces' (2000: 20).

To engage with this question, many authors have drawn on the work of Foucault (1975), especially his concepts of governmentality and bio-power. Governmentality refers both to organised governance at the level of the state and global politics and self-sanctioning by the individual in everyday life. Thus, Foucault (1975) analyses the connection between power and discourse and the formation of an individual's subjectivity. He contends that as political authorities became aware of the intractable regularities of the domains they sought to govern, such as the rates of births, deaths and disease, there was a shift from focusing on who has power to how power can be exercised most efficiently and rationally over the population. Moreover, the population of the State came to be seen as a resource which needed to be managed through technologies of control. For Foucault (1975) the development of knowledge production is one key element of this control, the gathering of statistics and research on the population fostered policies which he argues attempts to regulate the happiness and health of the people and therefore their productivity. Foucault (1975) calls this 'bio-power'. Danaher et al define bio-power as a technology which, 'analyses, regulates, controls, explains and defines the human subject, its body and behaviour' (2000: ix). Bio-power is said to effect the population in two ways. At the individual level it disciplines the functions of the body through the domains of the school, prison, hospital, military barrack and even the artisans' workshop and at the collective level through the categorisation and sub-categorisation of the population. However, once you create categories of what is normal its antonym is created and the deviant, pervert, homosexual, hysteric and psychotic are formed. In Rabinow's discussion of Foucault's concept of bio-power, he argues 'the end of good government is the correct dispositions of things…even when these things have to be invented so as to be well governed' (1987: 21). State racism in this context is

understood as the elimination of the so called 'deviant' as a threat to the vitality of the nation. It is a 'racism that a society will practice on itself, against its own elements, against its own products: it is an internal racism...that of constant purification...which will be one the fundamental dimensions of social normalisation' (Foucault, 1978: 55). Hence, in the name of the health, vitality and purity of the state, racism is perpetuated and sanctioned.

Thus, enlightenment rationality is analysed not as a way to undermine racism but as a causal factor in its development and protraction. A number of theorists have analysed the connection between modernity and racism (Hannaford, 1996; Mosse, 1985) however Goldberg's (1994) analysis is arguably the most influential. For Goldberg (1994) modernity shifted the conceptual order from the common perspective of individuals during pre-enlightenment thought all people were viewed as subjects of God to the development of the rational individual where one began to see oneself as an independent subject and in differentiation from others. Invoking Foucault (1975), he argues where there is a rational agent there is an irrational one, a rational society an irrational one. Both aspects are generally understood as pre-modern and largely non-Western. Goldberg (1994) argues this shift caused a 'caesura' in the biological continuum of human beings by defining a hierarchy of 'races'. Hence, the rational state must protect itself from the irrational, both internally and externally in the form of immigration. A similar point is made by Said (1995 [1978]) in *Orientalism*. Also following Foucault, he argues the East has been discursively subordinated by the West through a reproduction of knowledge about the 'Orient' which constructs it as an inferior and largely hostile 'other'. Moreover, knowledge of the Orient has helped create a dichotomy between European and non-European, which justifies and maintains the West's power. Hall (1997) contends this classification of people has generally lead to the reduction of the cultures of 'black' peoples to nature, through essentialising seemingly 'natural' characteristics, such as irrationality, idleness and immaturity resulting in the naturalising of differences as a fixed part of nature.

Nationalism and the Nation State

However, except within the extreme examples of Nazi Germany and apartheid South Africa, the State's participation in racism is largely invisible. In Goldberg's (2002)

dominant work *The Racial State,* he argues that racial processes are a fundamental organising principle of all nation States. He contends racist States sit on a continuum with racial States and are separated from them only by the extent to which racist exclusion is an explicit principal of the state project. For Goldberg then racialism is a fundamental element of nation-state formation, as a national articulation relies on a constructed homogeneity:

> *They have assumed themselves, falsely...to be constituted upon the presumption, the insistence, of homogeneous group identity, repressively embodying sameness as a value. And so they have acted variously to guarantee, to (rein)force, materially what they have claimed (to be committed to) conceptually and axiologically. In this sense, homogeneity is to be viewed as heterogeneity in denial, or more deeply yet as the recognition of heterogeneity at once repressed (2002: 16)*

From a very different theoretical background Ghassan Hage (1998) argues a similar point. In *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*, he evocatively argues that both racism and 'tolerant' anti-racist multiculturalism are better understood as nationalist strategies that maintain power for 'white' cultural dominance. He contends both these approaches presume a particular group has the right to act as managers of national space, to decide who may stay and who must go. For Hage (1998) this feeling of entitlement is understood as 'governmental belonging', a sense that 'this is *my* nation'. He carefully differentiates this from what he terms 'passive belonging' or a feeling that 'I belong *to* the nation' which he argues does not extend to feelings of legitimate ownership over national space. For Hage (1998) then, ethnic minorities or what he terms 'third world-looking' migrants are generally encouraged to pursue passive belonging through an accumulation of 'national capital'. The concept of 'national capital' is an extension of Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital[27] and describes a quantitative accumulation of nationally authorised characteristics, dispositions, physical and cultural styles. This accumulation is presented as a democratic process, which contains the promise of attaining symbolic capital, recognition and power within the national field. However, Hage argues this incentive to 'play the game' is largely an illusion, as the very need to accumulate signifies that one does not belong as:

> *[N]o matter how much capital one acquires through active accumulation, the very fact of this acquired capital being an accumulation leads to its devaluing relative to those who posit themselves to have inherited it or to possess it innately without having to accumulate it' (1998, 64).*

[27] Explored in chapter 3

Hence, using a Bourdieusian approach he argues that governmental belonging and therefore true homely belonging remains the possession of the group which has succeeded in transforming its interests into the aspirations and ideals of the nation, disinterested guardians with legitimate governmental belonging. For Hage (1998) then, acts which are traditionally viewed as racist are better understood as originating not from a belief in biological inferiority but from a nationalist discourse about who is allowed in and how *they* should behave in *my* nation. More radically though, Hage (1998) argues this power dynamic operates within mainstream multiculturalism but is usefully masked by its more obvious exertion in overt racism. Lentin (2007) has argued that Ireland is now a racist State after the 2004 citizenship referendum[28]. While this was undoubtedly a major change of State legislation with regard to immigration and despite a 70% support rate, the outcome of the referendum revealed something of the wider population's attitude to migration and nationalism. The designation of Ireland as a racist state is arguably unhelpful as it aligns Ireland with Nazi Germany, and therefore the debate on immigration and citizenship is perhaps sensationalised and therefore easily dismissed. Thus the insidiousness of racism within nationalism can remain hidden as the 'rational common sense' point of view, in contrast to presumed academic overstatement detached from everyday life.

In contrast, Bryan (2008, 2009; 2010) highlights the more subtle processes of exclusion hidden behind Ireland's intercultural strategy. For Bryan (2008, 2009a) Ireland's national and educational intercultural policies, specifically *Migration Nation* and the *NAPAR,* operate as a form of symbolic power, which implicitly reproduces racial power relations, while overtly masked as egalitarian interculturalism. She argues that despite explicit statements to the contrary, current policies remain embedded in nationalistic assumptions of Irish identity. Drawing on Billig's (1995) argument in *Banal Nationalism* that national identities are often reproduced at the subtle level of language rather than grand statements of intent, she contends that the use of pronouns and possessives like 'we', 'us', 'our' and 'them' maintains Irishness as mono-cultural; the preserve of 'white', Catholic, settled people, as historically constructed during nation building after partition (McVeigh & Lentin, 2002). Thus, drawing on Hage (1998) she argues while ethnic diversity is 'celebrated' and 'valued' it remains other than Irish; the 'we' that accepts diversity is

[28] As explored in the first chapter

not problematised or recognised as diverse in itself. Moreover, in relation to practice in schools Devine (2011) contends the vacuum of specific integration guidelines other than language initiatives has led schools to develop their own individual programs with the only guidance found in *Migration Nation*. She argues that while these policies may be well intentioned, they largely revolve around intercultural days which tend to 'increase the tendency of highlighting the difference and 'otherness' of minority students, especially when the majority culture is not similarly put on 'display'' (ibid: 79). At the national level Bryan (2010) argues a discursive analysis of intercultural policy revels that while interculturalism is proclaimed as national altruism, this is framed not through a concern for social justice but for the growth of the national economy and for corporate interests. Hence, the projection of intercultural altruism in Ireland is contradictorily self-focused, concerned with maintaining face internationally as a 'land of welcomes', an approach which reinforces Ireland's attractiveness for corporate investment and tourism and migrants as economic units for the benefit and wealth of the nation (Bryan, 2010). With this focus, can humanitarian values truly be adopted from economic motivations? A historic comparative to this can be found in the German system of 'Gastarbeiter' or guest worker, which is widely analysed in the literature as an example of international worst practice. Through the 'Gastarbeiter' system, migrants in Germany have historically been viewed in purely economic terms and not as citizens with varied social and cultural interests in maintaining residency in the country. For example it is not uncommon for three generations of 'guest worker' Turkish families to remain on the fringe, unable to access German citizenship. This has recently been intimately tied to 'jus sanguinis' (Becker, 2009; Fetzer, 2000; Martin, 1998).

How effective can interests based migration policies be for interculturalism if identity based racism informs intergroup relations? Moreover, while interests based arguments may not be the root of racism there is some evidence that during times of economic hardship expressing nationalists and marginalising views appears to be more acceptable (Evans, 2010; Wu, Stevenson, Chen, & Guner, 2002). Hence, while the specificities and means of creating Ireland's imagined homogeneity and culture has unique aspects, the construction of a national master narrative is shared by many nations. Indeed the covert strengthening of the collective '*we*' that altruistically shares '*our*' country is analysed by Hage (1998) as an important element in a

nationalist identity, indeed while be uses Bourdieu to understand the 'how' of power in society, he draws on Lacanian psychoanalysis to answer the 'why' and argues that the existence of nationalism in all forms raises a paradox. If the nation is truly a homely place were one feels complete belonging surely there is no need for nationalism? For Hage (1998) homely belonging exists more as a fantasy than a reality, a fantasy space which people simultaneously inhabit and are part of, and 'gives meaning and purpose to the subject's life, and the meaning and purpose which makes life worth living is itself a fantasy' (1998: 70). Hence, not only is homogeneity a fantasy, but so too is the ideal image of the self as a meaningful subject who is able to bring about the 'return' of a homely nation or its defence, as this never has and never could exist. Thus, migrants act as an important 'other', a scapegoat for why one feels disconnected from the State. Therefore, as long as nationalists see migrants as the ones standing in the way of their full actualisation and connection to society, they have a struggle in which, [in a Lacanian sense], to 'be'. For Hage (1998) the nationalist has subconsciously picked a battle they can never win, as the futility of their task means their reasons for life can never be destroyed. Moreover the 'tolerant' multiculturalist purported by Kymlicka (1995) or in Billig's (1995) terms, a 'banal nationalist', is complicit in the myth there was a homely space to be disturbed. Indeed, Green and Sonn et al (2007) argue that contemporary enactments of multiculturalism are largely framed as a gift that dominant society gives minorities, thus power remains imbalanced. Hage (1998) would argue that such a power imbalance tips in the favour of 'white' peoples. Also drawing on Lacan, Frosch (2002) contends 'black people' provide an important 'other' in which the 'white subjects' search for identity can be crystalized from, making visible the invisible.

Whiteness

Indeed then the term 'visible minority' is not an unproblematic term, as it begs the question visible in terms of what? For Hage (1998) this visibility is created in Australia through a comparison to dominant societies 'whiteness' which is not simply a description of a skin colour but a constructed category in itself. A growing body of work has begun to problematise 'whiteness'. Through a socio-historic analysis, the understanding of who is thought of as white and who isn't has been

shown to be in a constant state of flux. Until very recently those designated as Irish were not understood as white, nor were Jewish people, Italians, Greeks, Eastern European 'Slavs', and there is continuing debate in American immigration policy if those from particular South American countries are white and how Christian Lebanese migrants can be designated in Australia (Bander Rasmussen, Klinenberg, Nexica, & Wray, 2001; Brodkin, 1999; Hage, 1998; Kushner, 2005; McDowell, 2007). Indeed Garner (2007b) argues whiteness reproduces social hierarchies by maintaining internal borders between those who are more and less white. One of the oft-cited reasons for the comparative lack of extreme anti-immigration and racist groups [at least overtly with some level of organisation] within Ireland has been the historical racialisation of 'Irishness' (Garner, 2007a). Indeed, even though white 'Irish' people are phenotypically no different to 'English' people, physical differences have historically been thought to exist. Much like the imagined differences of Jewish people, represented as hooked nosed and dark skinned (Lentin, 2002), caricatures of 'Irishness' were simianised, portrayed as sub-human and ape like, a depiction 'black' peoples have also contended with (Hickman, 1998; McVeigh, 2002). Indeed the middle of the nineteenth century saw the popularisation of scientific racism and the valorisation of Anglo-Saxon supremacy. Popular authors such as Knox and Gobineau split the 'white race' into a hierarchy of Anglo-Saxon, Celtic and Latin, with Anglo-Saxons designated as those with the greatest capacity for civilization and cognitive intelligence (cited in Spracklen, 2008).

However, while whiteness is not as stable a categorisation as common sense logic would suggest, the history of immigration has shown that those designated as 'white' have been consistently privileged in terms of their ease of movement and acculturation outcomes (Garner, 2006; Webster, 2008). Thus, it has been in the interest of many 'off white' peoples to be acknowledged as fully white in order to gain acceptance and status within new societies (Allen, 1994; Barrett & Roediger, 2004; Ignatiev, 1995; Luibheid, 1997; Roediger, 2007). This process of 'whitening' has arguably been especially successful for emigrants from Ireland to the United States. Ignatiev (1995) argues 'Irish' people were initially aligned to 'black' people in America and known as 'white niggers'. However even though they shared neighbourhoods and a common experience of poverty, criminalisation and racism, Irish immigrants did not develop a sense of fellow feeling with African Americans

but focused on triumphing their perceived 'nativism' by asserting their whiteness and white supremacy in opposition to 'blacks'. Roediger (2007) suggests this process of whitening allowed 'Irish' immigrants to compete on the labour market more successfully than an 'Irish', ethnic or class identity could have afforded. Thus emigrants 'collectively bought into whiteness as a means of asserting normative Americaness' (Garner, 2006: 267), and became involved in pro-slavery, Anti-Chinese attitudes and the clearing of Native Americans from the Mid-West region. Garner (2007) argues, drawing on Fanon's (1967) work on the 'desire to inhabit whiteness', that despite experiences of racism a desire to gain power through adopting 'white' values may also be a work in black – white solidarity racism against Vietnamese, Bangladeshis and Pakistani immigration in the UK (Back, 1996 also see; Hoggett, Jeffers, & Harrison, 1996) and anti-Muslim racism in France (Sargent & Larchanche, 2007). Thus, the 'off-whites' ability to fade to white, and the desire to inhabit 'whiteness' through the repression of a third group, suggests that 'whiteness' is a form of cultural capital (Daniels, 1997).

McDowell (2007) mirrors this argument in her analysis of Latvian women's migration to Post-War Britain where she contends Latvians were characterized as superior 'whites' in relation to Irish migrants, who were both in ascendancy in relation to West-Indians in a hierarchy of desirability. She contends both the British government and Latvian migrants themselves thought of themselves as 'whiter' than 'Irish' women, in their attitudes, habits, cleanliness and work ethic and also were at pains to differentiate themselves as Aryan as opposed to the supposed inferiority of Polish 'Slavs'. Thus, even though from a legal standpoint West-Indian migrants were citizens of the British empire and Irish workers had ease of movement between Ireland and Britain, Latvians who needed a special visa to live and work in Britain were the most acceptable and welcomed migrants due to their 'whiteness'. There is some evidence of a similar situation with contemporary Polish and Lithuanian migrants to Britain. Violetta Parutis argues these groups have been at pains to distinguished themselves in Britain 'on the basis of skin color and legal status, they present themselves as members of the host country's 'white' majority, which places them in a position of power in relation to other migrant groups' (2011: 263). Indeed Datta and Brickell (2009) argue that in some cases Polish migrants have endeavoured to construct themselves as superior to and closer to 'white' middle class

values than working-class Britons.

Thus, whiteness is not simply an issue of colour but for a burgeoning area of research it is an empty category, an accepted baseline from which all else is compared to and found wanting (Nakayama & Krizek, 1999; Stephenson, 1997). For Frankenberg its normative status gives it power through 'the production and reproduction of dominance rather than subordination, normality rather than marginality and privilege rather than disadvantage' (1993: 236). Moreover, Hughey (2010), influenced by masculinities studies, argues that while 'whiteness' is not static, it is hegemonic, as it represents ordinariness, orderliness, rationality and self-control from which all else is compared to and found wanting. Hence, for many analysts whiteness has become integral to truth, knowledge, merit, motivation, achievement, trustworthiness, goodness, fairness, intelligence, sensitivity and inclusiveness; indeed all the high morals of the rational agent (Fine, Weis, Powell, & Mung Wong, 1997; Smith, 1990; Thompson, 2003). For the field of whiteness studies then, to be 'white' is to be rational. Thus the dividend of the rational agent who has transcended the supposed baseness of the body has been monopolised by whiteness. Being understood as white then, is to be disembodied, to be absent from the 'race' debate and claim the lucidity supposedly unavailable to the embodied (Dyer, 1997).

This absence from 'race' also means racism and anti-racism initiatives and debates remain an issue for visible minority groups alone (Moreton - Robinson, 2003; Webster, 2003). Therefore until whiteness is understood as an inherent part of racialisation, 'white' people are allowed to opt in or out of racialisation issues, with those choosing to be involved reaping the benefits of being constructed as magnanimous and altruistic. Indeed, even though whiteness remains discursively missing from the debate Jones (1997) argues white people remain in a position to determine the meaning and relevance of 'race' and racism for minority groups through multicultural policy. Kitching (2010) draws on whiteness scholarship to argue the 'intelligibility of the nation state, [privileges] an unnamed white-Irishness through education and social policy', in which racism and anti-discriminatory policies are presented as a new issue in Ireland and as an individualised prejudice. Thus the history of 'Irishness' and the structuring of racism by the state, for instance

in relation to 'Irish travellers' remains absent from debate. Hence the involvement of the government in intercultural policy and individual endeavours by schools[29] can be understood as a way to be defined as good rational 'whites' and differentiate oneself from bad embodied 'whites', at the individual and societal level without any fundamental changes in power and privilege (Marcus, 1999). Hence, the abandoning of racist attitudes means little if the power dynamics underpinning them and white hegemony remains unchallenged (McKinney, 2005).

Indeed the retention of power even within anti-racism discourses raises the question; Can 'whiteness' only be understood as absence? Morrison (1993) argues whiteness is anything but an empty category but is the personification of terror through 'white' peoples legitimate wielding of violence towards African-Americans and symbolically through the naming, defining and decision-making which subordinates minority groups. Garner (2006; 2007) concurs and contends that whiteness is a category filled with dominance; however the capacity of all white people to, in Du Bois (1977 [1935]) words, draw a 'psychological wage' from being white is contingent on socio-economic class and gender. For Garner (2007) then, much like the othering of a third group by 'black' racists, working class 'white' racism springs from a sense of disempowerment, as whiteness is a contingent hierarchy whose dividend does not privilege all 'whites' equally. Hence Garner argues against a monolithic conception of 'white' power and instead contends it is more useful to see whiteness as 'inhabited by actors who find themselves both oppressed and oppressing along axes such as class or gender, yet dominant on lines of 'race' alone' (2006: 269). Skeggs (2004) makes a similar point in her discussion of class contempt. She argues that contempt, which she defines as 'distance, denigration and disgust' (Skeggs, 2004: 118) is largely directed towards the 'white' working classes in British society and serves to drawn a moral boundary between different sorts of whiteness reinforcing and reproducing class hierarchies. She contends this is enacted primarily on the site of the body through characterising the appearance of the working class as 'excessively artificial' and overdone or vulgar and slovenly, which serves as an indicator of their moral irresponsibility. Indeed historically, eugenicists identified 'whites' with 'bad blood' by emphasising physical markers such as

[29] The methods section will debate the implication of research in this process

comportment and stature to differentiate them from 'whites' with 'good blood' (Hartigan, 2005). This discourse seems to have found continuance in descriptions of the so called 'white trash' in the U.S.A (Hartigan, 1999; McDermott, 2006), which Webster (2008) argues serves to perfectly encapsulate middle-class contempt and their point of differentiation. Within the context of Dublin, labelling the urban poor is extremely common. Names such as 'gurrier', 'scumbag', and 'knacker' are frequently used so it is surprising there is a deficiency of research on class contempt in the Irish context.

In the U.K. there is a growing literature on so called 'chavs'. Nayak (2006) contends that within young male 'white' British working class subcultures are subordinated as a licentious reference group which other young males differentiate themselves from in order to claim respectability. Like Skeggs (2004) she argues this is largely done by characterising 'chavs' as having pronounced 'body-reflexive practices' such as ape-like postures and engaging in smoking, spitting, audible swearing and drinking alcohol in public, which racialises them as a 'race' apart. Hanley (2007) echoes this point and argues that poor 'whites' are largely defamed as lacking taste or aspirations in education and employment and are instead engaged in excessive consumerism. This finds echoes in the characterisation of the 'Irish traveller' in which their supposed 'closeness' to animalism and tastelessness has historically been used as a case for genocide (McVeigh, 1998). Moreover, the white underclass in Britain are popularly characterised as endemically racist (Bowling, 1999; Hayward & Yar, 2006; Ray & Smith, 2004; Ray, Smith, & Wastell, 2003). Paradoxically however this supposed racism is used as evidence of their lesser white status and they are grouped with other minority groups, migrant communities, asylum seekers, the unemployed and single mothers as 'feckless, fecund, hedonistic, excessive, queue-jumpers' (Webster, 2008: 304).

Thus, while minority groups and migrants are routinely perceived as undeserving by respectable 'whites', overt racism in the underclass is disconnected from the wider system of distribution and nationalism and used as a means to show the inherent deficiencies of the underclass and diminish their whiteness. Hence, the concept of whiteness is not only a descriptive which denotes skin colour but a set of dispositions, tastes and aspirations which are partly written in the body through

comportment, dress, tastes and mannerisms. Therefore it is not enough to be white in colour but one must act or do 'whiteness', which raises another paradox, if whiteness is to be disembodied but one must embody it's dispositions to be accepted as white, disembodiment is an embodied process.

Conclusion

The construction of immigration and integration policy is arguably rooted in rationality which concurrently and dialectically underpins nationalism and the construction of legitimate citizenship through 'white-Irishness' and racialisation processes. Is it possible to truly examine policy or examine the experiences of migrants if the hegemony of rationality remains unquestioned? An examination of policy alone cannot sufficiently capture the experiences of migrant groups or the relationship between migrant and dominant communities. As Connolly points out:

> *[I]t is not only national and international economic change that affects national political discourses, but also changes at the local level....a complex relationship exists between national political discourses and local fields of relations, where each tend to influence and shape the other (1998:38).*

Indeed, when analysing the interactions of dominant and migrant group children it is an erroneous assumption that their actions are determined by adults' perspectives and constructed through macro policy measures[30]. However, in re-interpreting rationality at the macro level, rational choice and agency at the individual level must also be examined. Therefore the logic of policy development embedded in rational liberalism must be examined not only due to the racialisation and othering of migrant groups, but also as this discourse does not seem to reflect the practice and actions of individuals and groups, as a growing body of work contends agentic capacities are rooted in embodiment. These concepts will be further explored in the next chapter.

[30] This will be explored in-depth in the methodology section

Chapter 3: The Importance of Embodiment

It is quite illusory to believe that symbolic violence can be overcome with the weapons of consciousness and will alone, this is because the effect and conditions of its efficacy are durable and deeply embedded in the body in the form of dispositions.
(Pierre Bourdieu, 2001: 39)

Introduction

While the post-modernist work influenced by Foucault has brilliantly de-constructed the liberal state and problematized 'whiteness' in relation to racialisation and unchallenged notions of rationality, on further analysis the ability of this perspective to offer a new way to conceptualise action appears to be somewhat problematic and piecemeal. Thus, this chapter has two primary aims, firstly to review the relevant empirical literature in relation to the intersection of masculinities studies, socio-economic class and racialisation, and secondly to place the body firmly at the centre of action and practice, in order to highlight how intellectual and rational approaches which attempt to conceptualise acculturation cannot fully capture or analyse an individual's being in the world. Hence, a review of the gender studies field serves two purposes, not only to describe scholarship in this area, but also through its critical assessment to reveal the incompleteness of the post-modern / post-structural approach. This chapter concludes with an attempt to build an ontologically sound argument for the centrality of the body in action and agency. The philosophical tradition of phenomenology is drawn on to excavate the legacy of mind-body dualism and provide a new framework in which to understand human behaviour through habit. Thus, this chapter and the next uses phenomenology to strengthen the theoretical insights of Pierre Bourdieu whose theory of practice currently stands as the most evocative and considered set of tools in which an embodied perspective of action can be analysed. An analysis of Bourdieu's conceptual tools opens this chapter and the complexity and elegance of this theoretical approach is contrasted with the currently accepted acculturation perspectives rooted in notions of human capital.

Human Capital and Acculturation

Within migration studies the currently accepted perspective on acculturation is it is a process mediated by the human capital of migrants. Min Zhou (2005) argues ideas of 'human capitals' have in various guises influenced all major migration perspectives and policy approaches. For Zhou the human capital approach assumes 'different ethnic groups possess identifiable characteristics, encompassing cultural values, practices, and social networks that were formed in the homeland and transplanted with minor modifications by immigrants in the new land and there transmitted and perpetuated from generation to generation', (2005:134). This transmittance of cultural heritage has either been viewed as problematic from a traditional assimilations perspective (M. Gordon, 1964) or protective and useful from an integrationist standpoint (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). In relation to children it is usually analysed as either problematic for the maintenance of parental authority and guidance if a child acculturates to the norms of dominant society before their parents (Elizur, Spivak, Ofran, & Jacobs, 2007; Hahm, Lahiff, & Guterman, 2003; Hines, 1997; Hogdin, 2006; Manongdo & Garcia, 2007), or the root of a bi-cultural competency (Gil, Vega, & Dimas, 1994; LaFromboise et al., 1993; Love & Buriel, 2007; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002), a source of strength for children's identities and as a way to combat downward assimilation and racism (Bhadha, 1999; J. A. M. Farver, Bhadha, & Narang, 2002; Levine-Rasky, 2009; McWayne, Campos, & Owslanik, 2008; Mehra, 2002). Indeed, Cutler et al (2005) suggests that the economic productivity of migrant groups is facilitated by 'ethnic capital' and Putnam's (1995) concept of 'social capital' has also been widely utilised. However, these approaches have been criticised for insufficiently problematising gendered and classed power relations and the temporal and spacial differentiations of migrants (F Anthias, 2007; L. Ryan, Sales, Tilki, & Siara, 2008). Moreover, Erel contends 'human', 'ethnic' and 'social' capital presume a 'rucksack' approach to the mediation of acculturation through capital conceptualising 'cultural capital as a key that the migrant puts into her rucksack and, once in the country of immigration, unpacks to see if it fits the 'keyhole' of the cultural system of the country of immigration' (2010: 649) Indeed, with the 'Irish' contexts Devine (2011) argues that such concepts risk reinforcing racialised views of groups and in lieu of a way to capture how migrants dynamically use their capital and make it convertible

within a new context 'ethnic capital' remains at best a fixed concept and at worst an essentializing perspective. Thus, for Erel (2010), Bourdieu's approach to capital accumulation and exchange provides a more dynamic model to think with.

The Theoretical Framework of Pierre Bourdieu

Bourdieu (2000) does not conceive of capitals as separate and unrelated, instead he believes that they have a fluid relationship, that one can use one form of capital to gain another. However unlike human capital theorists Bourdieu's conception of capitals does not presuppose an idea of inherent value (Erel, 2010). For Bourdieu nothing in the social world is fundamentally natural and thus necessarily universal, therefore the underlying question within his work is why do we put so much value in social structures and norms? His answer to this, in its most simplistic form, is one's habitus makes them relevant.

Habitus

In *Pascalian Meditations* Bourdieu defines habitus as, 'a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions' (Bourdieu, 2000: 86 - 7). Thus, the habitus describes the inherited, embodied, predisposed but also adaptable ways individuals have of reading, understanding and interpreting the fields and societies in which they live. It serves as a framing device from which a person's knowledge and experiences are understood through, developed by, but not restricted to; one's family, class position, gender, religion and ethnicity. However objective factors do not produce actors uniformly but the possibilities presented are combined to produce one's own unique yet predisposed habitus. Therefore, while people from similar backgrounds do not act in accordance with a set of rules, they may have general similarities and strategic behaviours at the level of the habitus, as the structures of society influence the possibilities that are presented for them to combine. Hence, if one's habitus is not constructed in relation to specific norms or structures, from a Bourdieusian perspective they have no inherent meaning or importance for an individual or group. Umut Erel (2010) argues some migrants can illuminate this construction through their disconnection from what dominant society views as inherent. However the exposing of social structures as arbitrary may not

always be appreciated by dominant society but viewed as threatening. Thus, it is in the interests of the dominant to view migrants as 'other', instead of reflecting on the strangeness of what they consider 'normal'.

Hence Bourdieu's (1977) concept of habitus is at pains to offer a third way between objective and subjective dualism, which he contends is a false dichotomy which thwarts the researcher's ability to adequately understand the social world and produce knowledge with epistemological authority. However the key to understanding how dualism can be traversed, seems to lie within his nuanced account of the relationship between habitus and field, experienced and expressed through somatisation. Indeed it is the embodied root of experience which arguably separates Bourdieu's work from the reductionist and reifying tendencies of traditional structuralist analysis (Grenfell, 2004).

Field and Illusio

For Bourdieu (1990) structures are a combination of social fields and institutions. Social fields are specific contexts in which people act, for instance one acts differently in the educational field than one would in a sporting field as each has its own particular habitus or logic. This is expressed through the ability of individuals to act appropriately without conscious thought, but instead through the embodiment of a logic specific to the field. Burkitt argues 'Bourdieu seeks to emphasize how this type of learning, which affects men and women's perception of their bodies and selves, does not occur at the cognitive level but at the bodily level' (1999: 88). To demonstrate this, Bourdieu (1978; 1990a; 1999) draws on the heightened example of sport, arguing one's embodied 'feel for the game' links the structure of the field to the specific behaviours or practices of the individuals within it. In this approach the central concepts of field and habitus are bound together in the body, as an individual or group's 'practical belief'[31] in the game is a state of the body 'instilled by the childhood learning that treats the body as a living memory pad' (Bourdieu, 1990: 68).

[31] Practical belief and the logic of practice will be explored in more depth with the work of Crossley below and in the Methodology section.

However, for an individual to participate in and be interested in a field Bourdieu (1984) contends one's habitus must be developed in relation to the resources and rewards within it, otherwise they would not be recognised or valued as capitals. To be committed to a field then, the learned must be conflated with the natural, what is constructed disappears into 'anamnesis', a 'familiarity gained by the reappropriation of a knowledge (connaissance) that is both possessed and lost from the beginning' (Bourdieu, 2001: 55). Hence the constructed nature of the field, habitus and capitals disappear and are understood as inevitable and inherently valuable instead of arbitrary. For Bourdieu then the 'illusio' of the field gives capitals their meaning. The illusio is defined as:

> *The fact of being in the game, of being invested in the game, of taking the game seriously. Illusio is the fact of being caught up in and by the game...That is what I meant in speaking of interest: games which matter to you are important and interesting because they have been imposed and introduced in your mind, in your body, in a form called the feel for the game (Bourdieu, 1998: 76-77).*

Thus, the illusio allows capitals to be misrecognised as innately valuable. Bourdieu (1984) identifies five inter-related capitals specific to each field, the first four, economic, political, social and cultural capital are said to be accumulated and exchanged within specific fields in order to achieve the fifth, symbolic capital, i.e. prestige, honour and social worth. Conversely though, the possession of symbolic capital legitimates actors' possession of other forms of capital, giving them a cylindrical or dialectic relationship. For Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) the attainment and maintenance of capital is the primary concern for those within fields as the amount of capital one has, determines your place in the field and therefore the power one has within it. However the possession of capitals is not open to everyone as they are controlled and limited by organisations, and those who are already rich in capital, therefore the richer in capital you are the more ability you have to regulate the field for your benefit. Thus, Bourdieu (1984) argues those in positions of power within a field have an interest in maintaining an orthodoxy which justifies and naturalizes the dominant groups claim of symbolic capital.

However the possession and exchange of capital does not take place from a position of rational choice but is somatised and expressed through the body. The concept of cultural capital most obviously illuminates this. Bourdieu (1984) contends cultural capital is manifested in three specific forms, embodied, objectified and

institutionalised. Embodied cultural capital is the bodily hexis of a person's habitus which is strongly related to one's origins, for instance it is the accent one develops, the manners one employs in social situations, the way one presents oneself to the world through dress and deportment and the tastes one develops and exploits. Therefore the body is not a fixed entity but is partially constructed by the medium of the habitus:

> *It follows that the body is the most indisputable materialization of class taste, which manifests itself in several ways. It does this first in the seemingly most natural features of the body, the dimensions (volume, height, weight) and shapes (round or square, stiff or supple, straight or curved) of its visible forms, which express in countless ways a whole relation to the body, i.e., a way of treating it, caring for it, feeding it, maintaining it, which reveals the deepest dispositions of the habitus (Bourdieu, 1984: 190).*

Moreover, many fields have appearance and disposition norms, which reflect the interests of the dominant group who are richest in capital within that field. Thus, the bodily hexis of habitus can either facilitate or constrain actors as they interact within social fields, as capital accumulation is facilitated by one's ability to be 'a fish in water', as the apparent ease with which one moves through the field will designate you as someone who belongs, understands the habitus of the field and does not question its values (Bourdieu, 1977). Therefore if one's body is too big, small, weak, strong, or if one dresses inappropriately or does not control the movements of one's body to fit with accepted demeanours, it will be more difficult to blend in and be accepted in the field or even gain access to it in the first place.

Chris Shilling (2003) has pushed Bourdieu's concept of embodied cultural capital to conceptualise the body as a bearer of value in contemporary society, he does this by pushing the notion of embodied cultural capital beyond the cultural realm and conceptualising it as 'Physical Capital'. Physical capital refers to the ways in which the body can be constructed and moulded to signify power, status and value within social fields. Thus, Shilling (2005) explicitly states what Bourdieu alludes to, which is that the body has an important bearing on one's life chances within certain fields and for one's accumulation of resources. Moreover, he contends dominant groups have a greater ability to define their bodies and lifestyle norms as superior and worthy of reward, while the bodies of 'others' are devalued, and have a lower exchange value within fields controlled by the dominant group. Shilling briefly engages with immigration and racialisation and uses the work of Fanon (1967) to argue that visible minority 'migrants are often subject to considerable pressure to

experience their bodies as different and deviant.....while it might be feasible to remove stigmatized clothes, facial hair, mannerisms and even accent, it would take an obliteration of the body itself to finally 'pass' as fully naturalized' (2008: 99 - 100). Thus as Bourdieu argues in *The Logic of Practice:*

> *Symbolic power works partly through the control of other people's bodies and belief that is given by the collectively recognised capacity to act in various ways on deep-rooted linguistic and muscular patterns of behaviour, either by neutralizing them or reactivating them to function mimetically (Bourdieu, 1990: 69).*

Doxa and Symbolic Violence

For Bourdieu then, norms in interactions and tastes within social fields are somewhat controlled by the standards of the dominant group and these norms become naturalised as the 'rational'[32] way of things. The implication of this is that those already dominant are more easily able to integrate these standards within their bodies and have more incentive to do so as they value the capitals on offer. In consequence, the bodies they craft and the attributes they validate become misrecognised as one's natural talents and dispositions, and it is this misrecognition which allows the dominant to justify their position and legitimise their power, as their bodies signal their 'moral' superiority to others and claim they are worthy of power and have the natural right to dominate and possess symbolic capital. It is therefore in the interest of the dominant group to support an orthodox view within the field which serves their interests. Bourdieu (1984) argues the orthodox view comes to be seen as self-evident, authorised and necessary and he conceptualises this as the doxa. The doxa is the universe of the undiscussed and the undisputed; it is the core set of values which is viewed as inherently true within a field. Hence the doxic view can be very difficult to challenge as it is propagated as the general natural way of things, therefore those who suffer at its hands rarely perceive the doxa as an arbitrary phenomenon which can be challenged. Bourdieu (2001) calls this symbolic violence and symbolic domination. Thus, while the possibility that doxa is a construction remains beyond the realms of the imagination the interests of dominant groups are maintained.

Indeed as discussed in the previous chapter, Hage (1998) draws on this work to elaborate the inherent racism within the construction of nation states, which he contends privileges 'white' peoples as disinterested guardians of the State and visible

[32] 'Rational' is in quotation marks to indicate that rationality in a pure sense is untenable and therefore what is commonly understood as rationality is somewhat constructed at the micro and macro levels, see chapter 2.

minorities as suspect patriots within Western societies. In light of Tormey's (2007) suggestion that the 2004 citizenship referendum in Ireland was based on a 'common sense[33]' argument of citizenship which implicitly drew on bodily phenotypes to designate those that belong from those that don't; it seems a discussion of symbolic violence and domination in relation to doxic assumptions and power are particularly pertinent within the Irish context. Moreover though the monopoly of whom and what constitutes a 'rational' agent or who has the power to purport a 'common sense' policy approach is not only split on the axis of skin colour or 'race' but also long gendered lines.

Masculine Domination

Indeed, perhaps Bourdieu's most in-depth analysis of symbolic domination comes in his study of gender. In *Masculine Domination* he contends the relative stability of gender relations over time reveals a 'paradox of doxa', which states that even though there are millions of unquestioned practical actions performed every day that would seem to give impetus for change, these actions instead seem to stabilize gender relations. Bourdieu (2001) partially explains this through the disappearance of orthodoxy into the body. Within *Masculine Domination* he argues that the body is viewed through a 'social programme of perception' which highlights certain features of the body and denies others which in turn shapes the legitimate expression and habits of the body (Krais, 2006). For Bourdieu (2001) then, gender is the fundamental core of habitus, as both find legitimacy and expression through the body and therefore mutually construct one another. Thus, gender is the most insidious form of social construction as its arbitrariness is completely hidden through the use of material body difference to justify and naturalise it. While all social structures gain power through being defined as inevitable or the way things must be (Gramsci, 1995), gender in Bourdieu's view is the epitome of this, as it links to naturalness more successfully than other structures, leading to its production and reproduction through the habitus (Fowler, 2003). Gender can therefore be thought of as the embodiment of doxa, the 'somatization of the social relations of domination' (2001: 23) manifested and maintained in day to day interactions, or what Bourdieu refers to as a circular causality of observation, somatisation and naturalisation:

[33] Common sense is in quotations as I wish to problematise the legitimacy of what is generally termed common sense

> *Because the social principle of vision constructs anatomical difference and because this anatomical difference becomes the basis and apparently natural justification of the social vision which founds it, there is thus a relationship of circular causality which confines thought within the self-evidence of relations of domination (1984: 11)*

Brown argues this is a Pygmalion phenomenon, in which 'the circular causality of vision-division-difference actually becomes a generative force for constructing 'real' physical difference' (2006: 172). Theorists in the sociology of sport have used this theoretical standpoint to understand the role played by sport in constructing and naturalising differences and inequalities between males and females (Dworkin & Messner, 2002). For instance Klein suggests male bodybuilders pursue an embodied form of hypermasculinity as an 'exaggeration of male traits, be they psychological or physical.... embedded in it a view of radical opposition to all things feminine' (1993: 221). Thus, the enhancement of secondary body characteristics visually reconfirms and partially creates the supposed dichotomy of gender (D. Brown 2005; Burkitt, 1999; Crossley, 2004; Dworkin, 2003; Wesely, 2001). However even though the body is cultivated, most obviously in sports participation, the presentation of self tends to appear and be interpreted as a spontaneous natural expression of oneself and gender.

Where doxa exists though, so does symbolic domination and violence, however this does not have a simple one-way relationship were the dominated are openly coerced, but is a more subtle and complex process. Bourdieu (2001) argues that if gender only has meaning through the habitus, domination through gender can only affect an individual or group if they are already disposed to that domination, otherwise it would have no inherent meaning and would be ignored (McNay, 2004). Hence there is an element of complicity on the part of the dominated. Controversially then, echoing Du Bois' (1996 [1903]) 'double consciousness' and the symbolic interactionists perspective of Mead (1967), he contends the dominated partially construct their self-image through the dominators perspective and largely share the world view of the dominant (Krais, 2006).

Theses of complicity generally rouse criticism of victim blaming, however Bourdieu's perspective is not one of an ahistorical individualism, a conscious choice sought after and enjoyed, but domination is a somatised process. Thus, overcoming domination cannot be simplistically presumed to be possible through an idea of

unfettered rationality, as:

> *Far from being the conscious, free, deliberate act of isolated ''subject'', this practical construction is itself the effect of power, durably embedded in bodies of the dominated in the form of schemes of perception and dispositions (to admire, respect, love, etc.) which sensitize them to certain symbolic manifestations of power. (Bourdieu, 2001: 40)*

What does this mean for the effect of acculturation? While studies in migration have pointed to the difficulties which can be experienced in family life when migrant children acculturate faster than their parents, there is a paucity of analysis in how acculturation can draw one into complicity with one's own domination.

As Bourdieusian conception of action suggests that only something which matters to you can draw you into such a power dynamic, for migrant groups then this must be somewhat prefaced by a level of acculturation to the doxa, or at least to some of the norms of dominant society. Therefore within the experience of symbolic violence there is a level of complicity. However a coherent and theoretically rigorous analysis of complicity within the dynamics of racism and acculturation studies is lacking, within the burgeoning field of study masculinities theory though the concept of complicity is at the heart of analyses of power.

Masculinities: Embodying Rationality

From a very different theoretical tradition Raewyn Connell argues that complicity is at the core of male relationships with each other and femininity, binding them within a hierarchy of masculinities. For Connell (1995) masculinity is not a fixed character type always and everywhere the same but is multiple, contextual and historical and finds expression in four interrelated patterns, hegemonic, complicit, subordinate and marginalized. Connell (1995) argues these multiple masculinities exist in relation to each other and femininity within a hierarchical structure. Borrowing Gramsci's (1995) concept of hegemony, she characterises 'hegemonic masculinity' as the exalted ideal of manhood, the epitome of what a boy or man 'should' be within a given context and emphasises that the form hegemonic masculinity takes is not always and everywhere the same but is dependent on the pattern of gender relations. However, this contextual form of hegemonic masculinity is also informed and informs wider cultural and historical ideas of masculinity partially constructed by idealised representations of men in sport and film and supported by powerful institutions such as business, government and the military. Hence, the expectations attached to hegemonic masculinity vary and are sometimes contradictory; therefore

it is rare for any man to embody it fully. Connell (1992) argues then, that hegemonic masculinity is at least partially a fantasy ideal, which begs the question if men rarely measure up to this standard why do few question its legitimacy? Connell explains this with the choice of the word 'hegemonic', which implies leadership, ascension and the right to rule and argues that hegemonic masculinity:

> *Embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women', (1995, 77; brackets in original).*

Hence while hegemonic masculinity isn't attainable for the vast majority, its authority is rarely questioned, as all men gain from the patriarchal dividend it secures, as symbolic 'proof' of male's 'natural superiority'. This tendency for males to be uncritical of hegemonic patterns or fantasized ideas of 'essential maleness' is understood by Connell as 'complicit masculinity', as it allows them to reap the rewards of hegemony without being it's 'frontline troops' (1995:79). However while the vast majority of men do not conform to a hegemonic standard, this is more obviously the case for homosexual men. Connell (2009) argues that in most western societies at least, heterosexual preference has become a central element in normative ideas of masculinity. Thus, even though individual homosexual men may achieve status, respect and deference, at the macro level homosexuality still remains subordinate to heterosexuality in the 'legitimate' expression of hegemonic masculinity. Moreover, Connell argues that 'Gayness…is the repository of whatever is symbolically expelled from hegemonic masculinity', (1995:79), within a patriarchal ideology. Hegemonic masculinity is therefore, not only built against the feminine in the semiotic tradition (Saco, 1992) but also against homosexuality through its comparison to femininity. While homosexual masculinity is the most obvious subordinate form of masculinity, Connell (1989) contends that heterosexual men and boys are also subordinated through comparisons to femininity and homosexuality through name calling such as 'wimp', 'nerd' and 'geek' and the threat of physical violence.

However, this framework does not exist in isolation from wider issues of socio-economic class and racialisation. For their inclusion Connell (1995) argues that broader social structures of inequality and masculinities are intimately bound together but have a somewhat contradictory relationship. At a macro level she

contends minority racial and lower socio-economic groups are subordinate, as institutional power is largely held by dominant group men of middle class standing. However, in some aspects of fantasised hegemonic masculinity, working class and minority men are used to epitomise this ideal. Indeed within the arena of sports, one of the preserves of masculinity, many men of working class and minority group origins are used as exemplars of hegemony, primarily through their close identification with the body. Connell maintains though that while individual men of working class and minority background may become symbols of hegemony this 'has no trickle-down effect' (1995: 81) and does not lead to social authority for men from these groups generally. She contends this dynamic can be understood as 'marginalised masculinity' (ibid). O'er, while this describes a cycle of domination, it is domination percolated on interest. However this analysis not only helps uncover the role of complicity but also emphasises the pervasiveness of gender relations within power exchanges. Migrant groups then are not only acculturating to 'Culture[34]' at the macro level in terms of their national identity as emphasised by Hage (1998) and Goldberg (2002) but are also interacting at the micro and mezzo levels of society, which as Bourdieu (2001) has emphasizes is inherently gendered and somatised. Indeed within in the wider racialisation and inter-ethnic relations literature the importance of the body in terms of gendered performance and identities has become increasingly important for understanding endemic racism and prejudice between males within western societies.

The Irrational Body: Gender, Socio-economic Status and Racialisation

The paradox of embodied rationality discussed in relation to whiteness seems to find continuance within the related field of masculinities studies. Within this literature one aspect of the legitimate expression of masculinity seems to be in the discourse of the superiority of the male body (Brewer, Vanraalte, & Linder, 1993). The ideal male body is tough and muscular; strong, sporty and passionate, can engage in physical work and be disciplined through training, while also being uncontrollably dangerous and violent. However, legitimate masculinity also lies in disconnection from the body. Men are rational, unemotional and intellectual, they do not take heed of maintaining the body for health or appearance and its maintenance is associated

[34] Culture with a capital 'C' is used by Bourdieu (1984) to describe the cultural tastes of the ruling class of a society which is generally accepts a 'legitimate' taste and a signifier of symbolic capital

with a sign of weakness. Grosz (1994) argues that ability of male corporeality to be both general and invisible is integral to its power and Michael Kimmel (2006) argues that the disassociation of male identity from the body has been one of the key elements in the development of western patriarchy for white heterosexual men. This mirrors Flugel's (1930) earlier argument that western men have historically been undergoing a process of disassociation from their bodies, while the females have simultaneously become intimately connected to it, and therefore to identities of irrationality, nature, desire and emotion. Hence in some respects the flesh is female and an identity associated with the body feminine (Grosz, 1994).

Within the literature there is a multiplicity of findings on the effect of the body for masculinity. On the one hand middle class bourgeois bodies are supposed to be disconnected and find superiority through intellect and business, however the world of business and academia have bodily norms which if broken undermine one's credibility and perceived intellect (Bjerrum & Rudberg, 1994; Mellstrom, 2002; Vincent, 2006). Middle class males are dissociated from violence and danger but also control the legitimate use of state violence and dominate physical games such as rugby (Light & Kirk, 2000), while working classes bodies pre-dominate the non-contact sport of football; but are also viewed as irrational and unintelligent, yet simultaneously condemned as disconnected from their bodies in its maintenance through lifestyle and appearance norms (Thiel, 2007). Thus, on the axis of class, males appear to be both condemned and gain status for being associated and disassociated from their bodies.

However, this strange interweaving of different meanings does not mean that investigations into the body have been explicitly at the heart of masculinities research. Indeed the divergence in dealing with the body seems to highlight an incompleteness in the masculinities literature, as the male body has been analysed, but its consideration has seemed rather piecemeal, as one element among many whose inclusion or exclusion could potentially make up a legitimate masculine identity. This problematic absence and presence of the body in relation to masculinity is highlighted by Shilling's analysis of sport. Shilling (2008) argues that sport has historically developed on 'masculine terms' through the exclusion of females and the accentuation of supposed 'maleness', using the historic analysis of

Mangan and Walvin (1987) and Overman (1997) he contends that by the turn of the nineteenth century sport had become the prime area in which men could test themselves as a 'man of character' in front of other men. However what constituted a 'man of character' was dialectically informed by 'muscular Christianity' and the Protestant work ethic, in which being good at sports was intimately related to proving one's rational relationship to one's body, in which 'hard work, goal directedness, moral asceticism, individualism.... status and competitiveness' could be demonstrated. Shilling (2005) argues this rationalisation of the body continues in modern professional sports in which measuring, timing and analysing one's speed, agility and stamina come as standard. For Shilling (2005) this rationalisation of sport is further enhanced by its symbolic affinity to nationalism which can be argued is especially salient in Ireland as discussed in the introduction.

Moreover however, Shilling (2008) contends nationalism through sport concurrently operates through economic nationalism as described by Bryan (2010), which aims to increase the efficiency of the nation by calculating and compartmentalising the population. He therefore agrees with Hoberman (1992) who argues that sport is now about display and performance, in which other values such as 'fair play' have faded to the background of a context in which winning and never ending improvement is to the fore. Thus, the body occupies a contradictory place in professional sport; as an identity connected to sport is in one sense a quintessentially embodied one; however a sporting identity can once again be revealed as a way to demonstrate the mastery of the mind over the body and through sporting competitions a way to present the rationality and discipline of a nation. Perhaps the rationalising of the body through sport and its use in valorising a national identity raises questions as to its effectiveness in integrative policy with children. Such initiatives are promoted by NGOs such as Sport Against Racism Ireland [SARI] which aims to use sport, primarily soccer to 'promote intercultural dialogue and celebrate cultural diversity through projects in schools' (SARI, 2011). However, Shilling (2008) contends the use of sport to engage with 'problem' populations of boys is partially rooted in an attempt to rationalise the bodies of the 'irrational', for whom a supposed over identification with the body is seen as contributing to their deviancy. As discussed in chapter two the 'irrationality' of others through embodiment has been used as a justification for racism (Goldberg, 2002, Said 1995 [1978]), indeed the idea of being

'too embodied' as a problematic identity is also reflected in the empirical research analysing the intersection of masculinities, socio-economic status and ethnicity, in the production of what is commonly called 'laddishness'.

The Lads in School

Parallel to Connell's work an overlapping discourse of laddishness dominates research in this area, and has largely been applied to the analysis of 'problem' boys. The concept of 'laddishness' is derived from Willis' (1977) seminal work in which a group of anti-school working class boys were termed 'the lads'. While this term originally described white working-class youths, Francis (1999) argues throughout the 1990s the idea of laddishness was adopted by other social classes, age groups and ethnicities and has become largely ubiquitous. Laddishness is defined by Francis as an exclusively male group involved with, ''having a laugh', alcohol consumption, disruptive behaviour, objectifying women and an interest in pastimes and subjects constructed as masculine' (1999: 357). Thus, laddish behaviour is understood as 'a culture of resistance to schooling', (Ingram, 2009: 422) in which a masculine identity is built against the institute of the school and school commitment, which is increasingly characterised as feminine within a boy's life course (Lyng, 2009; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Swain, 2005). Thus, within the peer culture of the school laddish masculinity is largely hegemonic (R. W. Connell, 1989; Epstein, 1997, 1998; C. Lee, 1993; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; W. Martino, 1999; E. Renold, 2004b; Skeggs, 1993).

However, while this literature has vividly captured the largely hedonistic practices of laddishness, the underlying impetus to examine this form of masculinity appears to be to shed light on the phenomenon of 'underachieving boys' (Epstein, 1998; S. Jackson & Scott, 2002; Weiner, Arnot, & David, 1997). The belief in the hidden potential of boys permeates research in this area and the concept of 'laddishness' dominates the explanation for their untapped academic success (Cohen, 1998). This is most poignantly demonstrated by the augmentation of the laddishness discourse with social psychological accounts. Through this perspective laddishness is viewed as a self-worth protection strategy, which allows boys to protect themselves from being perceived as lacking academic ability and being characterised as feminine (C. Jackson, 2002, 2003; Lyng, 2009). Indeed, Lyng (2009) argues that self-protection from academic failure and the feminising effect of school creates two peer

hierarchies among the 'student styles' of the school. The first is the formal and academic and the second is informal and based on popularity. Lyng (2009) argues these two hierarchies have an inverse relationship, where being high on one is to be low on the other, although this is not absolute. She contends fear of academic failure prompts students to cultivate popularity in an informal student hierarchy which takes the form of laddish styles and pursuits (Raewyn Connell, Ashenden, & Dowaett, 1982also see ; Flores-Gonzales, 2005; T. Gordon, Holland, & Lahelma, 2000; W Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2005). Indeed this seems to have resonance in the case of migrant children as it has been noted that commitment to formal education within the first and second generations can lead to unpopularity in school (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2002) and the feminisation of migrant boys as 'model minorities', particularly those from Asian backgrounds (Lei, 1998; Qin, Way, & Rana, 2008; Min Zhou, 1999). Moreover the accounts of laddish pursuits mirrors the debates surrounding segmented and downward assimilation, as male migrant children have been shown to be more likely to regress in terms of socio-economic status (Berry et al., 2006; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2002)

However intellect, school engagement and ultimately the Cartesian mind comes first in this discourse. While the literature describes peer relationships and the use of the body in laddishness, this is underpinned and therefore secondary to the question of why boys are not achieving in the formal school. The focus on academic achievement also permeates research on the acculturation of 2nd and 1.5 generation migrant children (for recent reviews see van Ewijk & Sleegers, 2010; Warikoo & Carter, 2009). The saturation of research in this area has produced surprisingly consistent results internationally, 1st 1.5 and 2nd generation migrant children appear to have a positive attitude towards school and display more deferential attitudes towards teachers than the dominant population (PISA, 2006). Moreover, academic success appears to be highest for migrant children from families with the highest levels of 'human capital', without which migrant pupils can struggle academically despite positive attitudes (PISA, 2006; van Ewijk & Sleegers, 2010). Indeed blocked aspirations through racism and prejudice appear to erode positive academic attitudes in relation to length of stay in the new society and in terms of segmented assimilation into marginalised communities (Sassier, 2006; Silberman, Alba, & Fournier, 2007; A. Stepick & Stepick, 2010; Vermeulen, 2010). However, in the

American literature, positive racialisation in terms of the perceived academic abilities of 'white' and East-Asian migrants appears to increase educational attainments (Portes & Rivas, 2011). International trends suggest though that positive academic attitudes and success is generally confined to the 1st, 1.5 and 2nd generations and favours females, after which point it regresses to the levels of the wider population in terms of socio-economic and 'racial' stratification.

The focus on educational achievement seems to be motived by several factors, firstly the ease of access and collation of data makes it an ideal quantitative indicator and the focus on dominant language acquisition for integration appears to be partially revealed through its analysis (Calderon, Slavin, & Sanchez, 2011). Moreover this seems to be linked to wider discourses on children as future adults, in which measurement of their future productivity as rational adults[35] takes precedence. Perhaps uniquely to migrant children however, the need to be proven as 'good', 'studious' and 'productive' or 'deviant' feeds into rationalising policies of migrants as economic units (Kitching, 2010) in order to assess 'who can serve the national economic interest from those whom it must carry as part of the humanitarian or altruistic burden' (Bryan, 2010: 266). Ultimately then academic achievement in masculinities and immigrant research seems to be based on accessing how boys and migrants can be helped be a better expression of themselves and citizens through the demonstration of the mind in formal intellectual attainment. Hence, the 'true self' in these accounts remains located in the potential of the mind, and the body remains an obstacle to unlocking this potential. This is perhaps most powerfully demonstrated in the literature which has looked at the intersection between young masculinities and ethnicity.

Ethnicity and Sexualities in School

For Tony Sewell (1997) the informal hierarchy within British secondary schools provides a way in which 'black' boys can 'survive modern schooling'. In his much quoted phrase he contends 'Black boys are Angels and Devils in British (and American) schools. They are heroes of a street fashion culture that dominates most of our inner cities' (1997: ix). This perhaps succinctly captures the vast majority of

[35] This will be explored in more depth in the methodology section.

literature which has tried to shed light on the experience of young Afro-Caribbean males in American, British and French schools (Brinbaum & Cebolla-Boado, 2007; Dottolo & Stewart, 2008; R. Jackson, L, 2006; Staples, 1982; Tyson, 2003; Youdell, 2003). Within these three countries young black males have been represented and have sometimes colluded in representing themselves as hyper-masculine through what Sewell calls a 'phallocentric framework'. Indeed Sewell (1997) contends many Afro-Caribbean boys believe this identity constructs them as superior to 'White' and Asian males in terms of sexual attractiveness, style, creativity, toughness and sport which helps them resist individual and institutional racism. Richard Majors makes a similar point in his analysis of African-American youth, in which he argues many 'black' youths engage a 'cool pose' expressed through the body in speech, gestures, clothing, walk, stance and handshake, which are 'a response to the limits that institutionalised racism places on their other opportunities for self-expression' (2001: 209). However, for both Sewell and Majors the assertion of hypermasculinity rooted in the body ultimately ties young Afro-Caribbean men back into stereotypes of irrational embodied 'black' men, and further separates them as a 'race apart'. In relation to migrant populations similar pattern have been found in European contexts specifically with Turkish males in the Netherlands, Austria and Germany (Murad, Joung, van Lenthe, Bengi-Arslan, & Crijnen, 2003; Murad, Joung, Verhulst, Mackenbach, & Crijnen, 2004; Strohmeier, Spiel, & Gradinger, 2008; Tick, van der Ende, & Verhulst, 2008) the Hmong population in the United States, resisting the trend of Asian model minorities (Go & Le, 2005; S. J. Lee, 2001; Ngo & Lee, 2007) and increasingly Muslim youths in Britain and Europe (Hopkins, 2006, 2007; Pedersen & Vestel, 2005). The development of embodied laddishness within these migrant populations has largely been understood as a process of segmented or downward assimilation into domestic minority groups propagated by racism and blocked aspirations through multicultural and education policy.

However within these research contexts, the 'black' youths studied have been of Caribbean, African-American and French colonial backgrounds, into 'old' immigration countries and therefore are partially tied to the legacy of slavery and colonialism and therefore to the dehumanisation of 'black' peoples through embodiment (Quaicoe, 2006). Conversely though, some empirical research has suggested the experiences of immigrant 'black' youth from Africa have a different

experience in Britain than those from Afro-Caribbean migrants. Archer and Yamashita (2003) argue that within their working-class teenage sample African boys were characterised as 'pompous' and 'weak' and were ridiculed if they tried to copy the style of Caribbean origin boys. Research within media studies has contended the representation of Africa through NGO aid campaigns infantilises a continent, homogenising it as vulnerable, weak corrupt and diseased and its population as helpless, in need of being 'saved' by the West in the popular imagination, in contrast to the tough image of Caribbean masculinities (Burman, 1994; Campbell, 2007; Manzo, 2008). However, the situation of 'black' minorities in 'old' receiving countries may not be applicable to migrants into 'new' receiving countries. While 'new' migration countries such as southern Europe, Ireland and Finland have never had homogenous populations[36] and experienced previous waves of immigration, migration into these regions is qualitatively different as it is not historically rooted in a colonial or domestic legacy of slavery (Reyneri & Fullin, 2011). Conversely though some cultural theorists have argued the globalisation of American culture and the ascendency of 'black', hip-hop culture in Europe, Africa and Asia has simultaneously exported racialised masculine norms (Nicol, 2008; Ntarangwi, 2009; Pritchard, 2009).

Embodied Masculinity and Homophobia

Parallel to these debates however, the embodiment of minority masculinities has been analysed and understood as intertwined with homophobic discourses, through which a hegemonic phallocentric hypermasculinity ascribed onto many Afro-Caribbean males has been partially perpetuated by latent homophobia within male peer groups and the institution of the school (Skelton, 2000). Within Mac an Ghaill's (1994) seminal ethnography of a British secondary school, he contends heterosexuality is a dominant but unstable category which is partially reified and naturalised through the institution of the school, therefore institutionalised homophobia implicitly authorises behaviours which demonstrate presumed natural heterosexuality (J. Smith, 2007). Thus, within a homophobic discourse 'Black' phallocentric masculinity is encoded with ideals of heterosexual hardness and hypersexuality which Sewell (1998) and Back (1996) argue that white males and institutions are both attracted to and repelled by.

[36] As discussed in chapter one.

Within the primary school context, Renold (2000, 2002, 2003; 2004a; 2006), Skelton (1997) and Walkerdine (1981) have highlighted the complicity of teachers in this process, as they found that young boys were allowed to boast about having 'girlfriends' and to sexualise and harass female classmates and teachers without consistent chastisement. This minimisation of misogynist behaviour by teachers is analysed in the literature as rooted in the school institution, which supports the demonstration of heterosexuality even if it has a negative impact on female students, as these consequences disappear from debate as a 'natural' outcome of a discourse of 'boys will be boys' (Epstein, Kehily, Mac an Ghaill, & Redman, 2001). Epstein (1998) points out this is a truism which is fiercely guarded, and any attempt to question it is viewed with suspicion, fear and sometimes explicit hostility.

For Jon Swain (2000, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006a, 2006b) this is manifested most prominently in the guarding of hegemonic heteronormative masculinity through participation in football. He contends hegemonic masculinity is constructed by young boys' peer groups in relation to the body, through the demonstration of physicality in football games and adopting clothing and accessories to style the body to display a cool pose. Moreover he argues that football is used to reaffirm and emphasise the subordination of marginalised boys and girls as it is a 'highly visible stage for the performance of a series of stylised masculinities' (Swain, 2000: 107). Therefore teachers can be reluctant to interfere with hegemonic boys' dominance in the playground and use of space for fear of being seen to feminise boys. Indeed Martino (2003) argues the fear of feminisation and implicit homophobia pervades discourses on 'failing boys' in popular policy solutions in the U.K. which generally argue that a 'more boyish mode of learning' (Biddulph, 1994: 145) must be adopted to save problem boys from the supposed feminised school environment. These policies largely include greater emphasis on sport in schools specifically that of football (Francis, 1999; Skelton, 2000). Thus, Skelton (2000) argues the presumed right and need of boys to play sport and to express their 'natural' ability and heterosexuality is fiercely guarded in primary school education.

Positive Racialisation and Stereotypes in Sport

Indeed, much of the research into sports analyses it as an inherent social good. In modern research it is presented as the solution to obesity, depression and gang

violence, which echoes earlier scholarship and common sense arguments on its supposed civilising effect on the working classes, and as a vehicle for socio-economic improvement. Moreover it has been viewed as a masculinising force inherently heterosexual and historically used as a 'solution'[37] for homosexuality. This has been partially attributed to the branding of the professional game as the ideal representation of heterosexual masculinity in boys' popular culture consumption (Dyer, 1982; Knoppers & Anthonissen, 2005; Mishkind, Rodin, Siberstein, & Steiegel - Moore, 1986; Wosching, 2007). Indeed Parker (1996) argues heteronormativity within elite football is so taken for granted that habitual acts such as kissing, cuddling and lying on top of other players during goal celebration is authorised. Thus, football remains in the collective conscious a transformer of the weak to the strong, the slovenly to the disciplined and the feminine to the masculine, and males who are not involved in sport have been shown to be largely viewed with suspicion and unease. Hence, the majority of research within the 'leisure studies' field in relation to children has focused on examining, improving and defending physical education in schools and the promotion of sport for teenage girls and women (Azzarito & Solomon, 2005; Tracy & Erkut, 2002; White & Gager, 2007).

In considering the largely positive attention sport has received, it is perhaps understandable why those viewed as good at sport have been largely valorised and celebrated at the micro and macro levels. Indeed, perhaps the revered place sports holds within western society and nationalism[38] is partially responsible for the hidden legacy of positive racialisation. This describes positive stereotypes associated with certain ethnic groups, of which the characterisation of Afro-Caribbean males as athletic and rhythmic (Czopp, 2010) and Asian males as studious 'model minorities' are the most rigorously maintained (Paul Connolly & Troyna, 1998; Lei, 1998; Milligton, Vertinsky, Boyle, & Wilson, 2008; Qin et al., 2008). Czopp (2010) notes that both positive and negative stereotypes rarely have positive outcomes for improving intergroup relations, moreover, there is some evidence that positive stereotypes are more prescriptively kept than negative ones (Fiske & Stevens, 1993). 'White' Americans have been shown to admire and show affection for African

[37] Solution is in quotation marks as homosexuality is not a problem and therefore needs no solution. Thus the quotation marks emphasis that 'solutions' to homosexuality are spring solely from overt and covert forms of homophobia.
[38] See introduction

American males almost exclusively when they conform to positive stereotypes (Beilock & McConnell, 2004; Czopp & Monteith, 2006), and Spracklen (2008) argues the acceptability of discourses of genetic athletic superiority have once again othered 'black' males as a race apart, although in this case it is through a process of deference. Hence while there is a tendency for 'black' males to be admired for their supposed natural athletic ability, once again they become tied into racial discourses which constitute the 'black male' as inherently embodied and the antonym of rationality and intellect. Indeed Sewell contends Afro-Caribbean boys are 'burdened with a representation ....centred on the 'body' and not on the mind' (1997: ix). However one of the complexities of exposing positive stereotypes as a construction is their effect in channelling certain populations into particular fields. Within the American research it is contended that due to institutional racism professional sports and entertainment are two of the few arenas in which African-American males are positively represented as aspirational role models. Thus, success and socio-economic improvement appear viable within these areas, which in turn may attract and cause others to actively guide African-American males into pursuing them (Czopp, 2010; Hodge, Harrison, Burden, & Dixson, 2008; Lapchick, 2000; Rowley, Kurtz-Costes, Mistry, & Feagans, 2007; Stone, Perry, & Darley, 1997). Indeed as this process is an embodied one, training for an athletic career moulds one's body as athletic, muscular and disciplined, which in turn is used as evidence of inherent 'racial' difference (Rowley et al., 2007; Stone, Lynch, Someling, & Darley, 1999; Stone et al., 1997). This echoes Bourdieu's perspective on the bodily hexis of cultural capital and also Connell's (2008) contention of a gender verifying loop that creates the conditions of its own domination.

In addition, the embodied and racialised process of sport has another insidious element, as while 'black' males are generally thought of as possessing greater natural sporting ability they have simultaneously been regarded as possessing less 'sporting intelligence'. Turner (2007) outlines that while young white males admired what they saw as the natural abilities of 'black' boys they constructed themselves and white athletes as possessing better sporting intelligence and dominating games which they believed were based on such skills. Indeed in Stone's et al (1999) psychological experiments 'black' male respondents did better on a golfing task when it was labelled as a test of natural athletic ability and 'white' males when the same test was

characterised as a test of sporting intelligence. Thus, even within the sporting arena in which black males are supposedly admired they are simultaneously racialised and partially complicit in racialising themselves as possessing less cognitive, rational skill.

Yet, while it is not clear how applicable evidence from 'old' receiving countries is in the Irish case it is useful to unpick the largely unexamined position of sports as an inherent good before it is recommended for integration and anti-racism programmes domestically. At present there is no research on the racialisation of sports in Ireland but there are echoes of this perspective in the examination of traveller men's participation in amateur boxing, where they have been depicted as savage and undisciplined competitors, admired for their supposed ferocity but also animalised as lacking strategic skill (Helleiner, 2003; McVeigh, 1998). Bourke (2003) also argues a dream of a professional career in football is predominantly an urban one in Ireland, in which a career through sport is a fantasy for youth alienated from formal academic achievement and made viable in the imagination through the achievement of professional footballers from similarly disadvantaged backgrounds. Moreover, Swain (2000) argues the aggressive branding of football to young children as a masculinising, glamorous world, as informed the escapist fantasies of young boys, representing an ideal adult manhood achieved through athleticism, skill and the muscularity of the body.

In British primary school research, football has been highlighted as a masculinising activity in which a boy can demonstrate his masculine identity to their peers through the active use of the body[39] (Benjamin, 1998; Connolly, 1998; Renold, 1997; Skelton, 2000; Swain, 2000, 2003). Indeed, Renold (1997, 2004a; 2007) suggests following Fine (1987), that status through sporting success allows some boys to transgress gender boundaries within the playground and interact with girls without participating in misogynistic play, as a reputation as a good sportsman re-inscribes boys with heterosexual status and allows them to come into contact with girls without fear of feminisation. However, for boys not involved with sport, interaction with girls opens them up to homophobic bullying more readily. Indeed, Epstein

[39] Discussed in more depth in chapter 4

(1997) contends that some homosexual boys in primary school can deflect homophobic bullying through the physicality of their bodies if they are tall, muscular and sporty, as this body type is not associated with femininity and also allows them to engage in the bullying of non-sporty boys. The vulnerability of non-sporty boys to taunting from their peers has also been found to paradoxically compound these boys' anti-girl sentiments. It is suggested by McGruffy and Rich (1999) that boys who do not have a reputation as sportsman cannot as readily risk interaction with girls and find other strictly all male past-times such as fantasy and computer play, science and mathematical clubs as ways to assert a masculine identity (Jordan, 1995also see ; Thorne, 1993). Incongruously then a hegemonic reputation won on the sports field can sometimes allow a boy to act in 'unmasculine' ways, while those who are feminised through their absence from the game do not always challenge ideas of inherent masculinity but find other ways in which to claim a masculine identity.

Thus, from a policy perspective while football has been espoused as a way to bring migrant and dominant group boys together (SARI, 2011), within school based research the effect of football within intergroup relations has been mixed. Epstein and Kehily et al (2001) argue that while boys of different ethnic backgrounds may play together in football, when conflict arises they tend to divide along ethnic lines. Moreover, while adults may characterise boys who play football together as friends, children do not necessarily see them as such, and conflicts about ethnicity can be fought with the same people one plays football with (Curry, Gilligan, Garratt, & Scholtz, 2011). Thus, football does not necessarily cure ethnic tensions. One of the arguments in favour of using sports as a way to bring boys together is the contention that it allows a format in which migrant boys can achieve status and respect from their peers. While the inevitability of this outcome will be examined in chapter four, deference for one's sporting skills is not necessarily a problem free solution to prejudice, as the literature on positive racialisation has shown. In fact there is evidence from British and American literature that success in sport can also intensify racist attitudes and violence.

Empirical research from the U.K. and U.S. has argued 'black' males' styles and sporting success is envied and admired in British and American cultures to the extent that perceived 'black' styles are emulated by many 'white' groups as a way to claim

masculinity and heterosexuality (Back, 1994, 1996; Gaston, 1986; Gilroy, 1987/1992; R. Jackson, L, 2006; Phoenix & Frosh, 2001; Stone et al., 1997). Les Back argues Afro-Caribbean men are 'constructed in terms of the fear and desire couplet' while Asian men are 'vilified as feeble, soft and effeminate' (1994: 181). Moreover, David Jackson (2000) has built upon this work to argue that violence towards 'black' men in Britain is borne from white working class men's fear of emasculation, tied to a perception that multicultural discourses celebrate 'other' cultures at the expense of their own. Thus, racism and violence towards supposedly hypermasculine Afro-Caribbean males helps white working class males 're-constitute themselves as vigorous, manly and powerfully dominant' (ibid: 21). Hence the status and prestige Afro-Caribbean males can gain from being characterised as hypermasculine through embodiment does not necessarily lead to acceptance and can sometimes make these boys targets for others to demonstrate their masculinity and heterosexuality against.

While this literature has usefully highlighted the importance of the body in the development and demonstration of masculinity, the focus on anti-school boys, working class and ethnic minority men has possibly reinforced a conception that identification with the body is specific to these groups and a somewhat problematic identity. Hence structurally dominant masculinity at the level of the macro structures of class, 'legitimate' whiteness and invisible male corporeality has largely remained unexamined and crucially disembodied. Thus, to be embodied remains in antonym to rationality, which theorists within the immigration field have pointed out, gives the State the impetus to deny citizenship and belonging within the nation (Goldberg, 2002, Lentin 2007, Said 1995 [1978]. However this body of literature which looks at sport, racism and young masculinities largely does so from a post-modernist theoretical perspective, in which the body seems to be discussed interchangeably with issues of compulsory heterosexuality and the denigration of homosexuality. This tendency to treat the body and sexuality as transposable seems to be widely rooted in early debates between the dichotomy of biological sex and gender, where the term 'sex' is used to refer to the flesh, instead of 'body'. More specifically in relation to the empirical work above this version of sexuality seems to be derived from Butler's use of Foucault. From my perspective however this work critiques the use of embodiment to 'other' certain populations, but the very tools of this dissection

also reproduce duality. Thus, the following discussion will explore the origins of gender studies and Butler's work specifically in order to highlight why a post-modernist approach to conceptualising the body within inter-ethnic relations between boys is not drawn on in this thesis.

Disentangling the Body from Sexuality

Within the wider gender studies literature trying to understand the body has created considerable tension which has been fundamental to the field's development. Canonical gender texts such as Mead's (1963 [1935]) anthropological work, the philosophy and psychoanalysis of De Beauvoir (1972 [1946]),and the sociological analysis of Klein (1946) and Komsrovsky (1946) have been centrally founded on the explicit attempt to detach the idea of 'sex roles' from nature and the body. To achieve this, early theorists accepted a duality between mind and body. For instance De Beauvoir (1972) argued that biological bodily difference between men and women exist but have no relevance, as they derive their meaning from larger society and the cultures men and women live in. Within the feminist revival of the 1970s this duality soon became a convention. Oakley (1972) borrowed the concepts of sex and gender from psychiatrist Robert Stoller (1968), to argue that 'male' and 'female' are biological distinctions, but 'masculine' and 'feminine' are social constructs imbued onto sex, but not evitable outcomes of it. Rubin (1975) elaborated this point by proposing the 'sex/gender system' which argued that procreation distinctions were used to socially impose divisions between the sexes and produce 'social relations of sexuality'(1975: 179). However this neat sex/gender division began to be revised largely through the work of three distinct areas of feminism; materialist, ethnomethodology and poststructuralist / postmodernist, who argued from divergent perspectives that the sex/gender distinction had not gone far enough, as biological 'sex' had been largely ignored and existed simply as a 'natural base' onto which gender is painted (S. J. Kessler & McKenna, 1978). Hence the body began to come back into the debate, but as a target for further deconstruction and as a foil for the analysis of agency and structure.

The body in a materialist feminist framework is understood through a reversal of the sex/gender dichotomy, thus gender constructs sex, as the anatomical body is defined

as having no innate social implications but is given meaning when viewed through a gendered lens. Thus the body, specifically anatomical sex organs, are endowed with certain attributes to justify inequality and patriarchy (Delphy, 1984). Hence, the relationship between men and women is conceptualised as mirroring that between social classes as 'man' and 'woman' and 'feminine' and 'masculine' exist as categories only in relation to each other through an unequal exploitative relationship (Delphy & Leonard, 1992). Within this account agency is reduced to a Marxist base and superstructure perspective, where the social actor is not an actor at all but a reproduction of structural systems. Critics of this perspective have argued this constitutes a closed system where change cannot happen through individual endeavours (Butler, 1990). However while post-modernist post-structural feminism shares this reversal of causation perspective, it is on the point of agency that this field has set out to oppose materialism.

One of the most prominent of these theorists is Judith Butler (1990), whose work *Gender Trouble*, is arguably the most influential gender analysis in the last thirty years. While Butler also contends that bodies 'cannot be said to have a significant existence prior to the mark of their gender' (1990: 8) she understands sex, sexuality and gender as brought into existence through action. This perspective has similarities to the ethnomethodological approach of Kessler and McKenna (1978) and Garfinkel (1967) where gender is analysed as a repetitive interactive construction in which gender performances have validity only through the lens of social norms which presume sexual duality. However, in Butler's (1993) analysis this compulsion to repeat shows that social norms are inherently unstable and repetition is a sign of 'constitutive instability' (Stoller, 2009). Butler analyses this instability using Derrida's (1976) linguistic concept of 'iteration' where repetition is said to bring about another level of meaning from the original iteration. Thus, linguistic repetition alters the object, 'the iterability of an element divides its own identity a priori…it is because this iterability….splits each element while constituting it' (Derrida, 1977: 53). For Butler then, the social, linguistic, material and symbolic cannot be separated as 'the discursive constitution of the subject [is] inextricable from the social constitution of the subject' (1999: 120). From this linguistic interpretation Butler (1997) argues that performative speech acts allow for the possibility of transgression and therefore agency in society, as the 'logic of iterability' means that

performance and speech reproduce and embed norms in society, therefore without iteration, the legitimacy even of the most ingrained institutions can be eroded or transformed (Lovell, 2003). In Butler's interpretation then, there is no ontological core to bodies but they become gendered through the persistent reiterative performance of gender. Therefore there is no need to think only two genders can and do exist as she suggests that performative agency can break the gender dichotomy by 'queering' bodies and social space, to subvert identities and displace gender norms.

Bourdieu heavily criticised the 'linguistic universalism' of post-structural feminism arguing it is 'naïve, even dangerous to suggest that one only has to 'deconstruct' these social artefacts in a purely performative celebration of 'resistance' in order to destroy them', (2000: 108). Moreover he was deeply suspicious of the paucity of class analysis and contended that performative agency constructed in this way is highly dependent on structural privilege to succeed, as participation in such actions usually requires access to economic resources and cultural capital, hence it is largely a middle class intellectual pursuit (Bourdieu, 2000). For Bourdieu then, Butler and the wider post-modern analysis of agency is a prime example of symbolic violence as it extends an 'enlightened' elite linguistic model of agency and identity formation as universal. Hence, agency in this form could be argued as generative from a particular group of 'intellectual' middle class, white, feminists, as opposed to a general attribute of the self or the act itself.

Lovell (2003) makes a similar point when she explores this connection in Butler's work between agency and the self and contends that when Butler tries to apply this perspective to real life examples, her theory breaks down. For instance in her analysis of Rosa Parks, act of 'no prior authorisation' is revealed as a transformative act through the will of the group which authorised her act retrospectively. Thus, individual acts are not transformative unless wider society is ready to recognise and mobilise them as such. This mirrors Bourdieu's engagement with J.L Austin's (1962) concept of performativity, also evoked by Butler (1999). Austin (1962) suggests that in some contexts speech acts have a transformative power, for instance in rituals and ceremonies, however Bourdieu (1991) argues that transformation is not simply located in language as these speech acts mean nothing if they are not supported by the collective through the institutions which sanction them, and endow

people with the status to speak them. While Butler (1997) strongly criticises this perspective and contends that Bourdieu's argument depends on a false distinction between verbal and social; Lovell (2003) agrees with McNay (2004) and argues that Butler's success comes in showing 'structural indeterminacy', however, she is less successful in developing an empirically rigorous account of agency. Her attempt to locate agency within the self tends to slip into the notion of individual voluntary agency when applied, which elsewhere she has vigorously defended her work against (Butler, 1993). Thus, Lovell (2003) contends that the only way to analyse agency is to see it as a collective process that lies in 'the interstices of interaction, in collective social movements in formation in specific circumstances, rather than in the fissures of a never-fully-constituted self, or in the always open-ended character of speech and language' (ibid: 2). However, while there is a growing body of work beginning to question the post-modernist analysis of gender (Adkins, 2004; Coole, 2005; Fowler, 2003; Krais, 2006; Lovell, 2003; Moi, 1991; Probyn, 2006; Reay, 2004) the use of this theoretical approach combined with Connell's masculine hierarchy through a Foucaultian discourse analysis remains dominant when analysing the gendered and racialised body in both primary school aged and adolescent boys. However while the pre-dominance of post-modern and post-structural work has perhaps most successfully shown how rationality in the enlightenment modernist project has, at the very least, partially constructed racism, sexism and xenophobic nationalism through linguistic discourses, it would seem the instruments of this deconstruction have not been as rigorously analysed. Indeed, a growing body of literature suggests that within post-modernism the body continues to be written out of analysis and mind-body dualism is recreated. Ultimately then enlightenment rationality is reproduced in post-modernism rather than deconstructed (Chambers, 2007; B. Krais, 2006; McNay, 2004b; S. Stoller, 2009). This perhaps is most usefully exposed in an engagement with Butler's theoretical perspective.

Re-assessing Gender and the Body

Within Butler's work her concept of reiterative performative agency can only succeed if an ontological core to gender located in the body can be dismantled. Butler focuses her analysis on heterosexual hegemony and to dissect this ontology she largely draws on Foucault's (1978) work on sexuality to contend that gender is not created by sex but is discursive and constructed through gender, 'but what if this

substantial sex does not exist, and our experience of gender, pleasure, and desire are nothing more than the sets of acts, broadly constructed, that *constitute* an identity rather than reflect one', (Butler, 1989: 259 emphasis in original). However Butler's heavy reliance on Foucault's theory ultimately undoes her argument. Chambers (2007) highlights that Butler misreads Foucault's (1978) work, as he does not argue 'that sex does not exist' but rather he contended that 'sex in itself' does exist. Thus Butler's causality reasoning cannot be established through Foucault as if sex in itself cannot exist, neither can desire or gender. Therefore one cannot be the spark point of another but all must exist together. Chambers argues that 'Foucault wishes to interrupt the causal logic... not to reverse it' (2007: 60). Ultimately then, this thesis and also that of materialist feminism is inconsistent in its theorisation of the body, as its narrow focus on sexuality relies on a causality argument which cannot be sustained on closer examination.

Furthermore, this limited focus on sexuality in relation to the body reveals a paradox in this work and the wider empirical research, as there is an attempt to deconstruct the body through biological sex and sexuality but this is done through a disembodied process. In other words the importance of the body is being reduced to sex and by default defined as a conservative force in gender relations. Hence the body is undone by the mind and therefore remains subordinate to it and disembodied in this analysis (S. Stoller, 2009). Indeed this aspect of Butler's work has come in for heavy criticism from theorists in other strands of feminism, as they have argued her analysis of the body is unable to theorise its materiality and instead deals with it through linguistic abstraction (Benhabib, 1995a, 1995b; Fraser, 1995; Rottenberg, 2003; Tyler, 1991). This is a point which Butler herself has conceded, 'I confess, however, that I am not a very good materialist. Every time I try to write about the body, the writing ends up being about language' (Butler, 2004: 198). Therefore, Butler's work is open to the accusations levelled at existentialist, Cartesian and Hegelian frameworks that identity is reduced to the mind and the materiality of the body is lost (Hutchings, 2003; F. Webster, 2000). Even though Butler (1987) has openly criticised these frameworks her inability to deal with the body outside of sexuality and linguistic performances seems to stall her analysis from extending to understand a more complex form of agency and intelligence through the body.

Indeed, while the racialisation literature has importantly highlighted how the linguistic semiotic convention and categorisation and sub-categorisation underpinning bio-power and governmentality creates deviance and designates 'others'; perhaps the focus on dispelling an ontological core to 'race' has unintentionally written the body out of the immigration and acculturation debates as a conservative issue. Moreover when racialisation has been discussed in relation to the body it has been done largely within gender research focused on sexuality. Thus, the materiality, agency and intelligence of the body have been somewhat marginalised from analysis. Perhaps then, the efficacy of the post-modern perspective is in highlighting how embodiment has been used as a way to undermine 'other' groups' identities and rights. However the overriding objective of this approach seems to be to allow these groups to also claim a disembodied identity and share the privileges therein. This perspective then does not take into account how identities of 'white' peoples and structurally dominant masculinities are also embodied but culturally invisible.

Hence, if an objective of disembodiment is not possible, it seems more useful to explore the embodiment of all groups. Moreover, instead of viewing change as only achievable through the transcendence of the body, perhaps it is possible to consider it as a capacity of the body. This is perhaps crucially important within the immigration field, as the work of Goldberg (2002), Hage (1998), Said (1995 [1978) and within the Irish context Lentin (2007) have shown that 'rationalised' immigration policies have credence through their supposed disembodiment and set up the conditions in which 'others' are created through their supposed over identification with the body, for instance in the 2004 citizenship referendum (Tormey, 2007). Thus, without showing that duality is not only impossible but that agency and intelligence comes through the body, the viability and legitimacy of 'rational' nation building policies are put into question and an analysis of embodiment within children's social relations becomes central to any intercultural policies developed. One approach which has engaged directly with the body and its agentic capacities is the field of phenomenology, however in order to describe this approach it is necessary to briefly explore the philosophical underpinnings of duality.

Phenomenology: Beyond Mind Body Dualism

The wider theoretical perspective of gender studies is largely underpinned by an existentialist perspective, which emphasises personal freedom and responsibility. Within this context the body is understood as a natural and conservative force which must be transcended by the mind in order to achieve enlightenment (De Beauvoir, 1972 [1946]; Sartre, 1969). Moreover, in the Hegelian framework which influences Butler's analyses, the body is the site of desire and therefore must be transcended (Chambers, 2007). Hence in much of the philosophical tradition the body is subordinate to the mind and reduced to a vessel to contain the self, or as many critics argue, it is a machine to house the ghost of the mind or spirit (Chambers, 2007; Nick Crossley, 2001; Ryle, 1949). The metaphor of the ghost in the machine is commonly used to describe the Cartesian perspective of the body, the generally accepted root of mind/body duality. In Descartes 'Mediations' (1968) first published in 1641, Descartes searches for a point of certainty on which scholarship can build from. After doubting everything in the external world including the existence of his body, he decides that he cannot doubt that he is always thinking, thus his famous dictum 'cogito ergo sum', 'I think therefore I am' (Sorell, 2000). Thus, if Descartes can doubt the body but not the mind, and still be, the essence of who he is must be located in the mind. Nick Crossley (2001) uses the work of Ryle (1949) and Merleau-Ponty (1962) to examine if it is possible to know oneself solely through the mind. Through their work he argues that the reality of the body cannot be doubted, as it is our very means of experiencing. This contention hinges on two interrelating points that the mind is not an 'inner space' and that the body is not a machine in a reductionist behaviourist model.

Dismantling the Concept of Mind

Gilbert Ryle (1949) contends that Descartes takes for granted the separateness of the mind from the body without a full examination, as he takes the convention of using different languages to explain the 'mental' and 'matter' as evidence for their discrete existences. Thus, Descartes does not doubt everything, as he does not question the convention of these languages. Indeed for Ryle (1949) Descartes commits a category error and counts the same thing twice; as instead of understanding the embodied intelligence of our actions and thoughts, he goes in search of another dimension in

which thought and intelligence can exist, 'thus when they witness intelligent behaviour they believe that they are seeing two things: intelligence and behaviour' (Crossley, 2001:40). Therefore a category error constructs the very essence of Cartesian thought; that intelligence, emotions, consciousness and perception are located within the inner theatre of the mind. In contrast Ryle (1949) argues this process is far from discrete but fundamentally linked to our perception of the outside world understood through our bodies. For the bodily processes experienced in emotions are fairly similar for many positive and negative states, but it is the nature of the outside event that triggered them which gives them meaning. Thus, emotions are not introspective in a Cartesian sense, but are intimately connected to the social. Ryle (1949) extends this argument to contend that if emotions are partially constructed by experience and outside forces, so are the very structures of thought, consciousness and perception as these states can only be experienced indirectly. For instance we can perceive objects and subjects but we cannot perceive perception or be conscious of consciousness directly without using some construct from our relationship with the outside world such as language, images or emotions to represent them. Hence consciousness and perception are a 'sensuous relationship to the external world' (Nick Crossley, 2001:47) where an inward examination always takes an outward turn. From this perspective Descartes would never have been able to think intelligently without the connection of consciousness and perception to the outside world experienced through the body.

By dismantling the idea that the mind is a Cartesian 'inner theatre' the very foundations of intellectualism are questioned. As the root of intellectualism is in 'propositional thought' that presupposes that any act or perception is only intelligent if it is thought about or reflected upon propositionally before it is undertaken. If this were true however, any thought would be infinitely regressional, as not only would the act have to be reflected on, but the reflection itself and then that reflection and so forth (Ryle, 1949). This can be most poignantly elaborated in the problem of 'I'. In the pronouncement 'I think therefore I am', the 'I' who thinks is not the 'I' that is, (Sartre, 1969). When one tries to reflect on oneself the 'I' that reflects is not the one that is reflected on. In other words the active 'I' is not the passive 'I' being investigated, hence 'we can inspect our lives…but we cannot simultaneously inspect our inspection' (Nick Crossley, 2001:60). Thus intelligence cannot simply be an

inner process, as it would be ultimately self-defeating in its aim. Therefore, what constitutes intelligence must be interpreted differently. Crossley (2001) argues that the best alternative to this approach is through a combination of embodied thought and mindful action.

However, when deconstructing intellectualism and the concept of an 'immaterial mind', critics often argue that agents are simply being reduced to biology and thus agency and creativity cannot be accounted for (Scott, 1991). This argument has some validity when we consider the 'vulgar materialism' which lies on the opposite end of this spectrum, namely behaviourism, eugenics, socio-biology and some branches of neuroscience (Crossley, 2001). However implicit within these criticisms is the dualist assumption of an either or, that any shift away from one perspective leads to its extreme opposite. There seems to be a lack of imagination that another way could exist, not simply a compromise between these two perspectives but the development of a new way of looking at the mind and body. The foundations of such an approach seem to partially lie within phenomenology, which seeks to analyse how the subjective consciousness is structured by its relationship to phenomena and the conceptualisation of knowledge (Elliott, 2004). While the work of Husserl (2000) has become increasingly influential in social theory, it is arguably Merleau-Ponty who has made the biggest impact on the social sciences through the influence his work has had on Bourdieu.

Embodied Intelligence

Merleau-Ponty (1962, 1965) reiterates many of the same points Ryle makes in his deconstruction of the immaterial mind but also examines and critiques the mechanistic view of the body. He does this through a detailed critical analysis of psychological behaviourism in which he argues this approach lacks the ability to deal with the meaning, purpose and consciousness of agents. Thus, if the body is not a machine, Merleau-Ponty (1962, 1965) argues the human organism is both material but simultaneously more than the sum of its parts. He contends that our relationship with any environment cannot simply be understood as an objective factor impinging upon a person, as any effect of the environment derives its meaning through the way a person perceives it. Thus, he contends in *The Phenomenology of Perception*:

> *It is as false to place ourselves in society as an object amongst objects, as it is to place society in ourselves as an object of thought, and in both cases the mistake lies in treating the social as an object. We must return to the social with which we are in contact by the mere fact of existing, and which we carry about inseparably with us before any objectification' (Merleau-Ponty, 1962: 362).*

Hence, one can see the influence Merleau-Ponty (1964) has had on Bourdieu's theory as he endeavoured to decentre the subject/object divide and argue that the way objects are perceived and our development as perceptual subjects is rooted in our 'being-in-the-world', which is fundamentally developed from the interaction our body has with the environment which is often described as 'body-subject' (Crossley, 2001: 89). Indeed, for Merleau-Ponty (1965) intelligence is also an embodied 'know how', it is the ability to move within an environment and simply fit without conscious effort, planning or reflexive thought[40]. However, this does not mean there is anything natural or pre-social about this, it is a learned ability but it has been incorporated within the logic of the body to such an extent that it seems natural, one does not have to reflect upon and explain what one is doing or thinking. For instance at the heightened level, it is the ability to type without looking at each key, to play an instrument fluidly without thinking about where one should place one's hand at each note, or drive a car without constant analysis of how one should move one's foot on the accelerator.

'Flow' and Creative Bodily Habits

This state of being is similar to the psychological concept of 'flow'. The 'flow' state has been extensively analysed within the areas of sports and music psychology. In the popular discourse this state of 'flow' is generally known as being in the 'zone', 'groove' or 'moment' and seems to describe a state in which one has so intensely learned or practiced an action or skill that it can be consciously forgotten and performed with effortless attention (De Mansion, Theorell, Harman, & Cullen, 2010; Hunter & Csíkszentmihályi, 2000; Jackman & Volpert, 1996; Parncutt & McPherson, 2002; Young & Pain, 1999). The root of this work lies in Mohali Csíkszentmihályi concept of *flow* developed within the discipline of 'positive psychology' which aims to study success and contentment in individuals and society. In Csíkszentmihályi (1990) seminal work *Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience* he argues that flow is a state in which one feels energised, focused, fully

[40] This will be further discussed in the methodology chapter

involved and aligned to one's actions. This state of immersion is said to be promoted by several factors; having a clear goal, being allowed to focus on one thing at a time and delve into it deeply, be free of self-consciousness, having access to direct and immediate feedback, a balance between one's ability level and the level of challenge, having a sense that one has control of one's situation and interpreting the activity as intrinsically rewarding or 'autotelic', as an end in itself, not done for reasons of ego or prestige. However this state is primarily facilitated through the operation of the body at a heightened level, so bodily needs such as hunger etcetera do not impinge on activities, one's subjective awareness of time is altered and one is so absorbed by the activity that one's body and consciousness are aligned and merged. From this standpoint then conscious reflection or standing back from one's activity can make one's action unintelligent.

Shilling (2008) makes a similar point in his analysis of the creative sporting habits, which like Bourdieu (1977, 1978) and Merleau-Ponty (1962) he argues is a heightened example of the more hidden aspect of everyday behaviour. Drawing on the work of sports scientists he argues there seems to be a consensus in this field that there are three stages in the development of sporting skill defined by Guthrie as 'the ability to bring about some end result with maximum certainty and minimum outlay of...time and energy' (1952: 136). These are the imitative, motor competence and autonomous proficiency stages. The first refers to gaining a feel for a new experience, to feel what it is like to hit a ball, hold one's breath under water, keep one's balance while running or skiing. For Crossley this is accomplished by imitating the bodily actions of others and experiencing new bodily sensations. The second stage refers to developing basic skills as 'habitualised routines', drawing on Wacquant (2004) he argues in this stage the body becomes acclimatised to the new sport and one's 'field of vision clears up, expands, and gets reorganised' (ibid: 87) to allow the basic techniques to be assimilated into the body. To become proficient at a sport is generally thought to take a long time and repeated practice or what Wacquant calls a 'monastic devotion' and a subordination of the self (2004: 60). Thirdly, the autonomous proficiency stage describes a state much like that described by Bourdieu (1977) and Merleau-Ponty (1962) in which conscious control of the body ceases and seems to respond automatically but also intelligently to the game in which innovation and skill can be displayed without consciously trying to control the

body. Shilling (2008) argues a fourth state appears to exist in the sports science literature, that of a 'peak' performance which mirrors that of a 'flow' state. However he contends that modern sports rarely allow one to achieve such peaks as its commercialisation through economic nationalism has led to a 'rationalised body culture' in which the body is once again treated as a machine and performance is judged by oneself and others against idealised performances and masculinised norms. This brings conscious control back into one's movements and decisions, which is in antithesis to a flow state. Beyond the rationality of sport however Shilling (2008) does not provide an insight into what else could hinder the habitual practical embodiment of sporting skill. In a phenomenological perspective however perception is fundamental to practical action, as it both shapes and gives meaning to our actions but also helps us make sense of our environments.

Habit, Agency and Change

Indeed, where Merleau-Ponty's analysis of habit can extend Bourdieu's concept of habitus is in his more direct engagement with the relationship between habit, agency and change. Bourdieu's work continues to have the criticism of determinism levelled against it, for instance Butler (1997) interprets Bourdieu's account of the relationship between habitus and field as dominated by field and contends it is simply a re-articulation of structural theory. While Lois McNay (2004) has shown the fundamental errors in the postmodernist account of agency, specifically in Butler's work, which she contends offers less an agentic strategy and rather an illumination of 'structural indeterminacy', Bourdieu's failure to explicitly articulate how creative actions can modify the habitus and practice leaves him open to critiques such as Butler's (1999; 1997) that he is reinventing the deterministic wheel. In Merleau-Ponty's (1962) work though, habit is explicitly defined as the residue of action and therefore dialectical. In other words if our actions in the present are shaped by our habits, these habits were previously developed through past actions. Hence action in the present will mutate or leave its residue in future habits which in turn shapes future actions. Therefore the corporeal schema of the body is in constant evolution; it is not fixed remaining static through external determination, but creatively expands to incorporate new ways of acting and understanding.

For Crossley (2001) however, this debate on the nature of agency is doomed to endlessly repeat until it is reinterpreted in light of a revision of one last dualism, that of freedom and determination. While Merleau-Ponty (1962) argues that change and creativity come through habit he also argues that determinism is an obsolete concept, as it denotes that one's actions are determined by external factors. However, when one understands action as a purposive response in relation to our habits, which not only facilitates our preferences but also our means of deliberation, habits are a fundamental part of who we are and therefore determination is an impossibility. Hence through a phenomenological perspective, agency is constituted as purposeful and meaningful as we only act in ways which have significance for us. Thus our actions, beliefs and perceptions cannot be viewed as externally orchestrated or springing from an existentialist notion of freedom, as for Merleau-Ponty (1962) any concept of freedom must contain a meaningful notion of choice, however the ability to make meaningful decisions assumes a prior engagement and belonging to the world. Thus, to approach the world constantly anew would take away the context on to which real choice could be made. For Merleau-Ponty then, choices and therefore freedom cannot be said to be absolute, as if they were, they would paradoxically become defunct. While in some respects this mirrors Kymlicka's (1995) defence of liberalism, it fundamentally differs as for Merleau-Ponty the context of free choice lies in a being in the world embedded in embodied habits instead of an intellectualist account of rationality.

Conclusion

Hence when action and practice are revealed as centrally located through the body in mindful action and embodied intelligence, a disembodied identity through intellectual rationality becomes untenable. What does this mean for studies of immigration? Chapter two was at pains to emphasise the centrality of 'rationality' within immigration and acculturation policies, however if no such conception of rationality can exist the legitimacy of such policies comes into question. Indeed the splitting of groups in terms of their supposed embodiment and therefore irrationality becomes absurd, as so called 'rational' identities are also embodied but hidden. Thus, by questioning the foundations of intellectualism, the legitimacy of the nation state and nationalist discourses contingent on duality for their legitimacy are

dismantled. At the micro level however, by positing that intelligent behaviour and agency are capacities of the body, an embodied perspective of the world is moved to the very centre of any informed concept of action and therefore of change. Hence if the body is our very means of experiencing the world, understanding inter-ethnic relations between boys through embodiment is not a peripheral approach but at the very heart of acculturation and interactions. However while a Bourdieusian analysis and the phenomenological approach he builds on seems to allow for a new way to understand action and practice through its corporeal root, what remains missing is an account of how these dialectical processes can bring change and innovation. Moreover from a migration studies standpoint it is fundamental to uncover the motivation of migrant groups to become involved in capital accumulation within dominant society. The next chapter attempts to offer some insight into this, through examining the body as an object in the field of social relations and as an affective mediator of emotion.

Chapter 4: Emotions, Affect and Interaction Ritual

Acting is half shame half glory, shame at exhibiting yourself, glory when you can forget yourself

John Gielgud

Introduction

While the centrality of the body in our experience and being-in-the-world has hopefully been ontologically established, it is also important to examine the ways in which one perceives oneself to 'have' a body. This may sound in contradiction to an embodied perspective, however one's body is in one sense an object in the field of practice which is classified and typified by other people. Therefore it is important to understand what effect and affect this may have if certain body types are stigmatised. This chapter will examine the extensive field of social identity theory which argues the ways in which one's body is perceived by others is central in creating ethnic in-groups and out-groups and for the development of one's identity. This contention will be further explored through an interactional perspective which hinges on the argument that a person or group cannot develop a sense of self in isolation from others. Thus, the root of dualism in the objectification of the body will be examined through the development of self-consciousness, and the emotive implications of this will be explored. Through an analysis of these fields of study, this chapter will close by suggesting that emotion and affect are not only consequences of self-consciousness but act as motivating forces which drive individuals and groups into social fields with enthusiasm. However, before the implications of this for acculturation can be considered the habitual and cognitive aspects of perception must be explored.

Perception and Apperception

For Merleau-Ponty perception is 'never disinterested, but rather always shaped by the interests arising out of the stream of practical activity in which it takes shape' (Crossley 2001: 75). To illustrate this point Merleau-Ponty also uses the metaphor of football. For him this game is a heightened example of how perception through habit is a bodily technique or corporeal schema. He argues that being a good footballer requires spontaneous action, as intelligent play cannot happen through detached contemplation but is engaged and practical. However one's engagement in

the game influences how one sees the unfolding of events, players perceive opportunities and feel boundaries in relation to their position on the playing field and the perceptual habitual schemas which constitutes their know-how. Thus, the game is not simply an external event which happens unto the players, but neither is it something which just happens in their heads through reflective contemplation (Crossley, 2001). In their engagement, the logic of the game comes through their bodies, but their actions also shape the way the game is played. Hence, actors are not unconscious dupes in the game, wholly constituted by it, rather their ability to be effective and influence events comes through a synchronisation of their actions to the game, allowing them to act appropriately without having to consciously analyse every detail, a learned ability which is only effective when it is incorporated to feel like second nature, or from a psychological perspective a 'flow' state[41] (Csíkszentmihályi 1990).

Thus, this approach mirrors the wider phenomenological viewpoint, that one does not perceive all things equally. For Husserl (1973, 1991) perceptions are also based on habitual expectations, in which all perception is only partial; as we only experience them from a certain angle or appreciate some of their qualities based on our habitus. Moreover, we also pre-empt objects and subjects, filling in the hidden qualities we presume them to have, therefore all perception carries assumptions based on habit that effect our ability to achieve 'flow' in a particular activity. Husserl (1991) contends this is 'apperception', which takes two forms 'typification' and 'pairing' where the complexities of our experience are simplified by pairing them with other objects and subjects and designating them as types. Hence, perception is a form of biography where one's past shapes one's present, and as biographies differ from person to person so will perceptions or apperception. However as much of our past is rooted within our belonging to a group, our habits tend to be formed through interactions within collectives (Crossley, 2001); therefore habitual perceptions have a tendency to be partially shared. While Bourdieu (2001) has extended the phenomenological perspective in *Masculine Domination* to examine the way body is perceived through the habitus[42], it is perhaps the work within the field of social psychology that the body as an object has been the most rigorously explored in

[41] As discussed in chapter 3
[42] As discussed in chapter 3

relation to prejudice and racism.

Social Identity Theory

Modern cognitive psychology argues that in order for people to cope with the vast sensory information experienced in everyday life, the brain categorises and simplifies stimuli in order to allow us to function more effectively. Furthermore, these categorisations are primarily structured using visual cues and or culturally learned norms in which the body is an object compared and evaluated in relation to phenotypical clues or biographical expectations (Moghaddam, 2008; Rosch, 1978). From this branch of psychology the influential field of Social Identity Theory has developed which analyses how people categorise and stereotype 'out-groups' and construct and define their 'in-group'. In Henri Tajfel's classic social identity approach, the stereotyping of 'out-groups' is not simply understood as a pre-social reflex but the construction of the in-group is understood as a psychological tendency which allows one to maintain a positive social identity. Therefore, individuals tend to construct their in-group as positively distinct from out-groups in order to bolster their self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). Hence emotion and feeling is put at the centre of perception and group formation. While a number of empirical studies have shown that self-esteem is a factor in the development of social identity it seems it is not the only reason why people are part of groups (Bratt, 2002; Fein, 1997; Brockner, 1996). Further work has contended that among other things, feeling that one has a meaningful way to view the world, a sense of power and a vehicle through which one can evaluate oneself all contribute to group identification (Schneider, 2004). Indeed for some individuals, membership of groups does not bring an increase of self-esteem and in some cases diminishes it but provides a sense of security for the individuals involved (Hogg & Abrams, 1990). In light of this Turner (2010) has proposed 'Self-Categorization Theory', which argues individuals attempt to diminish their feelings of uncertainty by becoming involved in groups. Thus, the development of a social identity appears to be a strategy to deal with unpleasant emotions but does not necessarily lead to positive self-esteem.

However, while analysing the need of individuals to be part of groups from an affective standpoint has largely driven empiricism in this field Brewer (1991) argues there is an element of power in relation to affective motivation, as he argues individuals have contrasting needs to both stand out and belong to groups. To account for this he proposed 'Optimal Distinctiveness Theory', in which he contends individuals' contradictory desires to simultaneously belong and be noticed can be reconciled when social groups are exclusive, as elite groups are highly distinctive from out-groups and give an individual a sense of difference, while also providing them with a collective social identity. Hornsey and Jetten (2004, 2004) and Pickett and Leonardelli (2006) have developed this further and argue that individuals can achieve a sense of distinctness or power by identifying with a subgroup within the in-group and by viewing themselves as the epitome of what the in-group stands for, or the 'first among equals'. However, optimal distinctiveness theory predicts that ethnic minorities will identify with their in-group more strongly, as membership in an ethnic minority is exclusive. Thus, within this account inclusivity is viewed as an impossibility because if everyone belongs who is there to define oneself against? (Bratt, 2002).

Contact Hypotheses

Within this literature however, there is an absence of an explicit articulation of how attitudes change and what criteria is needed for prejudice to be eradicated, especially in relation to the objectification of ethnic minority out-groups. To fill this gap the social identity literature has largely drawn on the concept of 'contact'. Contact has its theoretical roots in Allport's (1954/1979) 'contact hypothesis' and Sherif's (1966) 'realistic conflict theory'. Sherif (1966) contends that conflict occurs between groups when they come into contact with each other to compete for scarce material resources. Hence, he postulated an interest based explanation for the nature of intergroup relations[43]. However, for Allport (1954/1979) intergroup contact can be used to minimise prejudice. This supposition is largely supported by much of the early literature (Brophy, 1946; Deutsch & Collins, 1951; Kephart, 1957; Wilner, Walkley, & W, 1955) and modern immigration scholarship recommends contact as a way to ameliorate racism and xenophobia (Beaupre & Hess, 2006; Berry et al., 2006; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007, 2009; Goto, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2002; Molina,

[43] See chapter 2

Wittig, & Giang, 2004; Yang, Noels, & Saumure, 2006). Allport (1954/1979) qualifies the effect of contact by contending that for optimal results four conditions should be met; all participants should have equal status, they should work towards a common goal, there should be good intergroup cooperation in pursuit of that goal, and finally peaceful co-existence and cooperation should be supported by a source of authority. Hence for Pettigrew (1998), Sherif (1961) and Allport's (1954/1979) work forms two halves of a whole, as conflict as described by Sherif is said to occur when contact between groups does not follow Allport's four conditions.

One of the major flaws in the theory of contact however is the 'causal sequence problem' (Pettigrew, 1998). While a number of quantitative studies have shown that those with more contact with out-groups hold less prejudice views, the vast majority of these studies are correlational and not longitudinal, so the question persists does contact cause less prejudice or are less prejudiced people more likely to have out-group contact and friendships? Moreover a model of contact does not articulate how perceptual change happens. For instance Hewstone and Brown (1986) contend that people who have contact with members of out-groups tend to be atypical members of their in-group and this form of contact does not have much impact on changing general attitudes, as the people who meet are seen as the 'exceptions to the rule'. So while individuals and encounters may be pleasant they can be cognitively and perceptually compartmentalised away from 'typical' members of the out-group that are seen as representing the 'real problem'. Hence Pettigrew (1998) proposes a 'salient categorisation strategy' which contends that intergroup change can only happen when salient groups come into contact with one another and experience pleasant contact.

The need to experience pleasant contact and the impact of affect appears to be a key point. Islam and Hewstone (1993) and Stephan and Stephan (1992; 2010; 1985) have attributed poor relations to the effect of anxiety in encounters. They argue that anxiety can lead to negative contact between groups, and if this is repeated, contact can increase prejudice if anxiety increases. Conversely though, when anxiety is controlled, repeated contact can lead to the reduction of anxiety in encounters and the lessening of prejudice. However, this is reliant on an initial step between groups to come into contact, but Byrne's (2009) 'similarity principal' predicts that only

individuals with similar interests will have cause to meet. As sharing interests with an out-group member usually defines one as atypical, the majority of contact between groups appears to be carried out by non-salient members, which seems to have the least impact on generalising attitudes towards out-groups as a whole (Islam & Hewstone, 1993). Thus, the opportunity for the anxiety of out-groups to be quelled and perceptions to shift through salient group contact appears to be minimal (Stephan & Stephan, 1992). In light of this what is the effect of intergroup friendship on in-group and out-group attitudes? In Heider's (1958) 'Balance Theory' a friend with a strong positive or negative attitude towards a third group can affect one's own perceptions. Drawing on this, Pettigrew (1998) contends friendship is crucial for shifting attitudes towards out-groups, as he contends it inherently contains equal status for both parties and therefore fulfils Allport's (1954/1979) arguably most important condition. Moreover, he contends friendship changes attitudes at the emotional level more effectively than formal education. Thus, in light of Brewer and Miller (1984) 'decategorization strategy', which contends the reverse of salient categorization theory, Pettigrew (1998) argues low saliency is needed for intergroup friendships to burden, but once it is established friends can act as a bridge by which salient group members can be brought together in a positive atmosphere, leading to the generalisation of attitudes.

Children's Social Identities

With any discussion on friendship an analysis of children's relationships seems pertinent. Surprisingly however within this field an investigation into friendship and prejudice is rather limited. While Nesdale (1999; 2001; 2005) has argued that children are influenced by outside forces and a realisation of how society values certain groups and Aboud's (1996) work has revealed that children's ethnic attitudes are affected by their peers, the majority of literature in this field investigates in-group preference and out-group prejudice as an effect of cognitive development. This theoretical approach is known as socio-cognitive theory of which Frances Aboud is the most prominent proponent. She argues that between the ages of 6-7 years children differentiate between their peers in terms of visual clues i.e.: skin colour, height and weight etc., to form in-groups and out-groups. However, when they reach the concrete operational stage of thinking they are able to understand people in terms of their individuality instead of group qualities alone. In Aboud's

(1988; 2003) account then prejudice in children peaks at 7 years and systematically declines after this point.

Nesdale et al (2003) has heavily criticised Aboud's reliance on cognitive explanations of prejudice in light of literature which has suggested that children are influenced by 'social motivational factors'. Following the work of Barrett (1992) and Davey (1983), Nesdale (2001) argues that children from as young as three years begin to develop an awareness of the status and prestige individuals and community groups have in society. Through this process children begin to compare their standing with others and between different ethnic groups. By drawing on the work of Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986) Nesdale (1999) has proposed 'Social Identity Development Theory', [SIDT]. In this perspective children are said to go through four SIDT phases; undifferentiated, ethnic awareness, ethnic preference and ethnic prejudice. For Nesdale (2003) then, children cannot develop more inclusive opinions or true ethnic prejudice until the age of seven. However she contends that the immediate in-group is more important to children's identities than ethnic affiliations, thus mixed ethnic groups in teams can be used to quell ethnic tensions (D Nesdale, 2001; D. Nesdale, Durkin, Maass, & Griffiths, 2004b).

The most obvious criticism of this body of work from a qualitative standpoint is the development of this theory from minimal group paradigm experiments and the use of attitudinal tests and standardised instruments with young children. In Tajfel and Turner's (1979) original analysis, laboratory tests were used to understand the cognitive link between the mind and perception by heightening these processes in a controlled environment. However, statements about the nature of social relationships have been proposed from these experiments without extensive qualitative work to translate their applicability to everyday action. Moreover, the use of altitudinal tests to assess prejudice in children by asking them to choose dolls of different colours or through an assessment on the Preschool Racial Attitude Measure (PRAM), gives little space for children's voices to be heard, explain their opinions or give context to their contentions (Connolly, 1998). Indeed, without an examination of children's attitudes in comparison to their actions it is perhaps premature to define them as ethnically prejudiced. In Aboud's (2003) own work, which has taken a more flexible quantitative methodology, she has found that behaviour seemed to differ

significantly from what her socio-cognitive approach would predict, as negative opinions in younger children did not seem to transpire into action and older children with more positive attitudes did not seem to reflect this in their friendships. This begs the question is prejudice simply a way of thinking or is it an action or an in-action; can one speak the language of equality but not act on these opinions? Is it correct to say young children are more prejudiced when they seem to have more out-group friends? Indeed throughout this literature prejudice is presented as an affective mind-set or set of attitudes but there seems to be little analysis of it as a lived embodied practice. It seems somewhat problematic to reduce ethnic prejudice to a process of cognition which is both produced and resolved without intervention, as prejudice and racism become characterised as pre-social and the context in which the one's developing cognition interacts with disappears[44]. Indeed an idea of inherent prejudice also implies actions are somewhat blame and consequence free, as prejudice born from cognition takes on a veneer of inevitability and the culpability for propagating it and responsibility for diffusing it are diminished.

However, one of the strengths of the social identity and cognitive literature is its insights into how issues of prejudice are operationalized at the micro level of in-group and out-group contact the role of emotion which underpins actors' motivations. One of the major paucities in Bourdieu's work and the phenomenological approach he builds on, is although the body is brought back into sociological enquiry, the way in which its sensuous practical involvement in the world is reproduced and legitimised, or challenged at the level of everyday interaction is perhaps not fully theorised. Indeed, the limitations in understanding how habitus or habit and symbolic capital and domination operate and are partially constituted at the level of encounters, is perhaps the other major reason Bourdieu's work has been criticised as over deterministic. For Tim Hallett's (2003, 2007) however, Bourdieu's work can be revised in light of Erving Goffman's micro analysis of social interaction and rituals of deference and demeanour.

Erving Goffman, Interaction, Rituals and Encounters.

For Hallett (2007), the work of Goffman and Bourdieu work complement each other,

[44] This will be discussed in more detail in the methodology section in relation to the legacy of developmental psychology for child centered research.

as he argues symbolic power can be partially understood as generated through interaction, as power is both reflected and created in encounters. Thus, interactional rituals of deference and demeanour frame actions, situations and events and foster compliance that constitutes the social order. Therefore, deference can be understood as symbolic power in 'potential form' and cultural capital as 'a tool that people use to craft a demeanour that is presented in interaction..... [which] generates deference' ([sic] 2007: 149).

Goffman (1967) defines deference as appreciation conveyed from one person to another, through actions such as 'little salutations, compliments, and apologies which punctuate social intercourse' (1967: 57). Moreover, one's overall demeanour expresses 'to those in his immediate presence that he is a person of certain desirable and undesirable qualities' (1967: 58). Hence to receive deference one must express an appropriate demeanour towards others and 'individuals must hold hands in a chain of ceremony, each giving deferentially with proper demeanour to the one on the right what will be received deferentially from one on the left' (Goffman, 1967: 85). In order to receive deference via ones demeanour though, Goffman contends an individual must manage the impression others have of them, which is largely achieved through controlling the definition of the situation. For Goffman (1959/1990b), when a situation is defined, interactions can follow specific rituals that put people at ease, as it allows them to maintain a consistent front and save face. He therefore contends that individuals both knowingly and unwittingly project a definition of the situation of which a conception of themselves is a fundamental part. Using a dramaturgical analogy he argues that in all interactions we present an image of ourselves which needs to be accepted by others in order for it to have authority, and this exists on a continuum of sincerity and cynicism. At one extreme an actor is completely taken in by his own act and becomes convinced the impression of reality he performs is real, at the other, they are aware the front they present is false. However cynical performances are not necessarily amoral but are regularly undertaken as a common courtesy to others or as required for certain situations, audiences or institutions.

Extending the dramaturgical metaphor Goffman argues one's performances tend to alter in accordance with the importance one attaches to the opinions of a particular

audience and in relation to the region one occupies at each moment. This argument has shades of Connolly's (1998, 2006; 2009) analysis of the importance of fields and context for habitual action. Indeed Goffman (1959/1990b) conceptualises the spatial context as consisting of a frontstage and backstage in which one's behaviour alters depending on the region one occupies. In the front, one is visible to the audience and an appropriate performance is staged. The back is characterised by less visibility and is where preparations for the smooth running of the front stage can take place, however neither can claim more authenticity as they are both performances but on different stages. For one's projected self to have validity and gain deference though, one's performance must be accepted or the definition of the situation is lost and the performance discredited. Thus, to defend against this, individuals must try and control the conception others have of them. This is achieved in several ways, firstly, through the restriction of access to the backstage for members of the audience, secondly, if the performance relies on the co-operation of several individuals a team mentality must be adopted and adhered to, and lastly the sign vehicles that one uses to convey one's self-image must be effective, convincing and consistent. These sign vehicles are the ingredients of one's personal front, the expressive equipment with which one communicates to another the conceptualisation of oneself which one demands others accept. Thus, sign vehicles are intimately identified with the performer as they are located on and through the performer's body. Goffman (1959, 1961) contends these embodied sign vehicles objectify the body as audiences use them to read the character and personality of an actor and verify the authenticity of a performance against their previous knowledge, experience and expectations. Two main types of sign vehicles are identified, relatively fixed and relatively mobile. Relatively fixed sign vehicles describe age, biological sex and body phenotypes and relatively mobile vehicles take the form of demeanour, manner and appearance through clothing, makeup and hairstyle.

Hence, Hallett (2007), building on the work of Peter Hall (1979), extends Goffman's work to argue that the ability to control interactions through defining the definition of the situation is a form of symbolic power, not only as it allows one to maintain the interactional order but also to define the meanings and actions that compromise this order. For Hallett then, one's ability to control the definition of the situation and gain symbolic power 'comes from a previous established stock of deference' (2007: 152).

Therefore not everyone is able to control the definition of the situation as this imbalance of power is rooted in the exchange of deference in past interactions mediated by cultural capital, specifically through one's bodily hexis as the conveyor of one's personal front. Hence, the amount of deference one is given or expected to give is to some extent mediated by how one's body is perceived as an object within interactions.

In light of this, it is surprising there is very little research on the effect of deference in encounters between dominant and migrant groups. In some recent literature on adult migrants in the workplace it has been suggested that migrants are expected to be far more deferential to those from dominant groups than other employees and any behaviour which is perceived as not deferential enough is less tolerated from migrant workers than others (Cleaveland & Pierson, 2009; Yeoh & Huang, 2010). In relation to migrant children, higher levels of deference for adults within the educational setting has been widely noted (Liem, Martin, Nair, Bernardo, & Prasetya, 2009; Valentine, 2000) however in relation to encounters with their peers there seems to be a paucity of research. Moreover, as deference is somewhat of a hidden and implicit process and Hage (1998) and Billig (1995) have stressed the effect of banal nationalism and prejudice, an analysis of the withdrawal or withholding of deference from migrant groups would seem a pertinent issue to explore. For instance within the wider gender studies research it has been observed that females at all levels of society receive less deference from males than they give, and a deferential position is widely interpreted as part of the 'feminine role' (Bartky, 1990; Tichenor, 2005).

Manhood Acts and Deference

Indeed the concept of deference has been suggested by Douglas Schrock and Michael Schwalbe (2009) as a way to reinvigorate the field of masculinities studies through an analysis of how and why manhood acts are performed and used as a way to reproduce gender inequalities and hierarchies. In their review of the masculinities literature for the *Annual Review of Sociology,* Schrock and Schwalbe (2009) argue that while the multiple masculinities perspective has been a useful tool in deconstructing a static notion of masculinity, its dominance has perhaps detached masculinities research from a feminist perspective which seeks to understand how the demonstration of masculinity in multiple forms propagates the dominance of the

'masculine' over the 'feminine' and 'men' over 'women'. For Schrock and Schwalbe segmenting masculinity into 'black', 'white', 'working-class' 'gay', 'Muslim' and 'migrant' masculinities etcetera 'causes us to lose sight of what these allegedly diverse gender-signifying practices have in common…that makes them masculinity…. [and] it can also obscure important within-group variations' (Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009: 281). Thus, in their review of the literature they argue this field of study can be more usefully analysed as an attempt to understand how and why 'males' master a set signifying practices which identifies them as men and boys in their society. Drawing on Goffman (1977) and West and Zimmerman (1987) they contend that for males to both enjoy the privilege of the masculine and uphold its ascendency they must be interpreted as masculine by others and gain deference for their manhood acts.

Johnson (2005) argues that in western society legitimate masculinity is essentially tied to being seen as having the capacity to exert control over others and resist being controlled by them. For Kimmell (2006) this so called 'western' masculine norm has four basic rules; 'no sissy stuff', 'be a big wheel', 'be a sturdy oak' and 'give 'em hell'. Yet these attributes cannot simply be a part of one's personality but must be constantly proved and tested in front of other males, 'testing and proving of masculinity is a homosocial experience, performed before and evaluated by the eyes of other men' (2006: 242). Thus, Kimmel argues it is other men's approval and deference males most value and while masculinity is fundamentally built against femininity, it is not necessarily women men define themselves against on a day to day interactional level but effeminate men, 'homophobia is the fear of other men - that other men will unmask us, emasculate us, reveal to us and the world that we do not measure up, are not real men' [sic] (2006: 5).

Schrock and Schwalbe (2009) then reinterpret the masculinities literature to argue it implicitly describes the ways in which males attempt to prove their masculinity to others through a variety of manhood performances. Within the young masculinities literature they contend the signification of manhood can be seen in several interrelated areas, through breaking rules and the development of gangs and racist groups (A. A. Ferguson, 2000; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Kimmel & Messner, 2007), popular warrior and fantasy narratives which legitimates violence as a struggle

between good and evil, (Jordan, 1995; Jordan & Cowan, 1995; Messerschmidt, 2000), the demonstration of heterosexuality and debasement of girls and homosexuality (Messner, 2000; Pascoe, 2007), playing and watching sports (McBride, 1995; Sabo, 2005) and through the control of emotions (McGuffey & Rich, 1999). Indeed, McGuffey and Rich (1999) argue the removal of deference and the stigmatisation of certain boys and groups in early childhood is intimately connected to emotional displays, as high status boys have a tendency to exclude and bully boys who cry, and within the sporting context the expression of pain and fear is policed by the masculine peer group (T. J. Curry, 1993; G. A Fine, 1987). Moreover the use of the term 'baby' sanctions and signifies that a boy or girl does not conform to expected gender norm displays (Cahill, 1986; Lilleaas, 2007).

One of the major difficulties in combining an analysis of deference with a Bourdieusian perspective is in their disparate approaches in understanding action. Bourdieu draws from the phenomenological tradition in which action is an embodied experience which isn't necessarily governed by conscious reflection in the intellectualist sense. However for Goffman action involves more conscious and somewhat calculated strategy including how one presents one's body. Hallett (2007) does not resolve this divergence, instead he justifies combining their work by arguing that both Goffman and Bourdieu draw from Durkheim, and were admirers of each other's work. However, perhaps one approach to connecting their perspectives is to explore their underdeveloped concepts of emotion. The burgeoning research on emotions has become increasingly recognised as an arbitrator through which the motivation of one's actions can be understood.

Emotion and Affect

In a special issue of the Journal of Ethnic and Migrant Studies, emotions are put at the heart of migration scholarship. Maruška Svašek (2010) contends that if human mobility is to be fully theorised the role of emotions cannot be ignored. She highlights several key areas in which an analysis of emotion must be explored further, firstly to understand how the emotions of migrants are sanctioned by the structural constraints of immigration and asylum policies, in the interaction between migrants and dominant groups in the process of acculturation, for understanding the

continued attachment to cultures of origin and for developing a sense of belonging and nationalism in the new society. While some emotional processes may be specific to the migrant experience Skrbiš (2008) argues their development does not take place in isolation but arises through the interaction of individuals with their surroundings. However, much of the research which brings emotions central to the migrant experience draws on Foucault's discourse theory to argue that cultural categories of emotion and indeed the notion of emotivity, produces knowledge about the world and the self in the world which is often historical and group specific (Csordas, 1994; Margot L Lyon, 1995; McKay, 2007; Svasek, 2010). In an interactional account of emotions however, a growing body of work has looked at how emotions structure and are structured by encounters.

Interaction and Emotion

From a Cartesian perspective self-consciousness is unproblematic as it presumes one has special access to one's own mind detached from the external world. However from a Bourdieusian and phenomenological perspective self-consciousness is not inherent but derived. As embodied beings we look out at the world and are our own blind spot therefore objectifying one's self requires an outside perspective, something to compare oneself to (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). Indeed Charles Horton Cooley (1902/1964) makes a very similar point from an interactional perspective, in which the self remains an unfinished project at birth which is continually developed through social interaction. Thus, one can never really know or develop a self in isolation from others. He conceptualised this by considering we cannot gaze upon our faces directly as we can another's but must use the medium of a photograph or mirror to see our whole bodies. Likewise we cannot know our full character or self in isolation, but must use the medium of society. Cooley (1902/1964) called this the 'looking-glass self'. However, what makes Cooley's work divergent from other interactionists such as Mead (1938) and Blumer's (1969), is that he contends the construction of the self in interaction is inherently emotive. For him people are oriented to a 'public consciousness' with three distinct stages; firstly, one imagines how one appears in the eyes of others, secondly, one imagines how others judge our appearance and thirdly, a person develops an emotional state about this imagined judgement, for instance pride or embarrassment.

Thomas Scheff draws on the work of Cooley to re-interpret Goffman's insights on embarrassment and stigma. He proposes that when one re-valuates Goffman's approach he describes a deference-emotion system in operation. Scheff's (1988) proposes in *Shame and Conformity: The Deference-Emotion System* a unitary explanation of social control. He contends the presence of formal sanctions cannot fully explain the ubiquity of conformity in society and thus a subtle system of informal sanctions must operate concurrently with the official structure. In this analysis, informal sanctions take the form of low visibility pride and shame which operate on a continuum, generated through social interaction. He argues an actor is motivated to follow interactional rituals as they provide a way to maintain face in encounters and stage a successful performance. Drawing from Cooley (1902/1964) he contends that when an actor maintains face they are able to occupy a state of socially constructed dignity as it becomes easier for them to imagine positive judgements from their audience, which in turn stimulates feelings of pride. When a performance fails though, one imagines negative judgements and feels ashamed. Hence the majority of behaviour in society is analysed by Scheff (1988) as in the pursuit of pride and the avoidance of shame. Moreover, he extends the deference-emotion system to describe how shame can translate to anger, contending that when deference is not received for a performance simultaneous spirals of interpersonal and intrapersonal feeling traps can be activated which intensify feelings of shame between and within interacting persons, leading to feelings of 'helpless anger' and 'humiliated fury'. Scheff (1988) argues that in order to maintain the face one has left, groups and even nations can become involved in what Goffman has called character contests for which 'there is no natural limit to the intensity and duration of arousal' (1967: 397). Indeed in Goffman's 1963 work *Stigma: Notes on the Management of a Spoilt Identity* he analyses stigma as a state of discredit which is created when one deviates from expected identity norms and argues that if stigma is invested with great importance for one's self conception, it can constitute one's 'master status'. Consequently this 'master status' can become a source of pride or shame for an individual according to the norms of the field or their society.

Surprisingly there is very little work on shame and stigma in the migration field. The work that exists focuses on cultural specific forms of stigma and shame in relation to women's role in the family and religious practice (Lau & Takeuchi, 2001; Lindquist,

2004; Mirdal, 2006; Velayutham & Wise, 2005). Very little exists on the effect of shame and stigma in the interaction between dominant and migrant groups, except in relation to sexual health and HIV status (Bischofberger, 2008; Chong, Wong, Park, Edberg, & Lai, 2003; Lieber, Li, Wu, Rotheram-Borus, & Guan, 2006). Thus, once more issues of acculturation and interaction between groups focus on overt issues instead of the more banal aspects of everyday exclusion and othering. However, perhaps one of the reasons for this paucity is both Scheff and Goffman neglect to offer an insight into where social norms come from, how and why certain meanings are legitimated and whose interests they serve. While Goffman explicitly describes how norms are recreated and supported through encounters, he does not dwell on why certain behaviours are more acceptable in one setting than another or, why the opinion of one audience or one role may hold more sway for one's self-conception than another. Neither does he investigate where the meaning for certain sign vehicles comes from or how these meanings have been attached. The same can be said of Scheff's work which provocatively describes the sanctioning ability of emotions but does not analyse why some behaviour has been designated as shameful or not part of a legitimate performance. However, perhaps one of the most influential theorists to draw from Goffman in relation to emotion is Arlie Hochschild (1983), who argues that emotional norms are fundamentally connected to structural conditions.

For Hochschild (1983) people in positions of power have fewer problems in maintaining deference and avoiding shame, as they have access to what she terms 'status shields'. For Hochschild (1983) status shields protect people from attacks to their self-esteem, as their conception of self is somewhat structurally supported. Hence a lack of access to effective status shields can be thought of as a structural source of disempowerment for individuals and groups. Furthermore, it leaves them open to being redefined as the kind of people those in power believe them to be. Hochschild (1983) extends this view to contend that not only are those in powerful positions more emotionally protected, but they are also allowed more latitude to express their emotions. In her famous study of airline stewards she contends that employees are required to manage their feelings and control their physical facial and bodily displaces in order to be seen to be professionally fulfilling their job. She calls this 'emotion work'. This form of work is said to take two forms, either it exists as surface acting, and somewhat mirrors Goffman's conception of a cynical

performance, or it takes the form of 'deep acting' in which an individual somewhat unconsciously re-interprets their emotional state to fit the constraints of their position or job. Hence for Hochschild emotion work is a form of alienation. Another approach to understanding the connection between emotion and structure also seems to be available through a Bourdieusian framework. Perhaps the most well-known attempt at integrating an emotional element into Bourdieu's perspective is through the concept of 'emotional capital'.

Emotional Capital

The emotional capital model has its roots in the work of Helga Nowotny (1981), Spencer Cahill (1999) and Diane Reay (2000) but draws from Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. Through this perspective the way in which one manages one's emotions is understood as a habitual ability and an interactional resource. The genesis of the term lies with Nowotny who argues that emotional capital is inherently gendered and confined within the affective relationships of family, friends and intimate partnerships. She defines this as, 'knowledge, contacts and relations as well as access to emotionally valued skills and assets, which hold within any social network characterised at least partly by affective ties' (Nowotny, 1981: 148). However, unlike other forms of capitals she argues the function and origins of emotional capital differ. For Nowotny (1981) emotional capital is a resource females have in more abundance as it is developed through adversity rather than privilege. Moreover, she considers it to have little capital exchange value in the public sphere and therefore tends to be used within the private sphere to bolster friends, partners and children.

Reay (2000, 2004) has taken this work and developed it further; she argues that the interplay of emotional capital and emotional well-being has conflicting interests and outcomes for mothers and children. In contrast to Allatt (1993) and Nowotny (1981) she argues that not all emotional capital is positive. Indeed, she contends positive and negative emotional capital seems to have both positive and negative outcomes for children in terms of their emotional well-being and educational success, which is nonetheless mediated by structural conditions and the cultural capital of parental figures. This has also been examined in relation to how parents from minority backgrounds emotionally prepare their children for school and racist encounters.

Mirza and Reay (2000; 1998) have contended that many 'black' mothers in the U.K, demonstrate negative emotional capital to their children in order to prepare them for a prejudicial educational system. Indeed Lorde (1984) contends that anger in minority families emotionally protects against racism, and gives individuals and groups motivation to tackle racist behaviour and beliefs. A more instrumental view of emotional capital has been put forward by Cahill (1999) who argues that the way in which one manages and expresses one's emotions plays a key role in accessing institutionally powerful fields, as gatekeepers of these fields value certain modes of emotional expression. This has partially been explored in the racialization literature, which has contended that emotional displays by 'black' children are more likely to be interpreted as aggressive and unreasonable by gatekeepers than those displayed by white male children, for whom the same behaviour seems to provoke sympathy or admiration (A. A. Ferguson, 2000; Froyum, 2010; Suizzo, Robinson, & Pahlke, 2008). Within the literature from the U.S.A, a strategy of resistance has been identified in some African American parenting practices in which parents aim to instil a sense of history and solidarity for the 'black' struggle in their children and provide them with a way to emotionally distance themselves from racist discourses and deal with this emotional double bind (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; McLoyd, Cauce, Takeuchi, & Wilson, 2000). However this strategy seems to do little for social mobility. Instead African American parents with class anxiety tend to encourage deferential emotional modes of expression in their children, teaching them to respect authority and strive to overcome the racist stereotype of African American youth as aggressive and troublesome (Anderson, 1999; T. N. Brown & Lesane - Brown, 2006; S. A. Hill, 2005; Kaplan, 1997; Tyson, 2003). Froyum (2010) argues however, that deferential forms of emotional expression cannot overcome racism as they reinforce racialised, classed and gendered power relations. Indeed the vast amount of literature in relation to emotions within migrant children's experiences focuses specifically on the use of shame by parents to curb migrant children's acculturation into dominant society, maintain familial and religious ties and motivate migrant children to academically achieve (Akpinar, 2003; J. M. Farver, Xu, Bhadha, Narang, & Lieber, 2007; for reviews see Zhang, 1995).

Shame and the body

Shame in relation to the body as object within social interaction is rarely analysed in relation of migrant children. Freund (1990) has argued that dominant groups are able to achieve a state of 'bodily well-being' as they can maintain face with more ease than other groups through their access to 'status shields' (Hochschild 1983). Fussell (1983) makes a similar point when he says that shame is an emotion of the disempowered, as the powerful can do, say, wear and look like anything they want. This can perhaps partially explain why certain people and groups can sanction something as prestigious and legitimate without running a substantial risk of being discredited. Thus, it appears prestige, status or from a Bourdieusian perspective, being rich in capital could protect one from shame and the sanctioning function it performs by opening up more emotional and objective options. Illouz has argues that:

> *[T]he ability to distance oneself from one's immediate emotional experience is the prerogative of those who have readily available a range of emotional options, who are not overwhelmed by emotional necessity and intensity, and can therefore approach their own self and emotions with the same detached mode that comes from accumulated emotional competence' (1997: 56).*

In relation to masculinities though, if emotional distance and rationality are the mode of the powerful, it is arguable that the expression of emotion for those with a 'masculine' identity is doubly shameful, as not only is one expressing emotion but also signalling one's lack of power and status, which a masculine identity is supposed to embody (Goodey, 1997; Lilleaas, 2007).

Emotion or Affect?

Emotion and affect are used interchangeably in much of the sociological literature, however Massumi contends this is not simply a semantic difference, as emotion is the cognitive rationalising of an experience, a 'subjective content, the sociolinguistic fixing of a quality of experience' whereas affect is somatic, 'irreducibly bodily and automatic' (2002: 28). Probyn (2004) argues that in the attempt by the social sciences to defend the saliency of the social against subordination to the natural, social science has become boring and has lost its ability to provide insights that reflect the sensuous experience of life (see also M. Barrett, 2000). For Probyn then the way out of this quagmire is to understand affect as an embodied experience or an 'affective habitus'. However she prefers to use Marcel's Mauss's (1990) version of

the habitus, as she argues using Karsenti (1998), in Mauss's attempt to draw the disciplines of sociology and psychology together Mauss offers a version of 'habitus' which understands the affective body as the connection between the corporeal and the psychic, not through a causal relationship in which the social is simply internalised, but through a recognition that the social is intrinsic to our being. Probyn (2004) applies this model of an affective habitus to bring physicality back into the debate, and uses a discussion of shame to tease out her perspective.

Mirroring Bourdieu's insight into the role of complicity in symbolic domination Probyn (2005) contends that shame is ultimately born of interest and therefore something can only be shameful for us if it is part of our affective habitus. She alludes that one of the most powerful aspects of shame is its sheer physicality. The embodied effect of shame can range from blushing, a feeling of white heat radiating through the skin, sweating, stinging eyes, crying and sometimes an almost overwhelming painful sensation that runs throughout the body (also see Wentworth & Yardly, 1994). Therefore she argues that by neglecting the physicality of shame one cannot fully understand its sanctioning functions, particularly as such displays are often themselves shameful, compounding one's feelings further. Thus, affect illuminates the absurdity of differentiating between the mind and body, as the physicality of shame has an agency of its own, often displaying before a situation can be cognitively processed. However this is fundamentally born of the social as 'without positive affect, there can be no shame: only a scene that offers you enjoyment or engages your interest can make you blush' (Sedgwick & Frank, 1995).

Emotion as a being in the world

Indeed modern phenomenological scholars such as Casey (1987) and Tokin (2006) have argued that emotional encounters are not only shaped by direct interaction, but also by one's memories and imagination, therefore one's past experience are re-activated in the present as an 'inner presence' felt through the body. Thus, perhaps our being-in the world is as Heidegger (1962) argues always 'mooded'. Or as Crossley argues 'to be in a particular emotional state entails perceiving the world in a particular way; noticing things that one might not usually notice and being affected by what one sees in the ways that one might not normally be affected' (2001: 85). However this mooded being in the world is not necessarily that of a reflexive

strategy but can operate at a pre-reflexive level. As Probyn (2005), Casey (1987) and Tonkin (2006) allude to, the body has an intelligence of its own which does not necessarily need conscious processing in order to act, indeed Merleau-Ponty argues:

> *Faced with an angry or threatening gesture, I have no need, in order to understand it, to recall when I myself used these gestures on my own account, I know very little, from the inside, of mime of anger so that a decisive factor is missing for any association by resemblance or reasoning by analogy, and what is more, I do not see anger or a threatening attitude as a psychic fact hidden behind the gesture, I read anger in it. The gesture does not make me think of anger, it is anger itself (1962: 184).*

Hence Merleau-Ponty (2001: 123) describes the reading of emotion as something a person usually does not have to think reflexively about, as emotions are a fundamental part of our perception and being-in-the-world. Therefore understanding them is not necessarily linked to conscious thought in the intellectualist sense.

However, these analyses describes relatively successful engagement, but as Crossley (2001) comments these dynamics are not exposed if everything goes smoothly, but when things go wrong all is revealed. In both Merleau-Ponty's work and Crossley's analysis there is a lack of development of the effects and causes of unsuccessful engagement. Indeed, if gestures of emotion are collective habits rooted in our experience, what are the implications when one's corporeal schema does not match one's environment? Merleau-Ponty briefly refers to this when he says 'the behaviour associated with anger or love is not the same in a Japanese [sic] and an Occidental. .....the difference in behaviour corresponds to a difference in the emotions themselves' (1962: 189). Thus, if one's corporeal schema and habits have cultural significance, what does it mean to move from one culture to another? Can one express or interpret emotions in the same way, with the same fluidity? Or share a similar perception with others more established in the field? If true engagement is the ability to act and feel without constantly reflecting on every detail of our action, what happens if our perceptions and actions do not match others in that situation, or are not accepted by others as matching? Indeed recent immigration scholarship emphases that feelings of belonging for migrant groups are centrally hinged on incorporating the culturally accepted 'feeling rules' of the new society (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). In a recent study of Japanese origin mothers in Ireland and Northern Ireland Maehara (2010) found one the biggest barriers these women faced in acculturation to 'Irish' culture was in understanding and incorporating such feeling rules.

Affect and Reflexivity

While emotion has rarely been explicitly analysed in relation to migration and acculturation, the idea that a disjuncture of the fluidity of one's actions can be a method of marginalisation is a fundamental tenant of African American scholarship. In W.E.B Du Bois canonical work *The Souls of Black Folks* he argues that in:

> *A world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, - an American, a Negro; two warring souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body (1903/1996).*

Thus, Du Bois (103/1996) highlights a more subtle process of marginalisation and discrimination, in which one is pushed into constant reflection on oneself, caught in a cycle of reflexivity in relation to other's imagined judgements. An estrangement from one's body in which one's 'strivings' or actions are retarded. Interestingly Abdelmalek Sayad's (1999 [2007]) work *The Suffering of the Immigrant* contains shadows of this argument but from a Bourdieusian theoretical standpoint.

Sayad (1999 [2007]) starts from the premise that immigration and emigration are intimately bound together as an immigrant is also an emigrant of another country and therefore brings with them a way of living, feeling, acting and thinking along with the political, social and habitual structures that were once supported and sustained in one's cultural of origin. Sayad (ibid) argues these schemas cannot be brought to the country of immigration in their original form, as the culture they developed in is no longer present to maintain and reinforce these schemas. Indeed, living a new country requires the absorption of new habits which in some cases challenges or augments the old. Thus, Sayad (1999 [2007]) argues that to a certain extent an immigrant breaks with schemas and modes of being from their culture of origin, but this tends to only become apparent when one returns 'home' and realises one longer fits in or has the same priorities and perspectives as those from their origin culture. However Sayad (1999 [2007]) argues an immigrant also never fully fits within the culture of the country of immigration, as the residue of habits from their country of origin remain, and mark them out as someone who does not belong. Hence for Sayad (1999 [2007]) suffering comes through a 'double absence', in which as emigrant they are absent from the cultural order of their country of origin but as immigrant they remain outside this order within the country of immigration:

> *He is virtually a ''foreigner'' in a world that seems increasingly foreign to him. Everything about the way he behaves – his use of time, the hours he keeps, his activities, his movements, his leisure activities, his spending habits, his eating habits (the number of meals he eats, the time he eats them, the things he eats), his clothes – is designed to remind everyone of his emigrant status...of his position as a ''guest in his own house''*
>
> *(Sayad, 1999 [2007]: 49)*

For Sayad then this is compounded by the body in its objective sense, as he argues racism in dominant society requires a migrant to 'hyper-correct' their appearance, manner and behaviour to be deemed tolerable (1999 [2007]: 99). Crucially then, in trying to correct one's presentation of self, he contends migrants tend to become introverted, introspective and anxious to get things 'right', and therefore experience themselves as a 'shameful body, a shy, clumsy body with little self-assurance, a body that is experienced with unease...a body that betrays itself' (1999 [2007]: 206). Thus migrants are forced to switch between habitual and reflexive action constantly and therefore experience a triple break, with their home land, the new society, but also with their embodied selves. In breaking from one's embodied self he argues one's sense of 'internal time' is disrupted:

> *Always torn between his permanent present, which he dare not admit to himself, and the 'return' which, whilst it is never resolutely ruled out, is never seriously contemplated, the immigrant is doomed to oscillate constantly between, on the one hand, the preoccupations of the here and now and, on the other, yesterday's retrospective hopes and eschatological expectations that there will be an end to his immigration*
>
> (1999 [2007]: 215)

For Sayad, this is experienced as a separation from oneself and leads to feelings of loneliness and isolation. Moreover while migrants may experience this break from their embodied selves, they are simultaneously othered by dominant society through an embodied identity in which 'race' and biology are presumed to define their actions. Paradoxically though he argues that migrants are only given credence through the capacities of their bodies for work, and therefore as economic units which are ultimately discarded and disregarded with illness and age, a point Bryan (2010) has touched on in the 'Irish' context[45] .

Hence for Sayad 'being oneself' is found in habitual action instead of reflexive action. However he follows Bourdieu's division of habitual from reflexive action and does not analyse reflexivity as a habit in itself[46]. Thus, through the work of Du Bois and Sayad the complexities and insidiousness of relationships of power are exposed, as 'double-consciousness' and 'double-absence' are percolated on interest,

[45] See chapter 2
[46] Analysed in methodology chapter

an investment in another's view of oneself, borne of material interests but not limited to them. As for a migrant to value dominant society, be emotionally affected by its judgements and value its emotional modes of being acculturation must be taking place as, as Bourdieu succinctly argues, even in highly competitive and conflictual fields there is:

> *A profound complicity between the adversaries...; they disagree with one another but they are least agree about the objects of disagreement* *(1998: 78)*

Thus, it appears acculturation cannot be simply understood as a consistently progressive and positive journey were greater understanding of the cultural norms and doxic beliefs of the new society ease feelings of stress. Indeed it is possible that knowledge of the new system could further tie one to valuing how one is judged and evaluated by majority society.

The Desire for Recognition

Perhaps then an analysis of emotion and affect sheds light on one of the most deceptively simple but difficult questions to answer, why do individuals and groups have such a deep seated interest and belief in social fields? While Bourdieu offers the explanation of misrecognition, capital accumulation and illusio he cannot fully explain why players are so committed to the fields and the attainment of capitals. He tends to explain this in in terms of material concerns and the power to regulate fields. The driving force underpinning these behaviours is merely alluded to as a 'biological libido' or an 'undifferentiated biological impulse' (1998: 78). For Crossley (2001) though, actors have an emotional investment in fields and value their capitals because they have a 'desire for recognition'. The notion of desire does not sit well in Bourdieu's materialistic framework, however if it is taken out of Hegelian metaphysics through the work do Merleau-Ponty and an interactional accounts it can be recast in more a practical manner.

Within an interactional perspective the insecurity which comes from never fully knowing oneself but through the 'looking glass' of others, seems to lead to anxiety in relational to what another may think of one (Cooley, 1902/1964). Merleau-Ponty (1962) concurs and argues that when a child realises that others have a consciousness and are conscious of them, self-consciousness is developed in relation to this and generates insecurity and a level of paranoia. Kojéve (1969) argues this anxiety

cannot be quelled unless we feel we have won the recognition of others, as this provides us with a sense of security that we not only know what their conception of us is, but it is a positive one. Thus, in gaining recognition from others we are simultaneously proving ourselves to ourselves (Crossley, 2001). However this is not always an overt process, as G. H. Mead argues our desire to 'stand out above people' is concealed, as:

> *[W]e are careful....not to directly plume ourselves. It would seem childish to intimate that we take satisfaction in showing that we can do something better than others. We take a great deal of pains to cover up such a situation; but actually we are vastly gratified' (G. H. Mead, 1967: 205).*

For Merleau-Ponty (1962) though desire drives us into society with enthusiasm and is therefore profoundly social. Through a Bourdieusian perspective then, desire is primarily satisfied and provoked by involvement in fields, whose capitals have come to stand for recognition and distinction. In some instances however, one's involvement in fields can become so intense it can also drive us into relations of competition and antagonism, which on the surface seem like anti-social behaviours but are in fact motivated from social underpinnings. Hence a desire for recognition is a pro-social desire, in which celebration and despair can only be provoked if one is invested in a field. Interaction then cannot be understood outside of emotions, as they drive us into fields with enthusiasm.

Conclusion

Thus interaction cannot be understood outside emotions, as they drive us into fields with enthusiasm to value certain modes of being and apperceive the field of interaction through our desire for recognition and deference. However this motivation also seems to come through the sanctioning ability of emotion, as shame is a bodily experience. Therefore not only is the body an object for others to judge but is also a motivating force through the sheer physicality of affect. However the centrality of the body in one's being is somewhat obscured through a habit of reflection, developed through self-consciousness which is generated from interaction. As through this habit an individual tends to view their body and habits as an object among objects, as separate from action and therefore as something one has, which can be worked on and changed. Indeed this process could be particularly heightened for visible minority boys as it is possible they may feel that it is possible

to change many aspects of one's body but not one's skin colour. Hence, from a phenomenological perspective this process reveals the root of dualism, as the creation of self-consciousness through interaction leads one to become aware of one's body as an object, and therefore as something to be examined and evaluated. Thus the splitting of the 'I' that examines from that which is examined, develops in relation to interaction, separating the rational from the embodied and the domination embedded within an embodied identity. Hence micro interactions and macro constructs can be analysed as fundamentally constructing each other and as inherently rooted in the body.

Brief Summary of Literature

Hence, the dominant international literature on migrant children's experiences and acculturation outcomes emphasizes their divergent adaptation strategies, mental health and identity outcomes (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; LaFromboise, Hardin, & Gerton, 1993; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Suairez-Orozco & Suairez-Orozco, 2002). While this literature emphasizes the impact of racism, insights from this body of work cannot be uncritically applied to Ireland, as this research has been untaken within countries of historically large scale immigration with a legacy of colonisation and slavery. However the current Irish literature does provide some cause for concern. Devine and Kenny (2002) has shown the major barriers for inclusion are language difficulties and conceptions of sameness and difference based on skin colour. Devine, Kenny and MacNeela (2008) have shown that children have a vocabulary of racially abusive terms to use in the 'back stage' of the school and racist name calling is a tool children draw on to assert their status over one another and strengthen and consolidate friendships between those who are the 'same' and those who are 'different'. The saliency of skin colour for belonging and otherness is analysed by Devine (2006) as connected to wider racist and nationalist discourses of 'Irishness'. Similar patterns of exclusion based on skins colour were also found by Ní Laoire (2009) and by Curry, Gilligan, Garratt and Scholtz (2011). My research aims to enhance this body of research by concentrating on boys' interactions and exchanges with a specific focus on embodiment and masculinity.

Literature from the U.K. has shown that overtly conflictual relationships between minority and majority group children has largely been characterised by male

violence with the worst incidents affecting visible minority groups of African and Middle Eastern ancestry (Phoenix & Frosh, 2001). Moreover visible minority boys have disproportionately been characterised as possessing a tough masculinity which serves to compound racist stereotypes (Gilroy 1992 [1987], Goodey 1998, Hill 2007). Recent scholarship has argued this construction is perpetuated through the embodiment of masculine and racialised identities (Epstein, 1997; Renold, 2004a; 2004b) rooted in a hierarchy of masculinities which endows some boys with prestige while others are marginalised and stigmatised (Connell, 1995; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Swain, 2000).

However this literature tends to draw heavily on the work of Foucault and Butler, which a growing body of literature suggests tends to re-create mind-body dualism to reproduce rather than deconstruct enlightenment rationality (Chambers, 2007; B. Krais, 2006; McNay, 2004b; S. Stoller, 2009). Thus, in light of recent policy critiques which contends that 'rational' polices are used to 'other' migrant groups (Bryan, 2008), it appears Bourdieu's concept of habitus enhanced by Merleau-Ponty's concept of habit (Crossley, 2001) is a more fruitful avenue through which the importance of the body within inter-ethnic relations can be explored and immigration and education policy critiqued. At the time of writing, there is no empirical work which has applied theories of masculinities and habitual embodiment to *migrant children* of primary school age and a paucity of literature which has looked as these issues with first instance migration. The majority of literature is with *established minority groups* in countries of historic immigration. Hence this research seeks to fill this gap in the knowledge base and propose a new way to understand embodiment through an analysis of the lived experience of children's acculturation journeys within Ireland.

Chapter 5 - Methodology

Science... never solves a problem without creating ten more

George Bernard Shaw

Introduction

This chapter seeks to outline the methodological approach of this research. The data analysed in this thesis was collected in two rounds of fieldwork. The first round was collected in conjunction with the wider Children, Youth and Community Relations Project [CYCR] *Learning Together*[47] as part of the Trinity Immigration Initiative and the second collected for the authors' PhD study alone. This chapter describes the logic, process, and rationale for adopting a qualitative phenomenological research paradigm in relation to the larger project and for this PhD study specifically. The child centred ethos of this research is examined and the reflective and ethical challenges explored. Moreover the process of data collection is explored in depth and the methods involved are described in detail through an assessment of their strengths and weaknesses.

Children as Active Subjects –A Child Centered Methodology

A child centred approach is key to all research conducted within the Children's Research Centre [CRC] of which the *Learning Together* project and the PhD study was based. Within the ethos of the CRC children are understood as persons in their own right and research draws on their competencies and capacities to engage in research and promotes the right of children to be considered persons of value with rights and responsibilities (Greene & Hogan, 2005). Indeed, over the last 20 years the way in which children and childhood has been viewed within Western society has shifted dramatically. This change can be seen through legislation such as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989 (notably Article 12) and within Ireland through the National Children's Strategy (2000) which focuses on understanding the 'whole' child and supporting research which facilitates the voice of children to be heard in 'in matters which affect them'. The perception of children in research as passive, dependent and incompetent has shifted to understand that children are

[47] Now a book called *Where To From Here? Inter-Ethnic Relations Among Children in Ireland* (Curry, Gilligan, Garratt, Scholtz, 2011)

actively involved in constructing their lives, possess an amount of autonomy and resilience and with a voice and perspective worthy of examination (Gilligan, 2008; James & Prout, 1990; Mayall, 2002; Woodhead, 2001).

The invisibility of children's perspectives in research until recently has largely been blamed on the legacy of developmental psychology especially that of the genetic epistemology of Jean Piaget (1954). Verhellen (1997) argues that within a developmental paradigm children are viewed as in a state of 'not yet being', as potentials, a project in the making as they are measured and assessed against the largely unexamined standard of adult maturity. Qvortrop (1994) contends this is the equivalent of seeing children as 'human becomings' rather than 'human beings' and for Knuttson (1997) as 'noble causes' rather than 'worthy citizens'. Therefore children have been evaluated through a framework which is concerned with positioning them on a stage-like journey towards maturity, rationality, responsibility and autonomy, supposedly available within the realm of adulthood. Moreover the traditional socialisation perspective tends to deny any agentic capacities of children, constructing them as passive vessels filled through society (Greene, 1997). However, concurrent with the shift to child centred research, developmental approaches have been re-evaluated, especially in relation to Vygotsky's (1978) cultural method (Connolly, 2009), and sociological thought has been re-invigorated through feminist and post-structural critiques which have opened up a space in which childhood can be more holistically considered. Hence the interdisciplinary field of childhood studies now understands children in the research process as the primary source of expertise on their own childhoods (Greene & Hill, 2005; Greene & Hogan, 2005; Woodhead, 1998, 1999, 2001). The capacity to access these insights was deemed particularly important for the present study as much of the Irish literature has focused on adults' and adolescents perspectives of integration and adults' perspectives of primary school aged children's integration and academic achievement (Devine, 2005; McGorman & Sugrue, 2007; Smyth et al., 2009; Smyth et al., 2004). Thus for the wider *Learning Together* project and this PhD study a qualitative phenomenological research paradigm was adopted.

Qualitative Phenomenological Research Paradigm

Research methodologies are rooted within varying epistemological and ontological assumptions. Thus, each methodological approach attempts to answer divergent research questions. In contrast to quantitative methods qualitative research does not attempt to test assumptions or refute theories, but is interpretive and focused on 'discovering meaning through observation, description, decoding, and translation' (Ahearn, 2000: 15). Indeed qualitative research paradigms have emerged from the phenomenological philosophical tradition discussed in the literature review. Hence, in contrast to the positivism which seeks to uncovered object knowledge or truth, the phenomenological tradition does not understand the social world as a real object which is completely knowable (Robson, 2002). Hence the social world is viewed as having multiple layers of meaning and interpretations in which social reality only exists through individuals' and group's subjective embodied perspectives (Taylor & Bogden, 1998). Therefore the aim of phenomenological interpretative analysis is to:

> *Focus on the subjective experience of the individuals studies. What is their experience like? How can one understand and describe what happens to them from their own point of view? As the terms suggests at its heart is the attempt to understand a particular phenomenon (Robson, 2002: 195).*

Hence a qualitative phenomenological research paradigm seeks to explore the continuously changing subjective experiences and perspectives of individuals and groups in their everyday interactions, experiences and perspectives (Halmi, 1996). Therefore as Taylor and Bogden argue 'the important reality is what people perceive it to be' (1998: 3).

However for many post-modern theorists this alternative perspective to social research has not gone far enough, and they contend that phenomenology treats experience as an unquestioned pre-condition of existence, thus any underlying factors shaping these experiences are not analysed (Gerhard, 2004). However Stoller (2009) has argued this is a misreading of phenomenology as it is not a science based in experience like empiricism, but a science derived from experience, as 'in contrast to empiricism, phenomenology does not take experience as the foundation of knowledge and insight; instead, experience and its structures constitute an object of phenomenological investigation' (Scott, 1991). Indeed the particular emphasis of phenomenological qualitative research, which treats experience as an object of

investigation, was deemed particularly important for adopting a child centred methodology[48]. As Danaher and Briod argue a phenomenological study of children aims to clarify, describe and interpret a child's experience of the world and address the question 'What is it like to be a child? What does it mean to live in the special manner of a child?' (2005: 218)

However even though a child centred methodology based on qualitative phenomenological paradigm does not aim to reveal an absolute reality, all research must remain vigilant against the postmodern critiques that social research is a form of bio-power[49]. Indeed while this research does not claim to be action or emancipatory research (Emery & Trist, 1965; Lewin, 1946) the right of children's voices to be heard on matters that affect them must be weighed up against any criticism of this nature. The legacy of the silence of children's voices in public policy is perhaps particularly poignant in the history of Ireland of which the 'Ryan' and 'Murphy' reports retrospective investigations of child abuse in Ireland has perhaps most powerful shown (Murphy, 2009; S. Ryan, 2009). Indeed, continuing research on vulnerable populations of children such as those in state care and victims of domestic violence have also attempted to directly informed policy developments in recent times (Buckley, Whelan, & Carr, 2011; Daly & Gilligan, 2005). Thus it is perhaps unfair to interpret all research as a form of governmentality; however it must always be acknowledged that research is not an account of reality but a much simplified version of only one interpretation of it. Yet, if undertaken with a high degree of reflexivity[50] and an awareness of its limitations, research is perhaps capable of allowing some voices to be heard that otherwise may remain silent.

Embodying the Least-Adult Role

However attempting to access children's perspectives and experiences requires children to trust and speak to an adult in a way they may not have done so before. Therefore, while acknowledging the competencies and abilities of children, it is also important to consider how adults are generally treated and viewed by them. It has been noted by the vast majority of childhood research that adults in a child's world

[48] Discussed below
[49] As discussed in chapter 2
[50] Reflexivity and it's limits discussed below

are generally authority figures who set boundaries for children, discipline and teach them, no more so than in the setting of the school. Moreover, adults can be considered as those to turn to for comfort, help and advice, or as a menacing and dangerous presence. Thus there is no doubt that there is somewhat of a power imbalance in the relationship between child and adult. Indeed it has been noted that children may act in ways to please the adult researcher or in fear of their reaction to them (Balen, Holroyd, Mountain, & Wood, 2000/2001; Coyne, 1998; Flewitt, 2005; M. Hill, 2005; Punch, 2002b; Robinson & Kellett, 2004). Indeed, while qualitative phenomenological research does not seek the 'truth' it does strive to elicit as 'honest' a perspective as possible, on how subjects view themselves and their experiences (Taylor & Bogden, 1998). This however is highly dependent on the 'relational context' or the relationship the researcher has with participants as Oakely argues:

> *The mythology of hygienic research, with its mastication of the researcher and the researched as objective instruments of data collection must be replaced by the recognition that personal involvement is more than dangerous bias – it is the condition under which people come to know each other and admit others into their lives (1981: 58)*

Therefore while personal involvement may be understood by positivism as a source of bias, within qualitative research there is recognition of the inevitability and importance of this relationship. Hence the approach adopted in this study was to undertake research with children through the embodiment of a 'least-adult role'.

Coined by Mandell (1988), this approach argues that while a researcher can never transcend their identity as an adult they can distinguish themselves from other adult authority figures by cultivating an identity as the least mature responsible adult of the children's acquaintance. Within the literature this is generally taken to mean that one refrains from disciplining children and giving them advice or instruction and let them call you by your first name and spend as much time as possible with the children as opposed to with teachers and staff (Einarsdottir, 2007). However the 'least-adult' role is also an embodied experience, in relation to how one's body is viewed objectively by children and how the researcher 'has' a body which they use as an object to further their research. For instance I took part in games of chasing, football, arm wrestling and card games, attempted to dance, sing, do cartwheels and build sand castles at the children's request. I let the children do my hair, give me a tattoo in marker and wear my sunglasses, scarves and gloves. Moreover I twisted my body into uncomfortable positions to mimic their body language, sitting on curbs,

gravelled playground surfaces, squatted and slouched to be at their eye level, swung from gates and doors, jumped from picnic tables and tried to climb a pillar. Indeed this behaviour slightly perturbed some teachers, especially when I refrained from standing with them at assemblies choosing instead to sit on the ground with the children, or avoided walking or sitting with them on class outings. Perhaps most importantly however I learned early in the fieldwork process to present myself in consistently informal manner. This consisted of wearing casual jeans, runners and jumpers or t-shirts, hair tied up, contact lenses and no make-up. This presentation of self was quite casual and distinguished me from the more professional looking teachers, it also minimised as much as possible the 'feminine' about me and its consistency became somewhat my 'uniform' within the school. I choose to rigorously adopt this strategy after an incident in school one:

> *On the way to the church today some of the boys from the class kept turning around to look at me, I smiled back at them but after the third time of this happening I went up to walk along side [names] to see what was going on, after a few seconds of awkward silence [name] said to me 'didn't know it was you Lindsey, you look like our teacher!' and they both started to laugh. I laughed with them and told them a joke I heard from [name] about a duck, they laughed, when I felt they had relaxed I asked them why I looked like their teacher, 'your hair is long like Miss [name], you shouldn't wear a dress you can't play football in that'. [Observation notes school 1]*

Even though I looked nothing like their teacher[51], I realised my change of appearance, which was prompted by preparing for a meeting later in the day had unsettled the boys. As the overt feminisation of my body [having my hair down and wearing a skirt], associated me with their teacher and by implication authority as the only other female in a class of boys. Thus, not only was the embodying of the least adult role important in distinguishing me from other adults it also seemed to help me establish rapport with the boys during observation[52].

Moreover however, the child world of the school is an embodied one, which both reflects and reproduces the agentic capacities of children and while the recognition of children's abilities and capacities is well overdue, one must also be careful not to fall back into a rather naïve notion of agency which simply reinterprets a paradigm of voluntarism[53]. Thus, this PhD study approaches children's agency as rooted in the body, not as a conservative deterministic impediment to free will, but through an acknowledgement that their connection to the child world of the field is based

[51] The teacher was 5ft 10in and blond, I am 5ft 5in with dark hair
[52] Discussion below
[53] As discussed in the literature review

through an embodied yet dynamic habitus. Hence the body is not understood as a conservative force driving behaviour through biological determinism, as has traditionally been the case in positivist's research paradigms (Smart et al 2001), but agency is interpreted as a capacity of the body, as through a phenomenological perspective 'to understand is to experience the harmony between what we aim at and what is given, between the intention and the performance – and the body is our anchorage in a world' (Merleau-Ponty, 1962: 144). Indeed, academic research is itself an embodied process, as the very nature of learning involves the incorporation and absorption of 'new competencies and understandings....which in turn, transform one's way of perceiving and acting in the world' (Crossley, 2001: 128). Thus, knowledge is gained through a practical engagement with one's area of interest at the level of reading and writing but also through one's presence in the research field (Kuhn, 1970; Polanyi, 1966). Therefore embodying the least adult role was not only important for the children's embodied perspective of me, but through practical engagement was important for informing my perspective through the expansion of my corporeal schema[54]. Thus in my direct engagement with my body I endeavoured to participate in the field as much as possible and incorporate knowledge from the field to shape my perceptions and understandings of social relations within it [55].

Data Set Summary

The data for this study comes from three 2nd year class groups[56] [7-8 years old] from three primary schools, in North Inner City Dublin. Two of these schools are all boys' schools and one is a mixed school. Data from these schools was collected between January and May 2008 as part of the larger Trinity Immigration Initiative, Children Youth and Community Relations Project (CYCR), 'Learning Together'. Three weeks were spent in each school which included two weeks of observations alone and one week of interviews and observations. In the second round of data collection

[54] Discussed below

[55] Limits discussed below

[56] Primary schools in the Republic of Ireland are usually split into junior and senior schools. The lower school consist of 'Junior Infants', followed by 'Senior Infants' and 1st class [ages 4-7 years], the senior cycle consists of 2nd class through to 6th class [ages 7 – 12]. At the end of the junior cycle children transfer to the senior side of the school, usually but not always run by different principals or move to a separate senior primary school. It is common for boys to complete their junior cycle within a girls' primary school which only allows boys to attend until the end 1st class. Therefore 2nd class usually marks the beginning of a child's time in the senior primary school, and it is common for class groups to be shuffled within combined junior and senior schools or boys from several feeder schools to come together for the first time. In this sample, the mixed school consists of both a junior and senior school run by two different principals, and both boys' schools are senior schools only, which receive their students from a number of girls' primary schools and mixed junior feeder schools.

one month was spend in the school with three weeks of observations alone and one week of observations and interviews[57] The sample from the larger CYCR consists of 55 children, 47 boys and 8 girls and 28 interviews. Children were interviewed individually or in pairs and very occasionally trios according to their preference. Class group 3 was revisited one year on in May 2009 when they were in 3rd class [8 – 9 years] for the author's PhD study alone. In this second phase of fieldwork, 4 new boys had joined the class bringing the class number to 21 boys. 14 interviews were collected in this phase of fieldwork. A total number of 42 interviews, from 59 participates, 51 boys and 8 girls, 39 children from the dominant group and 20 from migrant backgrounds are analysed. Of the children of migrant backgrounds 9 nationalities are represented, Nigerian, Ghanaian, Romanian, Lithuanian, Polish, Mauritian, Zimbabwean, Chinese and Russian. The breakdown of these exact numbers is not given as it may be possible to identify the class groups from this information. Thus, 29.5 % of the children in the sample for the PhD study are from migrant populations, which is in line with the wider demographics for the *Learning Together* project and the North Inner City Schools Survey (NICSS) discussed below. However even though data is taken from the larger learning together project all data [interviews and fieldnotes] used for this study were conducted and written by the author of this thesis. This researcher conducted all the interviews with all second class groups in the wider study and took all the fieldnotes for this year group. However these data sources were also utilized for analysis by the wider *Learning Together* project. See fig 4.1.

Additionally the data consists of approximately 65 hours of observation notes on the 'child world of the school' space in which children's attention was primarily on their peers in the absence of overt adult supervision and control. This largely consisted of the children's recreational time before and after school [usually 15 minutes in total], during 'small break' [usually 15 minutes] and 'big break' [usually 30 minutes]. 45 hours of notes from the larger CYCR study and 20 hours from the second round of data collection are analysed. Moreover the interviews are informed by 29 hours of in classroom observation from the wider CYCR project. While the majority of in classroom observation took place within classroom time this also included brief class

[57] See below for further elaboration.

excursions to swimming lessons, trips to the local church and less formal classes such as physical education, art and one sports day. However these notes do not constitute data in and of themselves, but form the context onto which observations in the child world can be understood and opinions and stories in the interviews can be compared to. Perhaps most importantly though, they formed the basis in which rapport between the researcher and children could be built and allowed the researcher to casually chat with the children about their opinions and incidences in the school. Knowledge gained from these informal chats during in-classroom and child world observations also allowed the researcher to tailor interviews to specific situations and experiences of each child and build on previous conversations. See fig 4.2

Fig 4.1 Interviews

CLASS	TYPE OF SCHOOL	TOTAL NO. OF BOYS	NO. OF MIGRANT BOYS	NO. OF GIRLS	NO. OF MIGRANT GIRLS	NO. OF INTERVIEWS
1	All boys	18	3	N/A	N/A	9
2	Mixed	11	7	8	3	11
3	All Boys	18	4	N/A	N/A	8
3 (II) Extra	All Boys	4	3	N/A	N/A	14
Total		51	17	8	3	42

Fig 4.2. Observation

SCHOOL	CHILD WORLD	IN - CLASSROOM	Σ
1	15	10	25
2	15	8	23
3	15	8	23
3 (II)	20	N/A	20
Total	65	26	91

TII, Children Youth and Community Relations Project

The Trinity Immigration Initiative [TII] is a cross disciplinary group consisting of six research streams with the united goal of exploring the implications of diversity in

Ireland for Policy and Practice, as of 2010 the TII is now part of the Institute for International Integration Studies [IIIS]. Within the Children, Youth and Community Relations [CYCR] stream of the initiative there are four projects, *Learning Together* a study of primary school aged children, the *North Inner City Schools Survey* [NICSS] a quantitative demographic survey of school composition in North Inner City Dublin, (P. Curry et al., 2011). A Campbell Review of effective school based interventions to promote positive inter-ethnic relations, funded by IRCHSS[58] and *In the Front Line of Integration: Young People Managing Migration to Ireland* (Gilligan et al., 2010) a study of the experiences of life in Ireland for 169 young migrants aged 15 – 17, co-sponsored by Integrating Ireland now the Integration Centre.

Within the larger TII collaboration each of the TII research streams had a PhD studentship available; this PhD study was initially funded through this studentship. As part of the conditions of funding the PhD students worked as researchers for the larger project on which they were funded, but with permission to use the data sets gathered for one's own PhD analysis. The author also worked as a researcher on both the *Learning Together* project and *NICSS*. This role consisted of being one of two primary field researchers, a trainer of subsequent research assistants and one of a team of transcribers and data analysers. Moreover, the author was one of four people who oversaw the intellectual development and planning of the 'Learning Together', project as well as the co-authorship of *Where to From Here? Inter-ethnic Relations among Children in Ireland* (P. Curry et al., 2011) which disseminates the findings from *Learning Together* project and the *NICSS* survey. These studies were facilitated and based in the Children's Research Centre [CRC].

Aim of 'Learning Together' Project

In light of the ethos of child centred research in the CRC and the paucity of research in the Irish context which has attempted to explore the nature of relationships between children from migrant and dominant group backgrounds, the first aim of *Learning Together* was to use primary schools as research hubs to explore this phenomenon. Thus, the wider study and the PhD study is not educational research

[58] Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences

per se, as schools were primarily accessed as sites in which interaction between migrant and dominant group children could be explored. This decision was made as anecdotal evidence before the commencement of fieldwork suggested that very little interaction between groups occurred outside of schools in the North-Inner City area, this was later confirmed by the 'Learning Together' project (P. Curry et al., 2011). Therefore primary schools were chosen as fieldwork sites as they were the only locations in which interaction between groups could be guaranteed to be observed.

Thus, while the focus of the larger project and of the PhD is not to explicitly analyse the institution of the school and its role in the creation of in-group and out-group relations, it is acknowledged that research conducted in an educational setting will always be tempered by that institution. From the structure of the children's days and their free time, the creation of class groups and therefore many friendship groups, the development of children's reputations in relation to their educational success or failure in the classroom, and teacher's relationships with individual children and how this is perceived by their peers (Christensen & James, 2000; Greene & Hogan, 2005; Thorne, 1993). However it is also recognised that children's worlds are not fully constructed by the adult world or through institutions (Kehily & Swann, 2003). Indeed the wider 'Learning Together' project quickly realised that adults seriously underestimate the complexities of the 'child world' of the school, spaces in which the children's attention is primarily on their peers instead of authority figures (G. A. Fine & Sandstrom, 1988; M Hill, 1997), as:

> *To adult eyes the social world of children is a subterranean one, a complex world that most of us are still dimly aware of but find difficult to bring to consciousness. It is a world of cliques, games, rules, norms, favourite T.V. shows and sports stars, where who plays with whom is gossip and where there are strong but fluctuating boundaries separating playmates, best friends and a variety of other groups' (P. Curry et al., 2011).*

The logic of peer interaction within the child world of the school is therefore not a simply watered down version of adult values or institutional norms, but is a dialectical web of many factors including children's habitual agentic strategies which actively constructs their peer cultures[59] (Kehily & Swann, 2003; Opie & Opie, 1959). Thus, research with children in schools can arguably be undertaken without an overt focus on analysing the *school in children*, or educational achievement, however one must remain vigilant to consider the institutional setting and remain

[59] The point on children's agency will be elaborated in the sections on Children as active subjects and Reflexivity.

reflexive of its effect with other contextual factors.

The second aim of the project was to analyse phenomenon through a case study of North Inner City Dublin. While not an official administrative area the 'Northside' is usually defined as the area north of the river Liffey and between the Grand Canal in the east and the Phoenix Park[60] on the west. For research purposes this area is slightly larger consisting of postal codes Dublin 1, 3 and 7, extending from East Wall [on the sea front] to Stoneybatter [beside Phoenix park]. Historically the 'Northside' is generally accepted as the most deprived part of the Republic of Ireland and even with the emergence of disadvantaged suburbs in Dublin and in other urban hubs remains one of the most underprivileged communities in Ireland, with below average rates of compulsory school completion, unemployment rates and above average local authority housing (Bannon, Eustace, & O'Neill, 1981; P. Curry et al., 2011; Luddy, 2007; Prunty, 1999). Moreover, this area has seen some of the most noticeable demographic shifts since the early 1990s in relation to migration, as the abundance of cheap housing in the private and public sector, the proximity of this area to affluent areas of employment and its geographical location as the first port of call for migrants entering the country through Dublin[61] (Haase & Byrne, 2008). Surprisingly however there has been little research on migration within this location. Hence, the *Learning Together* project sought to understand the interactions and perspectives of children within the North-Inner city through a case study methodology (Yin, 2008).

Therefore one site within the North-Inner city was not analysed alone but multiple sites were used to build up a more densely saturated understanding of the local context onto which children were growing up, both influenced by and actively influencing the cultural geography of this area (Paul Connolly, 1998; Creswell, 1998). Moreover from the author's perspective and for this PhD study North Inner-City Dublin is analysed by Goodwin (2002) as presenting a different form of 'Irishness' based on manual labour, industrialization, chronic unemployment and persistently high levels of crime, and therefore arguably offers a 'masculine Irish' identity which differs from the macro hegemonic form of Irish masculinity usually

[60] Large urban Park in Dublin
[61] Due to direct transport links to Dublin Airport and Connolly train station

described as rooted in a rural identity, land and home ownership (Ni Laoire, 2005). Hence North-Dublin's inner city can be viewed as both dominated in terms of socio-economic status but also in terms of a de-legitimized 'Irish' identity in relation to the master narrative of 'Irishness' and 'masculinity' as developed in relation to the Celtic revival. Therefore not only are migrants entering an area of historic deprivation but they are arguably trying to integrate with a population whose identity as Irish is also questioned and assessed as the underclass of 'Irish' society (Haase & Byrne, 2008).

Research Procedure - Learning Together

Selection of Schools and North Inner City School Survey [NICSS]

The NICSS survey took place in April 2007 and 2008 and formed the context onto which the 'Learning Together' project was launched. The NICSS survey was designed to gathered demographic data from all 17 primary schools within the defined North Inner City research area. In 2007 all 17 schools participated, in 2008 16 schools participated. The first round of the survey revealed that 31.3% of primary school children were from migrant backgrounds and in 2008 this increased to 34.4%. Of those from migrant backgrounds 55 nationalities were represented without one group predominating. In the 2007 survey junior classes tended to have the largest proportion of migrant students, with a drop between the ages of 8-10 years and rise again in the most senior classes. Of the 17 schools in the first round some schools have as low a migrant population as 4% and some as high as 60% (P. Curry et al., 2011). From this demographic information it was decided that for an appropriate case study of North Inner City Dublin schools would need to be targeted for research using 'maximum variation sampling' (Patton, 2001) which is an approach that tries to retain the greatest amount of diversity within a sample. However as interaction between migrant and dominate groups was the focus of the study, schools with less than 8% migrant populations were excluded. Moreover in keeping with maximum variation sampling, it was decided to include a broad range of ages in the study. However junior primary schools were excluded, as the difficulties of negotiating access with two principals and sometimes two premises would not have been possible in the time frame. Thus, 2nd, 4th and 6th class were selected as the preferred

class groups to study[62]. 2nd class is the youngest age group in senior primary schools; in the 2007 survey this would have been 1st class of which the demographic data suggested 28.7% of the pupils were from migrant backgrounds, in the 2008 survey this proportion was 26.2%, the sample for this PhD study is 29.5%.

Other factors in the selection of schools were geographical spread and sex profile of the school. Two all-girls schools, two all-boys school, one mixed school and two schools with a mixed junior cycle and girls senior cycle, were included in the overall *Learning Together* sample in relation to these factors. One mixed school declined the invitation to participate, stating reasons of being over-researched and the lateness of the school year. All seven schools served largely underprivileged areas and four were part of the Delivering Equality of Opportunity in Schools (DEIS) initiative of the Department of Education which supports designated disadvantaged schools, all three of the schools selected for this PhD are part of this program. Like many primary schools in Ireland, all the schools were relatively small, five of the seven have between 170 and 220 pupils and other two between 293 and 364 (P. Curry et al., 2011). In total, 343 children and ten teachers were interviewed, 206 of these children were girls and 137 boys, 28.6% of migrant background (P. Curry et al., 2011: 39).

Approaching the Schools and Informed consent

Within *Learning Together* fieldwork was conducted in 20 classrooms from 7 schools in 5 months. Approximately one month before the commencement of fieldwork in each school the project PI Prof. Robbie Gilligan contacted the school principal by post which included a letter of introduction and an information booklet on the study[63]; this was then followed up by a phone call. Once initial consent had been sought from the school Principal, a meeting with the core research team was arranged[64]. At this meeting the project was explained in detail, and the Principal was

[62] However the selection of these year groups was not always possible depending on the needs of the school and class teachers, therefore in some cases other year groups were studied giving a final sample of, two senior infant classes, one 1st class, three 2nd class groups [all data gathered by author of this thesis], six 4th classes, two 5th classes, five 6th classes and one combined 5th and five 6th class groups and a total sample of 20 classrooms from seven schools.

[63] Appendix 3

[64] The key members of this team were Prof. Robbie Gilligan, Dr. Philip Curry, Jennifer Scholtz and Lindsey Garratt [author] however in the latter quarter of the fieldwork stage other researchers were trained to conduct fieldwork in schools so concurrent research could be conducted in several schools at a time [see acknowledgements] thus the principal would meet with two of the core team plus the field researchers that would

asked to approach teachers who may be interested and class groups which fitted the aims of the project. The research team then met with the class teachers, explained the research and provided them with information booklets[65]. Once the teachers consent was obtained they were asked to send home the parental consent forms and information sheets[66] with the children and collect the completed parental consent forms one week prior to the commencement of fieldwork[67]. At this point the researchers also asked the teachers if there were any language difficulties in the class group. If language barriers were identified translated documents were provided in the language of origin and interpreters were arranged for the first meeting with the children and the later interviews. In the PhD sample, one child was identified as lacking English proficiency and a translator was organised[68].

When all the parental consent forms were completed and collected in the class, the field-researchers visited the class groups. The researcher usually came into unstructured class times such as art classes or at breakfast times before formal classes commenced[69]. During this visit the researcher explained the research to the children in age appropriate terms they then distributed age appropriate information sheets and consent forms[70]. At this point the researcher moved around the classroom and spoke to the children one to one about the project, they answered any questions the children had, helped them read the information sheets and once again explained what the researcher would be doing in the class and what would be required of them if they wanted to take part. At all times during the research introduction, one to one explanations, and throughout the fieldwork the researchers emphasised to the children they were not obligated to take part and they could stop being a part of the research at any time. Hence gaining consent was not a discrete process but one that was constantly negotiated, Cocks (2006), argues this of being continually sensitive to the children's willingness to be a part of research is particularly important when

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be working in their school. However all data sources for 2nd year groups were gathered by the author Lindsey Garratt

[65] Appendix 1

[66] Appendix 1

[67] The complexities of this will be discussed in the sections on ethics, reflexivity and the limitation of the study.

[68] A further discussion of the complexities of this is discussed in the section on ethics.

[69] As part of the DEIS programme free packed lunches and breakfasts are provided and usually eaten in the classroom with the class group. Very few schools have canteen facilities in the Republic of Ireland and no canteen facilities existed in the participating schools.

[70] Appendix for an example of the typical introduction, and children's information sheets and consent forms.

researching children for whom English may be problematic[71] as gaining consent is only meaningful if the potential participants are informed and understand that their participation is voluntary as Mahon et al (1996) point out a researcher can be interpreted as an authority figure that that participants may feel they must acquiesce to. Field research usually took place over a three week period[72]. At the end of the second week an 'interview game' was played with the children which introduced the idea of an interview and also allowed the researcher to once again ask for the children's consent to interview them[73]. If the children consented to be interviewed they were given a sheet to fill in which asked them if they wanted to be interviewed alone or with a friend. If they selected to be interviewed with a friend they were asked to write down two children from the class which they wouldn't mind being interviewed with. These sheets were then collected and an interview list was made up which made sure those who wanted to be interviewed alone could do so and those who wanted to be with a friend where paired with at least one of their named friends. Semi-structured interviews took place in week three after spending two full weeks with the children.

Data Collection Methods

Qualitative phenomenological research is characterised by a flexible use of multi methods which aims to provide what Geertz (1973) calls 'thick descriptions' of social phenomena instead of aiming to get close to an objective truth (Flick, 1998). This PhD study employed two primary data collection methods unstructured qualitative observation and semi-structured interviews.

Observation

Using observation as a data collection technique with young children has a long history (Greene & Hill, 2005). However this is largely due to the sceptical beliefs held about young children's capacity for competent assessment of their lives and experiences[74] (Paul Connolly, 1998). Historically then observation was not adopted as a technique to engage with children but contradictorily to disengage from them, as

[71] This will be further explored in the ethics section below
[72] As described above
[73] See Appendix 2
[74] See earlier section on Children as Active Subjects

detached observation was believed to be possible and preferable with the overarching goal of dispassionately recording children's behaviour; another legacy of 'rational' positivism. Within a child centred methodology however observation is not used in lieu of a judgement of competency but as way to triangulate data by comparing reported and observed behaviour[75] (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995), and as an opportunity for the researcher to educate themselves on the interests and competencies of children within the child world (Gallagher, 2009). Hence though the observation process I was able to expand my knowledge of the field and sensitize my corporeal schema to the structured of the school day, the children's and school's unique vocabulary for phenomena, previous instances, urban myths and gossip surrounding boys in the class and the games played and the friendship groups in the class. Indeed the absorption of this knowledge further informed my perceptions of the child world field which in turn helped me to converse knowledgeably with the children and tailor the interview to each child accordingly. Moreover not only did it allow me to gather data directly on interactions between children in the child world it also allowed me to informally chat with the boys to explain the research further, and provided an informal space in which the children could ask questions or express any concerns they had about the research. These chats also allowed me to ask children about instances in their immediate aftermath, to clarify observed phenomenon and gain the children's insights and opinions (Paul Connolly, 1998).

However, the development of observation as a data collection tool owes much to the development of *participant observation* within the ethnographic methodological tradition (Agar, 1986). Within the ethnographic approach the researcher spends a significant amount of time within the field to develop an understanding of what participants experience, how they act and perceive themselves and what meanings and values they attach to their social worlds (Emond, 2005). However 'participant' is the key word here, claiming to conduct participant observation with young children is somewhat problematic. As an adult female in the social world of children I would contend it is largely impossible to be a true insider within a child's world. While my role as 'least adult', as discussed earlier, did work quite well in differentiating me from teachers and expanding my corporeal schema, it would be

[75] This will be discussed in more detail in the section on reflexivity.

naïve to believe that an adult researcher can fully negate their status as an adult and be an insider within the child world. Indeed although I spent a relatively short amount of time in each school compared to ethnographic research, the intensity of my presence over a full three week period did seem to establish me as somewhat a part of the informal school world, for instance:

> *A little boy from the other 2nd class comes up to me during yard to ask me if he can go to the bathroom. I tell him he better ask a teacher as I am not one Barry then runs over and says to him 'she's not a teacher she is Lindsey a friend of our class' he then runs back to the football field*
>
> [School 3 (I) Dominant Group (DG) boy aged 8]

> **Lindsey I forget that you weren't here at Christmas**
>
> *[School 1 Migrant Group (MG) boy aged 8]*

Yet, this still does not constitute becoming an insider in a child's world, as the very essence of this world is one which is created for and by children (G. A. Fine & Sandstrom, 1988; M Hill, 1997). However observation in this study is not that of a detached method (King, 1978), but is rather an unstructured qualitative observation from the adult context of the field onto which the children's world unfolds (M Hill, 1997). In my position as researcher though, while my gaze comes from the same space as other adults I would contend its direction and purpose is different. In a phenomenological methodology, perception is understood as an acquired habit of the body built upon our being-in-the-world, our sensuous relationship to an environment through our embodied interactions with it. As Merleau-Ponty highlights using the example of colours:

> *[T]o learn to see colours is to acquire a new way of seeing, a new use of one's own body: it is to recast the body image. Whether a system of motor or perceptual powers, our body is not an object for an 'I think', it is a grouping of lived through meanings which moves towards its equilibrium (1962: 153).*

Thus, the attention of my gaze comes from the interests of a researcher embodying a 'least-adult' role, therefore my expanding corporeal schema through this process arguable gave me a different perspective of the child world, as the habituated schemas of other adults may be vested with other interests, such as maintaining order, watching for danger and professional practice (P. Curry et al., 2011). Therefore while I can never contend to have been a participant in the child world field, my gaze was arguably different from other adults in the field[76].

[76] The limitation of this will be explored in the reflexivity section.

Fieldnotes

Due to the relatively short amounts of time of each observation session, notes were not taken during observation but written up in full immediately after the observation session cessed, usually in the staff rooms of the schools after break times or immediately on return to the office after the school day ended. At the end of the fieldwork period a map of the school yard was also drawn up to map out the areas of the yard in which certain groups tended to play most often and what each area was usually used for by the children. In-class observation was recorded in the same way. These notes also contained conversations I had with the children and class teachers; moreover I keep a research journal to note down my experiences of the research process, the difficulties and strategies I employed as I spend time in the field.

Semi-Structured Interviews

For Greene and Hill a semi structured interview is 'between a totally prescribed set of questions and a totally unstructured exchange' (2005: 14) and is perhaps the most commonly used tool in the social sciences (Benney & Hughes, 1970). However this method has not been commonly used with young children until recently, due to the perception of children through the developmental and socialisation paradigms discussed earlier. Indeed in relation to prejudice and racism quantitative interviews or attitudinal tests remain the preferred methods (F. E. Aboud, 2003; Paul Connolly, 1998). For the *Learning Together* project and this PhD study semi-structured interviews were selected for several reasons. Firstly, and most importantly this particular method seemed to be suited to exploring the meanings, perspectives, knowledge and viewpoints of the children, which is the primary aim of child centred research. Moreover, there is some evidence that children can find semi-structured interviews somewhat engaging and interesting especially if activities or exercises are involved as part of the process (Malcolm Hill, 2006; Punch, 2002a). Secondly semi-structured interviews were chosen over unstructured interviews due to the time constraints in conducting research in schools[77], but also as the interviews built very much from previous observations and allowed a space in which the researcher could ask questions to clarify incidences observed and allow the researcher to use knowledge gleaned from observation to engage with the children with a more

[77] Explored in more detail in the section dealing with challenges of school based research.

knowledgeable dialogue.

Semi-structured interviews were guided by a flexible interview schedule broadly covering the areas of the children's experiences of school, friends in school, and friends outside school, sense of place, identity and community relations. Slightly different questions were used with migrant or dominant group children, however these differences where minor the only real difference being to assess the migrant children's migration stories[78]. The interviews also contained one visual prop, a map of the world was shown to the children and a number of countries were pointed out to them on it. The children were then asked if they knew anything about these countries, if they knew anyone from these countries and if they felt they were the same or different to people from these countries.

However Westcott and Littleton importantly point out that 'an interview is not about 'unearthing things'; rather it is about constructing an account with a child' (2005: 150). Thus from a phenomenological perspective within an interview participants not only answer the questions asked by the researcher but are concurrently in an interaction with the researcher and therefore construct narratives and formulate their own conceptions within this interaction. Hence the time spent with the researcher before the interviews commenced and their perspectives of the researcher as 'least-adult' or otherwise, arguably had as important impact on the interviews as the knowledge gleaned by the researcher during observation stage of the research for inclusion in the interview. Thus, children were offered a carton of juice and a small chocolate bar at the start of the interview and told they were free to consume them during the interview or later on, the researcher also drank a carton of juice and sometimes ate a chocolate bar with the children. Any children who did not want to participate in the interviews [one child in the first round from the sample taken from *Learning Together* and one child in the second round of fieldwork for the PhD study alone] were also given a carton of juice and chocolate bar. Thus this was not offered as a gratuity or incentive but to create as informal an atmosphere as possible during the interview, it was also useful in differentiating the researcher from teachers and other adults in the school[79]. All interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed.

[78] See appendices 4

[79] More details given in realities of school based fieldwork

Due to the large number of interviews in the *Learning Together* project and the short periods of time between fieldwork periods, some of these interviews were transcribed by external agencies, however all transcripts used for the PhD study were checked by the author against the tape for accuracy and re-transcribed when needed. All interviews in the second stage of research were transcribed by the author alone.

Emergent Aims of PhD study and Research Questions

As fieldwork on the *Learning Together* project commenced in January 2008[80] this PhD study was not developed discretely from a separate review of the literature but emerged from a practical engagement with both the literature and the field of study. It quickly became apparent in line with international and Irish research (Lodge, 2005; Thorne, 1993) that boys and girls had very different friendship patterns and participated in different activities within the child world. Moreover in the interviews the boys constantly talked about football within the school and professional football leagues and tended to relate their wider experiences to football. Even for boys who did not play football in the yard this remained the main topic of conversation, hence football seemed to inhabit a space as more than simply a recreational activity. Indeed, from observations it became clear that while migrant and dominant group boys tended to play with each other through the medium of football, there were internal power dynamics and these games were more than a light hearted game or a simple meritocracy of skill. Hence early in the field process I began to engage in the literature on masculinities and sports participation, moreover though during the interviews I became increasingly aware of how 'emotionally charged' (R. M. Lee & Renzetti, 1993: 6) these interactions could be and the covert and overt levels of racism, marginalisation and discrimination within the boys interactions. Therefore after an initial period of data analysis on the completion of the first round of data I decided to focus my thesis on the role of the body with migrant and dominant group boys' social relations. At this point I undertook an initial literature review and decided to re-enter the field to further probe the themes of the emerging PhD topic in more depth.

[80] Three months after the author started as a student in October 2007

Aim

Hence the aim of this project is to investigate the impact of the body in the social relations between migrant and dominant group boys within the child world of the school. The 'body' refers both its objective form as a bearer of social value and status for instance in one's appearance such as one's height, weight, clothing, 'racialised' characteristics such as skin colour and physical competence/incompetence in sport and games. Moreover it describes the habitual and affective action and perspectives of the boys as embodied beings.

Objectives of the study

- To uncover the dynamics and processes of the child world in which migrant and dominant boys interact.
- To understand the role of masculinities construction in migrant/indigenous relations within the child world
- To analyse how this is operationalized at the level of the body within interactions in the child world
- To explore how the dynamics of status, pride and shame as they relate to masculinities construction and the body facilitate and impede integration of migrant and indigenous boys.

Research Questions

- What is the nature of the relationships between migrant and dominant group boys within the child world of the school?
- Does physical competence at sport and games affect these relationships? If so what affect does this have?
- Does visible difference or similarity of the body affect migrant boys' acceptance or marginalisation within the child world?
- How do these processes correspond to status for migrant boys within the child world?
- Does status gained in the child world affect multi-ethnic relationships between the boys?

Second Round Data Collection

Case studies are often employed to elaborate phenomena found in larger research projects to gain more information about the structure, process and complexity of the object of study (Yin, 2008). While the data generated for the larger project provided a wealth of data, the emergent themes of the PhD study had not been directly probed, hence it was decided by the researcher and her supervisor to re-enter the field to examine the themes of the PhD study alone in more depth. Furthermore revisiting one school a year on allowed the researcher to gain some insight into how social relations between boys had developed within the intervening time (Gallagher, 2009). The particular case study class was selected as the PhD study focuses on boys social relations, so one of the two boys' schools seemed to facilitate this more readily, moreover class group 3 had a larger percentage of migrant pupils that class group 1 and I also felt I had cultivated the most 'least-adult' reputation with class group 3, which had arguably enhanced the quality of the interviews. However the data generated from the case study was largely in-line with the data from the larger study so the findings chapters include data from both the first and second round of data collection yet each chapter includes a descriptive vignette of one aspect of the case study class to highlight the findings in each chapter, and provide more context to the contentions that are made in each section.

The second round of data collection followed a similar methodology to the first round of data collection for several reasons. Firstly, as the initial round of data collection derived such rich thick data and descriptions, and secondly as the boys remembered me from last year and expected me to follow the same pattern. Indeed the moment I entered the class for the second time they began to tell me who they wanted to be interviewed with and educated their class teacher on who I was and what she could expect from my presence in the class. Therefore I felt I couldn't divert very much from my previous methods with the exception of not conducting in-classroom observations and spending a full month with the class group. Moreover for interviews in this round of data collection I prepared an interview schedule around the objectives and research questions of the PhD study alone[81], this included

[81] See appendix 7

a different visual aid which consisted of small cards each with a name of boy in the class. I presented these cards to the boys with a simple introduction that these were the names of all the boys in the class and they were allowed to do anything they wanted with them; in all cases the boys began to divide the names into the different friendship groups in the class or into those people they liked and those they did not. From this I would simply ask the boys why they played with certain people or did not play with them. However while this visual prompt and interview schedule was prepared, interviews were mostly unstructured and followed the themes the boys wanted to talk about or drew on incidents or conversations with the boys during the observation sessions.

Data Analysis

I understand qualitative research as a process that is centrally hinged on the interpretation of data and does not exist as a discrete stage in the qualitative research process but is rather an on-going and fluid development that takes place throughout and within various stages of the research project. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) argue that the analysis of data truly begins at the pre-fieldwork phase of the project with the formulation and clarification of research problems and the writing of reports articles and memoranda. As one can see from above these largely administrative activities had a bearing on my analysis of the data, as no matter how rigorously structured these activities were undertaken they were inevitably influenced to a certain extent by my assumptions and hunches. These presumptions came from a number of sources including my emergent theoretical focus, the empirical literature I have read and my own personal life experiences; therefore the research focus that is formed by the pre-fieldwork stage opened some analytical interpretations and the closed others (Mason, 1996). In essence then by the time I came to formally analysis my data much of the possible interpretations that may have been applicable were ruled out, with this in mind I tried to undertake my formal analysis with a high degree of reflexivity while also applying a consistent and appropriate method for analysis[82].

[82] Discussed below

In order to formally analysis the data I was guided by the grounded theory approach of Glaser and Strauss (2008 [1967]). In this approach ideas and propositions are generated out of one's data using a coding procedure of concepts and indicators. I believe this method is better suited for the analyses of qualitative data as it is based on an ethos of discovery as opposed to the verification or rejection of hypotheses, which I believe is too strongly tied to quantitative methods and ideology to be appropriate for the analysis of qualitative data. Within the grounded theory approach coding is done through the 'constant comparison of phenomena, cases, concepts…and the formulation of questions that are addressed to the text' (Flick, 1998: 179). Therefore I developed applicable codes through a constant comparative framework or what Mason (1996) refers to as an intellectual puzzle. These codes were attached to the data in order to represent the operations by which it had been broken down, conceptualised and put back together in a new logical and abstracted form. The coding process had three interrelated stages, which were open coding, axial coding and selective coding, neither stage was a discrete process but follows what Hammersley and Atknison (1995) refer to as a funnel structure in which data codes are focused over the process of data analysis.

In practical terms the coding of data began after each set of data was collected. When possible the coding began as soon as possible after the interview or observation even if it only consisted of making a few notes of key points I felt were relevant at the time, I also tried to capture any environmental or temporal influences present in order to contextualise the data (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Coding sessions between data collections became increasingly important as it allowed me to build a dialectical relationship between the coding process and data collection, in order words by analysing the data before undertaking more fieldwork I had a better sense of what I was researching and was therefore was more vigilant for certain types of behaviours, or was more aware to ask particular questions which I began to feel may be relevant. These initial codes are referred to by Glaser and Strauss (2008 [1967]) as open codes, by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) as sensitising codes and by Mason (1996) as literal-interpretive codes and are generated by carefully combing through the data word by word and line by line. The initial codes were as close to the text as possible and used categories that the respondents used themselves or what are referred to as in-vivo codes. As the research progressed I came as familiar with the

data as possible by constantly reading the field notes and transcripts and listing to interview tapes, throughout which I wrote memos to document my hunches and analyses.

The categories that emerged from this process served as a description and an analysis of certain indicators in the data, in order to verify if these categories where appropriate for the indicators they were designed to describe I constantly compared them to the data and if any alternative meanings for the indicators came to light they were tested against the data to see if it had validity and if so the category had to be augmented or a new category formed. Therefore the indicators that constitute a category had to be analysed in terms of their similarities, differences and degrees of consistency of meaning in order to form a stable category. Through this process I derived hundreds of codes and therefore it was necessary to ascend the ladder of abstraction and begin to move away from in-vivo codes to observer-identified codes, (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Through this however it was important to practice what Hammersley and Atkinson have referred to as 'analytical nerve', which is the ability to 'tolerate uncertainty and ambiguity in one's interpretations and resisting the temptation to rush to determinate conclusions' (1995: 210). Without such a process I would have risked forcing the data into an unnatural mould which would have corrupted my findings, thus, my knowledge of the field was used as a resource for analysing the data but did not become an untouchable blueprint which could not be challenged. From this initial stage of coding I developed the focus of the PhD topic and conducted an initial literature review and then began the second round of data collection of which the previous stages of coding where repeated.

With the full data set collected and transcribed the next step in my approach was to group the open codes around phenomena discovered in the data that were particularly relevant to the research questions. The most apparently fruitful categories were taken one by one and intensely analysed using the methods described above and in terms of the paradigm items of 'conditions of interaction among the actors, strategies, tactics and consequences' (Strauss, 1987: 27 - 28). Categories and indicators were rigorously compared and questioned using these methods and were checked constantly against the data, when no new information was discovered these categories were said to be saturated and become relatively

stable codes. At this point I had to be ontologically clear about what exactly indicated a category in my analysis. However in order to be able to do this in practical terms I had to physically devise a filing system in which data could be retrieved easily and cross-sectionally indexed and compared (Mason, 1996). In order to do this I worked on hardcopy but also used the facilities of the QSR Nvivo 8 qualitative research software. The addition of appropriate software allowed me to store, analyse and compare data more efficiently and thoroughly than would have been possible by working on hard copy alone, as the convenience for storage and retrieval of material cuts wasted time dramatically. However I was careful to undertake a lot of analyses through hard copy especially in the early stages, as I am aware that the use of computer software can make one believe one's analysis is perhaps more stable than is necessary so.

From this point I defined core categories which illustrated a consistent pattern and described a relationship across the whole corpus of data. These codes were selected out and I commenced to axial code them at a higher level of abstraction. During this stage key codes were identified and the other codes became subservient to them. My findings then developed through the connections and formulation of networks that took place between the key codes and the other codes, as the categories became integrated the relationship between the different codes were elaborated and began to form a densely saturated theory which was once again compared to the data for verification (Flick, 1998). During this last phase of comparison I made sure to read and compare my findings with the empirical data on a literal, interpretive and reflexive level (Mason, 1996) in order to be a confident as possible with my conclusions when I came to write up the finding chapters. While this method was a quite a loose framework I felt it was important to be as rigorous and organised as possible, while also appreciating that the looseness of the qualitative phenomenological paradigm allowed me to retain greater degree of meaning in my findings than traditional quantitative analyses.

Reflexivity, Ethics and Challenges

Indeed the cornerstone of any social research is for it to be conducted with a high degree of reflectivity and within a Bourdieusian framework this is even more

intrinsic as Bourdieu (1992) contends that the superiority of sociology as a scientific craft hinges on its reflexive ethos. However Crossley (2001) makes an interesting criticism of Bourdieu's view on reflexivity, by contending that he has a tendency to present it as a different form of action than that rooted in habit, indeed in *In Other Words,* Bourdieu (1990a) argues, quoting Leibiniz that individuals are habitual in 'three-quarters of our actions'. For Crossley however this is incompatible with his wider theoretical position. Thus, using Husserl (1970) he argues that reflexivity is also a habit, if somewhat of a 'second order habit' or a 'habit busting habit'. For Husserl (1970) a phenomenological perspective is a habit which must be acquired by a researcher if it is to be used successfully. Indeed, this mirrors the core of Bourdieu's (1977) method which contends that reflective sociology is a form of practical action and therefore like all practice rooted in habitus, instead of a disconnected transcendental occurrence. For Crossley (2001) then, reflexivity is a habit which a researcher develops through practical engagement, and while this can reveal habits to one and provide a foundation to break them this ability is itself born of habit. Thus, as has been discussed above so called 'intellectual activity' is ultimately practical and engaged (Kuhn, 1970) which if unacknowledged leads one back into a Cartesian trap that reflective research exists as something other than an embodied manner of being.

However while reflexivity may also be a habit it is not something that is necessarily widely available or easily accessible. Indeed, Bourdieu (1990) points out that major reflection of oneself and one's actions tend to only occur regularly in the context of the academic field or during periods of crisis in one's life. In light of this the reflexive approach of the PhD project and the wider Learning Together project has been to use the embodied linguistic schema of the habitus to engage in a dialogue with myself and my supervisor to reflect upon my actions and position within the research process (Crossley, 2001). This has largely been achieved through keeping a research journal and engaging in supervisory meetings to note my reflections, emotions and feelings during observations and before and after interviews[83], in response to the knowledge I absorbed during the literature review and in light of the data analysis process and development of the findings. Therefore reflexivity has

[83] Which have been analysed along with the interview transcripts and fieldnotes

been an 'active, on-going process that saturates every stage of the research' (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004: 274). However this involves a level of personal disclosure in which the researcher is to a certain extent written into the research instead of sanitized out of it (S. Jackson & Scott, 2002).

My Role as Researcher Advantages and Challenges

One of the greatest challenges of this research as I have already alluded to has been to reconcile my position as an adult, female, 'white', non-migrant, commenting on and trying to understand the experiences of young boys, some of which are of migrant backgrounds and/or visible minorities. Indeed, the whiteness literature reviewed in chapter two has pointed out that white peoples tend to control what is viewed as legitimate knowledge, thus my authorship of this thesis could be open to accusations that it perpetuates dominant societies power to define and articulate knowledge for children and migrant groups (Green et al., 2007; L. T. Smith, 1990). Moreover I also risk using this research as a way to define myself as a 'good white' in opposition to the 'bad whites', instead of seeing how the wider system of distribution and nationality dominants various populations through interlinked networks of privilege and domination (Hage, 1998). I have therefore tried to remain vigilant against this through the developed of the reflexive habitus described above and the adoption of a phenomenological paradigm which does not claim to present an objective truth. Furthermore I also appreciate that I do not have an insider's perspective of the experiences I describe in the findings chapters, nor am 'near-colour' through my experiences of fieldwork (Thompson, 2003). Thus, what I offer here is an outsider's perspective and nothing more.

However, it is arguable that even migrant group researchers will always necessarily be an outsider in the child's world field by the very fact of being an adult, as discussed above. Hence while their gaze or the gaze of a male researcher may be different from mine, capable of accessing different perspectives and opinions from the boys in their social interaction with them, I believe my position as an adult female non-migrant also had certain advantages. There is evidence from the wider literature that in some cases males and young boys may be more comfortable expressing emotion, being more emotionally open and admitting 'unmasculine' behaviour in front of female researchers as they are less inclined to engaged in

masculine displays for homosocial bonding with a male researcher (Horn, 1997; Reay, 2004). Indeed some literature suggests that in some cases migrant groups may prefer to talk to those not from their cultural background as it can allow them to criticise phenomena or express emotions which may not be as acceptable with a member of their in-group[84] (Merry et al., 2011). Furthermore, I also shared some common experiences with the boys in terms of my socio-economic origins. I am from a large socially disadvantaged suburb in South-West Dublin called Tallaght, which has some similarities to North-Inner City Dublin in terms of local authority housing, persistent unemployment, criminality and a large migrant population (C.S.O, 2011).

In line with the least adult role I answered any personal questions the boys asked of me which generally focused on where I was from (Mandell, 1988). Being from Tallaght seemed to help me build rapport with the children as many of the boys had heard of Tallaght and boys from dominant and migrant backgrounds had family living there. Moreover the LUAS[85] red line runs from North-Inner city Dublin straight to Tallaght and many of the boys had been on the LUAS out to Tallaght as 'a treat' during the summer months:

> *Is it kids from the area that are in these clubs?*
> **No some people in my club are from Tallaght.**
> *Are they? I'm from Tallaght*
> **Are you? Me auntie and me cousin are there**
> *Yeah?*
> [....]
> **Do you know the square?**
> *Yeah it is right where I live*
> **Oh yeah I knows it there I like Tallaght it is like here but with fields**
>
> *[School 3 (I) DG boy aged 8]*

It is possible my somewhat shared socio-economic background helped my acceptance as 'least-adult' by setting me apart from teachers '*you're not posh aren't you not Lindsey?*' [School 2 DG boy aged 8] and possibly helped the dominant group boys feel relaxed enough to discussed their views on migrants in more depth than they arguably would have.

Another consideration was the challenge of conducting school based research.

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[84] However this also has the opposite effect as a migrant may also be inhibited to criticise dominant society with a member of the dominant group

[85] LUAS Dublin Light rail System [Luas is Gaeilge for speed] a tram system in Dublin consisting of two lines the red and green

Teachers ultimately remained the gatekeepers of this fieldwork and I was obliged to rely on their good grace to allow me to take boys out of class for interviews and to allow me to conduct observations in their class. For instance many teachers gave me a limited time frame in which to conduct interviews with instructions to return the children before a certain lesson or test or before one of the two lunch breaks. Moreover, the lack of extra classroom space made it necessary to conduct many interviews in the staff room or in unoccupied classrooms however teachers had a tendency to walk in to these environments and interrupt quite sensitive topics of discussion, for incidence:

> *Ok so do people ever say those names to other people?*
> **Leo: Yeah.**
> **Liam: Yeah, loads of people where I live.**
> *So what sort of stuff do they be saying like?*
> **Liam: Everything "f off", the "b" word...**
> *The "b" word?*
> **Liam: calling them chocolate bar and all.**
> [...]
> *Okay. Right. So who do they be calling like chocolate bar and stuff like that?*
> **Liam: Yeah, brown people.**
> [...]
> *Yeah? And would they ever call like some of the brown people like in your class or in the Other 2ND class that?*
> **Both: Yeah, yeah a lot.**
> **Leo: And they tell jokes about blackies and all**
> [Teacher enters room and tells researcher to leave the room as she has some administrative work to do]
>
> *[School 1 DG boys aged 8]*

Ethics

Indeed, such interruptions had a tendency to break the privacy of the interviews. In conducting interviews within schools one runs the risk of the authoritarian environment inhibiting children's discussions[86] (M. Hill, 2005). Therefore the researcher must work very hard to create an informal atmosphere; however the presence of a teacher even for a fleeting moment tends to break this intimacy. The interview above continued on after this interruption however it did not get back to such an open discussion again. While some commentators argue it is better to interview children at home or in a third venue (Ni Laoire et al., 2009) others argue children tend to prefer interviews to be done in school as children value their 'own time' is a precious resource which they do not always like to give up to fit in with adults' agendas (Christensen, 2002). It can also be a novelty which can require them

[86] Also see discussion above on school based in distinction from educational research

to miss formal lessons and break up the ordinary school day (Punch, 2002a). Indeed, Hill (2006) found that the majority of children in his study showed a preference for research to be conducted in school as children did not want their parents to be privy to what they had to say. However the opposite was also found in a minority of children who expressed a preference for the home setting to maintain privacy from teachers[87].

The issue of the level of privacy one can guarantee a child participant is however a child protection issue. Before the interviews began I informed the children that I would record the interviews as I couldn't remember everything they told me and that I or another person would then write down what they say; however their real name would never be used and I would keep their interviews safe so it would not be possible for people they knew to read it. Conversely though in line with the child protection guidelines *Children First: The National Guidelines for the Protection and Welfare of Children* (1999), this researcher did not guarantee the children full confidentiality in the interviews. Instead at the beginning of the fieldwork process and at the start of each interview I reiterated to the children that anything they told me I would not tell their parents, teachers or the other boys in the class, however if they told something that worried me I would have to tell someone, but I would talk to them first about this before I would talk to anyone else (Whyte, 2006). Indeed, even though as a researcher my role is not that of a social worker I recognised the fact that as an adult it is my shared responsibility to protect children. Thus, at the outset of the research a child protection procedure was agreed for the larger project and for this PhD study, in which at the end of an interview if a child disclosed abuse or neglect they would inform the child that they needed to tell someone else, at this point the researcher would contact the PI of *Learning Together* and supervisor of this thesis Prof. Robbie Gilligan and together make a decision as to whom to report this incident to. In the second round of data collection severe bullying and signs of emotional damage were detected in an interview with one migrant child, after verifying several times that the child had not told another adult about these incidents, this researcher and the supervisor of this thesis Prof. Robbie Gilligan decided to break confidentiality and report the bullying experiences of this child to his class

[87] Discussed in ethics section.

teacher. However before this happened I told the child that I felt it was important to tell the teacher what was happening to him in the class and he agreed that I should tell his teacher. Hence the 'least adult' role has a limit and I had to be aware that while I had cultivated an image as a less authoritarian adult, I was still and adult and have responsibilities to children as such (Davis, 1998).

This child protection protocol was submitted and approved as part of two ethics applications[88] approved by the ethics board of the School of Social Work and Social Policy (see http://www.socialwork-socialpolicy.tcd.ie/research/ethics.php#grp, last accessed 24/09/2011) which tests for beneficence, non-maleficence, and for research directly with children to adopt a child centred approach which acknowledges children's right to autonomy and for them to be treated in a fair manner with fidelity. Moreover continued and informed consent with children was reiterated at every stage of the research (Cocks, 2006) and consent from teachers and parents were also received in writing. A translator was also required for one child in the first round of data collection this translator was also required to sign a contract of confidentiality and to supply a Garda vetting clearance certificate, this researcher also has a Garda clearance vetting certificate[89].

Storage of Data

Data and consent forms for the study were held in a locked filing cabinet in the author's office in the Children's Research Centre, documents from the wider *Learning Together* were accessible only to the core members of the research project. The second round of data was held in a separate locked filling cabinet in the authors home and accessible only to the author and the PhD supervisor. Moreover electronic files were held on a privately owned laptop and data was password protected. All records of the children in interview transcripts and observation notes are referred to through pseudonyms and the master list of the pseudonyms and real names are only accessible to the author and supervisor.

The Limits of Reflexivity

Hence this chapter has sought to emphasize the embodied disposition of reflexivity,

[88] One ethics application was submitted for each phase of the fieldwork process
[89] A background check of any criminal record particularly relating to child protection

the fieldwork experience and intellectual activity. Thus academic research is not separate from other forms of action placing the researcher in a position of epistemological privilege, but is an embodied capacity developed through practical activity[90] (Kogler, 1997). Thus if reflexivity is a habitual and engaged practical activity it would also be dishonest to contend that through this process I have or could have been fully aware of my position within the research process or the affect and limitations of this. To do so would presume an ability to intimately know the perceptions and viewpoints of all participants in some sort of pure form beyond what can be gleaned through data collection mediums and an engagement with one's embodied linguistic schema. Hence in considering academic research as a practical activity it is important to consider if full reflection and reflexivity is indeed desirable. As discussed in the literature review and as will be discussed in detail in the findings and discussion chapters, reflexive habits can also stall one's practice and paradoxically make one's actions self-defeating and unintelligent. In other words through constant self-focus one cannot do one's work. Therefore in order to engage in any activity one ultimately has to accept that one cannot know all aspects of one's work, all its implications and flaws. Indeed as this thesis has endeavoured to show so far, a belief in a pure form of knowledge or rationality is in itself a fallacy. Hence in some ways the imperfection of research mirrors the wider imperfection of phenomenological existence.

Known Limitations

However there are several known of the limitations of this research over and above what I have already discussed. Firstly the issue of locality of north-inner city emerged as a big factor in the boys understanding of authentic 'masculinity' and 'Irishness' however without interviews with parents I am unable to say with certainty where these opinions came from and if they were linked their parents' wider political and local discourses. Secondly, while the researcher spent a considerable amount of time with the boys before interviews this is not an ethnographic study and claims no such depth of emersion in the field, hence this study should only be seen as a snapshot in time. Thirdly, the emergent Bourdieusian phenomenological perspective of this thesis has possibly cut off fruitful avenues of

[90] See page for description

investigation, indeed many commentators would perhaps argue for the use of a post-modern methodology or theoretical approach. Fourthly the selection of the class groups to be studied necessarily had to go through the school principal and class teachers therefore gatekeepers have mediated the population of children I had access to. Fifthly one interview was conducted through a translator and other children were asked to conduct an interview in their second language which may have curbed their ability to express themselves and feel comfortable in the interviews (McDaid, 2009).

Glossary of Acronyms in Findings Chapters

AO	African Origin
DG	Dominant Group
DGB	Dominant Group Boy
DGG	Dominant Group Girl
EE	Eastern European
SEEO	South Eastern European Origin
SAO	South Asian Origin
SEAO	South Eastern Asian Origin

Twenty-seven years
of unshed tears
is an awful lot
of salty water
locked in
blocked up
damned
behind his eyes.
Holy God
if that man ever cries
he'll surely drown somebody.

Twenty-seven years
of blocking the flood
denying the flow
smiling so that
no one will
No! No! Go away
come again some other day
everybody's looking
I don't want them to see
No! No!
Let me be
Let me be
a man.

A childhood ago
he fell
he fell
and cut his knee
Come on now little man
mustn't let your sister see
blow your nose
wipe your eyes
Mammy's soldier
never cries.

Same again
when granny died
mother trembled
sister cried
father stiffened
upper lip
Mammy's soldier
choked inside
blow your nose
wipe your eyes
Mammy's soldier
never cries.

Block the flow
dam the flood
crying never did no good
split milk
dead and gone
playground sissies
are trampled on
toughen up
learn the plan
put in the boot
be a man
hold it back
hold it brave
you're building up a tidal wave
dam it
deny it
anyway you can
dam it
deny it
be a man.

Listen...
hear the whisper
gentle, slow
let it happen
let it go
salty trickle
salty flow
wash your cheeks
wash and grow
feel it building
feel the flood
salty torrent
it's yours
it's good
tears
as much a part of you
as anything else
your body can do
Mammy's soldier is
bursting the dam
Mammy's soldier
is becoming a
Man...

An Awful Lot of Salty Water – Pat Ingoldsby, Dublin Street Poet

Chapter 6 – The Doxa and Hegemonic Masculine Habitus of the Child World

Introduction

This chapter seeks to illuminate the unquestioned assumptions of the child world of the school which constructs and is constructed through the hegemonic masculine habitus of the field. Following Connolly, the concept of a 'masculine habitus' is evoked to attempt to capture the 'taken-for-granted ways of being male' (2006: 143) within the child world of the school. Furthermore, this conception of habitus draws from Merleau-Ponty's (1962) concept of habit and at all times seeks to describe the corporeal schema of the body as the root of the young boys' dispositions and perspectives. The hegemonic position of this expression of masculinity is analysed as dialectically supported and developed through the doxa of the field. Thus, this chapter seeks to argue that the doxic assumption which underlies the child world is a belief that one should and can be an ''authentic'' representation of oneself. A note on the use of the word 'authentic' is needed here; this term does not denote authenticity in some sort of pure representation of self, nor does it mean to suggest that some boys are authentic while others are not, rather it seeks to describe how the boys in the child world field believe this to be so. Thus, this terms is a descriptive one which tries to capture the tendency for boys to believe that there is a right and wrong way to express oneself, specifically in relation to being 'Irish' and 'masculine'[91]. However what this chapter seeks to show is how what and whom is understood as 'authentic', 'inauthentic', 'legitimate', or 'illegitimate' is fundamentally lied to the to the larger social and cultural context of hegemonic masculinity as well as valued forms of 'masculine' expressions and abilities specific to the child world field.

Doxa

Being Oneself

One of the difficulties in trying to elaborate the doxa of anything is this concept has been coined to describe the indescribable. The very essence of doxa is an attempt to conceptualise hidden phenomenon not easily accessible to conscious thought, never mind vocalisation in an interview situation. Indeed, if it is difficult for an adult to elaborate what is taken for granted, it could arguably be much harder for a child with

[91] A 'legitimate' 'Irish' and 'masculine' identity are not mutually exclusive but seem to mutually construct each other

less ability to use language and engage in abstract concepts, especially when English is one's second language (McDaid, 2009). However, throughout the interviews there were glimpses of the doxa of the child world, expressed through the repetition of certain words and phrases and an inability to elaborate a description of something that was viewed as inherent. For instance the phrases and words like *just do, just do it, do it, just be yourself, don't be something you are not, he thinks he's great, don't try, trying too much, trying to be something he's not, being myself, I'm myself, I'm just myself, he's not himself, trying to be great, faking it, pretending, just pretending, pretend he's great*, permeated all the interviews but the interviews with boys from the dominant group especially. Indeed, there was an underlying sense that one should be genuine, be who one was and not try to be something one was not. For instance, when asked to answer a question on what a child liked about themselves, it was common for boys after listing sports and subjects that they were good at, to end their description with a combination of these phrases:

I'm just myself

[School 1 DG boy aged 8]

Nothing I'm just myself

[School 1 DG boy aged 7]

I just do my what I like

[School 2 DG boy aged 7]

I just get on with it

[School 2 DG boy aged 8]

I don't know…I'm, I'm I just am

[School 3 (I) DG boy aged 8]

I, me, just like, I'm me like, I don't know

[School 3 (II) DG boy aged 7]

This sense of *just* being oneself was most importantly mentioned in relation to playing sport. One of the common questions asked in the interviews was 'what makes a good footballer?' This question usually elicited a pause for thought from the boys who were generally deferred to as the best footballers in the class. At first, I interpreted this pause and their minimal responses as a sign that this question was too abstract and needed further elaboration and probing. Shifting this question to more concrete probes did produce descriptions of the mixture of skill and aggression needed for the game[92]; however their immediate responses to the question followed similar patterns:

[92] Discussed in the subsequent chapters

Don't know just am

[School 2 DG boy aged 8]

You just are, you're good or you're not

[School 1 DG aged 8]

Do it like, do it, you know do it, just fuck the ball down the field

[School 3 (II) DG aged 9]

Thus, being 'genuine' was connected to doing, to being practically engaged in an activity[93]. However, it was also understood through the not doing of certain things, most importantly not telling the teacher of others behaviour, or what was termed by the children as 'ratting'. If one 'ratted' one was understood as being disingenuous and 'two-faced'. In not conforming to a code of silence a child could be seen as untrustworthy and false:

You take a shot of his ruler is it?
Frank: No parer
Parer oh right, and you said he would be telling the miss would he?
Cian: Yeah
Frank: Yeah, for no reason and the miss, the miss says we are shouting at him cos he's foreign, for no reason but to get us in trouble
Cian: Annoying
Ok I see right, and does that annoy you?
Frank: Yeah
So what things are ok to tell the miss about like? [pause]
Cian: He's a rat a faker
Frank: The good things, only tell her good things
The good things, only the good things?
Frank: Tell her the good thing
So do people use the word rat do they?
Frank: Yeah
Cian: Some people do out in yard
Frank: If you're ratting all the time
Cian: Last time my cousin, my cousin called me a rat I bet him around
Frank: Really?
Cian: Then I put a hole in his head
[laugh] [....]
So it is not a good thing then to be a rat?
Cian: No you're a, you're a yuck

[School 3 (II) DG Boys both aged 9 talking about a SEEO boy aged 9]

Indeed, keeping your silence when one was understood to have a genuine cause for complaint was also used as evidence of one's genuine nature and trustworthiness:

So you don't really tell then is it? When would you tell?
Emmet: [Unclear] If he really hurted
Other than that, you wouldn't tell?
Emmet: Like, one day in dodge ball, [unclear] **cos he has to take off his glass** [gesturing to Donnacha] **and sometimes** [unclear] **we were playing dodge ball and** [unclear] **threw the dodgeball at Donnacha and hit him in the eye**
And did you tell then?

[93] Will be discussed further in chapter 7

Emmet: No he's a good guy he doesn't tell

[School 3 (I) DG boys both aged 8]

In this interview, Donnacha's ability to keep quiet even when hurt was contrasted to Killian's presumed propensity to 'rat':

Emmet: I don't usually like Killian, he annoys me.
Donnacha: Yeah
Why does he annoy you?
Emmet: He just comes over to me, to me!
Donnacha: And he pushes you.
Emmet: And say he says 'you're crazy' and he always says to people 'you're crazy', and I say, 'you're crazy back to him', he goes 'miss'.
Okay, so, he tells is it?
Emmet: He tells on everyone
Donnacha: He tells on everyone in the class.
Emmet: Say he pushes me and I push him back
Donnacha: [Unclear] **And he always goes, 'oh miss'**
Emmet: So if I whacked him by accident, he'd go 'miss' and say, 'he hit me, he hit me hard." Like, he'd lie, he's a liar.

[School 3 (I) DG boys both aged 8, talking about Romanian origin boy aged 8]

Thus, the underlying understanding that a boy should *just be* oneself was most obviously revealed and elaborated in relation to those who were understood as not being themselves. As the quotes above point to, this designation as being fake, a liar, of just not being quite right was commonly levelled at migrant boys in all the schools.

The Problem of Trying

And do any kids from other countries go to the club?
Well there are two foreign kids but they just think they are cool they do. They [unclear 00 28 44 01] **all around the club and I say to my friends and my friends say to me, he thinks he's great, he thinks he is the cutest[94] out of the lot of them.**
Really? And where is he from then?
I don't know, I don't know where he is from, I don't know what his name is and I don't know what language he speaks. The only language that he knows is, 'yeah', 'yes', 'all right', 'I got it', 'see you later'. Like if you say to him, say 'football', he'd say, 'huh, ball'?
And why do you think that he thinks he is cool then?
I don't know
You don't know why you think so?
Well he is small he is so, he is small but the kids under 5 can't go to the club, they are not allowed.

[School 3 (I) DG boy aged 7]

The real sense of annoyance and impatience with which this boy talks about a '*foreign kid*' at his after school club was mirrored in the way many of the dominant group boys referred to migrant children in their class and school. Indeed, the presence of these 'foreign' kids at this boy's after school club was quite unusual as the wider *Learning Together* study found that migrant children were rarely involved with

[94] 'Cutest', used in this way, is Dublin slang for being sly, crafty or underhanded

groups outside of school and there was a tendency for migrant and dominant group children to remain separate from each other which creates difficulties for inter-group friendships to develop[95] (P. Curry et al., 2011). However, difficulties also seemed to arise when migrant and dominant group boys did engage in the same activities, as migrant group boys tended to be ridiculed and to have their motivations interpreted with some suspicion:

> **Mac: Did you see, him? Did you see him yesterday?**
> **Cahal: Oh yeah** [laughs]
> *What? Who?*
> **Mac: Samson he tried to copy Cahal**
> **Cahal: Yeah ah** [both laugh extended]
> *Copy him in what way?*
> **Mac: Right he** [Cahal]**, he got the ball right, and just smacked it up field right and like he didn't even mean, to like**
> **Cahal: I didn't mean to I was passing it but in went in**
> **Mac: Yeah went in and Samson right he tried** [both laughs] **he tried to do the same but it went out right**
> **Cahal: Yeah jaysus**
> **Mac: Like he's always copying like, he's trying to be great like he's not, he's not!**
> *[School 1 DS boys both aged 8 talking about AO boy aged 8]*

In this quote, Cathal's unrehearsed, 'natural' skill which is *just* accomplished is contrasted to Samson's supposed 'cynical' display viewed as a premeditated attempt to be like Cathal and gain deference. While of course the ridiculing of skill was not restricted to migrant group males[96], there was an underlying theme within the data that migrant boys were somehow 'inauthentic' in their engagement with dominant group boys. For instance, in School 2 a boy of African Origin [AO] background bought a pack of football cards to engage in the swapping of cards at lunch time, news that he was taking part in this game was greeted by two dominant group boys like this:

> **Owen: What's he doing, like, what? That's stupid that is**
> **Eddie: Yeah I know**
> **Owen: Stupid** [pause] **Like we just play it cos…my brother does right, I've been playing for ages**
> **Eddie: Yeah he's trying to be like us, he's trying to be like us**
> *Isn't he like you though?*
> **Both: No**
>
> *[School 2 DS boys aged 7 and 8]*

In School 3, a boy of Polish origin was referred to as 'pretending to be Irish' and 'almost Irish, but not really', while a boy of African Origin[97] was called names such as 'fake', 'faker' and was commonly talked about like this:

> **I don't like him, he's not being himself, he's trying to be like us**
> *What is he really like then?*

[95] This will be explored in the subsequent findings chapters
[96] This will be explored in subsequent findings chapters
[97] Both of these cases will be looked at in more in-depth in chapter 8

Don't know

[School 3 (II) DS boy aged 9]

Thus, what is it to be seen as 'authentic'? Is it enough to really be oneself? The quote above alludes to a comparison group, an '*us*' that the actions of migrant boys are seen to be modelled on and found wanting in relation to. Moreover, 'Owen' claims a degree of ownership over the playing of card games as something the 'us' does. However, what does 'us' constitute? From the data, 'us' seems to be understood through the frame of a hegemonic masculine habitus or what was recognised as 'legitimate' boyishness within the child world field. Which seemed to be both constructed by and re-constructs wider influences of the locality and family which were creatively fused with child specific forms of cultural capital. This chapter will primarily focus on the former but the latter will be touched on, a full examination of which will be examined in the next chapter.

Local Context of the Hegemonic Masculine Habitus

Family influences in transition to school

Unlike the vast majority of migrant children, boys from the dominant group tended to have familial ties to the local area and many of their extended family had previously attended the school or had family members in other classes at the present time:

And do you get the bus by yourself in the morning, do you?
Yeah with me brother.
With your brother?
He's in 6th class.
He's in 6th, okay.
[....]
And do you know anyone else from the other classes?
Me cousin is in 5th and my other cousin is starting next year so I'll know him then
You'll know him then right and did anyone else in your family go this this school?
Yeah me uncle and me auntie's boyfriend...Yeah and... Me oldest cousin Michael as well, everyone like everyone

[School 2 DG male aged 8]

It was not uncommon for cousins to be in the same class:

Kevin: Do you know he's my cousin.
Are you cousins?[...] so how are you cousins, who's related on your Ma's side or your Da's side?
Kevin: Ma and Da.
Sam: Ma and Da [pointing to himself and Kevin]
So whose Ma? your Ma, **[yeah]** *and your Da?* **[yeah]**
Sam: Yes.

[School 1 DG males aged 7 and 8]

Having family within the school generally helped dominant boys with the transition

into senior primary school, as it gave them prior knowledge about the routines of the school, teachers and what to expect at 'yard time'. This advance knowledge helped many seem somewhat relaxed in their new surroundings and to display a sense of ease in the new school, as they did not need to *try* and adjust to the new surroundings but could *just be* comfortable. The possession of the know-how to negotiate the school helped them to align themselves with older children and differentiate themselves from their less competent peers while also infantilizing them.

> **Cian: I knows, I knows it all, I knowed it before I came here, I can, my cousin is in this school and every time he fights a big teacher comes over and grabs him and goes like that** [demonstrates] **and chokes ye**
> *Really?*
> **Cian: Yeah**
> **Frank: Does he?**
> **Cian: Yeah only the babies don't know that, but I knows how to dodge him**
> *[School 1 DG both aged 8]*

External Influences on Reputation in School

The reputations of certain boys' families were also known in the school, and passed like gossip throughout the peer network. Some families were known to the children for their reputation for violence, connection to local crimes or for living in particularly dangerous neighbourhoods. In School 1, Sam recounts a particularly violent incident in his family:

> **My uncle got murdered[98] over there.**
> *Your uncle got murdered, what happened?*
> **There was a scuffle and his uncle went with us, and the next thing you know, do you know the way the mad** [place in the city] **yokey a bobs, his da defended my Da and then me and his uncles, my uncle defended him. Then another fellow just came up and stabbed the two of them in the back.**
> *[School 1DG boys both aged 8]*

This story of the stabbing of Sam and Kevin's uncle was mentioned in several interviews from this class group. Their family seemed to be well known in the area. Indeed some boys reported that they were banned from playing with Kevin and Sam by their parents:

> *So who else would you play with like around your area and stuff?*
> **Brian: I used to play with Sam and Kevin but after when Kevin, he started running at me**
> *Okay.*
> **Brian: but he was about to push me on to the road**
> *Oh was he?*
> **Brian: and a bus was actually coming, a bus like**
> *Right, oh no.*
> **Brian: Yeah, lucky I got**

[98] As far as I can verify 'murdered' is used here in its Dublin slang sense to describe a particularly violent incident that had happened to his uncle, but he was not literally killed.

Martin: Was I not in that time?
Brian: No.
And you used to play with Sam as well?
Martin: Yeah.
But you don't play with him now or?
Brian: No 'cause people think that he's a maddie.
That he's what?
Brian: My Da thinks that he's a maddie. The stabbin' and all, me Ma doesn't like.... and I don't know what to do like.
Like they say he's kind of mad?
Brian: Yeah but he's not
Yeah.
Brian: I don't think, I don't find him mad now.
No. And why would people think he's mad?
Brian: I don't know.
Yeah.
Brian: They just think that he's very wild, his family is very wild

[School 1 DG Boys both aged 8]

The reputation of boys within the child world was also influenced by activities and friendship groups outside of school. Many of the boys lived in the same areas and flat complexes, and for the majority of boys these areas were dangerous places:

There used be a pitch in our flats years ago except there is no grass on it, it used to be a playground years ago a big huge playground they are chopping down the trees and all and now all the people drink in it and shouting and all so people can't go to bed
So how does that make you feel?
Ss.... cos we can't get to bed and all drinking and worrying about it
And would you like to be just able to go to bed in the quiet, yeah?
Yeah and all the young fellas in my flats would be in smoking and drinking and be throwing basketballs at you and all.
And how old would they be?
13 or 14 or something.

[School 2 DG boy aged 8]

While dominant group boys described their areas as generally unpleasant environments in which they felt uncomfortable living, they did not tend to report tales of personal victimhood. However, for migrant boys more personal incidents were recounted:

I would change the place where we live; I would try and go to another place.
You don't like it then, the place you live?
No.
What is the worst thing about it?
It is because my cousin who is much smaller than me and she makes all the noise and there are people living downstairs
[...]
There are people that are always laughing about me when I was small.
And why were they laughing at you?
Because I was trying to talk and I couldn't say the words.
Ok, And are they still doing things like that?
Yes.
They are still doing it, and why do you think they are still doing it?
Because they like talking about it.

And so how do you feel about all this?
Sad

[School 3 (I) AO boy aged 8]

People won't even let me play in my area, they were lying to me, they said, go and get the toy we will wait for you outside. I went home and got a toy and I didn't see them outside, they were lying.

[School 2 EE Boy aged 9]

Thus, in the context of living in an area which was generally understood as bubbling with an undercurrent of violence and possible personal danger, boys who were seen to be able to 'handle' themselves in such an environment had a certain level of respect in the school:

Right so we were talking about the yard, so like – so do you usually play with your class or?
Leo: Paul McGovern is rough too.
Who is Paul McGovern?
Leo: He's out of room two.
Is he?
Leo: Yeah.
Okay? And what sort of stuff would he being doing that's rough?
Leo: Hitting people, holding people like that.
Oh does he?
Leo: And he keeps bossing people around and ...
Liam: Yeah, when you're not there.
Ok, Okay so he'd be like pretending to be the boss, would he?
Leo: ... yeah.
Yeah. But is he really the boss?
Leo: No.
Liam: No but everybody listens to him.
Why does everyone listen to him?
Leo: Because like he can go around Riverside and go anywhere, him and Dara they aren't afraid of them.
Liam: like all the drinkin' and all, they just do what they want like, they say, they say they know how to 'handle themselves'.

[School 1 DG boys both aged 8]

The phrase to 'handle oneself' alludes to knowledge of the area and an ability to traverse it successfully without fear, aligning oneself with the experience of older boys. Within the data, there is evidence that some high status boys drew on the behaviour of older boys and men in their lives in their own peer interactions. For instance, Sam and Kevin's account of how they watch out for each other, closely mirrors their description of their father and uncles' behaviour during the stabbing incident:

So has anyone ever been a bit mean to you or a bit harsh on you in your class or anything?
Kevin: No
Sam: Cos we defend each other.
You defend each other?
Sam: When he is getting picked on I pick on them and when I am getting picked on he picks on them.

[School 1 DG boys both aged 8]

Similarly, in School 2 and 3, hegemonic boys from the dominant group described their group of friends through a number phrases such as '*watching out for each other*', '*keeping an eye on each other*', and through the Americanism of '*having each other's backs*'. Indeed, there was some evidence of direct instruction from male role models in this practice:

> **Eddie: We watch out for each other**
> *Your group is it?*
> **Owen: Yeah, no-one messes with us, right like**
> **Eddie: Em yeah me uncle says you have to be on the lookout, yeah just take, don't take any nonsense**
>
> *[School 2 DG boys aged 7 and 8]*

However, the one area in which the boys seemed to directly quote older role models most regularly was in their perspectives on immigration.

Nationalism - 'us' and 'them'.

While the expression of blatant racism within the child world was evident, by far the most common opinions expressed alluded to adult conversations about economic and employment concerns, or quoted family members directly. While not all of these opinions were necessarily negative [99], those expressed by 'hegemonic' [100] dominant group boys tended to be the least sympathetic:

> *Careful, so like you were saying are their loads of Polish people going back to Poland?*
> **Larry: Yeah because it's a developing country, my cousin told me that**
> **Emmet: And people like my uncle and all and me cousins and me big brother, Joe and me Uncle Joe and one of me cousins Edel, and two of me cousins they're builders like and they are all losing their jobs cos like people from other countries are coming over**
> **Larry: No it's because, Barack Obama was saying that he'll bring peace to every country and he's bring wreck to this country like**
> **Emmet: Wreck!**
> **Larry: Like he's taking all his country over here**
> **Emmet: Like leave us alone**
> **Larry: Yeah like it's our country, George Bush gave us them to keep and now it looks like, he's say 'oh, oh, I want every company out of Ireland, cos I want more money ok?'**
> *So Barack Obama is doing this?*
> **Emmet: Yeah, yeah like Barack Obama and all them come over here taking our jobs**
>
> [School 3 (II) DG boys both aged 9]

Moreover, there was evidence that jokes at the expense of migrant groups and the mimicking of accents may have partially been picked up from adult role models in their lives:

> *Ok, here is China.*
> **Eddie: I don't like China**
> **Owen: Completely, completely, completely, completely DIFFERENT! Nothing like me.**

[99] See Curry et al (2011) for further analysis

[100] Hegemonic describes boys who were deferred to as high status within the class group, however following Connell (1995) the idea of a hegemonic masculinity is partially a fantasy ideal and therefore is not a fixed character type or typology.

Well we don't have time for them at all, get them over to China
Ok so what do you think is particularly different?
Eddie: I am not trying to be bad but...
Yes just your own opinion
Owen: I don't even want to know about China.
Eddie: [singing]
And what don't you want to know about them?
Eddie: Cos
Owen: 'Cos…. You…. You [looking at each other]
Eddie: I like this
Owen: 'you wing the wong number... you wing the wong number....' [in nonsense 'Asian' accent]
Eddie: I do it better, no you do it first
Owen: 'You wing the wong number' [accent] **do da do da do da** [nonsense language]
Eddie: [Nonsense language shouting in 'Asian' accent] **Me Da does it the best, yeah yeah**
Jordan: No me uncle does it doing this with his eyes [pulls side of eyes up at the corners]
[School 2 DG boys aged 7 and 8]

Many positive attitudes towards immigration tended to centre on immigrants escaping undeveloped countries and finding refuge in Ireland. The superiority of Ireland was bolstered by these accounts and the countries of origin of many children stigmatised:

Okay, so what do you think about people from different countries living in Ireland.
Its good.
Why is it good?
Because if people – if there is a wreck they can move to Dublin and then they have a proper house.
Okay so if their house is a wreck they can come here yeah? Is there anything else that makes it good or bad?
Africans are, Africa is poor but they can move to Dublin.
[School 1 DG boy aged 8]

And what about people from Africa? Do you think we're the same or different from people in Africa?
Different
Different?
Cos they don't have any food
They don't have any food?
I feel sorry for them and all. They have to drink dirty water. Do you know what they do? You get water, right, and you have a little, bad dirty, and you put some water and then you put some water and then you let the dirt go down, and maggots are in it
[School 3 (I) DG aged 8]

While accounts of poor hygiene, wars and a lack of technology and housing, proliferated talk of other countries, these also found resonance in stories and urban myths surrounding migrant populations in the local area. These usually took the form of immigrant shop keepers in the area doing something illegal or unhygienic and the wider migrant population lacking intelligence and/or an acceptable appearance or eating habits:

What about Poland here, are you the same or different?
Emmet: They talk different to us
Polish people talk different do they?

Emmet: And they eat dogs and all and cats an all
Donnacha: Yeah my Ma told me that, they would eat anything
Do they?
Donnacha: I'm not being bad they just do my Ma told me
Emmet: I went into a black shop, right. It was a man who owned it was black, right and he looked in the fridge and there was a dead dog in it and it was covered in a wrapping paper.
Really? When was that?
Emmet: Um. You see it there nearly everyday.
Nearly everyday, where is the shop?
Emmet: Um. Around the corner from me. I don't go in there anymore. I go to the Spar across the road from me.

[School 3 (I) DG both aged 8]

This mirrored discussions of migrant origin boys within the school:

Okay and here's – this is Russia here, this big one. What do you think, are people from Russia the same or different?
Brian: Very different.
Very different, yeah.
Brian: Would you have lunch – pizza for lunch?
Not really sometimes maybe
Brian: But Mikhail eats it like.
Martin: Yeah it's mini pizza.
Brian: Yeah it's mini pizza but it's kind of breadish ...
Okay.
Brian: ....there's still tomatoes and all.
So he eats different food and all that sort of stuff?
Brian: For lunch and all.

[School 1 DG boys both aged 8 talking about EEO boy aged 8]

Frank: It disgusts you it does when Themba eats they don't know how to eat over there
[Not hearing] Is it? It disgusts you, does it? And why does it disgust you?
Frank: It's disgustin'
Freddie: Because it. Um. People open their mouths when they eatin.
Frank: People eat their food and they don't chew and they go like this [noise] **with their food.**
Who does that?
Frank: I don't know
You don't know?
Freddie: Some people talks with their mouth full they're not right don't know how to eat like us

[School 3 (I) DG boys aged 8 and 7 talking about AO boy aged 8]

Thus, the supposed deviancy of migrant boys and groups was measured against the normalcy of what 'we do'. To a certain extent this served to bolster the superiority of the 'we' while also homogenising and normalising it against the 'abnormal'. Indeed this implicated me as part of the 'we', through simply admitting not eating pizza for lunch. However the most powerful indicator of otherness and difference for the designation of 'we', and 'us' in 'legitimate' boyhood and 'Irishness' could be found in the designation of difference in relation to skin colour:

And here is Poland here, do you think are you the same or different to people in Poland?
Different.
In what way are you different from people in Poland?

Because they all have a pale face. [....]
Do you think you are the same or different to people from Romania?
Different because they have a more tanned colour like Killian [....]
I see and do you think you are the same or different from people in Lithuania?
Different, they have got tan colour as well, I am a bit more whiter.
Ok, and here is Nigeria here, Nigeria is in Africa, what do you think, are you the same or different from people in Nigeria?
Definitely different because they are black [...]
I see, and here is South Africa, it is in Africa as well, do you think, are you the same or different to them in South Africa?
Different because they are black as well.
[School 3 (I) DG Boy aged 8 mentions EEO boy aged 8]

While differentiations along the lines of skin colour were not always necessarily racist, as this quote shows, there was a tendency not only to discriminate between 'black' and 'white' skin colours, but also to elaborate different levels of whiteness from too 'white' to not 'white' enough. Indeed the notion of what it was to be Irish was intimately connected to having the 'right' type of 'white' skin:

I hate them, I hate them they should go back to their own country
Is this not their country too though?
No not they are not Irish
Why are they not Irish?
Cos they are not
But why?
Irish have look like this [points to himself]
Look like what?
They are dark like, dark, Irish people aren't dark, they trying to be like us but they aren't
Why do you think you can't be dark and Irish?
You just can't, we are Celts, me Da says the Irish are Celts they are whiter they are
[School 3 (II) DG boy aged 9]

Indeed, not only was Irishness connected to the whiteness, it's supposed monolithic bodily phenotype precluded all attempts at 'trying to be like us'. Whiteness then was understood as a visible marker of an 'authentic' expression of Irishness, and for this boy rooted in an imagined Celtic past as taught by his father. Any attempt to claim Irishness without the right body could be viewed as an 'inauthentic' expression of self.

Child World Context of Hegemonic Masculine Habitus

Thus, the hegemonic masculine habitus of the field seemed to be both developed and embodied through the reputation of a boy and his family in the local area, family connections to the school and nationalist role models. Moreover, these influences reinforced this hegemonic masculine habitus as the embodiment of 'authenticity' and of a genuine 'Irish' identity. However, the legitimacy of this form of masculinity and

its claim at representing 'us' was also strengthened through a comparison to supposed disingenuous masculine identities within the child world. The creation of marginalised masculine groups took two overlapping forms 'migrant' or 'disingenuous' boys and 'sissies' and 'babies'.

Popular culture of sport

There were also allusions to a nationalism rooted in sport with many of the boys expressing ambitions to play football for Ireland, including boys from migrant backgrounds. This nationalist connection to sport was also largely seen in opposition to the English national football team:

> *On their tippy toes. What about England? And the people there? Do you think you're the same or different to people in England?*
> **Barry: I don't like England**
> *You don't like England?*
> **Eamonn: Me auntie lives over there.**
> *And why don't you like it?*
> **Barry: Cos**
> **Eamonn: Cos England has professional footballers but Ireland don't**
> **Barry: But we have [unclear], O'Shea, and Duff, and Given he's the goal keeper. I don't want to play Brazil. He was all over the place. See the way he nearly scored a goal? And then O'Shea had to kick it out we'se do have good footballers**
>
> *[School 3 (I) DG boys both aged 8]*

However professional football seemed to influence the child world most significantly in terms of masculine role models:

> *So who would you like to be like when you get older?*
> **John: Gerard**
> **Mike: Ronaldo**
> *Ronaldo?*
> **John: Gerard**
> **Mike: Ronaldo**
> *Why would you want to be like them?*
> **John: Cos they're the best**
> **Mike: Cos they are good**
> *Yeah*
> **John: Gerard is not the best**
> *Do people respect them?*
> **Mike: Yeah**
> **John: Defo**
> [....]
> *Why do people respect them?*
> **Mike: Em [pause] cos they are the best at football , cos they are good fighters and nobody could box their faces**
> *Yeah, nobody can box their faces?*
> **John: And they are popular, they have money**
> *Yeah?*
> **Mike: Loads of money**
>
> *[School 3 (II) John SEE, Mike DG both aged 9]*

Indeed, not only were footballers admired for their skills on the football field, but also

for their lifestyles and presumed toughness, '*nobody could box their faces*' and becoming a professional footballer was the most regularly cited preferred career choices for boys and also seemed to be an ambition for them held by some male family members:

> *And what do you think, when you get older are you going to...?*
> **No I'm going to be going over to England and playing football**
> *So you want to do something different do you?*
> **And me Da said if you do that, I'd be set for your whole life and you can never smoke or you can never drink and if you do that, and he says 'if anything ever happens to me you have to stick at football'.**
>
> *[School 2 DG boy aged 8]*

Within the child world then, professional football and playing football acted as an important mediator of who and what could be considered 'good' and 'bad', and high status boys regularly cited space to play football in the yard as one of the good aspects of being in their school.

> *Both where there? Yeah. And so what's the difference between that school and this school like – how does it ...?*
> **Leo: This school is better.**
> *This school is better?*
> **Liam: Yeah.**
> **Leo: You get to play football.**
>
> *[School 1 DG boys aged 8]*

Indeed, many dominant group boys advised migrant boys to play football in order to get on well in school:

> *So if you were going to give someone advice just say they were coming from Poland and they we're going to come to Ireland and they're going to start in your school, what would you tell them, what they have to know, so that they can get on with people?*
> **Leo: Everybody is going to get ya!**
> **Liam: Be good to people then ...**
> **Leo: We'd make friends.**
> **Liam:... make friends with each other, play football, yeah defo play football, have a good time**
> *So you'd play football and have a good time.*
> **Leo: Do your work play football and all**
>
> *[School 1 DG boys aged 8]*

For many of the 'hegemonic' boys playing football was one of the fundamental aspects of being a boy:

> *So just say a spaceman came down from space and had never met a boy before what would you tell him so he would know what boys are like?*
> **I'd tell him boys like football and playing and all**
> *Football and playing and all?*
> **Yeah they can do skills like slides and all and they don't like hacking and em**
> *Right*
> **Or eh diving or anything and eh boys sometimes like playing football on the PSP**
> *Yeah?*
> **And playing play fighting and all**
> *Ok anything else you would tell him?*
> **No that's it**
>
> *[School 3 (II) DG boy aged 9]*

Thus, one core aspect of the central place of football, was through its use by the boys to demonstrate masculinity to each other and in the competent use of the body in football to display a masculine body and skill[101]. However, the ''legitimate'' masculine body was also built against the illegitimate' male body of supposed babyish and feminine boys.

Masculinity in Opposition to Femininity

'Hegemonic' boys in the schools rarely made disparaging remarks about girls and women in their lives, but were concurrently negative about anything designated as 'feminine'[102]. Indeed, many of the 'hegemonic' boys admired and were friends with girls in their neighbourhoods and freely admitted enjoying their company. However, this seemed to be contingent on girls participating in 'masculine' pursuits such as football and being able to hold their own in other physical games:

> **Eamonn: Like if there was a girl very, very good at football like they would call her, they would call her a tomboy**
> *Really?*
> **Eamonn: Yeah**
> **Ryan: Like my friend Carly**
> *And*
> **Ryan: She always plays with knives and all and when she's in the house she's like this** [demonstrates stabbing knife in between outstretched fingers on a table] **when she is cutting up apples and all**
> *So do girls like being called tomboys? Do they mind or not mind?*
> **Ryan: Carly doesn't mind cos it she is likes being a tomboy she always wears boys' clothes and that, like she is grand she is just herself like**
> *[School 3 (II) DG boys both aged 9]*

'Tough' girls in their areas were also viewed as '*just being themselves*' and conforming to the doxic view that one should just be one's 'authentic' self, however feminine acting girls were not seen in such terms:

> **Yeah I have friends that are girls**
> *Yeah?*
> **Play football and all, Grainne is pretty handy as winger**
> *Ok*
> **Yeah Me, Grainne and Laura beat them up in [name of flats] at a five a side**
> *Ok do you ever play games they make up?*
> **Yeah sometimes flying saucers and all** [describes game at length] [....] **but wouldn't do anything girly like**
> *Girly?*
> **I'm not a girl**
> *But they like playing football?*
> **Yeah but they are not, em, eh silly girls pretending to be scared of spiders and all**
> *[School 1 DG boy aged 8]*

[101] Discussed in the next chapter.

[102] This contrasted significantly with more marginalised boys in the school who had a tendency to be more vocally opposed to girls and see them as very different to boys. This will be analysed in the section on resilience strategies.

From this quote, one gets a sense that it is the 'feminine' and not necessarily 'females' from which this boy differentiates his masculinity. The feminine in this account is connected to 'inauthenticity' through presumed pretence. Indeed, unlike girls engaging in 'masculine' pursuits, boys who were seen to engage with the 'feminine' were rarely viewed as simply expressing themselves:

> *So what should boys be like then?*
> **Emmet: Boyish like, me and Mark are aggressive like at football and like we play games like chasing like two games a week and football the rest the week, but James wants to play chasing or skipping everyday the week, like what? We are boyish we don't do that, there is something not right with him**
> *[School 3 (II) DG boys both aged 9 talking about DG boy aged 9]*

Whereas 'Carly' is being herself, 'James' is not quite right in his perceived wish to play chasing and skipping. The idea of femininity as somewhat of an artifice continues in discussions of boys 'acting like babies':

> **Cahal: Crying is for losers**
> **Mac: Yeah they want the teacher to do things**
> **Cahal: Yeah yeah Billy does be crying all the time**
> **Mac: He thinks he's so cute**[103]
> **Cahal: He's a baba**
> [both laugh]
> *Why is he a baba?*
> **Mac: No he knows what he is doing, he gets, he gets away with everything it's not fair**
> *[School 1 DG boys aged 8 talking about DG boy aged 8]*

> **Mark: Like you have to grow up you can't go on pretending you are a baby, like it's so annoying** [talking about DG boy]
> **Donnacha: Like he hugs the teachers and all like, he's just sucking up**
> *Is he?*
> **Mark: Yeah just grow up like**
> *[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9]*

> **He's always crying to get something he's such a baby**
> *He's a baby is he?*
> **Yeah and Gamada as well crying over nothing over nothing**
> *What does he cry about?*
> **Like if he can't score a goal or summat like he always missed that's why they don't let him play, like he does be crying about not playing, like he is trying to get his own way**
> *[School 2 DG boy aged 7 talking about DG boy aged 8 and Migrant boy AO aged 7]*

Thus, the open expression of emotion was connected to being a baby or younger child, and to not having reached the supposed maturity of a 7, 8 and 9 year old. However, this seemed to go beyond simply differentiating oneself from younger children, but crying and the expression of emotion appeared to be used as evidence of 'inauthenticity', as an act of *'pretending', 'getting away with'* and *'trying to get'* one's own way. Once again, this appeared to be connected to the problem of 'trying'.

[103] 'Cute' in this use is Dublin slang for some who is sly or manipulative

As the expression of overt emotion portrayed that one was invested in phenomena and once this was revealed it was easy for attachment to be interpreted as cynicism, as frustration to achieve or manipulate for one's own gain. However, it was not simply the expression of emotion decontextualized from the person expressing it that caused suspicion, as crying in a hegemonic boy tended to be interpreted differently:

> **Oisin: And the most important thing is don't cry to make you look cool**
> *Ok so crying doesn't make you look cool?*
> **Cian: No**
> *And why is it not cool to cry?*
> **Cian: Because it makes you look like a baby and you're not cool**
> *Ok and why is it bad to be called a baby?*
> [overlapping]
> **Noel: Everybody calls you a baby, Barry does, Barry does**
> *Yeah do they?*
> **Oisin: And they declare you a baby for life**
> *But does Barry ever cry?*
> **Noel : Yeah**
> **Cian: Yeah**
> **Oisin: Yep!**
> *But do people ever call him a baby*
> **Cian: No**
> *Why don't people call him a baby?*
> [.....]
> **Cian: Yeah but if you called Barry a baby he'd chase you and kill you, he'd box ya, he's too tough to be a baby**
>
> *[School 3 (I) DG boys aged 8 taking about DG boys aged 8]*

Perhaps the boy who embodied this idealised hegemonic masculine habitus the most successfully was 'Barry' in School 3, who is the subject of the first vignette:

Vignette 1.1 Case Study Class -Barry

To describe Barry's influence and reputation in school 3 as notorious is not to over-emphasise the point. In a word frequency query in Nvivo 8 of all the interviews from school 3 phases I & II, 'Barry' was the second most frequently occurring word and most occurring name in the data, featuring 568 times at a saturation percentage of 69% of the text[104]. Barry was regularly discussed by the boys in his class, things he was reputed to have done, said, or was planning to do were regularly discussed among the boys, and other boys in the class were eager to claim friendship with him, indeed he was explicitly referred to as the 'leader':

> **Emmet: Like we are best friends like me, Mark,**
> **Mark: Barry, like we are a big gang**
> *You're a big gang?*
> **Mark: Like Emmets strong, Barry's, strong, Eamonn is, but say like Barry is the leader, Emmet would be second**
> **Emmet: Yeah**

[104] 'Barry' was the 21st most frequent word used in the interviews overall, when the search was restricted to nouns 'Barry' was the fourth most regularly used word, moreover two of the more regular words were also names, but the first was a name shared by three boys and the second by two boys, so when these were divided by the number of people Barry was the second most occurring word in the data

Mark: then I would be third

[School 3 (II) DG boys both aged 9]

Barry's position as leader seemed to be based on several factors, primarily in relation to his performance of hegemonic masculinity within the child world of the school[105], but this also seemed to be underpinned by his reputation outside of school. In a discussion of bullying, Mark reveals he was bullied by an older boy last year. However this year he isn't being bullied. He partially attributes this to his increased 'toughness' since his taking up Tae Kwon Do classes, but also to his burgeoning friendship with Barry:

Mark: Because he just like, like the people on my street if you live there you'd want to like move out, I barely even play out, you know Barry Morgan?
Yeah
Mark: Only for Barry Morgan is on the street I'd play out, or Aidan[106], cos if I play out anywhere else I'd get beaten up or bullied you know
[...]
And why would people not go after you if you were with Barry or Aidan?
Mark: Em because, they're my friends and nobody actually hates them, and no-one goes to beat them up, sure I'm best friends with them, so Barry looks out for me I look out for him, I remember it was me, Julie and Barry because Julie goes around Oak Street where I live
Emmet: Oh yeah
Mark: Yeah and Barry lives around Meadowood he lives in my block, so we were playing and then these big thirteen year olds came around and said and started pushing me, and Barry went over to help Jamie, you know Jamie with the glasses?
Yeah
Mark: And the person punched him and really hurt cos of his glasses and
Emmet: God
Mark: So we go to go over and then another one of them got me in a headlock and he started jumping on me and pushing my head down but I escaped down and I tried to kick him cos I go to Tae Kwon Doe
[....]
Why does nobody hate Barry or Aidan then?
Mark: Because they are like the toughest kids, like because you know Joe O'Dwyer?
No
[....]
Mark : Well he came down to Barry when we were in second
Emmet: To Barry? Wouldn't do that
Jack M: Yeah and Barry got his hair and he pulls him down and he has him like that 'Are you sorry, are you sorry' [whispered shout] **and he started crying**
Emmet: Barry would do that [nods at me to reassure me of Mark's story]
Mark: Yeah and he whipped him
[....]
So what would people think of Barry when he was doing that?
Emmet: They would admire him, they wouldn't try and bully him

[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9]

Barry's tough reputation within the class was further enhanced through the knowledge that his father was in prison. Indeed, while Barry was viewed as generally violent and volatile and even underhand and inclined to cheat on the football field, the other boys in the class tended to interpret this as *'just his way'*, therefore he was paradoxically characterised as honest in his dishonesty:

Yeah he's be screaming and shooting penos when they are not and all, that is how he is, always cheating, like always

[105]The importance of the performance of hegemonic masculinity will be discussed in the next chapter.
[106] Aidian was a boy in the other 2nd class group and Barry's best friend.

[School 3 (I) DG boy aged 8]

If you know him, he shouts in your face and will trip you up [.....] but he does it all the time not just to some people

[School 3 (I) SEEO boy aged 8]

Ah Barry yeah, he'd hack the legs off you, but that is what happens with Barry, you have to knows that

[School 3 (II) DG boy aged 9]

So does anyone ever play, not play fair or anything?
Frank: Barry
Cian: Barry
Yeah
Cian: Yeah but like everyone knows he just does what he likes
Do people get annoyed at that?
Cian: Yeah, but not really everybody knows it

[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9]

Strangely then Barry's techniques on the football field, while accepted as cheating did not seem to impinge on his character being regarded as 'authentic', as his cheating was simply accepted as a fact of who he was, something that other boys would just have to get used to. Indeed, Barry was one of the children most likely to cry but was rarely ridiculed for such behaviour and never overtly so, this was partially due to fear but also as Frank puts it:

Barry cries and he'd box the head off you, he's keepin' it real [laughs last part done in fake American accent]

[School 3 (II) DG boy aged 9]

Thus, crying in Barry's case was not interpreted as manipulative but simply as an aspect of his character.

Moreover, while Barry was well known in the school by his peers and staff as a troublemaker, he was not an anti-school boy *per se*, as he delighted in getting answers right in the class and bragged that he finds homework easy. Indeed, within his class he was in both the advanced reading and maths groups. He prided himself on being '*in the know*', '*on the ball*' and '*knowing what was going on*' in terms of teachers in the school, activities and friendship groups in the child world, knowledge of professional football teams and players, and life in his neighbourhood. As previously discussed, the foundation of his knowledge seemed to come from adult role models in his life, as two of his cousin's had previously attended the school and he quoted the opinions of this uncle frequently throughout his interviews. Indeed, he seemed to strengthen his self-conception as 'quick' and 'sharp' through comparing his actions to what he saw as 'stupid behaviour'. His intolerance of 'stupidity' was largely directed at migrant group boys, especially in relation to them speaking English 'properly', and his perception that they were acting in 'inauthentic' ways, most prominently in relation to 'ratting':

Killian and John, they get on okay. But sometimes, they rat on each other
What's ratting then?
Telling on each other even when you're friendly like! Jaysus, you keep secrets to yourself and your friends!

And what do you think about people who are ratting all the time? Is that a good or bad thing?
Bad it is really stupid, like I knows the teachers don't even like it, they get in trouble for keep on ratting. Noah and them keep ratting on me. You know when people keep ratting on ya? They keep ratting on you and the miss says 'just go'.....stop being a moron like! and they keep rattin' on ya, and rattin' on ya, and rattin' on ya. The miss gets really annoyed with them too.
So when you're a rat are people are nice to ya or they don't like ya?
They don't like ya and it's your own fault
[School 3 (I) 'Barry' DG boy aged 8 talking about two SEEO boys in his class and a AO boy in the other 2nd class]

His opinions of migrant groups, in general, were largely negative and he tended to describe migrant boys in the school as *'annoying'*, *'stupid'* and *'not quite right'*. This attitude seemed to harden from the first year to the next as in the first round of data collection his attitude towards migrant groups centred on the otherness of *'foreign'* countries. However, on my return to school 3, Barry's attitude seemed to have taken a tougher nationalist perspective:

Honestly I'm sick of them like, they can't do anything
Who's this?
The foreigners, its all, em you know 'what? what? what?' Rat, rat, rat, cry, cry, cry, and 'where's?' 'what?' they do be like, they'd be saying they's from Ireland
Yeah?
Themba and all like doesn't look, he's not, his Ma's not, pretending like, I went to ah what do you call it?
What?
Eh a you know thing with me uncle eh, eh yeah a place where they hammer and stuff?
A building site?
Yeah yeah were builders are he said there is no Irish there, it's not fair give us back our jobs
Is your uncle a builder?
No he works down the sports park [park in local area].
Ok and why do you think Themba is not Irish?
Ah no, no he's, I'm not being bad like but no, no.
[School 3 (II) DG boy aged 9]

While Barry's opinions and actions are worthy of analysis, in and of themselves, his particular perspectives did not remain discretely his. Not only did they appear to be partially developed in relation to family and local influences but his reputation and activities within the child world of the school seemed to be influenced by, and influential for, other boys in the field. Indeed, Barry partially seemed to be able to maintain his reputation and viewpoint through the support of other boys in his class which turn gave him a level of authority within the child world field. This will be examined in further detail in the next chapter.

Conclusion

Hence, the ability to embody the 'legitimate' and 'authorised' way of being masculine within the child world seemed to construct a boy as the orthodox expression of the doxic value of 'authenticity'. In other words, some boys appeared to be exemplars of an 'authentic' masculine identity within the child world field. However their chances of being perceived as such were at least partially based on their local cultural capital.

Therefore, while all boys may value the doxa and its orthodoxy - the hegemonic masculine habitus of the field - not all boys can be accepted as embodying such, as this identity is associated with and developed within the local context of masculinity and nationalism. Thus, hegemonic body types, abilities and perspectives are not understood as that which is acquired but something that is inherent and therefore 'authentic'. From this perspective it is impossible to gain that which is intrinsic. Therefore, as long as the construction of the hegemonic masculine habitus is hidden and unacknowledged [orthodoxy], a boy who is viewed as trying to gain such an identity is in contradiction to the doxic principle of an 'authentic' representation. At a micro level then, this mirrors Hage's (1998) analysis of the preclusion of belonging through accumulation. However this does not explain how this process is sustained, constructed or challenged at the level of interactions and encounters within the child world or as Barry's vignette has alluded to the important role of deference within these exchanges.

Chapter 7 – Symbolic Capital and Deference

Introduction

The previous chapter attempted to highlight the dialectical relationship between the hegemonic masculine habitus and doxa of the child world field. However, the ways in which this was operationalized, supported and partially created at the micro-level of interaction was not fully examined. Indeed, while an important aspect of the 'legitimacy' of hegemonic boys' perspectives and actions was rooted in the wider local and familial context and reflected in encounters between the boys, this influence also seemed to be partially created within interactions in the child world. Thus, this chapter aims to describe how a boy's position within the child world field impacted on their ability to control the definition of the situation and bolster their chances of gaining deference for their actions and masculine self-conception (Goffman, 1967). Moreover though, the cylindrical relationship between deference and one's position in the field will be examined in relation to its role in generating symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1977). Hence following Hallett (2007), deference is understood as symbolic capital in potential form. However, being successful in this process will be analysed as rooted within the ability to embody hegemonic masculinity successfully, which is both contingent on the capacity to define one's body as an object of such both in its actions and appearance, and supported through one's local cultural capital and previous stock of deference.

Bodily Hexis of Hegemonic Masculine Habitus

Within the child world the possession of a 'legitimately' masculine body seemed to require adherence to very minute rules, for instance in school 3 during the second round of data collection it became apparent that the friendship between Donnacha and Emmet was no longer as strong as it had been the year before. When this is touched on in Emmet's phase two interview he explains why they have grown apart:

> *So why aren't you best friends with Donnacha anymore?*
> **Mark: Because he's just like em naggy**
> *Naggy?*
> **Emmet: He kind of acts like a girl**
> *Does he?, in what way like?*
> **Emmet: He screams like a girl, he talks like a girl, he acts like a girl, he likes girls things, em and he always goes like that to you** [demonstrates putting head on Mark's shoulder]
> *Really?*
> **Mark: Yeah and you know the way that girl is running like that,** [demonstrates run with

swinging hips and flailing arms]
Emmet: But girls are like
Mark: But he will touch ya, instead of doing that [run without swinging hips flailing arms] **he does that instead of doing that**
Emmet: If he and Mark
Mark: He's not right
[...]
Emmet: See he will try and hit like that [demonstrates a closed fist punch], **here's Donnacha** [makes a slapping movement with flaying arms, and high pitched scream, both laugh]
Mark: No, No here's Donnacha [Inaudible]
Mark: Normally like you would go over and
Emmet: Box him and kick him
Mark: And punch him, but that's, that's the real way to fights
Emmet: [Demonstrates kicking making sound effects]
That's the real way is it?
Mark: Yeah, but Donnacha will grab ya, punch up and go in and out in an out [demonstrates, grabbing Emmet by his t-shirt and shakes him] **and he'll scrape ya**
Emmet: The way girls do
Mark: Yeah, yeah like just a few days ago I fell over, he grabbed my hand my hands slip, his nails are really sharp
[shows scrapes on hand]
[....]
Emmet: Boys are not meant to have long nails, like I pick my nails, he grows his nails
[....]
So what should boys be like then?
Emmet: Boyish like, me and Mark are aggressive like at football and like we play games like chasing like two games a week and football the rest the week, but Donnacha wants to play chasing or skipping every day a week
[...]
Mark: And you know the way Donnacha can stand like that
Emmet: And he'd bend his knee like if we were taking a picture we would just stand like that [demonstrates standing full forward legs apart] **he comes like that** [turned to the side and one foot forward]
Really what do you think about that?
Mark: No like he stands like that [Turned to the side leg out hand on hip and head bent to side] **no I'm serious he would , he would stand like that**
Right like with one foot out?
Emmet: Yeah [overlapping]
Mark: And he'd have like his bum, he'd have like his stomach like, like in a picture I would just do that [full forward legs apart] **rather than him doing that** [to the side, leg forward, bent knee] **and bend his knee**
Emmet: He'd go like that [side, head to the side, hand on hip]

[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9]

In this dissection of what is 'wrong' with Donnacha, the shaping of his arms and legs are meticulously listed, his use of slapping instead of punching, the way he supposedly stands to the side instead of front forward, his long nails and preference for playing chasing instead of football are minutely examined and found to be deviant. Any claim at masculinity Donnacha may make seems likely to be undermined by the interpretation of his body as 'girly', and his demeanour as 'naggy'. 'Girly' body types were also associated with the appearance of the body, specifically one's hair colour, as in all three school boys with blond hair were called 'goldie

locks' and red hair was stigmatised as 'ginger' and 'ugly'. However the maintenance of one's appearance through grooming was generally not viewed as feminine or 'inauthentic' but as something one does to 'take care' of oneself and indicated a boy was heterosexual and grown up:

> **And I'm good at looking after myself**
> *How do you look after yourself?*
> **I spike me hair, I wash meself, I brush me teeth, get myself ready for the birds[107], some of them** [other boys] **don't look after themselves at t'all at t'all**
> *[School 3 (I) DG boy aged 8]*

Many boys prided themselves on their grooming routines, and like this boy disparaged those they believed did not do the same. A masculine self-conception could be bolstered by such routines in comparison to what was constructed as a 'girly' demeanour and also to an 'unkempt' appearance. Indeed comparing one's body to another was common within all three schools[108], and many of the boys took turns to show me how strong they were and compare their strength to mine:

> *Sam and Brendan are talking to me, they begin to lift each other up and say to me 'look how strong I am, look Lindsey look'.[...] Sam now pulls up his sleeve and flexes his muscles which is then copied by Brendan who also points out a scar on his elbow[....] He then tell me he got this by doing a wheelie on his bike, Samson interrupts and shows me how high he can jump. [....] Cahal challenges me to arm wrestling[109]. None of these boys can move my hand, they jump and try to use their body weight but I decide not to budge. I am told I am very strong and I'm asked if I play football. Samson now challenges me to an arm wrestle he is very persistent, the rest of the boys walk away and start talking about other things. We are coming up to a road and it is Samson's fifth time trying to beat me, for the sake of peace and safety I let him win, where upon he runs off shouting, 'I beat her I beat her!'. The other boys ignore him and don't make any comment, if anything they seem a little annoyed by his brags. Samson comes back to me and says 'I am so strong, you are an adult and I beat you', 'is it important to be strong?', 'yeah definitely when I'm old I'm going to be real strong and tall and I'll be able to run from here to school in 2 seconds'. This starts a discussion on future selves, Dillon says he is going to be big and strong and will be like a character in his computer games, [.....] he then says 'no, no I'm going to be like the hulk the muscles on him'.*
> [School 1 Fieldnotes 2; Sam, Brendan, Cahal, Dillon DG boys; Samson AO all aged 8]

Indeed comparisons of strength and speed were actively demonstrated within many of interviews:

> *So would you rather be really fast at running or really slow?*
> **Frank: Fast**
> **Cian: I'm fast at running**
> **Frank: So am I**
> *Yeah, is good to be fast at running?*
> **Frank: Yeah**
> **Cian: Yip, I will be training like three weeks today like I always got to the gym and you know these**
> *Yeah*
> **Cian: When we'd be in shape these you'd have to go about another and but, but we all**

[107] 'bird' is a slang term for girls.
[108] This was touched on in last chapter.
[109] I felt in a particularly tricky position I didn't want to hurt the boys and I wasn't sure if they would respect me more or less if I beat them. I decide the best strategy was not move my hand, neither winning nor losing.

take, take shots and they are really heavy and
Frank: Aw
[Cian demonstrates pulling himself up with his arms]
They are chin ups are they?
Cian: Yeah
Frank: Yeah I done some of them
Cian: And you know when you stand by the wall and squat and this
[Cian demonstrates the squat and then lies down moving his hands up and down]
Yeah, that's a bench press is it?
[inaudible as they show each other training moves]
So what does that do for you then?
Cian: Well I've been trying to build up my arm muscles
Build up your arm muscles?
Cian: Cos it's really weak there, they are really really weak
So do you think that will change doing all that exercise?
Cian: Yeah I hope so

[School 3 (II) DG boys]

Being fast was appreciated by all the boys in all three schools as a necessary requirement for any 'real boy' to gain respect within the school. This was largely due to its perceived benefits for one's footballing ability:

Yeah, what about really fast and really slow?
Eddie: Fast
Owen: Fast
So why is fast better?
Owen: Cos when you are playing chasing you don't get caught
Eddie: And if you were a striker you would have to be fast cos if somebody boots it up all the way up the pitch you would have to be fast enough to get it.
Owen: Yeah you are a bit crap really if you are a slow coach

[School 2 DG boys aged 7 and 8]

However, the importance of height seemed to change within each school. While on the whole being viewed as abnormally small was associated with a lack of maturity and being closer to infancy, being tall was not universally the preferred body shape. In each school, the virtues of being small and tall in terms of football skill were extolled:

Are there any real tall people in your class?
Sam: Yeah John and Peter
And are there any real small people?
Sam: Yeah Billy,
Kevin: Billy
Sam: Martin [both laugh]
What do you think about being small?
Kevin: Yeah
Sam: No, no
Kevin: Yeah it is, for a header, John can smash them in
For a header?
Kevin: Yeah for a game of football, you'd be like sh…..

[School 1 DG boys, John and Peter DG boys, Billy SEEO and Martin DG boy, all aged 8]

Ok so tell me then would you rather be really tall or really small for the rest of your life?
Ryan: Be small
Eamonn: I'd rather be a little bit small in between small and big about that height something or maybe bigger
Ryan: About here
Like that why would you like to be like that?
Ryan: Because it's not easier for taller people like to if they are about six foot and we are about four foot we'll be like them, we'll be more like skilful because smaller people means better
Smaller have better skill?
Eamonn: Yeah better skill because you will have smaller legs like Barry and all instead of bigger legs like Warren

[School 3 (II) DG Boys, Barry DGB, Warren AO boy all aged 9]

Depending on the school, the benefits or drawbacks of being tall or small in terms of football skills seemed to shift directly as a result of the height of hegemonic boys in the class and school. In school 1 the tallness and skill of 'John[110]', was admired by other high status boys. Conversely, in school 3 being small or having small legs and feet was associated with skill, which seemed to be related to 'Barry's' relatively small body type compared to the other boys in his class. Thus, the standard of a legitimate 'masculine' body was not fixed, but rather seemed contextual and developed in relation to the body type of high status boys in each child world. Deference for the 'masculinity' of a boy's body was also partially developed in relation to its active use within the child world field. Indeed, the almost constant discussion of the body in relation to football gives some important insights into how some aspects of this deference originated and how it was perpetuated.

Exposed Encounters

Play within the child world of the school seemed to occupy at least three levels of visibility; exposed, visible and invisible. While, of course, these three levels of visibility were not rigidly separated or policed, certain activities and areas of the yard seemed to gain more attention and caused more discussion and analysis of a boy's character in relation to his engagement in them. Invisible play generally constituted small group or dyadic activities such as playing cards, hand held video games and checkers. Visible play tended to involve activities such as 'chasing', fantasy games, and basketball. Exposed play, was almost always constituted by football and sometimes play fighting.

[110] John was a boy in the other 2nd class who Sam and Kevin hung around with in the school but also in their neighbourhood.

Exposed Play

Football in all three schools was the most prominent activity in the school yard. Its importance was partially underpinned by the rules of the school, as all three schools designated areas of the yard for football games for different class year groups. Thus, all the boys from 2nd class or 3rd class etc... were given an area of the yard in which to play a game of football. In school 1 the split of the yard in this way took up the available space almost completely with other games pushed to the periphery of the space next to the walls of the school. In School 2 every inch of the senior yard was split into football games except for along the walls of the school and two small free areas in which chasing games were played; in the junior yard, a third of the space was given over to football for the 2nd class boys. In School 3[111] there was a front and back yard, the front was split into football pitches which took over roughly 85% of space and no football was allowed in the backyard.

However football was not only dominant in the child world due to its command of space, but it also as it provided a stage on which one could construct, but also re-affirm one's masculinity and authenticity within the child world. This was touched on in the previous chapter, in terms of football's role in mediating what and who could be considered good and bad and in aligning oneself to professional footballers while differentiating oneself from the feminine. However, within the interviews and observations it became apparent that the performative element of football was central to its importance.

Stage

Football is described as an 'exposed activity', as not only did the majority of boys participate in it but the actions and events that took place on the football field were endlessly discussed, defended and reinterpreted by the boys on and off the pitch. It was common for football successes to be celebrated and gloated over by many boys, but also for others to be condemned and ridiculed for their inadequate attempts at displaying skill. However, it appeared that the mediator of whether one was praised or ridiculed, or at least allowed to enjoy the game, was not due to a meritocracy of skill, as overtly claimed by the boys, but directly related to one's position in the field in

[111] See vignette below for more detail.

terms of one's status, deference and capital accumulation. One's reputation and status seemed to impact on a boy's ability to mobilise support for their interpretation of events or the willingness of others to do this for them.

Indeed, one of the most striking things about watching a football match played by young boys was how much, talk, shouting, instructions, protests and celebrations were uttered. There seems to be a non-stop dialogue amongst the players on what was happening and what should happen next. High status boys were generally the most vocal in the game and felt the need to shout instructions at everyone as they moved around the field. For instance in school 2 Eddie and Owen talk about shouting during football matches:

> *During the football matches there seems to be a lot of shouting going on?*
> **Eddie: Yeah have to**
> **Owen: Have to, most of them are no good**
> **Eddie: Can't even pass or anything**
> *Would you shout then?*
> **Eddie: Only cause they have to be told, they can't do it like us we can just to it like see this** [demonstrates a kick] **I can do this no problem, Gamada hasn't a clue**
> **Owen: Like we are trying to help him like tell him**
> *Tell him yeah?*
> **Owen: But he wasn't listen he's a d....like you have to do as you are told**
> **Eddie: He was saying to the miss it was a free kick** [scoffs] **but I knows, no he doesn't even know, everyone knows it wasn't, we said it to him**
>
> *[School 1 DG boys aged 8 Gamada AO boy aged 8]*

It would perhaps be easy to interpret this as part of Gamada's acculturation journey and when he eventually learns the rules of the game he will not need Eddie and Owen's 'help'. However Gamada seems to be already be very well aware of the rules of football, but his interpretation of events and the rules seemed to be consistently ignored or ridiculed by others:

> **I try to play but they shout at me all the time, try to do a free kick but no no it is no free kick even though they off side**
> *Do they shout at everyone or just you?*
> **Me and everyone but no shouting at Eddie**
>
> *[School 2 AO boy Gamada aged 8]*

> **Hank: Eh, nobody, lets him [Gamada] play, sometimes he plays football and now he always plays football**
> **Kofi: Most of the time he plays football, they won't let me play, and then he goes home and he is always playing football.**
> **Hank: And sometimes they won't let him play and he goes to the teacher and says 'they won't let me play' and she say let him play now he's always playing football**
> *And why do you think they weren't letting him play football?*
> **Hank: Because he is only new and they don't know him.**
> **Kofi: Cos they slag him, cos they say em 'hello mister...' because before Gamada was started this school em Eddie was saying 'hello mister...., I forgot what Eddie said**

Yeah, was it a bad name?
Kofi: Yeah....but it was a little bit good.
It was a little bit good, and how do you think Gamada felt about that.
Kofi: Sad.
Hank: And sometimes people hits him, like Eddie and mine and all a few days ago was hitting him and I was saying on the wall 'Eddie stop hitting him' and he does look at me like that and walks over
[....]
Hank: But he doesn't know how to play really he gets it wrong
Kofi: He always plays at home

[School 2 Hank DG boy aged 8, Kofi AO boy aged 7, Gamada AO boy aged 8]

While Hank admits Gamada has not been really welcomed into the class, he also tries to argue this is at least partly his fault as he is new and '*he doesn't know how to play*'. However, Kofi who knows him from outside school is able to inform myself and Hank that Gamada plays a lot of football at home and knows how to play. Moreover his exclusion is not simply based on his unfamiliarity with the school as he was bullied by Eddie even before he entered the school. Indeed, within football games it was possible to observe almost exactly the same events transpire within the same game or one day after the next, and for them to be interpreted differently depending on who was involved[112]. In school 2, a heightened example of this process happened while I observed a penalty shootout during a football match on the school's sports day:

The rest of the boys score goals Malcolm, Sam, Leo, Liam, Cahal, Hugh and Brendan all line up their shots very carefully and run at the ball from an angle in a steep curve. They seem to be mimicking the posture of professional footballers and after the score, they each run around in a victory dance. With each boy that does this the celebrating becomes more elaborate. Malcolm simply runs around with his hands up as does Hugh. Liam puts the bottom of his arsenal shirt over his head and runs with his hands stretched out like aeroplane wings which he tilts back and forth to give the impression he's soaring, this is copied by Cahal a few seconds later. Brendan also runs with the end of his shirt over his head but then runs very fast and drops to his knees where he skids on them for a few inches. The teacher tells him to get up. Sam finishes this display off by cart wheeling twice when he scores his goal.

[.....]

It is Samson's turn he scores a goal he does a short run and puts his hands up in the air but is soon stopped by Donal [goal keeper] shouting at him. I'm not sure what his main complaint is but the general gist is Samson's goal was unfair and he was not ready. Donal is getting red in the face but the teacher tells him to get ready for the next goal. Behind the goal Kevin continues this attack on Samson and tells him he doesn't' play fair' to 'stop pretending' and that was 'never a goal'. Samson just ignores him and comes over to me, I congratulate him but he doesn't really respond, I feel the wind has been taken out of his sails a bit.

[All boys DG boys except Samson AO boy, all aged 8]

The freedom the other boys seemed to enjoy to celebrate their goals did not appear to be available to Samson. In fact, not only was his celebration cut short but the legitimacy of his goal was angrily contested. Throughout the day, Samson's efforts at sports were called into question more often than those of the other boys in his class,

[112] More of these examples will be looked at in the next chapter.

including those boys usually seen as 'non-sporty' and 'feminine'.

However, what was most surprising was the level of support some boys enjoyed from their class during sports day. Even before the day began, boys picked their favourite to win the gold medal and all the boys I spoke to choose Malcolm to win. This support for Malcolm became most apparent in an event called the 'circle game':

> *An older male teacher organises a game where the boys have to run in a circle and when he blows his whistle the boys must run into the centre of the circle and grab a bean bag. The boy or boys that don't get one are out and the game starts again. Each time the number of bean bags is reduced until only two boys and one bean bag is left. Malcolm and Samson are the last ones standing, all the boys are now watching them, and they all start to chant 'Malcolm, Malcolm, Malcolm, Malcolm' the most vocal are Donal, Sam, Kevin and Liam. I can't hear anyone cheering for Samson when the whistle goes it is very close but Malcolm slides into the centre and just manages to grab the bag; the class explodes with celebration and runs to congratulate Malcolm. I go over to Samson and congratulate him, Brian and Martin also go to Samson, he seems pleased with himself and says he tried his best, I tell him he is really fast. The rest of the class go over to Malcolm, Malcolm keeps saying 'wow that was really close between me and Samson, wasn't it, real close', he seems to be trying to give Samson his due, but Kevin says 'No it wasn't, you fuckin' killed him man'. Malcolm doesn't seem very comfortable with this and goes over to Samson and shakes his hand.*
>
> *[School 1 All DG boys except Samson AO, all aged 8]*

Thus, even though Malcolm did not seem to seek the support of others and I read his behaviour as somewhat uncomfortable with the interpretation of his actions as having '*killed*' Samson, his greater skill and ability seemed to be deferred to by the other boys. Even before the games had begun, he was supported and almost willed to win throughout the day by the boys in his class. This level of deference for the supposed greater level of ability of certain boys was common within all three schools. For instance, in School 3 Barry's so called greater skill was widely reported throughout the class. While all the boys did not necessarily like Barry, there was no doubt he was viewed as the superior footballer of the class:

> *So who would be the best footballer?*
> **Warren: Barry because he is good in goals and out of the goal.**
> [...]
> *So are there any people in your class who have loads of friends and everyone wants to be around them?*
> **Warren: Yes.**
> *Who would they be?*
> **Warren: Aidan that is next door and Barry that is in our class.**
> *And why do you think they are popular?*
> **Warren: Because they are much better at football and they know a lot of tricks.**
>
> *[School 3 (I) AO boy aged 8]*

> *Yeah I see, so if, are there people who are like really good a football or?*
> **Ryan: Yeah**
> **Eamonn: Yeah**
> *Who would be really good?*

Ryan: Aidan and Barry
Yeah
Eamonn: That is what I was going to say
Ryan: [short laugh]
And why are they good at football?
Eamonn: Don't know they just is
Like what do they do like?
Eamonn: Like show all skill and they are the most people that score goals
Yeah, so what is skill on the football field?
[pause]
Like what are some good moves?
Ryan: Overheads
Overheads? Sure you'd crack your skull out there if you were doing overheads?
Eamonn: No
Ryan: You just kick the ball and it went over your head
Right, and do you not fall on the ground when you do that?
Eamonn: No
Ryan: Sometimes you do
Do you, do you get a cut on your head
Ryan: You fall on your back if you keep your head up
Yeah, and any other skills that are good?
Eamonn: 360 spin
What's that?
Eamonn: 360 spin like you put one foot on the ball and then you move it around, turn it around using your other foot to just back heal it
Oh do many people do that out in the yard?
Ryan: Yeah
Eamonn: Like at football on the T.V like Bergotoff does it

[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 8]

Thus, Barry was deferred to as the best footballer by his friends and by those who were not. However, the accuracy of depicting him as genuinely superior in his football skills is questioned slightly by Ryan and Eamonn's elaboration of what skill on the football field entails; 'overheads', '360 spins' and 'goals', apart from the latter the demonstration of such skills was non-existent in the boys' play. What seems to be more telling is their initial difficulty in elaborating why Barry and Aidan are good footballers they '*just is*'.

In the three schools, there were varying levels of organisation in terms of football game supervision. School 3 was the most organised as the janitor and a teaching assistant supervised play for the 2nd class group; however, by the time the boys were in 3rd class the football game was only partially supervised by a teaching assistant watching both the 3rd and 4th year games. In Schools 1 and 2, there was some semblance of football teams and rules, but there was very little supervision and it was rare for teachers to intervene in the game to implement rules. The effect of this

seemed to be what one boy called '*every man for himself*' competitions[113]. In this scenario, there was continuous fighting for the ball, the game stopped and started constantly as the boys argued, and there was little sense of passing or working together as a team. The effect of this seemed to be very little space in which to show any skill, yet this did not seem to stop boys imagining and discussing the skills they claimed to witness:

Gamada: They are always saying they great in the line
Nicholai: You are you are not meant to speak in line
Gamada: Yeah they say they headed it in
Who headed it in?
Nicholai: No there is no heading in silly boys
Gamada: I don't know I didn't see it
Nicholai: That is because it didn't happen
Gamada: They say 'we great, we great' in the line
Was this today I didn't see a header?
Gamada: They said it was true it was
[School 2 Nicholai EE aged 8, Gamada AO aged 8]

Discussing of what happened on the football field was common in all three school, but in school 3 especially[114]. An analysis of the football game, who won and lost, who showed skill and who 'made a mess of things' was commonly discussed. For instance, Brendan and Donal, analyse what happened in the football game at break time:

Donal: I was robbed
Brendan: yeah
Donal: Should have got that
Brendan: Defo
What is this?
Donal: Should have got a cross from Kevin, gutted
Brendan: Yeah we were saying it in line
Donal: Yeah they think they was great but we told them like no, no you'se was a fluke
Brendan: Yeah they [other 2nd class] **is always saying 'we won, we won', but no they're just stupid**
So do boys usually talk about the football in the line?
Brendan: Yeah saying we was the best and all
Donal: Mikhail was crap though, I don't think he, he should be in, he missed way more than me
Brendan: That's what I was saying to Kevin after
[School 1 DG boys aged 8, Mikhail aged 8 EEO]

Hence, not only does a game of football take place but what happens seems to be reinterpreted after the event. Here Donal admits losing possession on a pass but denies responsibility for this, a view which Brendan supports, but an apparently similar situation involving Mikhail is interpreted as evidence of his inferiority, which is also supported by Brendan. To certain extend then Mikhail is being used by Donal

[113] [DG boy school 2, aged 8]
[114] This will be discussed in the vignette below.

to compare himself favourably to. In school 3 Warren talks about a game of football he had just participated in:

> **I tried my best but I can't tackle**
> *But I saw you take the ball off Barry?*
> **Yes but no I think it was a foul**
> *A foul?*
> **Barry said it was a foul when we were lining up**
> *Did anyone else say that?*
> **Yes John and Mike when we lining up**
> *[School 3 (II) AO boy, John SEEO and Mike DG boy, all aged 9]*

John and Mike seemed to support Barry's interpretation of events on the football field and Warren also concurs with this. Although I saw Barry lose the ball to Warren on several occasions in the first and second round of data collection, Warren was never mentioned as skilful by other boys and also did not view himself as particularly so[115]. On this point I am aware that my knowledge of what may be interpreted as skilful comes from an outsider's perspective[116] and it is likely I did not see the skill of these high status boys as an insider would view them. However, there is also evidence that this insider's perspective was at least partially constructed through deference some boys showed for certain individuals no matter what their actions.

Deference

The reputation of being a good footballer and an 'authentic' boy seemed to endure even when some boys displayed non hegemonic behaviour. For instance, in the expression of emotion, which was discussed in the last chapter as representing femininity and 'inauthenticity', some hegemonic boys appeared to have more latitude to express their emotions, for instance in the child world of school 1:

> *On several occasions boys get hit by the ball. [...] Quinn is hit in the head by a ball and bursts into tears he runs to the edge of the yard and begins to sob. Nobody looks at him and the game continues, when he composes himself he returns to the game and pretends nothing has happened. Hugh is then hit by the ball and he starts crying Kevin shouts 'look Hugh is crying' and starts to laugh, Hugh goes to the side of the yard and composes himself but he does not return to the game.*
>
> [School 1 fieldnotes]

Quinn was good friends with Kevin, Sam and Malcolm and played with them in their local area; all these boys were observed crying during yard time but not once ridiculed for this. In contrast Hugh's identical reaction to Quinn's was immediately pointed out and laughed at and he was called a '*cry baby*' by more than one boy. Indeed, the expression of emotion within the context of football seemed to be

[115] This will be explored in the next chapter.
[116] As discussed in the methodology section.

validated for hegemonic boys in all three schools, as football was largely conceptualised as a legitimate reason to express emotion and therefore betray interest and effort through celebration, which in other circumstances could be interpreted as '*trying*' in antonym to '*just being*':

> **Eddie: I was great we beat them a lot,**
> **Owen: Yeah it was a good match**
> *You were great were you?*
> **Eddie: Yeah not being bad but I was everyone said it**
> **Owen: Yeah, yeah**
> **Eddie: I whooped, delighted**
>
> *[School 2 DG boys aged 7 and 8]*

However, this still had to be kept under check, as over enthusiastic emotional displays were still viewed as suspect and something lower status boys engaged in:

> *Yeah, do you ever wish you could score more goals or?*
> **Emmet: Yeah**
> **Mark: Yeah, I'd love to score more goals**
> *Yeah why would you like to score more goals?*
> **Mark: Yeah, but if I score a goal everyone is like 'yeah!' and they jump on top of you, like I don't care what's going on**
> **Emmet: I know, it's just another goal, like you would go 'yes' but you wouldn't go 'Yes!'** [screams it] **like John**
>
> *[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9, 'John' SEEO aged 9]*

Here Emmet and Mark's legitimate expression of emotion is contrasted to John's presumed over-celebration, indeed 'John' was conceptualised by many of the boys as '*trying too hard*' in his engagement with football[117].

Indeed, many hegemonic boys engaged in behaviour which in others was interpreted as 'disingenuous', this was most obviously seen through engagement in bragging. 'Barry' freely discussed himself in glowing terms and frequently compared his footballing skills to that of professional footballers:

> **Barry: And get like Christian Ronaldo. My cousin, is Kyle, he thinks he's better than me and he only scored, two hat tricks and I scored three hat tricks, and I scored thirteen goals, and more goals than other guys in Arsenal.**
>
> *[School 3 (I) DG boys aged 8]*

Barry's self-conception was also supported by other boys in his class; even one year on he was frequently described in such terms by others:

> *So who were you saying are the best footballers?*
> **Barry because he is like Ronaldo**
> *Really?*
> **Yeah everyone says that**
>
> *[School 3 (II) SEEO boy aged 9]*

In School 1, Kevin enjoyed a similar level of freedom to declare himself the best

[117] John's case is examined in a vignette in chapter 8.

footballer in his class through Sam's support of this assertion:

So are there some very good footballers in your class?
Sam: Yeah.
Kevin: I'm the best one in my class and
Sam: Yeah really he is.
He is the best one, yeah?
Kevin: The best one and the sexiest one

[School 1, DG boys aged 8]

However bragging of this sort could only be engaged in successfully with the support of other boys, as unsuccessful bragging, which is examined in the next chapter, tended to leave boys open to accusations of '*trying to be someone*' they were not and '*trying to be great*', and tied them back into a conception of 'inauthenticity'. Indeed even blatant examples of false behaviour seemed to be overlooked or reinterpreted as genuine for some hegemonic boys. This was touched on in the last chapter in which 'Barry' was understood as somewhat honest in his dishonesty. In school 2, these migrant origin boys talk about cheating in football games, while they are very critical and somewhat angry at this behaviour, they also show a certain level of acceptance of these actions from two high status boys:

What about in the yard are there some things that people do that you don't like?
Yuri : I was watching it and if throw in they take it quick, but no their throw but they take it
Casimir: I don't want to em I saw them eh surrender, some on the pitch might be just out and they just claim it and they shoot
Really?
Yuri: They score they celebrate and say 'that was goal' and the Miss always says that it was
So sometimes it's not a goal but they say it is kind of?
Casimir: Yeah
Who does this?
Casimir: Eddie and Owen
Yeah and what do you think of that?
Yuri: I no, no it is no
Casimir: But they always do, Hank say to me they do it and will do it and that is it
Yeah?
Yuri: Yeah yeah they do it and do it and do it always

[School 2 EE boys aged 8]

Thus, it is implied in this quote that Hank has spoken to these two boys about Eddie and Owen's behaviour and told them it is something they should just accept as part of who they are, '*they do it and will do it*'. Once again cheating by hegemonic boys was characterised as something akin to 'sincere insincerity'. Hence, even in obvious cases of deception these boys continued to embody orthodox hegemonic masculinity and expressing doxic values. Moreover, Owen and Eddie's continued reputation as genuine was partially maintained and constructed through the direct support and deference of Hank and the complicit passivity of Casimir and Yuri. While the

underlying deferential dynamics involved cannot be fully described until they are absent[118], at this point it seems plausible to suggest that hegemonic boys were more easily able to embody orthodox masculinity, as what was considered 'masculine' within the field was partially based on their objective bodies and habitual dispositions. Therefore, the child world field is not a level playing field in which all performances and interactions are judged equally, but the habitus of the field is dialectically linked to that of hegemonic boys. An analogy to this is 100m a race where some participants must run up hill and others downhill, but all perceive the playing field as level and the winner is declared fastest through their individual merit alone.

Invisible Encounters

However, not all boys choose to take part in this metaphorical race but were involved in other activities. Within all three of the schools, what can be termed 'invisible' play also took place. While of course no play in the yard was truly invisible, this sort of play tended to take place in quiet corners of the yard away from the main activities and was rarely overlooked or scrutinised by other boys. The type of activities engaged in were largely sedentary, involving playing cards, checkers and hand held computer games [when the equipment was available] and also involved talking and telling jokes and stories to friends in small groups of two or three. Engaging in these activities seemed to have certain benefits but also drawbacks in terms of a boy's reputation within the child world. The benefits of these games were largely due to their hidden and sedentary nature as they did not require bodily performances of hegemonic masculinity and therefore a boy was largely protected from overt ridicule by others, if such a performance failed or were not viewed as adequate. Indeed boys who engaged in these activities largely described them as fun and relaxing. While there was some evidence of fighting and one-upmanship in terms of the make and model of hand held computer games and the ownership of games consoles at home, these activities did not appear to cause major incidents between the boys. As Nicholai explains, playing these games with his friends helped him to feel less worried in the playground:

> **I like playing my computer under the arch, Sean, Lok and me share goes, and the others watch**
> *What is good about it then?*
> **It's fun**
> *It's fun?*

[118] This will be the subject of the next chapter.

[describes particular part of game that is fun]
Yeah do your other friends like it?
Yeah we don't have to worry there
What would you worry about?
'Uh uh you're stupid', 'you're' eh, em 'you're eh a girl', them's be like out there
[School 2 EEO Boy aged 8]

While some high status boys would sometimes engage in these games, especially in school 2 where the swapping of football top trump cards was a popular activity, these activities were largely seen as fairly silly and babyish by high status boys:

Barry: They'd be playing like top trumps and all, actually I don't know what they do be playing
You don't know?
Barry: Yeah cos it's all boring kiddie stuff, stupid
[School 3 (II) DG boy aged 9]

Barry's contention that he doesn't even really know what 'they' play indicates these games are somewhat hidden or that they are so '*kiddie*' and '*stupid*' he doesn't want to admit knowing about them. Thus, it seems there is a trade off in engaging with these activities, while one may be somewhat protected from scrutiny and ridicule, participating in these games appears to give one little or no chance to engage in performances of orthodox hegemonic masculinity and gain deference from others. In engaging with these activities therefore one was somewhat giving up the ghost of popularity or acceptance.

Visible Encounters

Somewhat of an interim level of play between these two extremes, is what I term 'visible activities'. Visible activities within the child world of the school took the form of games such as chasing, fantasy games, play fighting and basketball in one school. These activities tended to be active games and took place at the periphery of football games, in open space not designated for football and in a separate yard in the case study class[119]. These activities had a more overtly competitive edge and also involved bodily displays of orthodox hegemonic masculinity. Boys who engaged in these games bragged they were fast or the best at making up fantasy games. The most popular games were superhero based or warrior games, which involved pretend battles and quests to be completed and involved a competitive element[120]:

I see yeah and would you rather be really fast at running or really slow?
Fast

[119] See vignette at the end of this chapter for elaboration.
[120] The in-group competitiveness of groups engaged in visible activities and to a lesser extend invisible activities will be explored in chapter 8 in relation to resilience and reflexivity.

Yeah, why would you be fast?
So everybody wouldn't slag me when they wanted to have a race
So everyone couldn't slag you?
Yeah cos everyone can win against me
Ok so do people do that now?
Yeah they can run faster than me
Ok they can?
I'm the slowest in the class
Yeah? how do you know that?
Cos I do races, we do and I always lose and I am always caught in chasing but I can't catch anyone
Yeah and how do you feel when that happens?
Like left out

[School 3 (II) DG boy aged 9]

At the wider level of the child world, participation in these games was largely viewed as a 'babyish activity' something that was engaged in when the boys were younger:

Cian: No he plays his own games, he plays made up games
Frank: He makes up games, like
Yeah
Frank: Like pretend to be monsters and all
Yeah and would you ever play those games?
Cian: No
Frank: No, they are for kids
For kids?
Cian: Kiddie stuff and he plays [unclear]
[....]
Frank: And he, he remember can turn into a monster
Cian: Can turn into a monster
Ok so did you ever play these games?
Cian: Yeah when we were younger but we are big now
You are big now?
Together: Yeah

[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9]

Within visible games, there was slightly more risk of being openly ridiculed than in invisible pursuits, especially as these games tended to be close to football games, and in some incidents games of chasing could stray into football matches. Such intruders were quickly rebuked by football players, usually with milder forms of this warning from School 2, '*Get the fuck out you knackers*'[121]. Hence while visible activities in the playground seemed to allow boys a certain level of display and performance; this had a trade off by increasing the risk of being overtly ridiculed and shamed within the child world compared to those engaged in invisible activities. However not all boys were as likely to be ignored or shamed through their engagement with invisible, visible or exposed activities, as exposure within the child world was also an effect of the visibility of one's body.

[121] School 1 observation notes 1

Exposed Through Skin Colour

The encounters and play of visible minority migrant boys tended to be examined and watched by others no matter what sort of play or what level of the child world they engaged in. In school 3 'Themba' talked about his sense of being always being watched by the other boys:

> *Em so does anything else annoy you in the yard then?*
> **I tries to be quiet and not, em not play football but they still after me**
> *After you?*
> **Yeah I was playing em chasing but they were shouting at me from football**
> *Yeah?*
> **They were looking at me anyway**
> *Why were the looking at you?*
> **Don't know**
> *No?*
> **Everybody is looking at me all the time**
>
> *[School 3 (II) AO boy aged 9]*

Themba's sense that he was being watched by his class seemed to be well founded, as the boys talked about him almost as regularly as they discussed Barry, but without deference. Indeed Frank and Cian allude to the fact that Themba was highly visible in the child world and never really disappeared from notice:

> **Frank: I don't play hide and go seek any more**
> **Cian: Yeah it's for babies**
> *Yeah?*
> **Frank: Remember when we were playing with Themba and**
> **Cian: Yeah yeah** [both laugh]
> *Yeah?*
> **Cian: Themba was hiding in the shed but** [laugh]
> **Frank: No point em you can see him eh all the**
> **Cian: They are crap you can see them, I can see him now even when we are not playing you can find them**
> **Frank: No point trying to hide with them**
>
> *[School 3 (II) DG boys, Themba AO all aged 9]*

While of course this quote refers explicitly to a game of hide and seek, there is a broadening out of this example *'you can see him eh all the'*, *'even when we are not playing you can find them'* and the use of the word *'them'* implicates that this visibility extends to other people like Themba. While the issue of skin colour was not used in this context, [122] in School 1 the exposure of 'Billy' an SEEO boy within the child world was discussed in relation to his perceived 'off-white' skin:

> *Okay so, he just didn't think there was any difference* [between Romanian and people and 'Irish' people]?
> **Martin: Yeah, except for his skin.**
> **Brian: Oh yeah, his skin – his skin colour.**
> *Yeah?*

[122] Although Themba's skin colour was mentioned and racist attitudes towards him were uncovered, this will be discussed in the next chapter

Martin: Yeah.
Brian: Yeah it's a kind of a greenish colour like.
Martin: Yeah.
Okay?
Brian: Very greenish you can see him everywhere

[School 1 DG boys aged 8]

Indeed 'Billy' also felt his activities in the yard were watched in comparison to dominant group boys who played similar games to him:

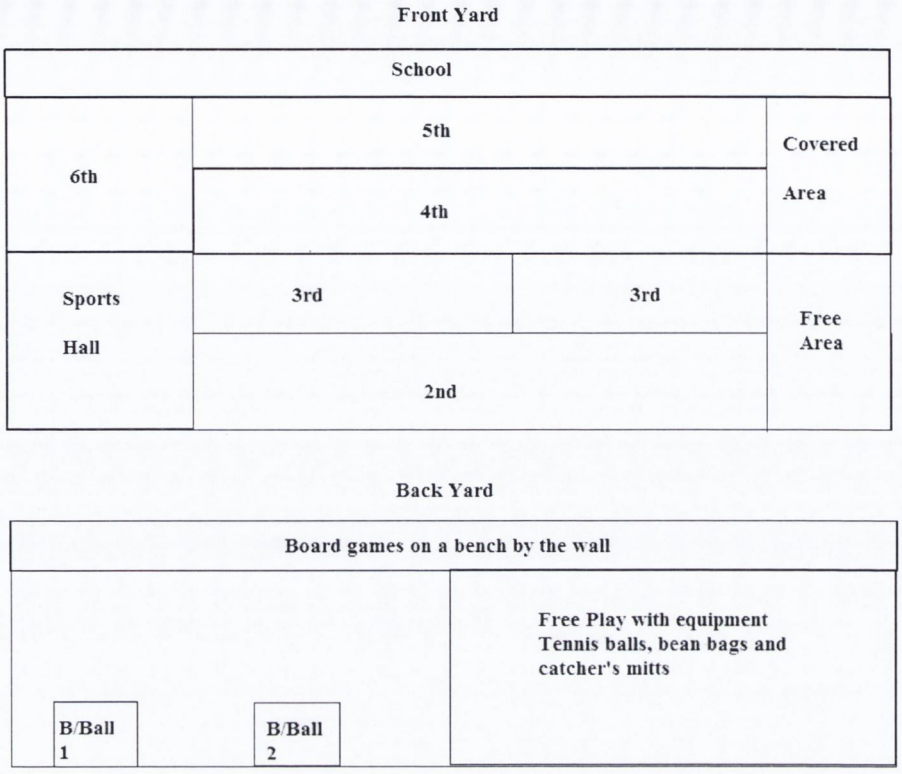
Brian and Martin can play cards
Yeah?
We can't
Why not?
They don't see them
Hmm?
They [Kevin and Sam] **see me and kick me**

[School 1 SEEO boy, Brian, Martin, Kevin and Sam DG all aged 8]

Thus, not all boys were somewhat invisible within the child world of the school, as the supposed visibility of their bodies, whether materially phenotypically different from the majority or more obviously constructed in terms of gradations of whiteness seemed to cause some boys to be under a greater deal of scrutiny within the child world no matter their activities[123].

[123] This will be discussed further in the next two chapters in relation to visibility and the situation fo Eastern European boys and the exposing ability of first language use.

Vignette 2.1 Child World of School 3



(not comparable in scale to each other)

In School 3 there was a front and back yard, the front was split into football pitches which took over roughly 85% of the space however a small free area of play was available at side of the main yard in a partially covered area. No football was allowed in the backyard, this small space was roughly one sixth the size of the front yard was used for basketball, board games and other non-contact activities. To play in the back yard boys lined up in the front yard and a teacher took them to the back yard to play. If a boy missed this line up, they could not join the back yard later on.

Back yard

The front yard was where the vast majority of boys choose to play and the back yard was generally disparaged by hegemonic boys as somewhere '*kiddies like to play*'. However for many boys the back yard was a refuge from constant scrutiny and acted as an area for invisible encounters. The variety of games available to play in the back yard appealed to some boys but seemed to provide a release from ridicule:

> **Noel: It's like you get to play loads of games**
> **Oisin: Like Chess be on a the bean bags and eh well**
> **Noel: Eh**
> **Oisin: Oh yeah and we don't get to play hula hoops cos you have to throw the bas cos you have to throw the basketball into the basket hoop and they you move back up and if you do and if you go past all the hoops well you have to do it backwards then you have to do it**

sidewards then you have to do it other sideways but no-one made it side wards
Martin: Left and right
Oisin: Yeah left and right
Noel: and nobody is 'you'se are bad, you'se are bad' [School 3 (I) DG boys all aged 8]

However by the time I returned to the school these boys played almost exclusively in the front yard, in the two free areas and engaged in fantasy and chasing games as discussed above. The back yard was now seen as a place where the 'foreign kids' played. While the proportion of migrant children in the back yard was much larger than those in the front yard in the first year, on re-entering the school for the second round of data collection, migrant origin boys made up the vast majority of boys in this area, a point I noted at the time:

> *At least 85% of boys in the back yard are from a combination of SEA, SA, AO origin with the largest group SA which is quite different from last year.* [Observation notes School 3 (II)]

Indeed in the follow up year Barry succinctly designated the backyard as for, '**Pakis and babies**'[124]. New boys to the class group Jamil and Kareem from South Asian Origins [SAO] origins referred to the fact that they enjoyed the backyard as it allowed them to be somewhat hidden from view:

Jamil: Yes we are liking back
Kareem: Yeah in the
Jamil: There is chess and
[....]
Jamil: No-one is seeing us there

[School 3 (II) SAO boys aged 9]

While the backyard did seem to provide some shelter from scrutiny, it also precluded boys from engaging in games in which it was technically possible to gain some deference. By engaging with games in the back yard, one was automatically labelled a 'loser'. Moreover, reports of what happened in the back yard still pervaded discussions in the class for instance:

Frank: I heard Kareem can't even get a basket from number one
Martin: Yeah, yeah he can forget about playing football then

[School 3 (II0 DG boys aged 9]

Thus, the benefit of engaging in the backyard did not seem to be complete and many boys remained exposed within the child world no matter where they choose to play.

Front Yard

The front yard can be understood as being split into two areas, the football pitches usually facilitated 'exposed play' and two small free areas to the right of the yard for 'visible play', in which fantasy and chasing games tended to take place mostly under the stewardship of Oisin. This play tended to be more inclusive and if a hegemonic boy wanted to play they could do so

[124] School 3 (II) DG boy aged 9

without much resistance from the other boys. Below is a typical description of the play involved in the visible area. This incident involved several high status boys:

> *Emmet then comes over and says 'I burn you Lindsey', 'What?', 'I'm fire', Oisin explains 'I'm water, he's fire'. I now hear Oisin saying to Warren 'you're electricity'. They all run around and touch each other and as they do so they make a 'ziss' noise as though they have use their magical power to get the other one. Oisin then shouts 'I'm wolverine and I can kill everyone' he roars as loud as he can and runs around 'look at my muscles, watch out'. Larry and Warren now play fight and pretend to head butt each other, knee each other in the crotch and punch. As they do so they make expressive noises such as 'thump, bang, yeoww, uhh, whack' and the other person receiving the punches reacts with mock shouts of pain.*
>
> [Observation notes School 3(II) Emmet, Oisin, Larry DG boys Warren AO all aged 9]

While this play seemed to open up more possibilities to engage in hegemonically masculine displays of fighting and toughness than invisible play, it also took place in a more visible arena than that in the back yard and was frequently disrupted by other boys openly ridiculing those playing there and labelling them as babies:

> *The covered area is just behind the 5th class football pitch two boys come into the area and grabs John by the back of the jumper 'oh I'm a super hero! Help me laughs', John turns away and run to the other side. One of the boys then says something in Romanian, I presume. Periodically the older boys will turn around and laugh at them but the3rd year boys do their best to ignore them. Just as the bell goes to signal the end of yard Ryan comes running out from the 3rd year football pitch and shouts at the boys 'superhero wankers' and runs off to join the line.*
>
> [Observation Fieldnotes 3 (II) John SEEO Ryan DG both aged 9]

The exposed area of the yard consisted of the football pitches. In 2nd class this consisted of The peripheral area of the yard and in 3rd class the space in front of the sports hall entrance This area tended to be used as one football pitch, but on some occasions a teacher would split the pitch in two and allow two football matches to take place. The events which happened on the football pitch were the most discussed and reinterpreted by the boys throughout and after the game, for instance when boys returned to their lines[125] conversations of this sort were common:

> *The boys now run back to their line there is are conversations about what just happened. A group of boys from the other class walk together and say 'yeah did you see me kick Themba? That was classic', 'yeah classic you got him here', they all laugh and one of the boys goes up to Themba and says 'remember when I got you, ha?' Themba says 'yeah' and shows him the spot where he got kicked' they then run on to their lines. Martin and Larry talk together, 'robbed', 'they were just lucky', the result should have been ours'. Boys from the other class discuss their skills 'class act, yeah I'll show them some skill'. When I get to the line John says 'nil all Lindsey, scandal, I mean that was definitely a goal', 'yeah' says Warren. Dylan G and Eamonn are now in the line, Eamonn 'I heard it was shite', looking at Warren.*
>
> [Observation School 3 (I)]

This practice continued into the second observation year:

> *Before the end of the game Eamonn gets a goal and the boys go mad, Ryan jumps on his shoulder and Martin grabs him in a side hug. The whistle is blown and the boys head for the line. Warren shows his sore finger from his fall to John, he says 'didn't hurt or nothing'. Martin tells Emmet he was 'this close to scoring if, 'Joe' (other class) wasn't in his way. Mark and Larry talk together, 'aww he's so annoying, he's wrecking my head, he can't pass or anything' but they don't mention a name. Barry skips and says to Eamonn 'my goal was better than yours' Eamonn looks stern and doesn't answer.*
>
> [Observation School 3 (II)

[125] The boys returned to a line in the yard at the end of their break time from which their class teacher collects them

From these clips it is possible to see small rituals of deference exchange in which some boys support the interpretations of others, as Themba does in confirming another boy's violence towards him, or refusal to give deference through Eamonn's negation of supporting Barry's boasts. Moreover, within the football games Barry and a few other hegemonic boys tended to have the ability to reinterpret events to their advantage as they took place, for instance :

> *The ball comes back into play and bounces Warren runs towards it and it hits under his elbow 'hand ball' shouts Barry the rest all follow 'hand ball' they shout, hand ball, Warren says 'it wasn't no' he looks at me. Themba runs up to me and says 'that wasn't a handball was it?' I tell him I don't know. Larry grabs the ball and passes to Barry it hits his upper arm but he scores a goal he celebrates but the call goes out 'hand ball, hand ball' Barry says 'no way, no way' then his face starts to go red and he shout 'get back or, I swear to god I'll burst you' the boys on the other team stop saying' hand ball' and the game continues.*

In contrast, Themba's call of hand ball within the same game is ignored:

> *Barry begins to shout at everyone and pushes a SAO boy from the other class and says 'run for god's sake...jaysis', the boy runs off. The ball then comes flying from a goal throw and hits Emmet on the top of the shoulder, Themba says 'Hand ball' nobody listens to him and the game continues leading to a goal by a boy in the other class with spiky dark hair and glasses. He celebrates his win by run with his arms outstretched and shouting yes while smiling Martin runs up behind him and pats his back.*
>
> *[Observation 3(II) Barry Martin, DG, Themba AO]*

Barry also seemed to have the ability to call on authority figures to back up his claims:

> *A goal is scored in Barry's goal and the other team run down screaming in delight including Warren. Barry looks annoyed and kicks the ball back in. The ball comes back and someone scores, Barry instantly starts screaming and says, 'no, no way, no' he then goes over to the SNA holding onto the ball and protests, other boys crowd around her and say their case talking over each other. The SNA rules it is 'no score' Barry runs back and says 'Ha' the SNA throws the ball up in the air and the game continues., John runs after it and shoots it into Barry's goal, Barry's face goes completely red 'stop you stupid paki' then SNA coming running down, Barry shouts and pleads his case to the SNA she talks to John, 'John stop messing now, get back with the others'. John walks away with a glum look on his face with hands in his pockets. Another goal is scored in Barry's goal again he runs up to the SNA and she listens to his case and she says 'no goal' again.*
>
> [Observation 3 (I) Barry DG, Warren AO, John SEO]

In many ways then, football in this school was set up as an exposed stage through its geographical prominence but also because it allowed those already rich in capital to gain deference for their actions and therefore acted as an exposed stage where one's position in the field was not so much negotiated but largely re-confirmed, it was a performance where the script was largely written.

Conclusion

In returning to the analogy of a race[126] where one's starting position may be partially connected to one's cultural capital rooted in the local and familial, the starting position is also based on one's previous stock of deference built on previous wins.

[126] In which some participants are running uphill and some downhill but all perceive the playing field even

Yet, where one starts the race is not enough, one still has to run it and be seen to win, or interact within the exposed arena and embody orthodox masculinity. However, interaction is not judged afresh in each instance but is connected to one's starting position or reputation. Therefore even when one falters at the start line or has a bad race this can be explained away as an aberration or the fault of others[127]. Thus, embodying the standard from which all else is measured against and found wanting in relation to, is partially constructed but is also generated through performances of masculinity within the child world. Hence a combination of cultural capital and deference appears to bolster a boy's hegemonic masculine habitus and legitimate his claim of symbolic capital. Moreover, the cylindrical or dialectic relationship Bourdieu (1992) describes was present in the child world of this study, as it is the possession of symbolic capital which allowed hegemonic boys to position their particular masculine habitus as the general and 'authentic' form. Thus, their bodies and the attributes they validated were misrecognised as the 'natural' way to be male and 'authentic' in the child world and it is this misrecognition which allows them to justify their position and legitimise their power and status. However, misrecognition and deference point to an investment in the field even for those without symbolic capital, thus, there is a certain level of complicity within the child world and as Bourdieu (2001) argues where there is complicity there is domination.

[127] Of course deferential support would probably begin to ebb away with repeated losses but this would be a slow evolution rather than an immediate drop off of support

Chapter 8: Symbolic Violence in the Child World

Introduction

The previous two chapters have outlined how certain boys gain status and recognition within the child world of the school through the misrecognition of their habitus as the embodiment of real and 'natural' masculinity. Therefore, it is in the interests of these boys to defend and control this orthodox expression of the doxic value of 'authenticity' within the child world. However not only is this behaviour somatic through the embodied nature of the habitus and action but also through the body as an object of value in interactive performances. Thus, one's appearance and demeanour tend to be apperceived through a schema of perception rooted in the hegemonic masculine habitus of the child world field. What are the consequence for those whose bodies are not perceived as 'authentic' representation of this orthodoxy? Indeed, as Bourdieu (2001) contends where there is doxa, there are those who will suffer through how they are conceptualised in relation to this, in the form of symbolic violence and domination. Therefore the aim of this chapter to is to outline the ways symbolic violence appears to operate within the child world through covert and overt forms of domination. However these behaviours are based not on rational intellectual strategies of exclusion but seem to be developed in relation to habitual schemas of perception.

Covert Symbolic Violence

While domination and violence appeared to exist both in overt and covert ways within the child world, both remained hidden in relation to teacher and adult's awareness and acknowledgement of them within the school (P. Curry et al., 2011). Thus, covert symbolic violence appeared to be somewhat doubly covert and took three specific forms, i) showing no interest or support for certain boys' boasts or stories from their country of origin ii) re-interpreting a boy's actions negatively and iii) linking a boy to unpopular people or activities.

<u>Bragging</u>

As explored in the last chapter bragging is a risky activity as it leaves the 'bragger' open to accusation of *'not being real'* and *'trying to be someone you are not'*. However, bragging is also a useful way of overtly experiencing deference from others and paradoxically garnering support for one's self conception as 'real' and 'authentic', therefore it is a fundamental element in the cultivation of hegemonic

masculinity. Bragging by non-hegemonic boys was largely engaged in by other dominant group members of lower status in the class. For instance in School 3, Oisín commonly boasted about his fighting skills to his peers and to the researcher. While Oisín never took part in football games and was commonly called a '*nerd*', '*geek*' and '*loser*' in the class, he regularly played fantasy games involving the possession of super powers within the visible realm of the child world, and he was extremely keen for me to know that he was capable of violence and defending himself:

> **Oisín: I told you I'm not afraid of anyone**
> *You're not afraid of anyone ok?*
> **Oisín: Yeah but I don't want to get in a fight or anything if I hurt him cos, Noel you, you have been in loads of fights with me you know my friend don't you**
> **Noel: Yeah** [reluctantly], **Aww you remember when you were fighting Damo and Damo beat you and I jumped onto Damo**
> *Hmm*
> **Oisín: No cos remember when Damien was having a fight with you and I kicked, kicked, kicked you in the ribs and then I dig you in the eye**
> **Noel: Yeah, that's not killing me I was**
> **Oisín: Well I was the one helping Damo and you were the scary cat not fighting with me**
> *[School 3 (I) DG boys aged 8]*

In this extract, Oisín contends that he is a good fighter and tries to get Noel to defer to this contention but without offering reciprocal deference to him, which requires Noel to admit being a weak fighter. While in this extract Noel looks for Oisín to bestow deference on him for supporting his hegemonic claims, other boys in the class who do not claim friendship with Oisín showed no support for his claims of fighting prowess:

> **Emmet:** [Laughs] **Remember yesterday we were talking about, he** [Oisín] **said his special gift was fighting** [hysterical laugher]
> **Mark:** [Laughs] **fighting?**
> **Emmet: Me and Barry were messing playing wrestling and he's on the ground going, stop, stop, stop and he was there 'are you sorry?' like the way you said it**
> **Mark: Yeah**
> **Emmet:** [laughs]
> *Really?*
> **Mark: Yeah in boxing match I'd beat him cos I'm in boxing and Tae kwon Do**
> *[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9]*

Throughout the first and second round of data collection, Oisín consistently claimed to be a good fighter which was just as consistently denied and ridiculed by the higher status boys in the class. Indeed, his insistence on trying to cultivate this perception of himself opened him up to more derision in the class than was accorded to other lower status dominant group boys. Migrant group boys rarely bragged as openly as Oisín, perhaps due in part to their greater experience of overt symbolic violence and their

unsought exposure in the child world[128], however, talking about one's country of origin or experiences prior to coming to the school was also commonly interpreted as bragging by some of their dominant group peers:

> *Gamada then turns to me and says he is from Nigeria, I say oh that's nice I am about to ask him some more questions about Nigeria when Owen says 'I would hate to be from Africa', Tanya then says he [Gamada] is 'really new he's only been here a few days'[....] I ask Owen if has he ever been to Croke Park he says 'yeah', Tanya says she likes watching football in the park. Gamada says he saw Germany play Italy in Italy. I asked him who he was up for and he said Italy and they also won. I said 'it must have been good to be up for the winning side' and he said yeah and smiled. I begin to help Tanya draw her house, Gamada is colouring in his house he says 'over here people think pink is a girls colour', I say 'oh yeah, but do you like it anyway?' he say 'yeah kind off,' Owen chimes in and looks straight at Gamada and says 'Yuck, I hate pink and I hate girls'.*
> [School 2 in-classroom observation notes, Gamada AO, Owen DG, Tanya DG girl, all aged 8]

Throughout my time in school 2, Gamada enjoyed talking to me about his family and the other countries in which he had lived before moving to Ireland. Whenever other children were around, however they invariably interrupted him or showed no interest in his stories. In this extract, Owen immediately responds to Gamada discussing Nigeria by saying he would '*hate to be from Africa*' publically undermining a part of Gamada's identity that he was happy to share. Moreover, in Owen's interview he says of Gamada:

> **Thinks he's great, he talks about stuff nobody cares about, like he wants us to be like 'wow!'**
>
> *[School 2 DG boy aged 8]*

Thus, in sharing stories from his background Gamada is once again perceived as thinking *'he's great'* and as being inauthentic. Indeed, even if Gamada's motivation for sharing these stories is partially out of a desire for deference, a motivation of this sort seems no more inauthentic than Owen and Eddie's brags of their football and fighting skills. Indeed within the observation quote Tanya says Gamada is new to the class almost by way of an apology for his mention of Nigeria. New boys in School 3 also seemed confused and somewhat saddened to have very little opportunity to talk about their country of origin:

> *And do people in your class ever ask you about Mauritius or anything?*
> **Kareem: Em no**
> *Em would you like to talk about Mauritius more or?*
> **Kareem: Yeah**
> **Jamil: Yeah**
> *Yeah a bit yeah*
> **Jamil: In Mauritius is very beautiful and the place is very popular**
> **Kareem: No the capital of Mauritius**
> **Jamil: It is very green**
> *Yeah the capital of Mauritius, yeah I have heard it is absolutely gorgeous, it is so beautiful*

[128] Which will be explored below

Jamil: Yeah and it is cheap
Kareem: Yeah when we are going there, live in La Fluera,

[School 3 (II) SAO boys aged 9]

Indeed migrant boys in these classes for longer periods of time were very reluctant to talk about their countries of origins[129]. This seemed to be due to a combination of factors. Firstly, the longer a boy was in the class the more shared experiences they had with dominant group boys to draw on in conversation, but new boys to the class could be wrong footed if the conversation was beyond their range of experiences. Secondly, however, the longer a boy was in their class and in Ireland they seemed to realise stories from their countries of origin were not welcome:

They don't want to know about Russia and I don't want to tell them any more

[School 1 EE European boy aged 8]

An example of this was even present in some interviews, for example in this extract John has been talking about his trip to Romania with his family and for the first time Mike, a dominant group boy, has not been able to control the conversation:

John: It's so hot and other things and when it is snowing it is about this size [gestures to show depth]
Really?
Mike: No it's not shut up

[School 3 (II) John SEEO, Mike DG both aged 9]

This response can be interpreted as a covert form of violence, as the lack of interest and support from Mike seemed to have a somewhat of a damaging effect on John[130]. In other instances, some boys perceived lower status dominant group boys and migrant boys as completely below their notice.

Oh do they, and what about Oisin who hangs out with him?
Mike: Peter and
John: I wouldn't know
You wouldn't know?
Mike: Who cares

[School 3 (II) Mike DG, John SEEO both aged 9]

However, the lack of deference for one's actions was mostly used and most painfully felt in relation to football.

Football

One of the most subtle but effective forms of symbolic violence in the child world related to certain individual's actions and attempts at skill being seen as inadequate. For instance in School 3, Warren and Themba's actions in football were always discussed in consistently negative terms:

[129] Discussed in chapter 9 below
[130] Ibid

Oh I see, and what about these guys Themba, Warren, Cian and yourself are you the same or different to those guys?
Ryan: Different
Eamonn: Because the way they play football they're always in the air and all
Do they?
Eamonn: And Warren always put it between his legs and jumping up and all
Really?
Ryan: Yeah and anytime he always does this to Barry and all, any time Barry says 'leave it' he jumps over it and any time Barry says 'leave it' then he pushed me and he just hit it
Really?
Eamonn: Just hit it and pass it to someone
Oh ok, so are you not meant to be putting it like between your legs and jumping and stuff?
Ryan: Yeah you are but just it sort of annoys us because it wastes time
[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9]

Barry: You know Warren he's not good remember playing football we can't get the ball he's like that with the ball [demonstrates putting ball between feet and hopping up and down] **he's like that dancing hopping around with the ball in his feet**
Larry: Yeah and we'd be like that
Barry: You know when I shoot the ball I jump up and he jumps up like a little ballerina and stops the ball
Really?
Larry: Yeah and stops the ball and sometimes then he'll get the ball, you see that his legs are very wobbly, there like that [demonstrates shaking legs] **so when you are going in for a eh, a 50/50 he's just goes losing, he has to learn**
[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9]

The way Warren can supposedly run down the clock by holding on to possession for his team is interpreted negatively by these boys, and is a skill which is not admired but rather is ridiculed as being due to his '*wobbly*' legs and '*ballerina*' body language. This seems even stranger when we consider that in all the interviews in the second round of data '*holding onto possession*' was listed as a desirable skill to have for football. Indeed in Eamonn and Ryan's own interview, they argued two minutes earlier that:

Ryan: We are friends cause we are both good at football
[.....]
Eamonn: And I don't lose the ball or he doesn't if I pass it him
[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9]

In School 1, Billy and Mikhail's attempts to play football were also ridiculed. While falling on one's back when attempting to do 'overheads' was something that was generally boasted about by other boys, Mikhail's attempt is laughed at by Mac and Cahal:

Billy and Mikhail?
Mac: Yeah [pause] **I do**
[pause]
Cahal: They are friends
Hmm
Cahal: They are good friends
Are they?

Mac: They don't do anythin', they just, kick the ball to each other
Do they?
Mac: They don't play football at all
[inaudible]
Cahal: Mikhail, Mikhail, and Billy, Mikhail has been played football [laughs]
Mac: One of them [laughs]
Cahal: Yeah
Mac: Did he score a goal?
Cahal: [laughs] **No he didn't** [laughs scoffs]
Mac: [laughs]
Cahal: Here he tried to do and over and it that way and he fell on his back [both laugh]
[School1 DG boys Billy SEEO, Mikhail EE all aged 8]

Moreover this mirrors interpretation of physical activity outside of football for instance in School 2, Kofi's ability to do a handstand and engage in fighting is interpreted as '*bitch slapping*' and '*karate*' which is accompanied by the mimicking of an Asian accent even though Kofi is of African origin:

Owen: The last time I passed it to Kofi, he tried to kick it and he smashed in his face
Eddie: They always do this 'waa, waa' [demonstrates karate chop moves] that's why 'waa waa' [In pretend 'Asian accent']look you do that they are about to fall like that and then you do that in their faces
So do they do that to you? Is that what you're saying?
Owen: 'Waa, waa, waa'
Eddie: And they go like this 'bush, bush, bush' look they do that that bitch slap
Yeah?
Owen: No they don't
Eddie: They do
Ok
Owen: Kofi does a head slap
Eddie: Kofi does the handstand like this look
[School 2 DG boys, both aged 8, Kofi AO aged 7]

Exclusion within Football:

Indeed Eddie and Owen's reports as to how Kofi plays football or fights have to be seriously questioned as Kofi was largely excluded from playing football at least from the start of the academic year of research 07/08:

It goes onto the road, does it, oh right. So tell me what is the football like in the yard here like, who plays football here?
Kofi: Hank, Eddie, Jim, Rob, Ciaran and that is all.
And would you like to play football?
Kofi: Yes.
You were telling me before that they don't let you play football, is that right?
Kofi: [Nods]
Why do they do that?
Kofi: I don't know.
And have they always been like that?
Kofi: Yes.
Always, since junior infants?
Kofi: No, since 2nd class.
Ok, and were you in the same class as them before 2nd class?
Kofi: Yes.
[School 2 AO boy aged 7]

Kofi had to be interviewed twice, as in the first interview he was interviewed with

another boy which was cut short due to constant interruptions[131]. In the second interview Kofi and Hank were interviewed separately. In his first interview Kofi's exclusion from the game is justified by Hank on the basis of a meritocracy of skill in which Kofi has been neutrally found to be deficient:

> *Is there anyone you wouldn't play with Kofi?*
> **Kofi: I don't play with them, I don't play football anymore because they don't let me. I just play chasing with Davey**
> *And why won't they let you play football?*
> **Hank: Because he can't score**
> **Kofi: I do score sometimes, I don't play football and then they say you never play football and then they don't let me, so then they just don't want me to play football**
> *[School 2 Hank DG boy aged 8, Kofi AO boy aged 7]*

However, Kofi has a sense that something other than a meritocracy of skill is at work in the cylindrical logic of his exclusion, in which his absence from football is not recognised as being due to exclusion but is regarded as his choice. Indeed, his absence is used as further justification for excluding him, on the grounds of his simply being someone who doesn't play football and therefore his exclusion is seen as simply an inevitable, neutral consequence, his own decision.

This particular excluding behaviour seemed to be most prevalent in School 2, due to the wider context of the school organisation, in which there was little or no supervision of football games and the matches could be described as mostly '*every man for himself*' competitions. Thus, in the absence of a formal way to get involved with football, the exclusion of a boy could easily go unnoticed or as Kofi alludes to, be interpreted as a decision a boy makes for himself. In the other two schools where there was more of a semblance of organisation, as teachers supervised play and conducted pickies, exclusion still took place but within the football game itself and this largely took the form of not passing the ball:

> *So do you like playing football Kareem?*
> **Kareem: Yeah**
> *Yeah I saw you in goal a few times as well, what do you prefer do you like being in goal or out on the pitch?*
> **Kareem: Play it I like to be a player, I don't know why no-one pass me**
> *Ok*
> **Kareem: I tell them 'pass me' and they did not pass me**
> *Em*
> **Jamil: And me**
> **Kareem: Yesterday too I am the captain and they did not pass me**
> *They didn't pass to you and did you feel happy or sad about that or?*
> **Kareem: Yeah I'm happy, but I told, who I told, I forget who I told, for them to pass me and told me he would only pass me when it was over**
> *Emm, yeah*

[131] See methods reflexivity section

Jamil: [Drops something]
Kareem: And in to Gaelic one day they are there and I told John 'no-one pass me' and he told me he will pass me when the game is over
[School 3 (II) SAO boys aged 9, John SEEO boy aged 9]

Indeed, the somewhat odd offer to pass the ball to Kareem only when the game is over alludes to a subtle form of exclusion and ridicule in relation to Kareem's participation in football. In School 1, Mikhail and Billy also discuss how they are not passed to within the game and how their goal was disallowed by the others:

Mikhail: Excuse me Donal is always shouting. You know what actually Dillon is saying mean
Billy: He had a diamond head here and forearms here.
And do they ever say mean things to you?
Billy: Yeah sometimes they say mean things.
Mikhail: Yeah and they shout at him.
Billy: Yeah they all shout at me.
Mikhail: I am try to protect him because he's my little brother[132] and I am shouting back.
Billy: Yeah but my friends all shout at me sometimes when I want to play football.
Ok and they won't let you play?
Billy: Yeah they will, but sometimes they don't want to play football they don't pass it.
Ok they didn't pass you the ball when you're playing?
Billy: No they didn't.
Mikhail: I am passing it to you.
Billy: Yeah but I pass it to Mikhail back, didn't I. Show how you kick the ball, like this. I didn't get to kick it in the goal, I went to kick it like this and…
[…]
Billy: Yeah we scored one goal.
Mikhail: Excuse me you know when I kick like this they say 'no no goal'.
[School 1 Billy SEEO, Mikhail EEO both aged 8]

Thus covert exclusion existed even within apparent examples of inclusion, as from an uncritical eye, boys from all backgrounds[133] appeared to be playing together and providing an example of integration. However what appears to be the case on the surface did not stand up to closer scrutiny, as many boys were subtly excluded, ridiculed and their actions interpreted as deficient and therefore in breach of doxa. Indeed without the protection of deference for their actions, these boys tended to be excluded from orthodox hegemonic masculinity. This was mostly obviously demonstrated in the practice of 'pickies'.

In School 1 and School 3, where the football matches were somewhat more organised direct exclusion from football could not be as readily achieved as teachers tended to control access to games through the practice of 'pickies'. This involved boys lining up

[132] Billy and Mikhail are not biological brothers, but brother is used as a term of affection and friendship between these two boys
[133] Identifiable through skin colour alone

and a teacher choosing two boys to be team captains, these captains then called out the boys they wanted on their teams in alternative turns, until all the boys had been picked. While this procedure ensured everyone who wanted to play football could do so, it also tended to have the consequence of exposing boys directly to the judgement of others. In both schools, migrant boys and specifically visible minority migrant boys were picked last in every 'pickie' witnessed by the researcher. Indeed, there tended to be a consensus within both schools as to the order in which boys would be picked, for instance in School 3 the order also seemed to be, Aidan [DG] from the other second class followed by Barry [DG] as first picked, and the last chosen tended to be Killian [SEEO], Themba [AO], Warren [AO], Kareem [SAO] and Jamil [SAO]:

> *And who gets picked first then?*
> **Themba: Aidan in the other calls**
> *Aidan in the other class?*
> **Themba: Yeah and then Barry always**
>
> *[School 3 (II) AO boy aged 9]*

> *Ok so is it best to be picked first or last, where is best to be picked?*
> **Warren: Well sometimes, em they the first ones to be picked usually like to be picked first because mostly there is a person called Aidan from room 7 and he is very good at it and mostly everybody just wants to pick him first**
>
> *[School 3 (II) AO boy aged 9]*

> *Warren and Themba usually play football don't they?*
> **Peter: Yeah**
> *But they are not part of this group?*
> **Oisín: No they do play football but they are not that popular like Kareem and Jamil**
> *Why wouldn't they be popular like?*
> **Oisín: Well like they play football but they don't really get picked they have to wait till last and see which one, whoever picks the first has to go last,**
>
> *[School 3 (II) DG boy Warren, Themba AO Kareem, Jamil, SAO all aged 9]*

This pattern was also borne out in observation. Indeed, diversion away from the expected pattern seemed to cause derision and some anger in other boys:

> **Killian: And when I go outside I one boy was, Alexis was first pickie, he picked me and the other boys said 'what why did you pick Killian, he's not good at football'**
>
> *[School3 (II) SEEO boy, Alexis EE both aged 9]*

Moreover, attempts by some teachers or SNA's to regulate 'pickies' by splitting the boys into teams were sometimes subverted when teachers were not looking:

> *During pickies the SNA organises the boys but after she turns her back they seem to reshuffle and then start the game before she can pay attention to them again.*
>
> [Observation notes School 3 (II)]

The logic for picking boys in a certain order seems on first glance to be based on a meritocracy of skill in which the 'best' footballers will be picked first in order to maximise that team's chances of winning the game. However, as has already been

discussed, who is perceived as the best footballer is based on more than skill. Thus, in lining up in this way for 'pickies', one's popularity and status in the class seemed to be publically re-affirmed and re-constructed for the 'popular' boys every day. In School 1, Donal and Brendan discuss being picked first:

> **Brendan: Not saying, but yeah we do first**
> **Donal: Yeah not being bad but we are just the best**
> **Both: [laugh]**
> **Donal: Like I wouldn't think like I'd, but everyone says I am, so yeah**
> **Brendan: No he is, Donal then me like, Kevin or Sam eh, like it's not us just everyone know like they say it**
>
> *[School 1 DG boys aged 8]*

Here Brendan and Donal draw on deference from others to bolster their claim that they are '*just the best*'. Thus in being picked first their status is reconfirmed and deference bolstered. Other boys did confirm Donal, Brendan, Sam, Kevin and Malcolm as the best footballers; however when probed as to why these boys were considered the best it was common for the respondent to say that is was because they were always picked first:

> **Fergal: Brendan Sam are the best in the class**
> *Yeah?*
> **Quinn: Yeah**
> *Why are they the best?*
> **Quinn: Just are**
> **Fergal: Cause they get picked first and all**
>
> *[School 1 DG boys aged 8]*

Being picked last or near the end seemed to cause upset and an almost painful bodily sensation of shame in these boys[134] and repeatedly reconfirmed their lesser status in the class and the way they were perceived by others:

> **I'm not good at football**
> *Why?*
> **Nobody picks me**
>
> *[School 1 SEEO boy aged 8]*

Overt Symbolic Violence in the School

However, within the child world, there was a more overt level of symbolic violence which was both physical and verbal.

Physical

This dominant group boy explains how fights in the child world between boys tended to start in School 3, and describes a scenario where a boy puts their forehead against the forehead of another as a challenge to fight or to back down:

[134] Explored in the next chapter

And sometimes if you give them a dig the other ones who give them a dig get hurt and then there on the ground and then they're moaning and then the other people get told off but it's not their fault cos it's happened, they gave them a box it's the other one, cos he put their head up to them, that's why we don't like it when we put our head up together, when we get really, when we get really annoyed then we hit him.

[School 3 (I) DG boy aged 8]

Indeed, within football games, there were reports of intentional violence towards lower status boys and migrant origin boys in particular:

Ok so what about in the yard what is something you wouldn't want to happen to you in football?

Warren: Everybody, everybody to keep kicking my legs cos it started to, every time somebody kick my legs it starts, it starts the whole lot kicking over and over again, you start walking more badly and you have to stop

[School 3 (II) Warren AO boy aged 9]

The threat and use of physical violence was used in school 2 as a way to exclude some boys from participating in football:

What about you Lok, Nicholai do you like to play football or do you prefer playing other games?

Lok: I, I play I was play, in first class play football with Hank but then they don't want me, and Hank never ask me

And they you don't play anymore or do you?

Lok: No they don't let me play

Yeah?

Nicholai: I didn't play football sometimes but now it's a bit they hit you if you goes to play

Gamada: At school it's rough, at school it's rough, it's punch people

They punch people do they?

Gamada: They once punched me on the stomach

Nicholai: When I was on the yard one day, he punched me in with the ball on the head and it hurts

[....]

And why do you think he did that?

Nicholai: I don't know maybe by accident, maybe he wanted to make a goal, I think they don't want me playing I think

[....]

And are they always rough in that football game ?

Gamada : Sometimes they punch you so not playing football, I came to play and sometimes they say no, Eddie says no to me

[School 2 Lok EAO, Nicholai EEO, Gamada AO all aged 8]

In school 1, football was also reported as rough and the boys commonly explained that one's legs would be 'hacked' or one would be 'bumped' to stop them getting possession of the ball. Indeed, Liam and Leo allude to the fact that Samson tends to get treated this way more frequently than others which causes him to react in a similar vein:

So there's lots. So what do you do then when you're just in the yard playing football then, do you just play with your class or ...?

Liam: Yeah play against, sometimes we play against the next class.

Leo: Sometimes they always kick the legs off you.

The other 2nd class?

Liam: 'Shut-up'.
And they're kicking you, would they?
Leo: There, look at it?
Oh yeah I see it, up on your knee. And are there some people real rough playing football?
Liam: There are some people real rough .
Yeah. And who'd be like rough?
Leo: Kevin or Samson.
Liam: Kevin.
He'd be rough, would he?
Liam: Sometimes.
Leo: Mostly they are rough to Samson, so he is rough back

[School 1 DG boys aged 8]

Verbal

However, the most frequently reported symbolic violence towards another came in the form of name calling, which generally took the form of ridiculing the skills of another or one's appearance:

> *In the bigger football game the SEEO boy from the other class is throwing the ball in, Themba [AO], Frank [DG], and Barry [DG] are screaming at him to pass the ball to them, he looks around and then kicks it to Killian [SEEO] who is quite far out and who misses the ball, they then all shout at him 'why you do that', 'I was right here', 'He just looses it, jaysus' – Barry goes running after the ball. When the SNA's back is turned he shouts at Killian 'you knacker, state of you, hold on to the ball, can you not move your legs?' he then screams at a group of boys from the other 3rd class who briefly runs onto the pitch.*
>
> [Observation notes School 3 (I)]

In this extract, both the boy from the 2nd class and Killian are ridiculed for their skill and decisions during the match, but Killian is also called a 'knacker'.[135] By the time I returned to this class in the second round of data collection, Killian seemed to be constantly verbally ridiculed in a similar vein, but also with the added insult of the slurring of his name, which seemed to make this process more subtle but also more pervasive:

> *I notice that the boys seem to be calling him 'Killie-anne, Killie-anne, Killie-anne' when they call for him to pass the ball. It is quite subtle and I'm not sure I'm hearing right until John [SEEO] calls to him and calls him 'Killian'. The strange thing is 'Killie-anne' doesn't seem to be being said as though it is just generally accepted as a way of addressing him. Killian has a very serious face on him and he is the only child yet to greet me, in fact he won't even really look at me, unlike last year when he was smiling all the time. I am not sure of his language skills yet but it seems as though he understands more now, a boy from the other class runs behind him as he is about to throw the ball in he says in a low voice, 'get on with it you knacker ya'. Killian seems to flinch a little but doesn't react and throws the ball in.*
>
> [Observation notes School 3 (II)]

This observation was confirmed in the interviews, although Killian himself did not formally acknowledge it:

> **Ryan: Like in this school like you know Alexis we would always call him a girl cos his name**

[135] 'Knacker' is a general term of abuse in Dublin slang but also used specifically in relation to the travelling community. Killian's background was not officially known but his teacher and the boys in the schools considered Killian part of the Roma community

Ok right Alexis, anything else that like a boys would get called a girl for like?
Eamonn: Yeah Killian is like Killie-anne

[School 3 (II) DG boys Alexis EEO, Killian SEEO all aged 9]

While slurring and feminisation of Killian and Alexis' names was no doubt partially to do with how the names themselves lent themselves to such a process, this was not simply to do with the syllables of a name, or something which could happen to any boy regardless of background, as the slurring of the pronunciation of a boy's country of origin was also used as a way to justify overtly racist bullying in this class group. To capture this I have quoted an interview at length:

Ok em so here is Pakistan over here
Cian: Paki_stan
Pakistan yeah?
Cian: Paki
[....]
Ok and what does that mean?
Cian: Paki_stan
Ok right?
Cian: Do you get what I mean?
Is that used as a bad?
Cian: Yeah
Oisin: Yeah it's used as a bad
And do people call other people that?
Cian: Yeah
Oisin : Well they call them
Cian: Kinda
Oisin : Well I call them Pakis cos they are from Paki_stan
Cian: Oh yeah [tone of realisation]
Ok and do people call or do they just?
Oisin: Well
Or do they use that to everyone like?
Noel: No
Cian: No not everyone, just to people from Paki Paki_stan, Paki_stan, Stan
Noel: Yeah
And is it a good thing or a bad thing?
Oisin : Bad thing
Bad thing?
Cian: They go 'ahahahahahahahaaa Paki'
[....]
Ok here is Nigeria here
Oisin: Nigeria we are SO different
Are you?
Oisin: Yeah
Cian: We speak a different language
Ok?
Oisin: Nigeria and 'g' is silent and ninja [....]
Oisin: Nigeria instead of 'g' it's a 'j' like nig-ja
Ok and do people use that word in the school?
Oisin : Yeah
Really?
Oisin : Well yeah in the school
Cian: Yeah they what nig-ja or? [silence]
Oisin: Don't say it [to Cian]
Ok and who do they say it to like?
Cian: Will I tell you?
Ok
Cian: A nigger
Ok and who would they say that to?
[....]
Oisin : Well that's
Cian: Blackies, yeah they'll always call them blackies
[...]
Ok so does anyone from your class use those words do they?
Oisin: Well Barry
Cian: Barry says it to Themba's face he does
Does he?
Oisin : Barry, Barry, Barry, Barry, Barr, Barry, Barry and Barry!
Cian: Oh yeah and you know he robs from Centra and all he does
Oisin: Did he?
[all talking over each other some inaudible]
Cian: No, no he said his Da is in for 15 to life
Oisin : You know you know last year [inaudible]
And who does he say it to?
[....]
Noel: Themba
He says it to Themba does he?
Oisin: And Warren and Frasier from the other second class
Cian: And you know
Ok and why does he say it to Warren and Themba?
Oisin : Cos they're blacks,

[School 3 (I) DG boys aged 8]

Other racist name calling was also found within the other two schools with the use of the words 'chocolate bar', 'blackie', 'chinky', and 'paki' the most common. Jokes with racist over and undertones also tended to be casually used within the child world:

> *I start to talk to Jeremy [AO] again he tells me he is excited for sports day as he never had one before, he also tells me he is in the football league in the school and they won their match. Jeremy then goes and swings on the goal posts. Sam comes back and sits beside me, he then begins to tell me a joke that starts 'Paddy white man, Paddy red and Paddy black man', and ends 'shut up or I'll give you two black eyes'. I'm not sure what I should do, I don't want to reprimand him or laugh at the joke, so I start to tell a joke of my own about a duck, Sam laughs and then begins to tell me a joke about a traffic light which I laugh at but then he begins to tell me a joke that starts 'this pitch black fella walks into a pub...' at this point the teachers call for attention.*
>
> [School 1 observation notes sports day, Sam DG boy aged 8, Jeremy AO aged 8 from other 2nd class]

In this particular incident, I found it odd that Sam came over to me straight after I had been talking to Jeremy an AO boy from the other second class to tell me jokes with racial content. While this may be unfounded speculation, there was evidence in the data that jokes of this nature were used to intentionally 'get at' visible minority boys in the child world:

> *Ok so do many boys get slagged off for the way they look then?*
>
> **[....]**
> **Ryan: A lot of the time**
> **Eamonn: Not all the time**
> *Do people just do it for jokes as you said or are some people serious?*
> **Ryan: Some people do be serious, some hate the black boys**
> *Yeah why do they hate them?*
> **Ryan: Don't know**
>
> [School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9]

Debasing

However, there was an even more disturbing element to this behaviour than overt racist name calling. In all three schools, but in school 2 and 3 especially, AO boys were debased within their classes. In school 2, Kofi bore the brunt of this characterisation:

> *So why do you think they are mean to him [Kofi]?*
> **Who?**
> *Kofi*
> **I don't know, sometimes he annoys people.**
> *In what way does he annoy them?*
> **He makes them he, runs** [unclear]
> *Ok, and why do you think he does that?*
> **People say he runs after people and goes around and touches people's arses and the teacher has to warn him and**
> *Ok so he was doing that to you was he?*
> **No but other people had to warn him, we've warned him he does it to annoy people**
>
> *[School 2 DG boy aged 8 Kofi, AO boy aged 7]*

Do you remember when I was in the yard there and you were chasing Kofi around the place?
Tanya: Yeah he's a scared of ye[136].
What?
Tina: He's scared of you I hate him. And if you go to push him he goes oh.... [demonstrates]
And why do you think he does that?
Tanya: I don't know, and he's just mad, he tries to kiss you.
Tina: And yeah he's a knacker. He is a knacker.
Is he? Why is he?
Tina: You know what he does? Touches your ass and kisses your nose.
Tanya: And when he sits on the toilet he sprays everywhere.
[School 2 DG girls both aged 8]

While of course I cannot be certain that Kofi did not engage in this behaviour, I found no evidence from observation, his teachers or from his interviews that he had any behavioural problems. Indeed the girls' 'knowledge' that Kofi 'sprays' when he goes to the bathroom could only be acquired from gossip within the class, through which Kofi was consistently talked about in a debasing way in terms of his perceived 'smell', eating habits and even laughter[137]. Within school 3 however, this type of debasement was revealed through the use of comparisons to 'black' people or migrants as a general term of abuse in the child world, the worst insult of which was to be called a 'BMW', the meaning of which is elaborated in this quote:

Frank: I think I'd marry
Cian: Go with a blackie or something
Frank: No I don't want to be with a blackie, I'm trying to think [pause]
So what is a blackie?
Cian: A blackie means you're black
Frank: A Black, a BMW
Cian: A BMW stand for, ah you don't want to know
Ah no go on tell me?
Frank: No
Cian: It's dirty at the end
Frank: Yeah
What's the first bit?
Cian: Black man's
Oh right ok
Cian: And the 'w' word you know the 'w' word?
I think I know yeah
Frank: Yeah it's on a boy isn't it?
Yeah
Cian: That's the black man's 'w'
Frank: Black Man's Willy
And do people use that a lot do they?
Cian: Yeah
Frank: Yeah they say black man's willy
In what way would they use it like? Why would they say it?
Frank: They say it when they slag you
Cian: Say if your Da was black like and you were white, 'you're Da is a BMW'
Ok right yeah
Frank: I'd like to marry

[136] Ye and you in this quote is Hiberno English and refers to the girls themselves and not the interviewer
[137] Kofi's experience in this class seemed to be having quite a serious impact on him and this will be explored further in chapter 9.

Do they say it in a good way or bad way?
Cian: Bad way

[School 3 DG boys (II)]

The gossip which seemed to circulate around the African Origin boys in relation to their supposed bathroom habits, the alleged touching of people's 'arses' and the use of an acronym referring to the genitals of 'black' men, exposes more a racialised perspective of 'black' boys as debased and somewhat animalistic. However this view was not coupled with a notion of 'black' boys as in possession of a 'cool pose' as the literature from other countries would suggest. Instead it clearly undermined, embarrassed and stigmatised these boys within the child world, as the exposure of one's genitals and loss of control of one's bodily functions was generally referred to as the most embarrassing and stigmatizing thing that could happen to a boy:

Is there anything really embarrassing in school with you would hate to happen?
Frank : Yeah people making a fool of you
Cian: No I know they do, oh the go up and pull down your pants
Frank: Oh yeah they jock you
Is that what it's called? Joking
Cian: Jockey, jockey
Do people ever do that like?
Cian: Yeah!
Frank: Yeah people come up behind you like and go like that and pull down your trousers
Oh god
Cian: Yeah and everyone goes like that 'ha ha, ha, ha'

[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9]

Ok yeah and what would be the most embarrassing thing that could happen to a boy in the school?
Em, it would be embarrassing, I think em to, to, em to go use the toilet on yourself in class
Ok
It happened to a few people
Ok yeah, did it happen this year or in other years?
It happened this year and in junior school
Yeah, and do people laugh at people when that happens or?
Some people do, but, but the start to stop

[School 1 AO boy aged 8]

Justification

While the overt demonstration of bullying and marginalisation betrays obvious forms of racism, the justification for both covert and overt domination did not seem to lie in ideas of biological inferiority *per se* but once again was seen in terms of the doxa and orthodoxy of the child world, in which there was an implicit assumption that an 'authentic' character type could be read from a specific body type. Indeed, the entanglement of hegemonic masculinity with 'whiteness' and 'Irishness' and its performance through the dispositions of the body seemed to allow dominant group boys to shirk their responsibility to be vigilant against bullying or racism, as their perceptual schemas constructed the treatment these boys endured as something they brought on themselves. Thus the fate of those bullied was viewed as an inevitable consequence of trying to be someone they were not because 'black' and 'off-white' skin was perceived as incongruous with an authentic reputation and therefore with a performance which could be interpreted as such.

This tended to be justified by the dominant group boys and hegemonic boys specifically, in three key presumptions about migrant groups, firstly they were in fact bullies themselves and dominant group boys were only defending themselves, secondly, migrant boys were just '*not quite right*', and thirdly, migrant boys could be homogenised as a group, and their lack of individual distinctiveness was suspect and unnerving. These presumptions not only seemed to justify symbolic violence but also served to propagate gossip and speculation about migrant boys which further fuelled these presumptions, once again giving them a dialectical relationship. The notion of migrant boys as '*not quite right'* has been previously explored, and this view was crucially linked to the consistent contention that migrant boys were in fact bullies themselves. Stories of migrants instigating racism were rife throughout the data. For instance this boy describes an incident of name calling in his area, where he felt obliged to reciprocate:

> *And what about your area, do people from different countries get on well in your area?*
> **The people from different countries like China, you see China people walking down the street, I might be playing football** [unclear] **because their Da starts calling me Paddy and my cousin and I am after saying to them, but you are a chinky.**
> *So they would call you Paddy would they?*
> **Yes but we call them chinky. But my friends only call them chinky when they, or me, when they...me or my friends only call the Chinese people chinky when they call us Paddys.**
> Oh right, so you'd just be saying it back and forth to each other kind of?
> **Yes because you'd rather fight back because if you say, oh... someone else said that they**

don't put your head in, [unclear] **in a big group and then you go over then and bate them. But on my street if you said that you will only tell your Ma or something and then your ma would sort it all out for you and then they would say, 'well I don't care I will still hurt you'. You'd rather not tell your mam. If they hurt you well then you have to hurt them back.**

[School 3 (I) DG boy aged 8]

In this account, this boy does not perceive himself as culpable for his involvement in racist name calling but simply sees this as something a boy has to do to be masculine within his area. Migrants as bullies was also a contention regularly made against Mikhail [EEO] in school 1:

He's [Mikhail] annoying he's always sweating and shouting and all
Shouting what would he be saying?
Like in football telling you want to do, like him like him
Tell you what to do?
I don't, he's not for me I want to give him a slap to shut him up he thinks he's great, I think he is a bully he is
You want to give him a slap?
Not being bad like but he is asking for a box, asking it

[School 1DG boy, Mikhail EE boy both aged 8]

The incredulity this boy shows towards Mikhail's engagement in behaviour which dominant group boys themselves regularly participate in, is expressed through his repetition of '*like him, like him*'. Thus, it is not necessarily the act of shouting that seems to him inherently wrong, but the person doing it that makes it deviant and therefore ripe for retaliation. Mikhail reports these fantasies of slapping and boxing have gone beyond thoughts and into action. However, within the class Mikhail's treatment was not seen as unfair, but as something he was '*asking for*'.

Another justification for migrant boys supposedly bringing bullying and exclusion on themselves was through a perception that they were '*all the same*'. The homogenising of migrant groups served both to symbolically dominate and shame migrant boys as lacking individuality and not possessing individual self-worth. Moreover, though they were othered as 'being not quite right' and lacking the individuality and character of the dominant group in general and the high status boys in particular. This was usually expressed through the use of small words and phrases such as '*all of them*', '*they just are*', '*all them foreigners*', '*all the same*' and in the presumption of friendship between boys simply through skin colour or migrant status. In homogenising migrant boys these children could be dismissed as a group, operating below a higher status boys' notice or unworthy of their attention. For instance in School 2, Eddie refers to the migrant boys in his class as:

All the same cruising for a bruising the lot of them [laugh]

[School 2 DG boy aged 8]

In School 1, the use of the term 'blackie' was generally applied to all boys with a darker skin tone whether of AO, or SAO background. Indeed Kareem and Jamil who looked nothing like each other[138] were referred to by several boys as twins as Barry argues:

I can't tell difference between them they look the same
They do?
Yeah they are all the same all annoying
All annoying ?
All crap

[School 3 (II) DG boy aged 9]

Again, the presumed similarity of Kareem and Jamil seemed to justify Barry's intolerance of these boys; in his eyes their homogeneity causes his annoyance instead of the reverse.

Vignette 7.1: Themba

Throughout the last three chapters various quotes have been used from Themba's interviews. Many references to 'Themba' from other boys' interviews have also been used. Within class group 3, Themba was talked about constantly by the other boys and in his interviews he expressed his unhappiness in his class group. At a surface level, Themba appeared to be ridiculed for his football skills:

And what do you do at yard time?
Mark: Play football but when I play football and when there are players that aren't that good and don't really score that much I don't play.
Yeah?
I don't like having Th...some of them on my team
Who are they?
Like Themba and all, every one like everyone says he can't, like everyone and all and Barry and them he doesn't like know, I don't like playing when we are going to loose

[School 3 (I) DG boys aged 8]

Indeed Themba was painfully aware of this perception of himself in his class:

And what about you, are you good too at football]? Yeah? No?
People think I'm bad.
How? Why do they think you're bad?
[Shakes head]
You don't know?....And how does that make you feel when they're saying that? Ah.
[Themba begins to cry]

[School 3 (I) AO aged 7]

However within the observations, Themba's deficiency of skill in football did not seem to be clear cut. Firstly, he seemed to have less opportunity to show skill on the football field as

[138] As Kareem was at least half a foot taller than Jamil and significantly heavier

other boys said they avoided passing to him, which was also borne out in observation:

> *During one incident Eamonn is about to throw in a ball from the side lines, Themba comes up to Eamonn and shouts for the ball, nobody is marking Themba, he says to Eamonn, 'Eamonn I'm on your team', Eamonn looks at him but then throws the ball to Barry who is heavily marked and he loses possession to Warren.*
>
> [School 3 (I) Eamonn and Barry DG aged 8, Themba and Warren AO aged 7]

Secondly, Themba's demonstration of some skill was consistently denied and reinterpreted by the other boys:

> *Quickly into the game Themba scores a goal, he breaks into a huge smile and runs down the length of the pitch, the teams scream 'yeah' and runs with his arms open like wings and John runs up to him and pats him on the back. Mike is in the opposite goal and starts shouting 'No way, no way he's a cheater!' Which I think is really odd as he is on Themba's team. Luke runs up the SNA shouting and his face is going red the SNA tries to calm him down and takes the ball from him. She throws the ball into the air and the boys go after it but Luke keeps saying 'Hand ball, Hand ball!'*
>
> [Observation notes 3 (II)]

Moreover though, Themba appeared to reinterpret his actions in a similar vein. This is how he described the event above in his interview the day after the observation above:

> **Yeah, they would laugh because I couldn't score many goals**
> *Really yeah, I saw you scoring a goal the other day?*
> **No that wasn't me**
> *I don't know it might have been you were setting it up anyway?*
> **I don't think that was a goal, I didn't score any goals, I can't score goals**
>
> *[School 3(II) AO boy aged 9]*

> *However Themba's experience of ridicule seemed to go beyond his footballing skills:*
> **People hate me.**
> **Why? Why?**
> *I don't know. People always ask not to play with me.*
> [...]
> *Like what sort of things do they say?*
> **They always call me names**
> **[...]**
> *So is your class the worst at being mean to you or are people outside your class mean?*
> **People outside my class.**
> *Okay. Are they older or younger?*
> **Older.**
> *Older boys. And why do these older boys come down?*
> **I don't know why.**
> [....]
> **Yeah, like I got chased one day by the secondary boys and they walked behind me right into my gate.**
> *And would secondary school boys say things a lot?*
> **Yeah and they laugh at me.**
>
> *[School 3 (I) AO boy aged 7]*

Indeed he also implicated boys from the older years in the school and several boys in his class for bullying him and described the physical violence he experienced both in school and directed towards his family in his local area. These descriptions remained consistent from year one to year two, as for instance, in the description of the physical violence he experienced on a day to day basis:

> *And what's worse getting hit or being called*
>
> *bad names?*
> **Getting hit in the eye.**
> [...]

He sits beside you, okay. And would he do
That a lot of the time?
[Nods head yes] [...]
People hit me everyday

[School 3 (I) AO boy aged 7]

Yeah? Do other people do things to you?
[Nods yes]
Yeah, what kind of things do they do?
They keep on pushing and kicking me in the leg and putting their fingers in my eye
Really and how often does this happen?
Everyday

[School 3 (II) AO boy aged 9]

Within Themba's interviews he reported he was called names but did not want to repeat them in the interviews. From the other interviews in the class discussed above, it can perhaps be safely assumed that at least a small proportion of these names had a racial element. Indeed, Themba alluded to the fact that his appearance was ridiculed within the class. On my return to Class three, I noticed Themba had gotten his hair cut short. When I asked him about this, he told me his reasons for this:

I remember last year you had your hair longer didn't you? When did you get it cut
Last summer
Last summer yeah? Why did you get it cut?
I wanted to
[...]
Like, like Mike's after saying I had hair like sausages
Really did he how did that make you feel when he was saying that?
Slagged

[School 3 (II) AO boy aged 9]

Indeed this was something Mike himself was happy to admit and seemed to take great pleasure in ridiculing:

John: We would beat them [Themba and Warren] **at football and we don't have the same hair**
You don't have the same hair, who don't you have the same hair as?
[...]
Mike: No Themba has like he has footballs on his head [Laughs looks at John and he laughs]
Oh does he?
Mike: No
John: [laughing] **not footballs he has curly hair**
Mike: It's like a football [laughing]
It's like a football?
John: Warren and Themba have like curly hair
Mike: When Themba was in Grove street[139] it was like a sausage coming out of his head like that
[laughs really loud]
Oh was it?
[Extended laughing, trying to catch breath]
You find that funny do you?
[Extended laughing from both mostly Mike though]
Mike: He's stupid looking stupid *[School 3 (II) John SEEO, Mike DG both aged 9]*

As this quote alludes to, even though Themba had gotten his hair cut extremely short[140] his

[139] Pseudonym of junior primary school both boys attended
[140] Themba and Warren both had their hair very short almost to the level of being shaved off so that no traces of

hair was still ridiculed. This seemed to point to something more going on than the ridicule other boys sometimes got for having red or blond hair. There perhaps is a tendency to downplay ridicule or 'slagging' among young child as equal opportunity ridicule, something everyone just has to go through. Yet the extended laughing and delight Mike, and to a lesser extend John,[141] took in characterising Themba's appearance as 'stupid' reveals a particular nastiness to this slagging behaviour and I believe more than a hint of racism, which is underlined by the fact that Themba and Warren seemed to be on the receiving end of some particularly malicious and debasing gossip:

Is there anything really embarrassing happening you want to talk about, but you don't have to?
Themba : Yes, Em [pause] **like, like people say that I splash**
You splash what does that mean?
Themba: When I go to me toilet
Oh really, that is a bit of silly thing to say isn't it?
Themba : [Nods head]
Do they slag boys about that do they?
Themba: Yeah
Is it just you or do they say it to other people?
Themba: Only me and Warren [AO]
And does that happen everyday or?
Themba : Yeah
Is it these people that are saying it?[Has previously grouped together names of bullies in the class]
Themba: Yeah and mostly him [points out Barry, Donnacha and Mike]

[School 3 (II) AO boy aged 9]

Moreover though, Themba seemed to be developing a very negative opinion of himself in relation to his experiences in the class[142]. In the first interview he described himself as 'good at nothing' and throughout both interviews described himself as very sad:

You don't know, ok tell me when, tell me a time you were very happy in school?
[pause]
No
No you can't remember a time?
[long pause] **Yeah I can, I, it's like I got, it's like, it's like a book something, like it is from Eason's**
Yeah like a book token?
Yeah but I think
You win it did you?
Yeah
What did you win it for?
I think best behaviour
Oh great, and did you buy a book?
[pause] **I think yeah, I think so**
Yeah any other time you felt happy?
[Shakes head tears in his eyes] **I am always sad**

[School 3 (II) AO boy aged 9]

This sense of sadness seemed to be compounded by his sense that he could not talk to

---

curls were visible and nothing that could be compared to 'footballs' existed.

[141] John's more reluctant responses will be examined in the vignette in the next chapter

[142] There is no doubt that Themba's negativity was also partially linked to his experiences in his locality and what he reported as his somewhat distant relationship with his mother which he mentioned in both interviews and these points will be touched on in the resilience section.

anybody about what was happening[143]:

> Ok so what do you do to be able to get through this, to just deal with what's happening?
> **Themba:** [long pause] **I don't know**
> You don't, do you ever tell anybody about it?
> **Themba: No**
> No do you ever tell your mam or anything?
> **Themba: No, I keep it a secret in here** [gestures to his heart]
>
> [School 3 (II) AO boy aged 9]

Conclusion

This chapter has tried to emphasise the way lower status boys, most prominently migrant group boys, are symbolically dominated within the child world. However the conception of symbolic violence and symbolic domination is evoked because of its root within habitus, field and doxa and therefore is not that of a detached plan or an orchestrated conspiracy to retain power and status by hegemonic boys, but is largely perceived as something self-evident, as the 'natural' consequence of interaction and a boy's behaviour. Indeed, while the orthodox masculine habitus is informed by racism and nationalism through local cultural capital, racist actions in the child world do not seem to be perceived as such, or are necessarily rationally planned but are an embodied disposition, through which these actions are not perceived as unjustified, but as something the victim brings on themselves. Thus the hegemonic masculine habitus is supported and partially constructed through the apperception of migrant boys as in antonym to doxa, but this schema of perception comes through the habitus. However, misrecognition and deference point to an investment in the field even for those without symbolic capital, thus, this schema of perception is somewhat shared within the child world between higher and lower status boys alike. Indeed Bourdieu (2001) has argued that symbolic violence and domination is not possible unless one's habitus is disposed to this violence and domination. Therefore where there is domination there is also a level of complicity and this issue will be explored in relation to reflexivity in the next chapter.

[143] In this case I felt compelled to intervene and ask Themba if it was ok for me to tell his teacher what was happening which he agreed to, see methodology section.

Chapter 9 - Affect and Reflexivity

Introduction

In the last chapter, symbolic violence and domination within the child world was examined. One of the difficult aspects of exploring the nature of inter-ethnic relations is that while some boys may benefit and others suffer within this field, both these conditions are based on valuing the capitals and rewards on offer[144] (Bourdieu, 1998). Up to this point, this thesis has argued that investment in the child world field stems from the misrecognition of its capitals and the accumulation of symbolic capital as a 'legitimate' masculine identity, which a boy values as it provides a way to experience deference and somewhat occupy a state of socially constructed dignity[145] within the child world (Scheff, 1988). Therefore to be invested in the field one's habitus must be somewhat disposed and developed in relation to it. Consequently through sharing the orthodox masculine habitus of the field those dominated through this will at least partially develop their self-conception in relation to the dominator's apperception of the field (Bourdieu, 2001). Thus, this chapter aims to outline some of the affective and reflective consequences for migrant group boys, while also suggesting that these outcomes feedback into a boy's commitment to the child world field.

Affective Outcomes

The experience of covert and overt violence within the child world was difficult for migrant and lower status dominant group boys, not only because of their exclusion and experience of being undermined but also because it was palpably affective in its impact. Many boys reported feeling 'sad' and 'lonely' in school and the interview process was also quite an emotive one. Many boys were on the brink of tears talking about topics that, from an adult perspective, could be seen as fairly innocuous such as football games in the yard and/or how other boys did not view them as good players. In School 3, this was most obviously seen through Themba's experience and interviews[146], but Killian also expressed sadness and frustration at his situation in the class:

> **Killian: No they would just say other words than like, just speak it, it's not like me I don't like it and Barry said 'don't look at him he just speaking, let's go and we laughing'**

[144] The exceptions to this will be explored in chapter 10
[145] Although this is of course dialectical each creating the conditions of each other
[146] As discussed in vignette in Chapter 8

Laughing about it?
Killian: Yeah you know what when, when I was go to the football somebody score and Barry was still like that to the goal, the goal kicker was still like that and next time it come like crash into the goalies and I was just telling…have something to give to me cos I don't think it always has to be like that
Yeah really ok
Killian: Yeah and somebody was shouting 'crack'
Really and is that good or bad?
Killian: Bad
Bad yeah and are there other things that people shout?
Killian: No just peoples just make me sad

[School 3 (II) SEEO aged 9]

Alexis struggled to control his emotions in his interview as he discussed his classmates:

That is all you think ok grand so are there any people you wouldn't want to play with
Alexis: [points to Barry's group]
Ok these guys
Alexis: No just Mike and Emmet
Just Mike and Emmet and why wouldn't you like to play with them
Alexis: I wouldn't like to play [very long pause, picks out Barry]
You wouldn't like to play him why wouldn't you like to play with him?
Alexis: Em [picks out Mark and Freddie] **I think so that is all**
Are they nice or are they not nice?
Alexis: Not nice
Yeah what do they do?
Alexis: Don't know just [pause eyes visibly well up]
[….]
Would you change anything about the class if you could?
Alexis: Yeah maybe
Yeah, if you could do anything to change the class what would you do?
Alexis: No [long pause] **don't know miss** [eyes welling up]

[School 3 (II) EEO boy aged 9]

As outlined in the last chapter, Kofi's experience of being excluded and called '*black*' in the child world also led him to describe himself as sad. In addition, despite his relatively short exposure to the school 2 class group Gamada reveals his unhappiness

Ok, and tell me do you think anyone has done anything good or bad to you just because you were born in Lithuania or Egypt?
Nicholai: Bad
Gamada: Bad
Nicholai: Bad no good
Things were done bad to you cos you were born?
Gamada: They say I am bad,
[….]
Gamada: They try to bully people
[….]
Gamada: and I was crying and I said to my mam and my mom said this is no good school
Lok: I be crying too cos they mean to me and sad

[School 2 Nicholai EEO, Gamada AO, Lok EAO boys aged 8]

Lok's admission that he also has cried and felt sad in school was mirrored by Yuri and Casimir who admitted hating the boys in their class:

Yuri: No no good

Casimir: I don't like I feel
Yuri: I feel hate them
Casimir: I I em? they say 'ha haha'
Yeah?
Yuri: I don't want it here and my head hurts
Your head hurts?
Yuri: Cos of the sad
Sad?
Yuri: No happy about Eddie 'ha, ha, ha' my head

[School 2 Yuri and Casimir EEO aged 8]

From this quote, one also gets a sense that the emotion he felt is somewhat physically painful causing Yuri to have a pain in his head. A sense of being physically overwhelmed by emotion due to ridicule and feelings of shame was latent within many of the accounts in the interviews, as the boys struggled to put words on how they felt. In School 1, Mikhail and Billy described their feelings when they tried to become involved in football:

Mikhail: My head is sore with all them
Your head is sore?
Billy: Yeah cos they shoutin and and saying 'no nono'
Mikhail: I don't want to see them they make my head sore

[School 1Mikhail EE, Billy SEEO both aged 8]

In perhaps one of the most eloquent quotes, in which paradoxically a limited command of English creates a concise description, Alexis describes the emotional pain he feels:

Are they nice about Estonia or not nice about Estonia?
Alexis: Not really like, no not, don't know, maybe nicer now some are nice but some are not
Some are not no, so do people ever say mean things not nice things?
Alexis: [Pause]**yeah some of them** [tears in eyes]
[....]
Are people nice to kids from other countries or not nice?
Alexis: [pause]**no bad** [pause on brink of tears]
How do you feel about that?
Alexis: Sad
Yeah?
Alexis: Sad, in my heart
Sad in your heart?
Alexis: Yes here here [points to chest]

[School 3 (II) EEO boy aged 9]

Alexis' '*sadness in his heart*' mirrors Themba's contention that he keeps the secret of his treatment in his heart. Both link their experiences of ridicule and shame directly to their bodies. Indeed, Warren also describes a physical manifestation of how he feels in the class:

Warren: Yes I am fine
Yeah?
Warren: I just sometimes feel headaches with them
You feel headaches?

Warren: Not really but sometimes with when they are shouting
Yes?
Warren: I try my best sometimes with headaches

[School 3 (II) AO boy aged 9]

However, once again the feeling of being sad in school was not limited to migrant group boys alone. Noel, for instance, recounts his very difficult experience in School 3 and in his local area:

And what about yourself if you could change anything about yourself would you change anything?
Noel: I'd be...good at football
Would you yeah?
Noel: I'd be smart
Why would you be good at football?
Noel: So I wouldn't be slagged then 'get the ball' [in mocking voice]
Yeah
Noel: And if I'm smart they won't call me 'don't touch Noel or you'll get dumb disease'
Is that what they say?
Noel: Yeah and in the flat too
How do you feel about that?
Noel: Angry
Yeah what would you like to do?
Noel: Nothing that's why I stay in my flats, that's why I never go out

[School 3 (II) DG boy aged 9]

However, what seems to be different in the account of migrant boys' experiences was the sense of always being under surveillance[147] constantly exposed to judgements within the child world and beyond:

And what would they be saying?
Warren: Sometimes they say that I am not from Ireland but I am.
Yes, and why do you think they say you are not from Ireland?
Warren: Because my body is not white.
And do many people make a big deal out of that, do they?
Warren: Yes.
And how does it make you feel when they are doing that?
Warren: It makes me feel sad and I can't sleep until I tell my mum.
And what does you mum say then?
Warren: That is doesn't matter what colour you are you are still part of Ireland.
And are there some boys who are always talking about that?
Warren: Yes.
And would they be in school or in your football club or anything like that?
Warren: Everywhere.

[School 3 (I) AO Boy, aged 8]

Thus, as Probyn (2004) argues emotion or 'affect' can only be born of interest and is fundamentally a physical experience which cannot be intellectualised or rationalised. This process seems to be embodied in two senses, firstly because shame and sadness are affectively painful, secondly however this is somewhat developed through the

[147] Discussed in relation to being exposed in the child world not by choice in chapter 6

judgement of the objective body in social interaction. Thus, the body is both the medium of pain but to a certain extent, its cause. This seemed to be especially true for visible minority boys, as Warren implies his non-white body seems to keep him in the spotlight no matter where he is.

Self-Consciousness Action

In light of the affective burden many boys carried, some boys appeared to have developed a level of self-consciousness connected to the appearance and skill of their bodies, and tended to reflect on ways in which they could traverse or at least minimise their experience of domination. As Noel alludes to above, he believed if he were good at football he would gain greater respect and acceptance in the child world. Warren mirrored this opinion in his first interview:

> *And are there people who would be mean to you a lot or...*
> **Warren: Some people do so that is why I keep on going to that yard to start playing football if I get good so they won't stop hurting me around.**
> *[School 3 (I) AO boy 8]*

Indeed on returning the School 3 one year on, Themba and Warren were still as committed to playing football as the year before, if not even more so, as they rarely played any games within the visible realm of the school anymore. In Themba's interview, he once again listed the threats, embarrassments and violence he was subjected to as he played football. When I enquired as to why he continued playing he responded like this:

> *So why do you keep playing football if people are mean to you?*
> **Themba: Because I like it, I have to practice**
> *Yeah, you practice?*
> **Themba: Yeah**
> *Where do you practice?*
> **Themba: I practice in my football team**
> *Oh yeah you are in a football team, where is that team?*
> **Themba: In Manor park**
> [...]
> *And why do you practice?*
> **Themba: Cause I don't want them shouting if I am good maybe I will get picked**
> *Yeah is it important to get picked?*
> **Themba: Yeah so you have friends** *[School 3 (II) AO boy aged 9]*

Taking on Less Desirable Jobs

For Themba, football still held the promise of acceptance within the child world, an opinion which was echoed within all three schools. However, in the interim before the boys believed they could get up to the level of skill required for deference and acceptance, there was a tendency for boys to take on roles within football and in other

games which were generally seen as the less desirable positions and duties. For instance in School 2, Gamada argued he played an important role in the football game by throwing in the ball:

> **I, I throw it in again when it is out Owen asks me to throw it I needs to throw it in**
>
> *[School 2 AO boy aged 8]*

While Owen and Eddie say of Gamada:

> **Owen: He can't do anything, tries to throw it in an all**
> **Eddie: He can't he can't, he can't touch it if he weren't throwing in**
> *Do you throw it in?*
> **Eddie: I can throw it in alright but**
> **Owen: But yeah remember when you em**
> **Eddie: I'd be out scoring I'm a striker**
>
> *[School 2 DG boys aged 8]*

For Eddie and Owen, Gamada's role in throwing the ball once again seems to reinforce his unskilled status and is used as evidence that he would not be able to touch the ball if he was not throwing it in. In School 3, Killian also takes the opportunity to throw in the ball; Barry's opinion of this closely mirrors Eddie and Owen's assessment of Gamada:

> **Waster, not being bad like, but yeah that would be his only touch**
> *Who is this now?*
> **Killian all he does is throw in the ball**
> *He throws in the ball?*
> **Yeah runs after all the time**
> *Do you throw in the ball*?
> **Yeah but I'm handier up front though**
>
> *[School 3 (II) DG boy aged 9]*

Indeed, taking on roles that were not as desirable also tended to occur in the visible realm through the game of chasing. In all three schools, AO boys reported liking being 'on' or the being the 'chaser' which other boys reported not liking:

> *Samson plays predominantly with Lee S and Aaron, they play chasing games. On the first and second day I am on the yard Aaron says 'Samson you are on' and then he says 'run away from Samson'. Samson tells me on the second day that he likes being on an 'I let them catch me I do, but if I didn't want them to they would never catch me'.*
>
> [School 1 observation notes]

In School 2 Kofi also makes a similar claim:

> *And you were saying you like being on, do you?*
> **Kofi : Yes.**
> *And who do you chase?*
> **Kofi: Dave and Casimir**
> *And can you catch them.*
> **Kofi: It's easy.**
> *Why is it easy?*
> **Kofi: Because he is my friend and I can still catch him being fast.**
> *And who is the hardest to catch?*
> **Kofi: Eamonn and Casimir**

Are they quick are they?
Kofi: Yes.

[School 2 AO boy aged 7]

Edward compares Kofi's willingness to be 'on' with Gamada's dislike of this role which seems to have at least partially contributed to his unwillingness to play with him:

Edward: I don't want to play with Gamada
Thomas: And Kofi.
[....]
And why wouldn't you want to play with Gamada or Kofi or...
Edward: I would like to play with Kofi because he likes to be on when we are playing chasing Gamada doesn't like to be on
Do you like to be on?
Edward: Only Kofi likes being on

[School 1Edward EEO, Thomas, DG boys aged 8]

Indeed Kofi's supposed liking of being 'on' is highlighted as unusual, as Edward says he is the only one who likes this position. Themba also claimed to like being the chaser in School 3 when he played chasing. While of course it is possible that these boys genuinely did like being the chaser it did seem odd that in all three schools the position of chaser did not seem sought after by anyone else but boys who had experienced quite severe bullying within the child world.

Minimising Ethnicity

Another strategy for acceptance in the child world appeared to be to play down one's ethnicity and migrant status, and instead to focus on deferring to dominant group norms and emphasising one's 'Irishness'. For instance, in all of the schools migrant boys were noticed to underplay their migrant background. In the first round of fieldwork in School 3, this exchange between Themba and his class teacher was observed:

The second class teacher offers to write out a class list for us with the nationalities of the students. She goes through the class and says their country of origin quite loudly. Themba is sitting beside her and when she comes to him she says 'and Themba where are you from?' Themba says 'Ireland, I was born in Ireland', the teacher then rephrases the question and says 'where is your Mammy from and where your Daddy lives now?', Themba does not answer, the teacher gives a hint does it begin with 'Ni', Themba does not answer and I feel he is getting a bit uncomfortable. The teacher prompts him again with 'where does your Daddy live?, does it begin with Ni?'. Themba is not really cooperating eventually the teacher says 'I'll write down Nigeria, but I'll put down born in Ireland', Themba does not really respond to this.

[School 3 (I) Observation notes]

Indeed, for all the migrant background boys born in Ireland their status as Irish was proudly asserted and emphasised to other children but also to the researcher. This was

especially true of School 3 where Warren [AO], John [SEEO] and Themba [AO] re-iterated this several times. Moreover, in all three class groups migrant origin boys used small words such as '*we*' '*us*' and '*them*' to align themselves with dominant group boys and Irishness in general. For instance:

> **We are not like people in Poland**
> *We aren't?*
> **Us, Irish people are not like them**
>
> *[School 2 EE boy, aged 8]*

> *Is it easy or is it hard to get on with people from different countries?*
> **Hard.**
> *Yeah, why is a bit hard?*
> **Because they don't speak our language and it's hard to know what they say.**
>
> *[School 3 (I) AO boy aged 7]*

> **I am closer to Irish than to Nigerians**
> *Yeah?*
> **They are very different**
>
> *[School 1 EE boy aged 8]*

In School 3, even new arrivals such as Killian in the first year seemed to quickly show a desire to associate with Irishness:

> *Ok, em so what about Poland do you think you are the same or different from people from Poland?*
> **Killian: I am not like the Polish I am like the Irish**
> *You are like the Irish ok, so do you know any Polish people?*
> **Killian: No**
> *Ok so*
> **Killian: I only know people from Romania and Ireland**
> [....]
> *Not different and not the same, ok so are you the same as people in your area?*
> **Killian: Yes they are like me**
> *Yes they are like you and are you the same or different to the rest of the kids in O'Connell's?*
> **Killian: I am like, and I talk to the other boys even though they speak English**
> [....]
> *Ok so it is very similar is it?*
> **Killian: Yeah, I like it both here and Romania**
> *Ok and em do you think you feel both Romanian and Irish or more Romanian or more Irish what do you think?*
> **Killian: I feel I'm Irish**
> [....]
> *Ok so is it easy to get on with people from different countries kids who are not from Ireland or Romania?*
> **Killian: I get on very well with Romanians and I only play with Irish**
> *Ok so you don't play with the kids who are not Irish or Romanian?*
> **Killian: Yes I do play with Irish, but if they are from other countries I don't play with them**
> *Ok is there any reason you don't play with them?*
> **Killian: Eh, because I feel intimidated by them and they say thinks that I don't like**
> *Ok and why do you feel intimidated what do they say?* [Teacher come in and says she has a class coming in to use this room]
> **Killian: If they are trying to steal my friends I get very nervous and angry and I go home**
>
> *[School 3 (I) SEEO boy aged 8, interview through translator]*

Indeed from Killian's comments, one gets a sense that he partially aligns himself to

Irishness through differentiating himself from other migrant groups. He seems to see being associated with migrant boys as somewhat of a threat to his friendship with 'Irish' boys. Other migrant boys in all three schools also seemed to minimise their migrant status by distancing themselves from other migrant groups, and in some cases from other children from their country of origin.

Do you think you're the same or different from people in Brazil?
Themba: Different.
Different again, yeah. Why do you think you're different to them?
Themba: Because we're Irish and they are another country.
[.....]
And what do you think, are you the same or different as people in India?
Themba: Different.
Different, yeah. What way different?
Themba: Because we don't have the same colour.

[School 3 (I) AO boy aged 7]

In School 2, Gamada's recent arrival to the class had prompted Kofi to try to form a friendship with him along with Dominic another AO boy from the other 2nd class group. Kofi reported that Gamada had rebuffed his attempts at friendship and had reported Dominic and himself to the teacher for bullying him:

Kofi: Cos, When he was just here first he said I pushed him and then he started kicking me and he was telling me that to me to Dominic
Was he, right. And who is Dominic, is he in another class?
Kofi: In Miss Taylors'
And do you know Dominic from outside of school?
Kofi: Yeah
Do you ever walk to school with him?
Kofi: Yeah
And so do you ever play with Gamada in the yard?
Kofi: Gamada doesn't want to play with me and Dominic.
And why doesn't he want to play with you?
Kofi: I don't know, and he keeps on telling Dominic's big brother that Dominic doesn't want to play with him but Dominic wants to

[School 2 Kofi 7, Dominic 8, Gamada 8 AO, aged 8]

In Gamada's interview, he admits not wanting to play with Kofi and shows an awareness of Kofi's debased reputation within the class:

Do you ever play with Kofi?
Gamada: No he's not my friend
Nicholai: No we don't play with him....horrid henry says
[....]
Nicholai: And em Kofi does that as well
What?
Gamada: He chases after people I think
You think he does?
Gamada: Yeah Eddie says he does those things
[....]
So how do you feel about being born in Lithuania and Nigeria or...
Gamada: I'm not born in Nigeria.
You weren't born in Nigeria you were born in Egypt yeah?
Gamada: I was born in Egypt not Nigeria

Do you know anyone from Nigeria?
Gamada: Kofi is Kofi

[School 2 Gamada AO Nicholai EE both aged 8 Kofi AO aged 7]

In this extract, both Nicholai and Gamada seem to distance themselves from Kofi and allude to the stories that circulate around the class that Kofi chases people and touches them inappropriately. Although both Gamada's parents are from Nigeria, and what I know of his background from his class teacher, suggests he spent some time living in Nigeria, he is quick to correct me when I suggest he was born there. Indeed, he seemed to associate Nigeria with Kofi even though Kofi was born in Ireland. Throughout the interview, Gamada was reluctant to speak about Nigeria to any real extent, but was at pains to point out the plethora of other countries he had lived in before moving to Ireland. Within this class group, only Edward and Casimir said they played with Kofi regularly and in both cases they related this back to Kofi's willingness to be 'on' in chasing games.

However, trying to minimise one's ethnic background or to align oneself to Irishness did not seem to have the desired effect. Instead, it seemed to provide hegemonic boys with more evidence of migrant boys' 'inauthenticity' and the feelings of shame many boys developed through interaction in the child world appeared to push many into constant reflections on their identity and on whether and how they could belong. However, in a field in which doing and not reflecting is the modus operandi, this seemed to once again mark them out as not belonging.

Reflexive Habits and Symbolic Domination

The over analysis of what one was doing and going to do, tended to have the effect of stilting some of the migrant boys' behaviour in the yard. For instance, in both years of fieldwork Themba was observed stalling and showing discomfort when he was in the position of picker during 'pickies':

When the other third class initially came out they just joined in with the game that was being played. However the SNA watching the game makes them stop playing football and line up on the side of the pitch, she also picks out Themba and a visible minority child from the other class to pick teams. The boys stand in front of the other boys, but they seem hesitant to pick, they both choose one boy each, Themba has chosen Mark and the other boys picks a white boy from the other class, the others shout their names, but the boys don't choose anyone else. Eventually the teacher divides the boys up by telling everyone on the right to go with the other class and everyone to her left with Themba.

[School 3 (II) Observation notes]

In the first round of data collection, Themba describes his discomfort with an 'internal' fault he sees in himself and describes himself as a 'time waster' through his hesitancy:

> *You play football, yeah. And how do you pick the teams for the football?*
> **We go and line up, then there will be two pickies.**
> *Two pickies. And who picks who is going to be pickies?*
> **I don't pick anyone because I only waste time.**
> *You waste what – why? Who said you waste time?*
> **No-one.**
> *No-one? Then why do you think you waste time?* [Shrugs] *You don't know? And how do you waste time then? What's wasting time?*
> **When I want to pick the people I should – when I was two I want to pick – I don't know who to pick then that's how I waste time.**
>
> *[School 3 (I) AO boy aged 7]*

In the second year of fieldwork, however, he explains his continued tentativeness to be picker somewhat differently:

> *Are things better or worse than last year?*
> **Themba: I would say worse**
> *Worse, yeah, why?*
> **Themba: First because I'm not good, I at football, I, I always get picked last**
> *Oh really yeah, this is in the pickies is it?*
> **Themba: Yeah**
> *Yeah how does that make you feel when that is happening?*
> **Themba: Sad**
> *Sad yeah, and when you are doing pickies who do you pick first, when you are picking?*
> **Themba: I don't pick, the guys that em that are not very good, cos I don't always want to win**
> *Yeah you don't always, why don't you always want to win?*
> **Themba: Because I don't feel like it**
> *Ok so you don't feel you have to, ok so would you pick your friends? Rather than*
> **Themba: I pick my friends but it is hard**
> *Why is it hard?*
> **Themba: Cause they would all be shouting at you and then you forget who to pick**
>
> *[School 3 (II) AO boy aged 9]*

His empathy for others who were also picked last seems to lead Themba to choose his team differently than the usual course; however he alludes to the difficulty of doing this as he gets shouted at by the others, which seems to effect his concentration and ability to carry out this practical action. Indeed, Mark and Emmet describe Themba during pickies as a time waster and vent their annoyance at his indecision:

> **Emmet: Like get on with it like**
> **Mark: God what is the big deal he** [Themba] **just stands there like 'gawwwwww'**[makes noise indicating stupidity] **I was telling him to pick and all but he**
> **Emmet: Like em he picks Killian like**[sighs]
> **Mark: Yeah and Aidan went to the other team, do you want to win or not or just be stupid**
> *You were telling him?*
> **Mark: Not to pick Killian God no em, like just do it do it, we want to win like pick the good ones**
>
> *[School 3(II), Themba AO, DG boys all aged 9]*

Moreover, Themba goes on to mirror Mark and Emmet's conception of him later in

this interview:

> **Themba: I don't know what to do, I can't think what to do**
> *When is this?*
> **Themba: In football**
> *Yeah?*
> **Themba: And pickies I feel, I don't know**
>
> *[School 3 (II) AO boy aged 9]*

In both rounds of data collection, Warren also displayed signs that he somewhat concurred with the way he was conceptualised by other boys through his discussion of fouling explored earlier, and in this account of his skills as a goalkeeper:

> *On one occasion Warren misses a save and he runs after the ball. Barry goes up to the goal and screams at him with a red face. When Warren returns Barry keeps screaming at him, Warren doesn't look at him and throws the ball back in. The game restarts but Barry continues to berate Warren telling him it was an easy save 'even a girl could get that one'.*
>
> *[School 3 (I) observation notes]*

> *What about you, where do you like playing, do you like playing in goal or do you like playing out of goal?*
> **Warren: Playing out of goal because I am not very good at goal because I don't have the strength to save it.**
> *What do you mean you don't have the strength, are some people stronger than others?*
> **Warren: It is because sometimes I try to save the ball but I can't see where it is going.**
>
> *[School 3 (I) AO boy aged 8]*

One explanation for these opinions and behaviours may be that perhaps Warren and Themba were genuinely less skilled which they and others both recognised, or as has been argued so far that they were apperceived as such, through the hegemonic masculine habitus of the field which was partially linked to nationalist and racist discourses. However, the data reveals a more complex picture, which is both partly a mid-point of these two scenarios but also more than the sum of these parts.

The over analysis of what one was going to do or how one was perceived in the field could be described as a reflexive habit. Following Crossley (2001), this engagement in reflexivity was not that of a separate form of action from that rooted in the habitus but seemed to be a habitual act in itself. For instance, Gamada describes how he is always thinking within the football game:

> **In the football I think and then I think about it and then, eh I can't eh think**
> [...]
> *You think yeah?*
> **I am always think but eh my head hurts actually**
>
> *[School 2 AO boy aged 8]*

Similar statements were made by other migrant group boys:

> **I am thinking always how to kick the ball** *[School 1 AO boy aged 8]*

All the times I am trying to run fast and throw it strong

[School 3 (II) SEA boy aged 9]

I don't know, then I do know, now I know how to tackle, but sometimes I forget and then I don't know anymore *[School 2 EE boy aged 8]*

Thus self-reflection seemed to be a form of habit that a boy did not simply choose to do or not do in a rational sense but had become part of their habitus, or in a somewhat more simplistic form they were engaged in a form of compulsive thinking. In contrast, the same level of reflection did not seem to be as apparent in the behaviour of hegemonic boys as the '*just*' of being, not only seemed to describe the doxic view of how one should be in the child world, but for some described how embodying the orthodoxy seemed to feel:

So is there any times you feel a bit upset or annoyed in school?
Eamonn: Em homework!
Yeah anything else?
Ryan: Em just the teacher and all em
[....]
Anything bother you about yard time or anything?
Eamonn: No just playing and all it's alright
Ryan: He's very good he is
Eamonn: Yesterday I just wacked it off my foot I don't even know how I did it and it went in, I don't even know how

[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9]

While this again demonstrates bragging, supported through Ryan's deference, when the motivation of bringing up this story is left out of analysis, Eamonn's repeated declaration of '*I don't even know how*' seems to reveal his actions as unplanned without any deliberate calculation. Thus, his general ease within the school and child world seemed to come partially from his sense that things '*just*' go his way. Similar statements were made in other schools:

So how is a boy good at football then?
Just is
Yeah?
Em I when, I got the ball and em
Yeah?
Got it down the pitch and it went in and I can't even thinks about getting a goal

[School 1 DG boy aged 8]

Do you try and get better in football?
Owen: Yeah I do I practice with me uncle
Eddie: No I don't, I do...
You do?
Eddie: I just do it
What is this?
Eddie: Football

[School 2 DG boys aged 8]

In contrast, being engaged in reflexivity seemed to stilt some migrant boys' actions within football:

Sometimes I can't think what to do
Where?
In football
Yeah how do you feel when you can't think?
Scared
Yeah what are you trying to think about?
Em….. trying to shoot but I don't think I can do it

[School 2 EE boy aged 8]

I don't know how to do it I try but my leg will not go
Your leg won't go?
No it won't go

[School 2 EE boy aged 8]

Mikhail: We try to do it
Billy: We don't know how
Mikhail: I passed it to you
Yeah
Mikhail: I think then I will shoot but no
Billy: I eh I
Mikhail: I can't do
Billy: I tried it but I, I can't know what to do they were saying 'ha ha' to me

[School 1 Mikhail EE, Billy SEEO aged 8]

Hence, one's hesitancy to act or in one boy's case the refusal of his legs to act, seemed to be related to trying so hard that one becomes precluded from simply *being*. Or in other words one is pushed out of unconscious habits into self-conscious habits. Indeed, this ability to '*just be*'[148] within the child world also seemed to be linked back to deference and symbolic capital, as the protection deference offered from ridicule also shielded a boy from a certain degree of self-analysis and reflection. In the absence of deference though, a boy seemed to be more prone to consciously trying to gain it, but in the *trying*, deference becomes unattainable. Conversely however, being somewhat free from reflexivity seemed to allow a boy's actions to appear more natural and fluid, which in turn bolstered deference from others. Thus, there seemed to be a cylindrical relationship, in which through reflecting on how one could be accepted in the child world tended to cause one's actions to become stilted and a little less fluid, which in turn provided more evidence of one's deviancy and ripeness for ridicule. Hence, in essence, not only were migrant boys constructed as 'bad' footballers but this construction seemed to cause them to become somewhat disconnected from the embodied intelligence of their bodies[149], which once more provided material evidence of their otherness and precluded them from deference.

[148] What it is to 'be' though is in itself a social construction of locally validated and authorised orthodox hegemonic masculinity
[149] As described by Merleau-Ponty and Bourdieu's examples of football participation

Thus, in one sense some boys were slightly less effective footballers[150], but this did not seem to come from a deficit of skill *per se* but from hesitancy within the game and fear borne from a continued analysis of its significance.

However, this phenomenon was not restricted to migrant boys alone; many other boys reported stress and discomfort in relation to reflecting on themselves in the game instead of simply playing the game itself. Boys from the dominant group background, however, tended to deal with this by opting to play in the visible and invisible realms of the child world, where the rewards in terms of status were less but the opportunities for ridicule were also reduced. In addition, these activities also seemed to cause less reflection on oneself in terms of one's skill and how one's performance could be interpreted by others. However, some other dominant group boys continued to play football while also experiencing some stress due to self-reflection. As already discussed however, the migrant boys seemed in this case to provide an important 'other' against which these boys could compare themselves favourably against. Moreover, the overt and covert racism and nationalism entwined within orthodox hegemonic masculinity tended to magnify this process in relation to migrant boys within the child world. Therefore, while the focus remained on their actions, the hesitancy and stress dominant group boys experienced tended not to be as scrutinised, to a certain extend then not being as watched as migrant boys helped ease their self-reflection and actually allowed some dominant group boys to play more freely. For instance, in School 2 Liam and Leo demonstrate empathy for migrant students in their school, but they also compared themselves favourably in relation to them:

Leo: Kevin gets in fights.

Liam: Darren McGovern [From other class group]
Yeah.
Liam: Donal.
Leo/Liam: Yeah.
Leo: Yeah he always gets in fights with me.
And why does he get in fights with you?
Leo: Because I get the ball and he goes mad.
Does he?
Leo: Like 'cause he's one on one and I'm goal.
Yeah.
Leo: And I come out, I go like that.
Right.
Leo: And he tries to shoot and I just go like that and throw it out.
Okay, so he gets mad at you because you're doing that?
Leo: I don't kick it.

[150] Although once again it must be stressed the skill level involved in these games was minimal with very little to differentiate a 'good' and 'bad' player and in some cases no material differences but simply a construction through deference

Yeah.
Leo: I throw the ball.

[….]
How do you feel with all that shouting going on?
Leo: It wrecks my head
Liam: Sometimes you don't know what to do
Right do you think other people feel like that?
Leo: I'm alright like
Liam: I'd say others as well
Leo: We'd be like in the middle, defo people worse than us
Yeah?
Leo: Like Samson wrecked like he doesn't know how to save
He doesn't know how to save?
Leo: Em like I give it my best go
Liam: And Mikhail couldn't get that pass at all remember yesterday and everyone was like
Leo: Oh yeah and
Yeah?
[both laugh]

[School 2 Darren Kevin DG Samson AO, Mikhail EE all aged 8]

Thus Liam and Leo admit feeling stressed on the football field, or their heads being 'wrecked', but they instantly deflect this in terms of the actions of two migrant boys in the class whose behaviour everyone seemed to be talking about. Indeed, in School 3, the migrant boys in the class certainly provided an important 'other' for some dominant group boys to bolster their football skills against in comparison:

I guess so, ok so can you tell me then, how are you good at football like what do you need to do?
Mark: I em
Emmet: Em, we're amateur players at football like we are not the best and we are not the worst
Mark: Yeah
You amateurs what does amateurs mean?
Emmet: Em
Mark: It means that's you'd score a goal from time to time but not all the time like every time you go in
Emmet: Like Barry or Aidan, like I only scored one this, this break and last break, I never really score; I don't know how I scored this break and last break
[….]
Mark: Like we would just be steady you know
Emmet: Yeah
Ok and are some people not steady then?
Mark: Yeah Killian and Themba and all
Emmet: Yeah they wouldn't even be amateurs
Mark: Pretenders! [laugh]

[School 3 (II) DG boys Barry and Aidan DG, Killian SEEO, Themba AO]

Hence, migrant boys and the greater surveillance and visibility surrounding them allowed some boys to use them as the low base onto which they could construct themselves as 'better':

Football is sometimes hard
Yeah? How is it hard?

Kicking your legs and all?
[....]
Is it hard for anyone else?
For Gamada
Yeah?
I'd say it is harder for him
Why do you think that?
Because I'm a little bit better than him, only a bit though

[School 1 DG boy aged 8]

Thus, the engagement in a reflexive habit was not simply the preserve of migrant group boys; however the difference seems to be that this was more scrutinised in migrant group boys while remaining somewhat hidden for dominant group boys in comparison. This process, therefore acts as another layer of domination within the child world and the issue of visibility and exposure carries through into reflexivity as a form of symbolic violence. However, as already discussed the level of exposure a boy deals with within the child world is also dependant on the body as an object in field, thus this process seemed to be heightened for visible minority boys.

Reflexivity and the Objective Body

Warren: The look of me is different but I am the same.

[School 3(I) AO boy aged 8]

Warren's contention that he is the same no matter how his body appears seems to reveal something of a disconnection from his body, a need to explain his identity in contradiction to its objective appearance. Indeed, possibly the most insidious elements of habitual reflexivity within the child world seemed to lie in a sense of burden several boys expressed in relation to their objective bodies. For instance in school 2 especially, a partly fantasy strategy for some visible minority boys to achieve acceptance was through the almost virtual obliteration of their bodies:

So you are good at that. So if you could change anything about yourself, would you change anything?
Kofi: Yes.
What would you change?
Kofi: My body.
You'd change your body, in what way?
Kofi: I'd turn into white.
You'd turn into white, why would you do that?
Kofi: So people can't laugh at me.
Why would they laugh at you?
Kofi: Because they called me black.
Did they, right, and how does that make you feel?
Kofi: Sad.
And who says that to you?
Kofi: Eddie.
And why do you think he says that?
Kofi: Just because I am brown.
[....]

And how long have they been saying those things?
Kofi: Since senior infants.
And does it hurt your feelings?
Kofi: Yes.

[School 2 AO boy aged 7 Eddie, DG boy aged 8]

So if you could change anything about yourself, would you change anything?
Nicholai: No.
No You are happy as you are. You would change something?
Nicholai: I want to be myself.
Would you change anything if you could Lok?
Gamada: I would change...em
Nicholai: The way you look? [To Gamada]
Gamada: Yes.
You would change the way you look?
Gamada: Because I am too brown, in Nigeria it is too hot like a hot bath but without water

[School 2 Nicholai EEO, Gamada AO, Lok EAO boys aged 8]

Within the other two schools this was not as blatantly stated, however, as already discussed, Themba wanted to change his hair in reaction to Mike's comments and Warren also showed some signs he found his body somewhat problematic. Indeed, as a boy who was significantly taller than the others in a class group which valued the shorter body type of Barry, Warren legs were often referred to as 'wobbly', and 'spider like' Ryan described Warren as a:

Gangly legged eejit, can't kick the ball, I can't stand being around him, ehm [sound implying disgust]...I can't stand him

[School 3(II) DG boy aged 9]

This seemed to find some resonance in Warren's interpretation of his own body:

Yeah and would you rather be really tall for the rest of your life or really small?
Warren: Em, em I would like to be medium
Medium yeah why would medium be good?
Warren: Because if you are tall some people, some people might, might, like for example if you are playing football most people will try and tackle you, because you are much bigger than them and if you are small, if you are small more people will just accidentally hit them.
Ok yeah and do people ever try and tackle you cos you are a bit taller? Do you think?
Warren: Em a bit, but em I'm more, I, I, I, dodge it sometimes
You dodge it yeah, are you good at dodging it?
Warren: Yeah, but it would be good to have a little short legs I think about it

[School 3 (II) AO boy aged 9]

A discomfort with one's body was also found to a certain extent among Eastern European boys who expressed a discomfort of becoming exposed through their speech, in the use of their first language, a difficulty with English and/or through one's accent. For instance Mikhail says:

I am a Russian, but they only have a clue
[...]
Because I am saying things like a Russian

So you say things like a Russian?
Yeah but I look like Irish

[School 1 EE boy aged 8]

Indeed this is demonstrated more clearly in relation to John's story.

Vignette 8.1: John

John was born in Ireland but of Romanian origin parents. According to the class teacher, John's parents spoke very little English and John's sister had to be used as a translator in his parent teacher meetings. John's complete fluency in both English and Romanian was frequently utilised by other teachers in the school, as in the first year of research John was taken out of class almost once a day to translate instructions to Romanian origin boys in the older years and in the other 2nd year class group[151]. Within his own class group, John was put next to Killian and acted as a translator for him throughout much of the year[152]. In some senses then, John was highly visible within the class group through his bilingualism which placed him in somewhat of a position of authority and responsibility. However, he was also in some senses more invisible than other Romanian origin boys, as his skin was generally understood as '*Irish like*'. John had pale skin and blond hair which was seen as very different to the 'tanned' appearance many boys attributed to Romanian origin boys. Indeed, even Barry sometimes seemed to forget John's Romanian origins:

Barry: No they are from Romania
Ok yeah yeah?
Barry: John you wouldn't think he's from Romania,
Larry: Yeah
Barry: You would think Killian is from Spain, or else Portugal cos he's real tanned

[School 3 (II) DG boys, John and Killian SEEO aged 9]

However, as already mentioned above, when John tended to make a mistake during a game of football or was perceived to make a mistake he often got called a 'paki' by Barry and the other high status boys in the class. Indeed, John himself was very keen to emphasise his Irishness within the first round of data:

Do you feel the same or different from people in your area?
John: The same
The same?... yeah?... what way are ye the same?
John: The same like I am born an' ye see them an' all
Yeah? And what about kids in the rest of your school?..do you feel the same or different from them?
John: The same I am born in Ireland I am Irish as well

[School 3 (I) SEEO boy aged 8]

However while he did not consider himself Romanian, he also showed compassion and understanding towards migrant origin boys' position in the class and in his school:

It is hard on them and all, I try to help them out

[151] While it would be easy to blame teacher's for putting John in this position it must be remembered these teachers were working with very few resources and were also aware that this was not a perfect situation which they wished they did not have to engage in.
[152] Killian and John's relationship will be explored in more detail in Killian's vignette in the next chapter

[School 3 (I) SEEO boy aged 8]

On my return to the school, though, his attitude seemed to have hardened:

John: [looks at Mike] **well… down my way my friend slagged other black people, people from other countries and get battered**
Oh yeah they would batter them? Yeah, and why would he batter them?
John: Cos they don't live in Ireland
Yeah cos they don't live in Ireland?
John: Yeah just say there is a boy from Africa and he came yesterday into our class and he looked around and they beat him around, ha
Mike: Bet them it not beat them
John: Like killed him like knocked them out, it's like a different country
So did he not like different countries like?
Mike: No
Why doesn't eh like them?
Mike: Cos sometimes when they walk past someone and there would be a smell
[both laugh]
What kind of smell?
Mike: I don't know it'd be horrible but
John: Like farts or something [laugh together]
Really? Which people are these?
John: Like Africa, like different people like different countries
Ok
Mike: They smell like food, like different food like they'd be
John: The smell of oranges
Really?
Mike: [laughs]**, that's a food** [laughs]
And would there be many people from different countries were you are from?
Mike: No [laughs]
John: They'd get battered I'd batter them [said in threatening tone]

[School 3(II) John SEEO, Mike DG both aged 9]

This change could perhaps be partially attributed to his burgeoning friendship with Mike, which these boys discussed as being a somewhat unequal friendship:

Mark: Well there are a couple of popular kids in the class, I'm not saying I'm the coolest but I suppose that
Eamonn and Barry is the coolest I'm second you're second (pointing to Emmet) eh, Mike is third,
Emmet: Mike's very sly, he does this to
John he goes 'gimme summat, gimme your rubber or I'm not playing with you out in yard', he did that to me once and I said 'I don't want to play with ya'.
Yeah, but would John give him the rubber?
Emmet: Yeah
Why?
Emmet: Like I'm saying to John don't like, Mike takes him for granted, I used to live beside Mike over in the flats and he used to, he was very sly
Mark: Very sly, and is being sly
Emmet: An even like if he fighted you, he wouldn't use his hands he wouldn't use his feet he wouldn't use any part of his body he would stick a rock or a pole
Really?
Emmet: He can't fight; you can't have a proper fight like he's be after Freddie
[…]
Mark: Like em so he's [Freddie] **'why are you hitting me Mike and pushing' and Mike said 'go on then I want to fight' and he said 'aww I kick you' like hit Freddie clean and he went flying, he's not all there Freddie and it's not fair, I've know Mike since I was like in Kindergarden**
Emmet: Yeah I know him very long as well since I was about two, I know Mike longer than anyone else in the class
Really? But would you be really friends with him or?

Mark: I wouldn't put up with him anymore
Emmet: Only John does

[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9]

Freddie was a dominant group boy who seemed to have a slight learning difficulty. While many of the boys did not like him, it was generally seen as 'beyond the pale' to bully or hit him even if he tried to start a fight. In bringing up that Mike had hit Freddie and '*sent him flying*', Mike's character seems to really be questioned by these boys and they remarked that they don't know why John is friends with him. Indeed, in the quote from Mike and John's interview above one can see that Mike corrects John twice within a short space of time to correct his turn of phrase '*bet them not beat them*' or to point out his folly '*oranges are a food*'. Throughout the interview Mike continued to somewhat subtly undermine John through corrections of this nature. This was more obviously so when I brought up the issue of language:

Can any of you speak different languages?
John: I can
Mike: [Laughs] **awww**
You can yeah?
John: Yeah
Mike: He speaks Romania
Yeah that is really clever to be able to speak two languages
John: I don't like to speak two languages
You don't like to speak two languages?
John: I don't want to get battered
You don't want to get battered? So would you speak Romanian in school?
John: No
Mike: Yeah, to Killian
John: I know [said in a warning tone]
Mike: Then why did you say 'no'?
John: Because I hate it
You don't like it anymore?
John: Yeah I don't like him anymore he's a little rat he goes like that, on his ass
[…]
And Mike do you ever wish you could speak another language? [John looks at Mike with what I Interpret as interest as I ask this question]
Mike: No! [disgust in his voice]
No, why not?
John: He speak eh what's it called again Irish
Mike: No I don't
No why wouldn't you want to?
Mike: Cos I hate it only speak English! they are stupid only English is good [looks at John as he says this, really angry]
John: All about me is I like to play football, that's all, in school no go home that's all

[School 3 (II) John SEEO, Mike DG both aged 9]

Firstly, Mike points out that John speaks Romanian to Killian, linking him to Killian. In the second year of fieldwork, however, John was intent on differentiating himself from Killian. Indeed Mike had an extremely strong reaction to my suggestion that he might want to speak another language. While I asked this question, I interpreted John as being quite interested in what Mike's response would be, and interestingly once Mike expressed almost disgust at speaking another language, John immediately switched subject and shut down any further conversation on this subject. He emphasized what he wanted to be known, that he played

football and nothing else. Thus, for John football seemed to be normative territory, and second languages deviant.

Indeed, on several occasions in the second round of data collection, John's reluctance to speak Romanian was noted in the observation sessions, which the following potentially violent encounter highlights:

> *In the other class there is a tall Romanian boy, he seems quite aggressive and pushes many boy out of the way. He also seems to play the role Killian does in the other team and collects the ball and throws it back in. At one point something happens and this boy shouts something at John in Romanian, John says 'get lost back', this boy now lunges into John and grabs the back of his jumper, John twists around and has an angry expression on his face. The boy continues to say things in Romanian, Mark now comes over and pulls this boy off John, he steps back and says 'watch it' to the other boy, John looks at the other boy and they three of them seem to tense and ready to fight again if anything starts. The other boy then catches me looking at him and runs away after the ball, John and Mark say something to each other and join in with the game again.*
>
> [School 3 (II) Observation notes]

From this observation, one would expect that Mark and John were fairly good friends and to a certain extent this was true. John was generally accepted as a fairly '*decent*' footballer and as already discussed his ethnicity was sometimes forgotten, but Mark also remarked of him:

> **Yeah John is grand, most of...**
> [...]
> **Yeah ok like he can be a bit well you know, they have to watch themselves sometimes**
> *Who has to watch themselves?*
> **Like foreigners and all**
>
> *[School 3 (II) DG boy aged 9]*

Thus, John's acceptance within the child world seemed to be somewhat contingent. While he had some level of respect, this seemed to be somewhat constructed at the discretion of dominant group boys who may remove it at any time and designate him as a 'foreigner' again if he steps out of line. Hence, it is not unreasonable to hypothesize that John is engaging in self-reflection, in which he seems to be minimising his migrant background, distancing himself from Killian who was more objectively 'different' and limiting his visibility by not speaking Romanian which exposed his ethnic background. Indeed, this was most obviously alluded to when he stated:

> **Romanians aren't like us**
> *No?*
> **No we are betterer**
>
> *[School 3 (II) SEEO boy aged 9]*

Conclusion

Hence, the engagement in reflexive habits tended to make a boy's actions more hesitant and unsure; there was a sense of such a boy being ill at ease and constantly

aware of himself, '*trying too much*'. This is most obviously displayed on the football field, as over-thinking one's actions tended to make one's play paradoxically unintelligent, as being a good footballer is about '*just*' being able to react, having a feel for the game or a habitual bodily intelligence free of self-consciousness, which reflexivity seems to suppress. Hence, many migrant boys appeared to be invested in the child world and in being seen as masculine as they believed that if they could just be accepted by the others they would then not have to constantly engage in reflexive thought, second guess themselves and being constantly aware of their actions and body. Moreover, though, this exposure within the child world was intrinsically affective as the experience of shame was physically painful. Thus, affect through the body is a motivator in itself, as trying to mitigate these feeling seemed to be a powerful influence on action. However, the paradox of this was that the more one seems to '*try*' the more one was in contradiction to doxa and orthodoxy and provide more evidence of one's 'inauthenticity'. Hence, on the micro scale, this somewhat mirror's Hage's (1998) contention that while the accumulation of capital is necessary for acceptance, the fact that this is known as an accumulation and not misrecognised as inherent, automatically marks one out as someone who does not belong. However in revealing the processes of domination within the child world, resistance to this is not allowed fully explored, as of course this is not a closed system, thus dissonance in relation to these norms need to be revealed more fully.

Chapter 10 - Resilience Strategies and Positive Detachment

Introduction

While many boys experienced symbolic violence and domination in the child world, they did not all appear to be as equally affected by this. Many boys displayed creative adaptive behaviours that enhanced their resilience to the stress induced by the system of interaction and shame discussed in the previous chapters. This chapter explores resilience in the child world by examining three distinct forms it appeared to take namely, boys reinterpreting the orthodox expression of hegemonic masculinity, boys displaying an unawareness of the doxa and orthodoxy of the field and boys showing positive detachment from the orthodoxy of the child world. These strategies were best revealed in the case study class as the repeat interviews helped to uncover these dynamics more clearly than data from the first round of data collection alone. Three vignettes are included in this chapter to highlight these three modes of resilience.

Reinterpreting Orthodoxy

Face saving

Many of the dominant group boys within the class who were not considered popular or good at football tended to have their own small group of friends within the visible and invisible realms of the school. While these boys occasionally took part in exposed activities, they tended to remain marginalised within them. Although they did not really engage with high status boys, there was a tendency for these small groups to form internal hierarchies, in which some boys claimed to be tougher than their friends. These boys also often compared themselves to the high status boys in the class and argued they could be as tough as those boys if they wanted to be, but they couldn't be bothered 'showing off like them', or playing football in such bad conditions with poor facilities. Some boys also claimed that the activities high status boys used to prove hegemonic masculinity were in fact deficient and the activities they engaged in were more 'authentically' masculine. In the first scenario, many boys claimed to play football at home and to be very good at it, but said they were not interested in showing off their skills within the school. This contention was most readily claimed by migrant group boys:

And then when I go home I was put out well with the street football
Yeah?

That man has the ball and I always kill him like that, I was foul to him, that is why just now the referee there
Yeah?
That is where I killed those two and then I have just one man
Hmm
And then man was two and then I was killed at one man and then it was 1-1 and I was scoring more goals and all, but in school I don't show off

[School 3 (II) SEEO boy aged 9]

Mm, what do they play in the yard?
They play football match out there
But you don't really like football do you not?
No I just don't want to play there, because they play with tennis ball that is not for match tennis ball for tennis, if I want to play it is with a ball that is for football
Ok
Yeah but they play with tennis ball it's not good, it's too small
And what about when it hits you does it hurt?
Yeah
Yeah it does and do you play with a normal ball at home?
Yeah I play with Gill, with a big ball I play a match with my friends and I score six goals

[School 3 (II) SEEO boy aged 9]

In school three, many migrant group boys from the school played basketball in the smaller yard and migrant boys in the case study group considered the game of basketball a more physical and tough game [than football] in which real skill and masculinity could be displayed:

I would like to play basketball game?
Oh yeah a real basketball game?
Yeah
Would you like to score loads of baskets?
Yeah
[pause]
And who would you play in basketball with?
When I play with basketball
Who would you play with?
Who me?
Yeah [pause]
Don't know, in the back yard?
Yeah?
Jamil and Kareem
Yeah, and would you like to be really good at basketball?
Yeah it is a better game, tougher
Tougher?
Better than football here it is no good

[School 3 (II) EEO boy aged 9]

Dominant group boys also alluded to their skills in football which they did not feel the need to demonstrate in front of others:

I play all the time at home
Yeah but not in the school?
No can't be bothered, there is no room to do overheads

[School 2 DG boy aged 8]

I play football with my friend Gav
Yeah?

I headed it into the goal yesterday
Yeah?
[....]
Would you like to play in school?
No cause they are all glorying it
Glorying it?
Showing off
Do you like to show off?
No I just like to play

[School 1 DG boy aged 8]

It is common for dominant group boys to claim the activities they engaged in were more hegemonically masculine than those engaged in by the high status boys in their class. These activities tended to be fighting, fantasy play and video games and revolved around warrior narratives in which one tested one's masculinity against insurmountable odds, as described in chapter 6. Masculinity constructed in this way involved 'dare-devil' themes and these boys emphasised that they were '*scared of nothing*'. This attitude was perhaps best exemplified by Oisin in School 3.

Vignette 10.1 - Oisin

As already elaborated, Oisin was largely characterised in the child world as trying too much and annoying by the high status boys in his class. However, he had a small group of friends consisting of Noel, a boy from the other second class, and on occasion Peter and Themba. He was at great pains to emphasise to me and to his friends that he was strong and aggressive but chose not to be involved in football. Oisin mentioned on several occasions that he wished to be a wrestler and fighter when he grew up and that his 'special skill' was fighting:

Oisin: I'd be like Baptiste, a big shot; I would like to be like Baptiste
Who is he?
Oisin: He is a wrestler he says to about that chair to that windowsill, no not even that from that chair to that
Peter: He is about from the ground to about the top to that
Oisin: No hang on he's about to this [going over to door frame] **from this to this**
[....]
And what about would you rather be really strong or really weak, what would you rather?
Peter: I think boys want to be strong, so you can fight
Oisin: I want to be a boxer when I grow up so strong
You want to be strong and why is it better to be strong?
Peter: Being a wrestler is fun I'd say if you grow up so strong
Em
Peter: Wrestling is made up but boxing is real
Oisin: Yeah that is why I'm going to do boxing

[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9]

He constantly compared himself to the high status boys in his class and argued that he could fight and beat any of them if they were to try to bully him:

Oisin tells me 'I'm not afraid of anyone, I'm not, I'll take on anyone I will, I'm not scared, if they are startin' I'll fight back'. He says this with an arrestingly serious face and looks me straight in the eyes and then glances at Larry. I'm not sure what to say and simply nod; he then says 'they call me flame in the class'. The teacher hears this and says 'what name?' Oisin turns to her and smiles

shyly and says 'Flame', she laughs at this.

[Observation notes School 3 (I)]

Oisin spent much of his time playing fantasy games in the yard in which he and his friends were on a mission to save the earth. However, he also liked to emphasise that he was a dare devil:

Oisin: Oh yeah and I'm going to do a wild stunt on Wednesday half two, well not half two, Half three, you're not going to say this are you?
No
Peter: No just say it, or shut up please
Oisin: I'm gonna, me and my friend are gonna make a big ramp and I'm going to get my skateboard and try and jump over a car, well not a car but like a big, big [pause]
Peter: [inaudible]
Somewhere around your area?
Oisin: No a big you know those not big yellow yokes they are not skips, you know them, blue trailers I am going to jump over one of them on my skateboard
Are you yeah?
Oisin: You would never make it [to Peter]
Peter: If there was a hole in it I would [laughs]
Oisin: You are not going to tell anyways or 'I'll kill you' [said in voice impersonating Ren and Stimpy cartoon]

[School 3(II) DG boys aged 9]

This was an aspect of his character he was also keen to impress the researcher with. At one point in his first interview, he took the voice recorder from the table and went to the corner of the room and whispered into it his '*deepest secret*', which turned out to be:

Oisin: I jumped off a roof *[School3 (I) DG boys aged 8]*

While Oisin was intent on talking about himself and his exploits, he was also very pre-occupied with the high status boys in his class and repeatedly claimed his superiority to them:

So, so were you in a boy's school beforehand?
Oisin: Bullies? [mishearing]
Cian: No
Oisin: I actually was a bully
Yeah?
Oisin: Barry thinks he is one but only cause I let him I'm retired from bullying
You are retired from bullying?
Oisin: Can't be bothered now, use my powers for good

[School 3 (I) DG boys aged 8]

Once again then, Oisin draws on super hero motifs to construct himself as superior to Barry, who in this narrative is only allowed to dominate through Oisin's renouncement of evil. Conversely though, he also claimed that games such as the ones he enjoyed were more dangerous and masculine than the football games Barry engaged in:

Super games are better
Yeah?
Football is just running up and down, they, Barry thinks his is cool but no [Shakes head scoffs]
No?
No anyone, everyone does that copying what everyone does even the girls in Meadowood, us em fighting is em, like who would you want to save you in 9/11 ha? Beckham or Wolverine?

[School 3 (II) DG boy aged 9]

Thus, for Oisin, super heroes were more powerful role models than footballers and he aligned himself to their greater ability and warrior masculinity. However, this also seemed to suggest that Oisín did not really resist hegemonic masculinity but simply recasts himself as a greater expression of it.

Educational Capital

Oisin also drew on his intelligence in class as one of the defining features of his opposition to the high status boys:

Oisin: That makes me a geek then
[Peter laughing Oisin joins in]
Does it, why, why what is a geek?
Peter: You are real smart
Oisin: A big brain
Peter: A far big head
And so do some people think that's not good or what? [both laugh]
Oisin: That's a good one, you know Galaxar, he has a big head and a big brain, but inside his brain
Peter: Who's Galaxar?
Oisin: [laughs] **I don't even know myself** [laughs] **I just heard it off my cousin**
Peter: Is he a cartoon character or is he just made up?
Oisin: He's from Monsters, Monsters versus Aliens
Peter: Oh yeah him
Oisin: Galaxar the big A-headed freak
Ok
Peter: Egg headed
Oisin: Yeah too smart for my own good oh well, maybe is Barry was smarter he wouldn't be such a, don't say that will you?

[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 8]

Many of the migrant origin boys also drew on an academic identity within the school and directly compared their intelligence to their bullies in their class group:

Kofi: I am the smartest in the class.
You are, you are very smart, I saw that yes. What subjects do you like the best?
Kofi: Science and Maths.
That's good. And who else is smart in your class?
Kofi: Owen is not very smart.
But are you smarter than Owen?
Kofi: Yes.

[School 2 AO boy aged 7 Owen DG boy aged 8]

What other differences are there?
Themba: Cos, em they're more at good at everything than me and I'm not good, I'm only good at English
You are only good at English; I think you are very good at English aren't you?
Themba: Sometimes
Yeah what is your favourite part about English?
Themba: The quizzes
Yeah how does the quiz work?
Themba: Sometimes we play em, we play crosswords
Oh yeah and do you get that do you?
Themba: Yeah sometimes I got one and Mike couldn't get it

[School 3 (II) AO boy aged 9]

For some boys, it appeared that the perception of their greater academic ability or educational capital did have some exchange value within the child world:

Can you be smart and not a nerd at the same time?
Emmet: Yeah, like us
Mark: Like getting all,
Emmet: Warren's not a nerd
Mark: No,
Emmet: Well sometimes
Mark: No, Warren, Warren's average, like he's normal, a normal person
Emmet: But he's very smart
Yeah?
Mark: Everybody says I'm the smartest in the class, I'm not, I'm only smart at
Emmet: Like Warren is good at Maths and like English but like when we are doing history all you can hear is me, Mark and Peter or something, like he's not smart at everything and the teacher thinks he's smart at everything, just cos like everyone all because at maths it's always Warren, like me, Eamonn, Mark, Barry or something or Themba
Mark: Yeah because like over here the smartest are the coolest, well not all them
[School 3 (II) DG boys, Warren Themba AO, Eamonn, Barry Jordan DG all aged 9]

While these boys acknowledge Warren as smart and to a lesser extent Themba, they also slightly diminish this reputation by contending that he is not the best at everything and suggesting that the teacher favours him unfairly. For Warren though, his ability and confidence in maths seemed to provide him with an alternative ambition and identity for himself beyond football, wrestling and boxing:

Is there any other class you would want to be in?
Warren: Em, eh, I wouldn't like to be in any class I would just like to be, just, just, my only goal is, is just to pass all of the classes
[....]
Yeah, so what is your favourite subject then?
Warren: Em Maths
[....]
Ok so is there anybody you know or on T.V or in your own life that you would like to be like when you grow up?
Warren: Em I would like to be, em, em em, I don't really know anybody on the T.V. I would like to be like but I know I want to be an engineer when I grow up
Oh that would be good wouldn't it?
Warren: Yeah
And why do you want to be an engineer?
Warren: Because me, because me it has to work more, to work more and it is also good for your intelligence as well
[School 3 (II) AO boy aged 9]

While Warren demonstrated a genuine interest in Maths and in achieving academically, in the constant comparisons other boys made to high status boys they seemed to betray another motivation. Indeed, the resistance strategies used by the boys did not seem to really challenge the doxa or orthodoxy of the child world, but simply how hegemonic masculinity should be performed. However, in constructing themselves as more authentically masculine or worthy in relation to other sports, physical activities or even intellectual ability, these boys managed to partly protect

themselves emotionally from feelings of humiliation and embarrassment, allowing them to be somewhat resilient within the child world.

Emotional Capital

However, the continued focus on high status boys in the class could be most clearly seen in the delight some boys took in stories of high status boys failing. Indeed, there is a real sense of anger in the following quotes as they discuss such falls from grace.

Ok so people do be shouting telling you what to do when you get the ball do they?
Donal: Yeah cos any time I get the ball and I shoot Kevin and Sam, 'what are you doing' [mimics shout] annoying
Yeah, does that annoy you? [nod] yeah? so what about do people always pass the ball or some people not pass the ball?
Brendan: They never
Why don't they?
Donal: Cos they just want to run up the pitch and score
Really?
Donal: But sometimes they don't score [laughs]

[School 1 DG boys aged 8]

And eh, what do you and your friends find funny, what do you find funny?
When somebody is tapping with me and we goes we are ok and we are falling down just, just falling down and this is what is making me funny and happy and Eddie was go to shoot and misses makes me laugh and he cry 'I want to win' and the two seconds later he goes like that 'aw!'.

[School 2 EE boy aged 8]

Why do they play football why do they do it?
Noel: They play football in the yard because…they want to win
They want to win, why do they want to win?
Noel: So then they play against other second class or the other third class
Oh really so is it good to win or bad to win?
Noel: Good for them but bad for, if they lose they all cry
Do they?
Noel: Well they all go 'aww ha' like that
Oh yeah, and what do you think of them doing that when they don't win?
Noel: Just that they are babies
Yeah, so they are a bit ba…
Noel: Babies
Yeah?

[School 3 (II) DG boy aged 9]

Thus, feelings of anger towards high status boys seemed to have a protective effect, as putting the blame on another for one's feelings distanced oneself from feelings of inadequacy or having to reflect on oneself negatively:

Ok so have you ever felt really happy in school is there ever a time?
Freddie: Yeah, when Barry is not in, is not in, Larry, Mike, Eamonn, and that's all
Why?
Cause they all slagging everyone, make you feel bad I hate them it is their fault

[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9]

Hugh: Never no, I was running on the pitch and he gave it, he never passed it, two, two boys were like 'Cahal, Cahal pass it, hand pass it' he's like glorying, never gave a chance
Dillon: Hand pass?
Hugh: Yeah

Dillon: Aww like Gaelic
Hugh: Yeah, and he scored a goal and turns around and goes like that [Victory dance]
Dillon: Like look in the mirror you're not Ronaldo [scoffs]

[School 1 DG boys aged 8]

Cos like Owen's a big rat
Is he?
He says me but no him a rat he makes everyone miserable
Miserable?
What does miserable mean?
Really upset sad
Yeah, yeah he does

[School 2 EE boy aged 8]

This protective anger was largely engaged in by dominant group boys and migrant boys from Eastern Europe; very few boys who could be designated as 'visible minorities' engaged in such a response. Indeed, without some degree of anger it could be contended that a boy could somewhat fall into the position of Themba[153], who had a very negative self-conception and primarily blamed himself for his position in the child world.

Embracing Stigmatized Identity

A minority of boys tended to positively embrace their stigmatized identities. The most obvious example of this was in school one where Brian had decided to give up the ghost on '*pretending to support a football club*' and admitted that his sister was his role model and that he enjoyed activities and media aimed at girls. He found particular enjoyment and comfort in a female wrestler in a video game and enjoyed playing games where he could mimic her movements:

> *At this point Brian tells me he can do the splits and he jumps off walls all the time, I reply 'sounds like you're a bit of a daredevil', he smiles at this and tells me 'yeah I watch wrestling and stuff there is a girl who comes into the ring and does a dance and then goes into the splits I can do that', later at the penalties section of sports day Brian shows me how he can do the splits. I am struck at how he copies the pose and steps of this female dancer and mimics hip shaking and elegant finger extensions and lastly how he jumps into a perfect split position. I applaud him and tell him he's great and I couldn't possibly do that.*
> [.....]
> *However, most of my time is spent talking to Brian again he tells me about the female wrestler and now tells me how he plays 'America next top model' and how a girl had a dog in a matching outfit. He suggests that the costume she has on was not flattering to her breasts 'like I don't want to say it, you know, but up here you know, it was a bit much like, as well matching with your dog you know'. I agree with him and as we get to the school I wave them goodbye.*

While Brian said he no longer pretended to like football and admitted he enjoyed other activities, he was also aware that he was ridiculed in the class for this, as he was

[153] See vignette no. 17

commonly called 'girly'. Nevertheless, he had decided that this was less stressful than pretending he liked a football club and so on:

I don't support Liverpool anymore
No?
Never did just said it
Yeah why?
Everyone says 'who do you support?' have to say something!
Why did you decided to stop pretending you liked them then?
Cos I couldn't remember anything, matches or anything, don't know, they'd be like 'hah, ha you don't know' like I don't know, 'Gerard' or something
Right is it better or worse now you don't say you like Liverpool?
A little bit good, but always laughing laughing!

[School 1 DG boy aged 8]

While this had resonance in School 3, through the experiences of both Donnacha and Emmet, Brian's embracing of a stigmatised identity also chimed with the experience of Samson in his class. Samson was the only African Origin boy from all three schools to overtly show some pride in his migrant background as he proudly asserted that he was both Ghanese and Irish:

Ah great. See here's Africa here. See here.
Malcolm: Oh that's a big one.
So this is, this is Nigeria. This is one country, Nigeria. This is another country, South Africa and then all of these are different countries.
Malcolm: Where did you live in Africa? [To Samson]
[....]
Samson: Just Africa
Just Africa. Do you see how big it is there? It's all of this here.
Samson: There's loads, I know all about Africa, there's Kenya, there's Nigeria, there's ...
Malcolm: Jamaica.
Samson: Yeah Jamaica, there's Tanzania ...
[...]
Samson: South Africa, West Africa, East Africa, so that's eight.
And have you ever been to Africa?
Samson: Oh and Ghana so that's nine.
Oh wow!
Malcolm: He lives in Africa.
Samson: And now I came to Ireland I am Irish-African

[School 1Samson AO, Malcolm DG both aged 8]

Despite Samson's shaky knowledge of the geography of the African continent, he delighted in informing Malcolm and myself about Africa. This was in stark contrast to the reluctance of other AO boys to engage with an identity partially informed by an African background. Indeed, not only did Samson embrace his African background to some degree, he also drew from it to claim a masculine identity:

Samson: Ghana people are very strong my Dad is from Ghana
Are they? Are Ghana people strong?
Samson: My Dad is strong and I think I might be strong too
You might be strong?
Samson: What?

Malcolm: Samson's very strong.
Samson's very strong?
Samson: Yeah sometimes he just goes like that.
Okay [laughter].
Malcolm: Geography is his favourite lesson.
Yeah. Okay, so do you think Ghana people, are they stronger than most people are they?
Malcolm: And Russian and Poland I'd say
[School 1Samson AO, Malcolm DG both aged 8]

However, it was more common for Eastern European origin boys to embrace their migrant status than visible minority groups. This tended to involve using one's migrant background or the supposed cultural superiority of one's country of origin to claim greater hegemonic masculinity than high status boys in the class:

Billy: Different of Ireland because they are too green. There are three greens here and this is yellow.
Mikhail: I'm the best, I'm the best.
Russia is the best, is it?
Mikhail: Yeah, because its bigger.
Because its big.
Mikhail: Ireland is only very small I am big I tell Sam that
[School 1 Mikhail EE, Billy SEEO, aged 8]

Casimir: I think Poland is better
Yeah?
Yuri: No Lithuania
[....]
Why are they better do you think?
Caismir: We are stronger, I can jump like this [demonstrates] **and hit them and boosh boosh** [makes hitting noise]
Yeah is everyone in Poland strong?
Caismir: Yes they
Yuri: Lithuania are taller I think than Irish and make better schools
Caismir: No no Poland people do faster and like this [demonstrates kicking and punching]
[School 2 EEO boys aged 8]

Moreover, some boys tended to draw on a continuity between countries or continuity within themselves as they moved between two countries to bolster their resilience within the child world:

And do you ever feel a little different because you were in Romania before here?
Killian: Everybody was out of the country and I felt alone, I felt lonely but then I came back to my country which is Ireland now
Ok so do you feel more at home in Ireland or more at home in Romania?
Killian: I have two I have eh; both here and Romania are home because I feel at home in both countries because I have two houses I have a house there and I have a house here and in both countries I live on the ground floor
[School 3 (I) SEEO boy aged 8 through translator]

I think same, same in there and Ireland
Yeah?
I have friends there they all want to play with me and I play chasing here
Yeah you do?
I fast in Poland and here too I was telling Eddie that
[School 2 EEO, Eddie DG, boys aged 8]

Some migrant boys also seemed to engage in protecting other migrant boys from

bullying. For instance in school 3, Mikhail [EE] was very protective of Billy [SEEO] and called him his '*brother*' continually. In one sense, Mikhail's actions were borne out of concern for Billy as he tried to make sure he was included in football games and defended him from ridicule. However, there was also another latent element in the scenario as; in the role of protector Mikhail also recast himself as powerful and in control:

> **Mikhail: I can fight. I can fight bullies.**
> [….]
> **Mikhail: You know Barney is actually quite small he is my brother so I have to fight the bullies for him and him** [points to Billy] **and I don't let them do anything**
> *[School 1 EEO, Billy and Barney SEEO boys all aged 8]*

Thus, Mikhail is the one who doesn't let things happen and has to defend more vulnerable boys. Killian also drew on similar narratives when he talked about a boy from the other class in his year group from his country of origin, for whom he had to '*tell what to do, he don't know better*'.

Forgiveness

Perhaps one of the most admirable responses I encountered however was the ability of a few boys to forgive. On my return to school 3, Warren demonstrated maturity beyond his years in his capacity to forgive and minimise the racism he had experienced[154], while also trying to understand the motivations behind it:

> *Ok so being athletic is good yeah, so em would anybody be mean to other people at all?*
> **Warren: Well sometimes they stop, they start because of the way they look, for me, but they stop as soon as they get to know you**
> *So just when they first know people?*
> **Warren: Yeah**
> *But when they get to know each other they wouldn't?*
> **Warren: Yeah**
> *And what sort of things would they slag them for when they first met them?*
> **Warren: They might slag them before because they are different and they haven't seen a face like that before, but once they get used to the person, I think they will forget all about that**
> *Yeah ok, so eh so sometimes it's new to them but once they get to know the person it doesn't make any difference to them, is that what you are saying?*
> **Warren: Yeah**
> *[School 3 (II) AO boy aged 9]*

In Warren's second interview there was a sense that he was trying to detach himself from personal victimhood through forgiveness and understanding, as he tended to talk about the boys and events in his class through the third person instead of first person and said he was concentrating on doing well in school as '*3rd class is for serious work*'. Indeed, a sense of detachment from the child world also existed in other forms

[154] As discussed in the previous chapters

in this class group. This detachment took two forms: the first came from an unawareness of the doxa and orthodoxy for newly migrated boys, the second is what I have termed 'positive detachment' in which a boy was knowledgeable about the child world and its orthodoxy but did not seem to be emotionally attached to it. Both of these cases can only be analysed within the case study groups as the follow up data allowed these strategies to be more fully revealed.

Unawareness of Doxa and Orthodoxy

What follows are two vignettes from the data from school 3, gathered in years one and two. The first describes the situation of three migrant group boys as they adjusted into their class groups and argues that one's newness and lack of knowledge of the peer dynamics of the child world can in some instances be protective.

Vignette 10.2 - Jamil and Kareem

Jamil and Kareem had both moved to School 3 in the academic year '08/'09. Kareem had been in Ireland one year and had joined School 3 in November. Jamil had moved to Ireland only 4 months prior to my second round of fieldwork and had been attending School 3 for three months. Both boys migrated with their nuclear families from Mauritius and their families seemed to know each other[155] but they were not related. Both boys enjoyed talking about Mauritius and described their lives in Mauritius in somewhat enviable terms:

It is really hot in Mauritius?
Kareem: Lots of people
Jamil: In Mauritius it is surrounded by the sea we caught fish everything crab everything we could get
Wow fish and crab?
Kareem: In Mauritius lots of people go to the
[interrupting]
Jamil: The sea, the sea, there is a lot of rock here, and inside the rock under, under in there is lots of octopus
Lots of octopus
Jamil: My granddad was a fisherman
Was he oh wow, and did you ever go fishing Kareem?
Kareem: Yeah into a river
Into a river yeah?
Kareem: And in Mauritius we just, not, swim into the place in the sea and the river
Wow so you have a lot of fun?
Kareem: Yeah

[School 3 (II) SAO boys aged 9]

Life in Ireland came as something of a shock to these boys. They described the drastic change of climate in which Ireland was portrayed as '*grey houses, grey all the time*' and how they

[155] This information is gleaned only from Jamil and Kareem's interview, ethical approval for this study does not permit questions relating to a child's family background either from the children themselves or access to school records.

were now confined to living in apartments instead of being free to roam their neighbourhoods, '*now never go out just look at my books*'. While Kareem and Jamil were newly migrated they had particularly good English and did not seem to struggle in formal lessons. However, they did feel they could express themselves in Hindi better than in English. In some instances, one needed the other to explain a concept, through Hindi, but they were reprimanded by the teacher if they did this. While Kareem and Jamil had made some major adjustments, they described themselves as happy in Ireland and in the school and claimed that they had lots of friends and that they got on with everyone in the class. Jamil, especially, believed that he was admired by the other boys for his athletic ability and reiterated stories of his sporting success back in Mauritius:

And what kind of games in Mauritius
Kareem: We
[interrupting]
Jamil: Miss, every time we do sport in Mauritius I be the first, I be first
Oh would you?
Jamil: I get gold medal
Oh very good
Jamil: It is very I am good, in, there is a plastic bag you climb into it and jump
Oh ok
Jamil: I win this
A sack race?
Jamil: Yeah
Kareem: I'm not too good in that and I don't, eh, win when I am running
You don't win no?
Kareem: Yeah, Only and I don't know how to swim
[interrupting]
Jamil: One time I was winning first
You don't know how to swim ok
Jamil: Sack games I was running, I was going, I fell off I was first and then I, I get up and I win first
Ok very good
Jamil: I can jump one meter
Oh really?
Kareem: Aww that is too high
Jamil: It's easy
[....]
Jamil: Swimming is easy
Is it?
Jamil: Yeah when I am swimming in Mauritius the sea is very hot I told them I can swim better than them
Who did you tell?
The class I might show them how to swim if they are good

[School 3 (II) SAO boys aged 9]

Jamil seemed to use these stories to somewhat get at Kareem who did not feel he was as athletic as Jamil in Mauritius. Jamil and Kareem also recounted stories from Mauritius which put them in a more dominant position over Christian and 'Irish' boys:

Jamil: When he says about Jesus we throw dust at them
You do what?
Jamil: Then they say 'thank Jesus' we throw dust at them
Really why do you do that?

Jamil: No my friend does do that cos we were playing, it is our place to play but they tell us to go
[.....]
Kareem: Yeah in Mauritius there is an Irish man
Yeah oh really?
Kareem: Yeah his name is Fionn and he is boy and he is too tall, no too small
Ok
Kareem: Yeah and he but his boy into eh, he take some like that, and when he had to go he take his boy down and he couldn't take he down
Jamil: I tell them about Fionn in the class I throw dust at him
Do the boys in your class like that story?
Jamil: Yeah they all want to play with me

[School 3 (II) SAO boys aged 9]

Kareem and especially Jamil both seemed to believe that their reputation and achievements in Mauritius carried over to Ireland and that the boys in the class would be impressed by these stories. Unfortunately, however, Kareem, but Jamil in particular was not liked in the class, in some cases boys contended they 'hated' Jamil:

Emmet: Yeah, he's annoying as well, Donnacha is annoying, em Jamil annoys me
Mark: Donnacha, Jamil so we have our pile here, will we set up for as the violence pile?
The violence pile?
Emmet: Laughs that we'd kill
Mark: No, no no, the one's causing trouble

[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9]

Jamil and Kareem were also constructed as 'inauthentic' due of their perceived propensity to 'rat' and because of the stories they told about Mauritius, which Barry contended could only be fabrications as Jamil '*can't even kick a ball*':

Barry: The two of them, Kareem never ever choosed a stage but Jamil choosed a stage twice in his whole time in our class[156]
[...]
Yeah, so does that mean they never do anything wrong or something?
Together: No
Barry: No Kareem
Larry: They do, they do, something wrong sometimes
Barry: Kareem, Jamil does, Jamil does tell on people and they do even to an'in [anything]
Really?
Barry: Rattin' like, If you say something by accident....
Larry: ...He hits ya
Barry: Just say you were walking out to yard and Jamil was walking the same way and the other bloke was looking that way Jamil would just look at him and walk into him and he would blame him on it
[...]
Yeah do they ever talk about Mauritius?
Barry: Yeah all the time well Jamil he keeps telling everyone he is great, yeah right like he can't even kick a ball like stop making up things
Larry: If he does it to a boy next year he thinks it's like there cos he's from Mauritius
[....]
Barry: You know when he was talking to Kareem em he spoke Mauritian and English at the same time but I don't know, know they done it, so just say, you were saying something in English and then something in Mauritius and then English, then Mauritius, then English, English and then I asked Kareem 'is he speaking in Mauritius?' and then I told on him, because he was speaking, you're not allowed speak in, you are only allowed speak in English or else Irish in this school. You don't know what he would be saying you can't trust him

[156] 'Choosing a stage' was a discipline method in this classroom were a child there were five stages with different levels of punishment.

[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9]

Thus, the speaking of 'Mauritian' by Kareem and Jamil was once again viewed as suspect by the high status boys in the school. However, this attitude was mostly directed at Jamil, Kareem was not spoken of in such harsh terms, and to a certain extent was liked within the class, even if in a somewhat of a patronising way:

> **Mark: Kareem isn't violent, he's like, in football and they're like 'Kareem, Kareem kick, kick, kick kill em', like he's quite harmless**
> *Yeah he's harmless?*
> **Emmet: Like he's big he could kill someone but like, he doesn't want to he's just like**
> **Mark: Did you ever see 'recess' before?**
> *Who?*
> **Mark: Recess?**
> *No I don't think so*
> **Emmet: Oh yeah**
> **Mark: Oh well check it out on the thing he's like Mikey out of it**
> *Is he?*
> **Mark: Yeah**
> **Emmet: Who's Mikey?**
> **Mark: The big dope**
> **Emmet: Oh yeah**
> **Mark: He's big huge for hands**
>
> *[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9]*

As this quote suggests, Kareem was physically much bigger than the other boys. It is no exaggeration to say he was at least a foot taller than the average height in the class, as he was only a few inches shorter than myself. Kareem tried to become involved in football and described himself as '*Peter Crouch*' the very tall English footballer. However, while Kareem was less hated within the class, he was also slightly less content than Jamil. He mentioned the behaviour of Barry more often and shared stories of his marginalisation within football. He was not as confident that the boys in the class wanted to play with him as Jamil was. It seemed that, with Kareem's longer exposure to Ireland and to the child world of this school, he had more knowledge and therefore was beginning to sense how popularity and status in the class was generated. This point can be better illuminated through a comparison to Killian's situation in this class.

Killian

Many quotes in the previous chapters of this thesis refer to Killian. Within both years of fieldwork, Killian was really disliked within the class:

> **Barry: Like, Killian, kept on, Killian, keeps on touchin' us like that. And he says we touch him and different people are touchin him**
> **Eamonn: And he says we're calling him crazy**
> *Does he? Why does he say that?*
> **Barry: It's not a bad word. It's like you're mad. It's not a bad word.**
> *Ok. So when you say to someone you're mad what do you mean by that?*
> **Barry: Like you're mad, the way you're like, going on, and you know when you slip and get back up?**
> *Yeah*
> *[....]*

Ok. Do you get on well with Killian or?
Barry: Em well no, It's just that sometimes when we play football...
Eamonn: He wastes time
Barry: He wastes time. He's on our team and we can't just give him the ball. So he won't be able to score in the goal.

[School 3 (I) DG boys aged 8]

Killian was primarily ridiculed on the basis of his language and football skills and for his skin not being 'white' enough. He was called an '*idiot*', for repeating certain phrases and needing help in class. The only major difference in his treatment from year I to year II was that his name was now commonly feminised into Killi-anne when he was addressed, and John another South Eastern European origin boy no longer claimed friendship with him. The shift in Killian's attitude and perception of his class between year I and II was quite stark.

In year one, much like Jamil, Killian claimed that he was well liked in the class and everyone wanted to play with him:

Killian: John and Mike play with me and they always ask me to play with them
[….]
Ok so if you were going to describe yourself to someone you would say hello my name is Killian what else would you tell them about yourself?
Killian: They all know me everybody knows about me so I don't have to tell them anything about me
[….]
Ok so you want to show them how smart and good you are yeah?
Killian: Yeah I tell John and Mike even in Romanian to play with me and they pull my hands, my arms to play with me
Your arms?
Killian: I tell John and Mike wait, wait I am playing with Barry but then I count to three and whoever was there I'd play with them

[School 3 (I) SEEO boy aged 8 through translator]

Moreover within Killian's interview and throughout the observations he was constantly smiling, laughing and enthusiastic within the child world and the interview. However when I returned the year after, I immediately noticed a change in Killian's demeanour:

Killian has a very serious face on him and he is the only child yet to greet me, in fact he won't even really look at me, unlike last year when he was smiling all the time. I am not sure of his language skills yet but it seems as though he understands more now, a boy from the other class runs by him as he is about to throw in the ball and behind him he says in a low voice, 'get on with it you knacker ya'. Killian seems to flinch a little but doesn't react and throws the ball in.

[School 3 (II) Observation Notes]

Indeed, Killian's language skills had improved significantly and he was able to complete his interview without a translator in the second round of data collection. A very serious boy came into this interview, gone were the stories of all the friends he had in his class:

Killian: Yes somebody who is, Barry, Barry, John because, when I'm falling down his told me, 'everyday, everyday, Killian why you doing, that, why you doing that?'
Really?
Killian: Yeah and Ryan say that as well, 'you have to stop the crying', 'no don't you don't have to do it like that'
[bell goes off]
I know the bell is really loud here, so sometimes John and Ryan tell you to do things do they?
Killian: Yeah just what, what, when I was, somebody said a bad word to me and say 'I will

get you back' he say to me and say to another boy ' f' em' and
Really?
Killian: So I am moved a stage, they don't like me, those boys are bad
[…]
And are there any people you were friends with that you are not friends with anymore?
Killian: Em with John and Mike
Yeah and why aren't you friends with them anymore?
Killian: Because em they will not pass to me, because that boy was shooting off there that way was passing John like that, to me not,
Ok
Killian: Was Aidan he scored and me not and then was say 'I'm not your friend Killian' we're not friends like Barry Cian John, and you know they say 'I don't want to be friends with you'
Ok and if you could change the class in any way would you change anything about your class make it different?
Killian: No
No?
Killian: Just pick Frank and Barry, Cian, John and Alexis and make them is like me much, like the other boys
You would make those guys your friends?
Killian: Yeah

[School 3 (II) SEEO boy aged 9]

From this quote one can see Killian had developed a tendency to dwell on what other boys had said to him. Indeed, with his improved language skills, he now seemed to realise that he was being ridiculed by the other boys. Thus, before his language skills had developed, Killian interpreted the boys' actions differently. Now with his greater language skills and knowledge of the child world and of how the game of football was played within it, he seemed to understand his marginalisation within the child world. This sense was also heightened by the fact that John [SEEO] as described in the previous chapter had severed his friendship with Killian and therefore was not available to act as somewhat of a buffer for him. Moreover, Killian now had to deal with ridicule from a boy he once considered his best friend:

John: I hate Killian, [….] I was never friends with him, [….] he was just stupid I was laughing at him

[School 3(II) SEEO boy aged 9]

From a rationalised perspective, the incorporation of knowledge and language skills should be positive for one's sense of belonging and inclusion. However, there appeared to be evidence that through this process a boy could also become aware of their deficiencies in relation to the orthodoxy. In one sense then, in being outside of doxa, not valuing it, Killian appeared to be happier than when he had incorporated an understanding of the child world. This is the journey that Jamil and Kareem may also be on. Thus, true acculturation cannot simply be understood as rooted within individual skill acquisition alone.

Positive Detachment - Peter

Of course, in relation to a migrant boys' position within the child world, it hardly seems a possible solution to the difficulties illuminated to suggest that a boy should

halt their language acquisition or friendship formation to shield them from the knowledge that they are being ridiculed. However, a different form of detachment within the child world also seemed to be somewhat protective for one boy in school 3

Vignette 10.3 - Peter

Peter was not a migrant boy but from the dominant group. In the first round of data, I did not particularly get to know him but noted at the time that everyone in his class liked him. Boys from all friendship groups considered him their friend:

Themba: Peter is my friend *[School3 (I) AO boy aged 7]*
Barry: he's good yeah, he's handy and he can run fast *[School 3 (I) DG boy aged 8]*
Killian: I like Peter *[School 3 (II) SEEO boy aged 9]*
Mark: Peter and all would be my mate, I actually don't know where he lives, I will ask him *[School 3 (II) DG boy aged 9]*

Indeed in Peter's first interview he was interviewed with Mike and in the second with Oisin but was friends with both in each year. However Mike and Oisin certainly did not play with each other. In both interviews, Peter was very good humoured and laughed freely but did not seem to engage in laughter at the expense of another as many of the other boys did. Moreover though, he did not really seem to fight for space to talk within the interviews as many boys tended to do, cutting across each other or finishing each other's sentences. Indeed, Peter seemed to listen to what the other boy in the interview said and appeared genuinely interested:

Mike: And I went up to Croke park watched the match
Peter: Did you what was it like?
Mike: [explains Croke park]
Peter: I wonder if they sell hot dogs there?
Mike: Yeah they do they do
Peter: Yeah?

[School 3 (I) DG boys aged 8]

Oisin: I come up with the best games
Peter: It is true he does
Yeah?
Peter: Where did you get the idea for comic game? [to Oisin]
Oisin: [Explains idea]

[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9]

While this could be interpreted as deferential behaviour as has already been explored, Peter did not seem to be really flattering the other person but liked finding out about their experiences and giving them space in the interview to talk about themselves. Indeed, other boys noted that Peter was a '*relaxed guy*' and played with everyone in the yard. He was observed playing football where he was generally respected as a good player, but he also played super hero and fantasy games and dominos in the back yard.

He [Peter] made up a funny game
Yeah?
Warren: Like, like if you were not out playing and, and em you ate and there was too much eggs and just the helping was a [inaudible] and you just jumped out of it and well farted
[laughing]
Warren: And landed safely on the ground

[School 3 (II) AO boy aged 9]

Do you go out to the back yard?
Donnacha: No I, it's for losers
Emmet: But Peter does
Donnacha: Yeah but he plays football as well
Yeah?
Donnacha: Yeah no that is just him

[School 3 (I) DG boy aged 8]

Indeed Peter seemed to find it pleasant to talk to everyone and said on the first day of the New Year he likes to go around the class talking to everyone:

So are you both used to school now like?
Peter: Yeah, at the first day of school you can just go around like 'you alright, you have a nice year, who are you? are you new?'

However, Peter did not seem to be naïve about the child world or the doxa of the field but when he spoke about what happens there he always spoke in the third person, he tended to speak in sentences like 'I thinks boys just like to do that' etc.:

People think they have to run fast I think *[School 3 (I) DG boy aged 8]*

Boys want to be strong a lot *[School 3 (I) DG boy aged 8]*

They think you have to play football but no if it is not fun *[School 3 (I) DG boy aged 9]*

Dominos are good my uncles taught me, it is good for… to be working things out
[School 3 (I) DG boy aged 8]

Thus, Peter rarely used absolute statements such as 'boys should be strong' or necessarily attributed his analyses of what 'boys do' to himself such as 'I think a boy should be strong'. His opinions always seemed to be expressed through what he thought '*boys*' or '*people*' think. In the second year of field work, Warren also seemed to engage in this form of expression. However Peter engaged in this more consistently and throughout both years. Indeed, within his first interview Mike's attempts to undermine him seemed to make very little impact on Peter as he simply laughed them off and then seemed to consider what fighting was all about.

Mike: I can beat him [Peter] up if I wanted to
Peter: [Laughs]
Yeah?
Peter: I don't like to fight, I think people always want to fight, but I don' know
[School 3 (I) DG boys aged 8]

Moreover though, other boys in school 3 tended to interpret Peter as genuine even though he did not seem to actively seek a reputation as a hegemonic boy. While it seems likely that Peter's ability to move within the child world and seem unaffected by it, may also have been facilitated by this designation as 'genuine', through the dialectical relationship already discussed, there were hints he brought this ability with him to the school:

Peter: Dad says not to worry and just laugh at it
Not to worry and laugh?
Peter: At everything

[School 3 (II) DG boy aged 9]

However without a more in-depth discussion of his family life and life history, no real assumptions can be made as to where he gained these dispositions from. The best assumption I can make from the available data is that he did not seem to invest much emotional weight in how he was perceived within the child world, but seemed to find his conception of self elsewhere. Conversely though, because 'authenticity' was the doxic value of the child world field as Peter did not seem to seek deference or approval from others this lack of trying paradoxically helped him to receive it.

Mark: The nicest guy is probably Peter I'd say
Emmet: yeah Peter

[School 3 (II) DG boys aged 9]

Therefore while he seemed to be somewhat detached from the child world this was not borne through a lack of knowledge or concern, he just did not seem to worry about the implications of this world for his self-conception. However, Peter's character is something which is quite difficult to capture on paper, as within the child world, it came across through his laughter and diverse friendship groups. In the interviews, it was more evident in his absence of talk and opinions. It was what he didn't say and the way he did not fight to be heard in the interviews which conveyed the ease he seemed to embody. Hence this ability to be positively detached from the child world did not appear to be a rational strategy, indeed Peter probably wasn't fully aware of it himself and therefore it is not a capacity which is easily vocalised.

Conclusion

However, a state of positive detachment might not be possible for all boys as they may have more substantive issues to deal with such as the racism and nationalism embedded in the hegemonic masculine ethos of the school. Yet, there seems to be traces of this ability in other boys, for example, in Samson's pride in his background and the ability of some boys to find an identity in other activities. However if these strategies are not disconnected from a goal to recast oneself as the legitimate embodiment of masculinity, any initiatives seem likely to simply provide an alternative path to status. However new hierarchies will simply provide a new set of winners and a set of losers. Hence the question remains for policy creation, if the goal of inter-ethnic education and anti-racism policies is to provide new objective indicators of status, or to encourage boys to develop tools for achieving resilience in relation to domination? This will be explored in the discussion to follow.

At a broader level the findings from this study provide evidence that policy makers

should be cautious when trying to extrapolate research from one context to another. The dominant models of assimilation and integration strategies in modern acculturation and immigration scholarship [Berry (2006), Portes and Rumbaut (2006), Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2002)] do not seem capable of describing the situations of migrant children within North Inner City Dublin. While perhaps one could argue that John's story could be evidence of ethnic flight, Mikhail's of an adversarial or separatists' identity and Samson's as providing support of a transcultural strategy, these discourses do not seem to have the scope to capture the gendered and habitual nature of these boys' actions and perspectives. The splitting of adaptation into typologies possibly masks complexities and contradictions within this process and does not permit analyse of the development of self-consciousness and identity within micro level interaction. Indeed within the 'Irish' context the development of these theories within countries of historically large scale immigration with a legacy of colonialism and slavery is highlighted, as such analyses presume the existence of established 'immigrant' communities that actively guide migrants' acculturation journeys. Moreover, within these settings local ethnic minority groups have been understood as partially forming a 'rainbow underclass' into which some migrants may downwardly assimilate into. However, in Ireland this 'underclass' is made up of those from dominant society, marginalised along axes of socio-economic class and urban-rural notions of Irishness rather than an intersection with racialisation[157]. The situation of migrant boys in this sample also fails to mirror the empirical literature on ethnic minority boys from the U.S.A, Canada, France or our nearest neighbour the U.K, as migrant boys, and especially visible minority boys, did not seem to be constructed as hyper-masculine, connected to a cool pose or sexualised identity in these early years (Epstein, 1997; E. Renold, 2007; Swain, 2003). In fact, where this type of masculinity existed it seemed to remain the preserve of dominant group boys. Hence, while the international literature may offer insights into the future of integration in Ireland, the relatively recent increase in migration here provides international research with a fresh research platform where the dynamics of ethnic/migrant/and childhood studies can be analysed before immigration pathways become established and generations of minority children have matured into adulthood.

[157] Although of course the racialisation of the underclass has been explored in the whiteness literature

Chapter 11 – Discussion and Conclusion

Introduction

This thesis has primarily strived to highlight how racism is perpetuated and partially created within primary school aged boys interactions and sports participation. Central to this is the contention that prejudice operates not only through overt bullying but also through subtle processes of emasculation in which migrant origin boys are disproportionally shamed and undermined. This work is set apart from other analyses of racism and racialisation as these actions are assessed as habitual dispositions rooted in monolithic notions of 'Irishness' and local forms of hegemonic masculinity. Thus, the body is at once assessed as an object of value within the field of children's social relations while also analysed as the site of habitual processes of apperception through which prejudice and marginalisation are justified and defended, within the logic of children's interactive fields. Indeed the analysis of data in this thesis suggests that the experiences of children in the child world is embodied in four senses; firstly, through the body as a phenomenological object in the field; secondly, through the corporeal schemas of perception embedded in the habitus which leads boys to misrecognise interaction in the child world; thirdly, through the bodily affect of emotion specifically that of shame, and lastly, through a hesitancy of action caused by habitual reflexivity. In this chapter each of these embodied beings will be examined in turn, however their separation is due to a need for clarity, yet they are not mutually exclusive states but constructive of each other, entwined and simultaneous. This chapter will close by considering how racism is hidden but pervasive within boys' social relations and I will briefly highlight some issues which may be significant for policy development.

Phenomenological Objectification of the Body

The finding that skin colour and accent set migrant boys apart from the dominant group and attract a considerable amount of racial bullying is not new or surprising due to the plethora of research on racism and racialisation[158] (Barot & Bird, 2001; Murji & Solomos, 2005) and the dominance of socio-cognitive and social identity development theories [SIDT] with young children[159] (Aboud & Doyle, 1996; Nesdale, Maass, Durkin, & Griffiths, 2005). However it is perhaps important to emphasise the

[158] See chapter 2
[159] See chapter 4

existence of this within Ireland, as for too long there has been a narrative within Ireland that racism does not exist here (Gibbons, 1996; Lentin, 2007), and that young children are not ethnically aware (Devine, 2011). Indeed, within the wider CYCR project it was common for adults to express the opinion that children do not see skin colour (Curry et al., 2011). This thesis has found clear evidence that not only to children see skin colour but that they differentiate between levels of whiteness, display a tendency to homogenise 'black' skin and conceptualise boys of African and South Asian origin as lacking distinctiveness. Racialised features such as eye shape and hair texture where also drawn on in children's exchanges and overt forms of racist bullying. From these findings it could be argued that 'in-groups' and 'out-groups' were created within the child world based on bodily phenotypes (Aboud 1996, 2003; Nesdale 199, 2011). However as discussed in chapter four these socio-cognitive perspectives fail to offer an adequate explanation of how contextual issues structure schemas of perception within children's developing cognition. Therefore they cannot explain the local and gender influences which seemed to permeate boys' exchanges. If such an approach were to be used in this thesis it would therefore risk reifying intergroup relations as somewhat of an inherent mind-set created and destroyed through cognitive development. Moreover in using such a theoretical approach one would be tempted to extrapolate the findings from this thesis to the peer population at large, however, Connolly's (1998) contention that social relations amongst children cannot be understood outside of the context of locality resonates clearly in this work. The intricacies of this will be explored below, yet from the SIDT approach there are resonances in this thesis with the issue of visibility explored within cognitive based approaches (Moghaddam, 2008; Rosch, 1978).

Within the child world field interactions appeared to take place on three levels of visibility; at an invisible level, visible exchanges and exposed stage[160]. Each level of exposure had both its benefits and drawbacks in terms of a boy's popularity and status within the child world, as the greater one's exposure, the more likely one was to gain both deference and ridicule for one's performances and interactions. However for boys with darker skin, no matter their activities they tended to be constantly exposed within the child world and their actions watched and interpreted as deficient. The structure of these perceptions will be explored below, however the inability of

[160] See chapter 7

migrant boys with 'black' skin to disappear within the child world mirrors the contentions of some the whiteness literature[161], that 'black' skin is the *specific* against which the *general* of 'white' skin of sustained (Dyer, 1997). Hence some 'white' boys appeared to have the option to choose whether to risk exposure in the child world or to opt out of deference generating activities, but this choice was not as available to those with 'black' skin who tended to be constantly under scrutiny.

The body is therefore an important object within the child world as it links a boy directly into relations of power, as those who embody the *general* have options that are unavailable to the *specific* (Frosch, 2002). Thus, to a certain extent, a 'white' body is a form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) or in Shillings (2003) terms a form of physical capital, as the possession of an accepted[162] white body allows an ease of movement and increases one's options within the child world field. In one sense then the body is a phenomenological object evaluated by others through which many migrant boys have little control over how they are assessed. However conceptualising the body as merely an object of 'stigma' or esteem (Goffman, 1959/1990b, 1990a) within interactions means very little if the perceptions which underpin these designations are not thoroughly examined, as judgements of the body also seem to be an embodied capacity.

Habitual Schemas of Apperception

Within all three realms of visibility in the child world, the body in its *passive* sense, in terms of its appearance etc. is crucially important[163]; however the *active* body through involvement in games and activities is also an important element within children's social relations. As described in chapter 7 the way boys used their bodies to engage in sports, primarily in football and games such as chasing, play fighting and fantasy games, allowed them to preform 'masculinity' in front of their peers (Swain, 2006). As the symbolic interactionism of Goffman (1990b [1959], 1967) suggest though, these performances only have validity if they are accepted by others *as* valid. Therefore one needs others to defer to our performances and accept them as 'authentic' representations of self. Indeed G. H. Mead (1967) contends that while all

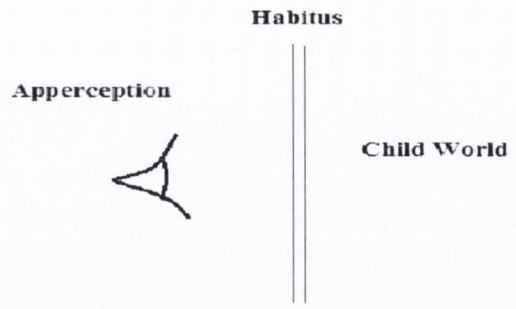
[161] Explored in Chapter 2
[162] Accepted white refers here to the shadation of white skin in which those with too white or not white enough skin could have their 'white' identity questioned
[163] As explored above

interactions are somewhat false, through a tendency to change one's behaviour in front of certain audiences or in certain fields, it is important that other people do not recognise this or point out the *performance as performance* or we are discredited. Hence, a successful performance of masculinity needs other people to defer to it as such, and not question its sincerity[164]. For a boy's conception of self as 'masculine' to be accepted then, Goffman (1990b [1959]) suggests they must be in a chain of deference where each person acts deferentially to each other to maintain the performances that make up social relations. Within the chid world field though, not all of the boys' performances were as likely to be deferred to and the denial of deference for some boys' actions seemed to act as a form of symbolic violence in the child world, which disproportionally impacted on migrant origin boys.

The reason this seemed to effect migrant origin boys more appears to be threefold; firstly, migrant origin boys especially visible minority boys are less able to be invisible within the child world field, and therefore are in Fanon's (1982 [1952]) words constantly under a 'white gaze', through which their performance are scrutinized more than others; secondly, the phenomenological passive body through its appearance and demeanour does not match the personal front or sign vehicles dominant group boys take to signify an authentic performance of masculinity (Goffman 1990b [1959], Kimmel, 2006) and thirdly, migrant boys tend to be more hesitant in their actions and this is taken to represent a cynical display[165]. However where my thesis departs from a purely interactionists account of action is through my understanding of perception. As discussed in chapter 4 within an interactionists' account, the withholding of deference is somewhat of a calculated strategy to retain power for those already dominant, however I contend that the data gathered for this thesis suggests this is less of a pre-meditated plan and rather something which is viewed as self-evident and inherent, as the boys' corporeal schema embedded within the habitus causes boys to misrecognise action the field.

[164] However in a symbolic interactionist account of action all behaviour is somewhat insincere, the only difference between a sincere and cynical performance is the degree to which the performer acknowledges the front they are projecting and/or the audiences reaction to this conception of self. See page 84 of lit review.
[165] Both discussed below

Fig 1.11 Apperception of the Field



To grapple with this subtle form of action a Bourdieusian theoretical approach appears to be the best method for examining these processes, as central to Bourdieu's (1977, 1984, 2000) framework is the contention that the way in which one interprets the world or one's field of action is mediated by one's habitus. It is useful then to understand the habitus as a pair of tinted glasses, through which certain activities, structures and opportunities are highlighted or diminished. Within the child world the prevailing habitus appears to be connected to 'hegemonic masculinity' (Connell, 1989), the valorised and authorised way of being male, which was primarily based on a doxic assumption that a boy can and should be an 'authentic' representation of themselves (Goffman 1990 [1959]). The orthodox expression of this doxic assumption though, appeared to favour the demeanour and cultural capital more available to dominant group boys. The possession of these capitals and an appropriate[166] demeanour is not inherent however, but constantly reconstructed and reconfirmed through apperception, or the misrecognition of dominant group boys' actions. To tease out this let us consider interaction within the child world field at a more minute level.

[166] 'Appropriate' within the context of the field

Fig 2.11 Child World Field

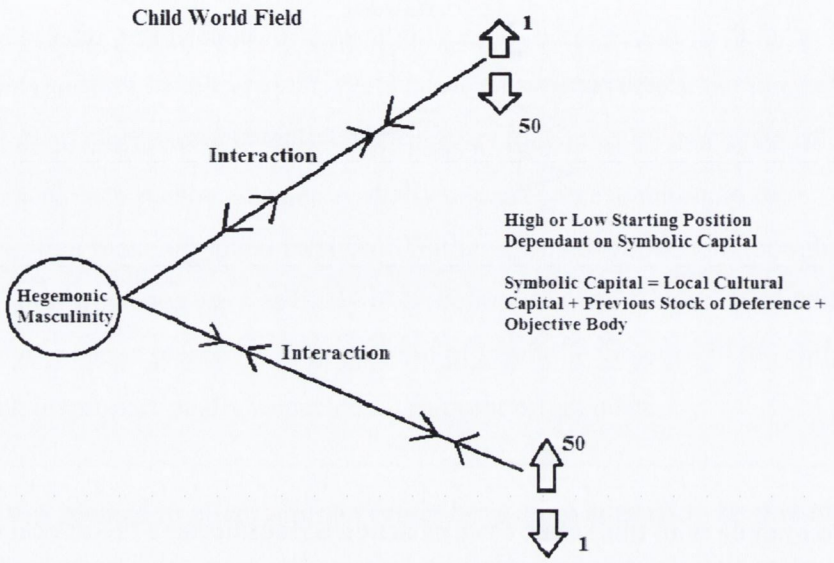


Figure 2.11 has tried to present action in the child world through the analogy of a race. If we consider that one can run faster if one is running downhill rather than uphill, in a competition, competitors running downhill will be advantaged over their rivals running uphill, even if the length they have to run is the same distance. In this analogy the end point of the race is to been perceived as hegemonically masculine[167]. From the data it would appear that boys from the dominant group are more likely to be viewed as embodying hegemonic masculine within the child world, however this is not due to their greater abilities or more 'authentic' performances per se, rather their consistent positioning to run a downhill race. This thesis contends that one's positioning at the start of the race is dependent on one's symbolic capital within the field. Symbolic capital is as Bourdieu (1984) suggests the summation of other forms of capital[168], yet more than the sum of these parts, as it legitimatises the possession of other forms of capital and positions one in the field as someone with the right to wield power and define the definition of the situation (Goffman, 1967) or construct the habitus of the field. From this study it appears that the possession of symbolic capital

[167] The motivation to achieve this goal will be discussed below
[168] For instances, cultural, social and economic capitals

is primarily made up of three elements, the interpretation of one's objective body, local cultural capital and one's pervious stock of deference (Hallett, 2007).
Local cultural capital was examined in detail in the first findings chapter. It refers to the ways in which a boy's reputation and/or their family's reputation, their previous knowledge of the school and/or of the child world field privileges them in their interactions within the field. The possession of such capitals is valued as hegemonically masculine and positions some boys at a high starting position before they have interacted within the field. One's previous stock of deference refers to one's reputation within the field, which is built upon local cultural capital but also generated through interactions in the field and previous 'wins' [if we stick with the analogy of a race]. Thus, interactions have a dialectical relationship as they represent the 'running of the race' or in real terms performing masculinity through playing sports and games, but also one's perceived success and/or previous wins help to bolster one's position for the next race. In simpler terms, one's already accumulated reputation as a 'good footballer' makes it easier for one to be interpreted as so even when one does not play particularly well[169]. One's body as a phenomenological object in the field has already been discussed. However this is not separate from local cultural capital or one's previous stock of deference, but the way one's passive body is interpreted, tends to be connected to local forms of cultural capital, which structure narratives of 'us' and 'them' precluding certain body types from being considered part of a 'legitimate' representation of an 'Irish' or 'masculine' identity[170].

One's starting position though, does not tell the full story, one still have to 'run the race' or interact in the field, the race is not won simply through one's starting position. Activities within the exposed realm of the child world seem to have both the greatest rewards but also present the greater risks, in terms of ones' capital accumulation in the field. However, successful engagement in these activities seem to have a dialectical relationship, were not only do they help you win the race and reconfirm your 'masculine' reputation, but the deference enjoyed in the win is stocked up and helps bolster your starting position for the next race. Thus, one's starting position can be thought of as smoothing of one's encounters in the field, it makes interactions easier and helps your actions to be interpreted by others as 'authentic'

[169] This will be re-examined in below through an examination of motivations to remain invested in the field.
[170] See chapter 8

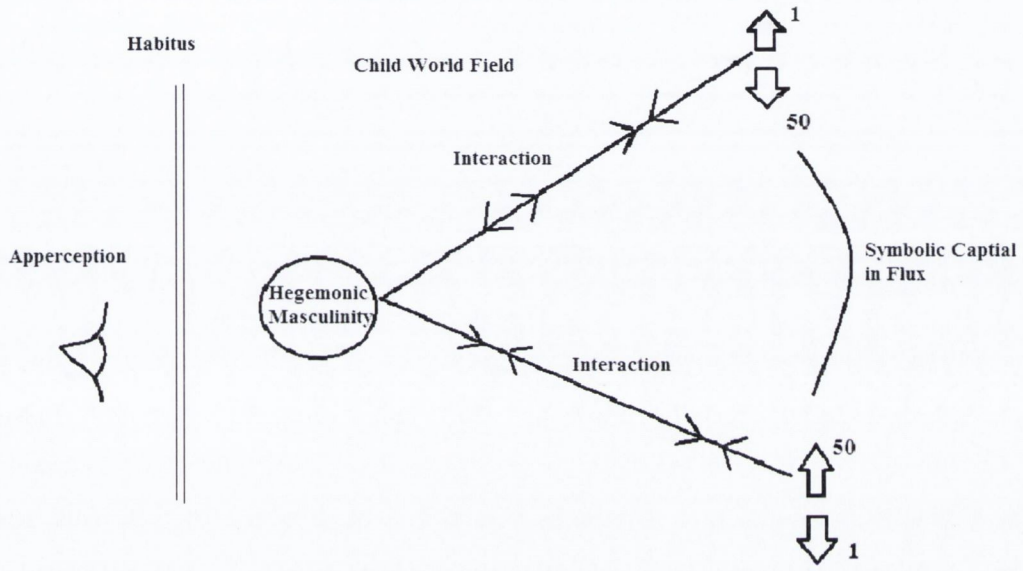
performances (Goffman, 1967). Therefore, even when boys display unskilful behaviour in the field, such as missing goals or start to cry etc. one's previous stock of deference and local cultural capital tend to mask these actions or lead others to reinterpret them as skilful, justified or anomalous. However for those starting from a low base their interactions are much harder, their displays of unskilful behaviour are not treated as kindly by others, they tend to be ridiculed more freely and they struggle to get their skilful behaviour and encounters recognised as such. Running uphill, momentum is not with them, instead gravity pushes them back, or in real terms they lack the symbolic capital necessary to smooth their paths. Hence for some boys, their performances of masculinity are enactments where the script is largely written even before they begin (Goffman 1990a, Swain 2004, 2006).

Yet, this is not a closed circle of oppression, engagement within the child world does seem to offer small possibilities of changing one's starting position, as symbolic capital is not inherent but reconfirmed through interactions in the field. Therefore, even though unskilful behaviour by 'hegemonically masculine' boys tends not to be interpreted as such, it does seem that one's starting position is not fixed but subtly fluctuates. For instance if a boy running uphill were to run twice or three times as fast as one running downhill it would be technically possible for them to still win the race, thus for those low on symbolic capital if they displayed the skill of twice or three times that of 'hegemonic' boys they could begin to change how they were perceived in the child world by building up some deference. However, the possibility of moving their starting position higher is counterbalanced by their greater likelihood of having their average skill or unskilful behaviour judged more harshly than those starting at a higher level. To conceptualise this we can use an arbitrary ratio, for instances if one's starting position moves at a rate of 50:1[171], a boy with low symbolic capital would have to act skilfully 50 times to move up one place but only has to act unskilfully once to move down. The opposite seems to be true of those with high symbolic capital, as one act of skilful behaviour moves them up one place, but it would take 50 instances of unskilful behaviour to move them down one place. Therefore for those with low symbolic capital, which tends to be those from migrant backgrounds, the possibility to achieve status and prestige in the world exists but the odds are somewhat stacked against them. This is also compounded by the structures of games

[171] This ration has not been measured in quantitative terms but is simply used for illustrative purposes

etc. in the child world which tend to be unsupervised and lack space, and therefore to not give any boys much room in which to demonstrate skill[172].

Fig 3.11 Misrecognition of the Child World Field



Thus, one's reputation as a hegemonically masculine boy within the child world field seemed to be generated through local cultural capital but also through a boy's performance and previous stock of deference (Hallett, 2007). A boy's actions then, and their performance of skill, were not interpreted through a meritocracy of skill, but largely misrecognised through the orthodox expression of masculinity within the child world field. Hence, when a boy was already rich in symbolic capital his actions tended to gain deference more readily than those boys without such capital. Therefore action within the field was apperceived through habitual expectations which themselves are rooted in the hegemonic masculine habitus of the field (E Husserl, 1973; Merleau-Ponty, 1962). Therefore performances which are understood as 'authentic' and legitimate expressions of masculinity, I term the 'orthodoxy' of the field, or the enactment of doxa, and this orthodox expression of masculinity is dialectically constructed in relation to symbolic capital which regulates the field in

[172] See chapter 7

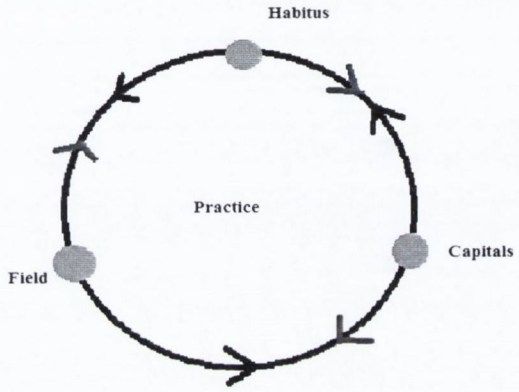
such a way as to maintain respect, deference and dignity for those already richest in capital. In turn then this maintains a habitus of the field which reflects the dispositions and demeanour of the most dominant group (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984).

The root of this within habitus is the key point to emphasis here, without fully grasping how intrinsically this is embedded within habitus, an interactionists' account is enough to explain action in the field. However, the data has shown that distributions of power in the field, those viewed as 'masculine' and what a masculine identity is constituted by, were not strategically constructed or performances undertaken cynically, but *what* and *who* was understood as hegemonically masculine, 'legitimately Irish' and/or 'authentic', was seen as self-evident, obvious and *just* the way things are. Bourdieu (2000) has emphasises the somatic root of habitus and Merleau-Ponty (1962) the corporeal schema of perception and apperception[173]. As closely examined in chapter 3, Ryle (1949), Merleau-Ponty (1962) and Crossley (2001) are at pains to emphasise that intelligence thought cannot be separated from intelligent behaviour since mind/body dualism cannot exist. The very capacities for 'rational' thought and mindful action are developed from the connection of consciousness and perception to the outside world, experienced through the body. Hence, the tools by which boys can understand the field of action and those within it can be understood as ingrained in their habitus and the way they see the field of action is filtered through this. Thus, boys apperceive the field to fit with their habituated expectations, which are intimately tied to local cultural capital, including racist assumptions connected to bodily phenotypes, 'us' and 'them' nationalism and one's stock of deference, through which some boys are valorised and others ridiculed. Hence, practice in the field can be thought of as mutually constructed through the relationship between capitals, field and habitus[174] see fig 4.11. Moreover though as Bourdieu (2001) points out in *Masculine Domination* the disappearance of symbolic violence into the body through a 'social programme of perception' which highlights and denies the actions of the body and/or phenomenology of the body, not only shapes 'legitimate' expression and habits of bodies in the field (Krais, 2006), but when the body as an object is used to justify this domination, its insidiousness and construction become even more obscured, as the material body seems to justify and

[173] See chapter 3
[174] This neat and somewhat structured account of action will also be critiqued below

naturalise it. Hence, skin colour and accent etcetera can be used as material evidence of the 'difference' and 'otherness' of migrant groups, whose 'strangeness' brings domination and violence upon themselves.

Fig 4.11



However, this process does not affect migrant origin boys alone, boys from the dominant group who are not viewed as hegemonic are also implicated. This group of boys though, can somewhat ameliorate this by playing in the less visible realms of the child world and through recasting themselves as the true embodiment of masculinity, in alternative hierarchies of fantasy play and fighting[175]. While these strategies are not as available to migrant group boys, as their objective bodies through appearance, accent and language proficiency, keep them constantly visible or exposed within the child world it does seem strange that so few migrant origin boys chose to be involved in activities in the visible and invisible realms. While these activities could not offer them complete protection from scrutiny, as discussed above, they did seem to offer some shielding from the worst incidences of ridicule and bullying observed in the child world. Therefore, the motivations of boys to take part in exposed play needs to be explored, and as suggested in chapter 9 this seems to be at least partially based on the influence of embodied affect.

[175] See chapter 10

Embodied Affect

The motivations of migrant boys to continue to play in the exposed realms of the child world, where they are more likely to be ridiculed, also appear to have three interlinked reasons. Firstly, as discussed in detail above, migrant boys, specifically visible minority boys cannot become completely invisible within the child world no matter their activities; secondly, the realm of exposed encounters is not an entirely closed system and therefore offers the possibility of attaining deference and symbolic capital[176]. Thirdly however, boys tended to consider that even with such a small possibility of success, engagement in exposed activities was worth the risk of ridicule, as they believed that success would ameliorate their feelings of shame and the sheer physicality of embodied affect many endured.

Chapter 9 strived to describe the emotional and affective impact many migrant boys experienced as a result of symbolic violence in the field. Not only were these feelings expressed though the description of themselves as 'unhappy' or 'embarrassed', but also through elaborations of the physical pain they experienced through the body, in headaches and feelings of sadness in their hearts. Thus, Probyn's (2004) contention that the habitus is affective, seemed to be sustained in this thesis. Achievement or failure in the field of interactions had an emotional impact on the boys, indeed not being picked for football, being left out, or having one's actions interpreted as 'false', 'trying to be someone one was not' or 'girlie' was not simply cognitively processed as a lost opportunity for deference or the accumulation of power, but was powerfully felt by boys at a bodily level. Hence, the cycle of interaction, habitus and symbolic violence described above, had a very real emotional consequences for the boys.

However, an even more insidious element of this is affective pain also seemed to act as a motivator to draw boys into interaction within the child world field. Hochschild (1983) has pointed that those with power are somewhat protected from feelings of shame by status shields, while those without power are more vulnerable to being defined as the type of person others perceive them to be. A similar situation seems to be in operation in the child world as hegemonic boys through their greater symbolic capital, are to a certain extent protected from feelings of shame and from being

[176] Even though as explored in last section the odds are stacked against them

ridiculed[177]. Hence even though interaction in the field partially generates the feelings of shame the boys' experience, through the slim chance to accumulate capital it also holds the promise of someday protecting them from such ridicule. In other words if a boys can higher their starting position, their interaction in the field may be somewhat smoothed and their accumulated stock of deference help their actions to be perceived in less harsh terms. Or through Hochschild's (1983) conceptualisation they will have developed status shields to protect them from ridicule. However, the motivation to continue to strive for symbolic capital in the field is spurred on by the sheer physicality of the pain they seem to experience. Somewhat inconsistently then, many boys seem to be willing to put up with shame in exposed encounters if there is a chance their actions may gain them relief from the bodily affect of such in the future. To be perceived as hegemoncially masculine in the field then, is not only to have influence over the orthodoxy of the field but also to be somewhat free of shame.

At the phenomenological level of interaction, Heidegger's (1962) contention that one's 'being in the world' is always mooded appears to be apt. Moreover, if we take Probyn's (2004) concept of an affective habitus, the habitus of the field and of an individual the boys' habitus' are inherently emotive[178]. At the level of an individual's affective habitus, Crossley (2001) contends, to be in a certain emotional state influences our perception, therefore when a boys is more vulnerable to experiencing shame, it is arguable that their perceptions are more sensitized to possible slights or insults, which may not always be the intention of other child in the field. For instance Killian's very negative experiences in the field had possibly lead him to interpret all action and all of the boys behaviour as negatively directed towards him, when this was possibly not always the case[179]. Through one's affective habitus then, one may notice things another may not usually notice and be affected by what others may not perceive as affective. At the broader level of the habitus of the field as mooded, there is evidence that the orthodox expression of masculinity within the field is the demeanour which is protective against shame, or as Scheff (1988) argues is the state of 'socially constructed dignity' within the field of boys' social relations.

[177] See above discussion on 'smoothing' interactions
[178] This will be elaborated below
[179] This is not to suggest that Killian's suffering within the field was simply a product of his imagination, as has been clearly elaborated he was the victim of quite severe bullying, but through this experience of bullying it seems possible he had become somewhat hyper vigilant to all perceived slights or actions of the boys in his class.

However, perhaps most interestingly from an immigration point of view, Bourdieu (2001) argues in *Masculine Domination* to be invested in a field, one's habitus must be somewhat disposed and developed in relation to it or as Sedgwick and Frank (1995) contend, only something which is of interest to you can provoke an emotional response This presents a real challenge to conventional acculturation standpoints which generally presume that with a greater understanding of dominant culture, comes better emotional and social outcomes (R Alba, 1999; Richard Alba & Nee, 1997; Gordon, 1964; Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006; Putnam, 1995). However, as outlined in chapter 10, a lack of knowledge of the child world field or poor English language proficiency, can sometimes be protective for the emotional well-being of migrant boys. Thus, and from a Bourdieusian standpoint, if nothing the social world is fundamentally inherent or important, but only has value through our habitus, for migrant boys to be emotionally affected, their habitus' must at least be partially constructed in relation to the norms of the dominant group and the orthodox expression of masculinity within the child world field. Hence, the suffering of migrant boys is evidence that they are acculturating, in fact at a crude quantitative level it could be argued that the degree of suffering they experienced is proportionally related to their acculturation journey. Thus, if the goal of policy is to simply promote acculturation at all costs, it is likely that migrant groups will pay a high cost in terms of their emotional well-being and conception of self[180]. Indeed in light of the divergent adaption outcomes identified by Berry (2006), Suarez-Orozco &Suarez-Orozco (2002) and LaFromboise (1993) affect would perhaps be a useful to explore to understand the origins of different acculturation outcomes. However, the embodied affect of emotion as a motivator of action and involvement in the field cannot be fully understood until the root of symbolic violence in the body through reflexivity and affect is explored.

Reflexivity, Affect and Double Estrangement

Hence, motivation within the child world field seems to partially come through the sanctioning function of emotion, as shame is a bodily experience (Scheff, 1988). Therefore, not only is the body an object for others to judge, but it is also a motivating force through the sheer physicality of affect. However there is evidence in the data that through this process migrant origin boys tend to become aware of their bodies as

[180] Explored below

an object of value within the child world field[181]. Cooley (1964 [1902]) has contended that the root of self-consciousness lies within interaction, as we cannot fully know ourselves other than through our reflection in society. Scheff (1988) draws on this to contend that when one's performance is judged as 'authentic' by one's audience through deference, one is able to occupy a state of socially constructed dignity, as one feels one has a grasp on another's consciousness of them. From a phenomenological perspective then, this process reveals the root of dualism, as the creation of self-consciousness through interaction leads to one becoming aware of one's body *as an object*, and therefore as something to be examined and evaluated (Crossley, 2001). Thus, the splitting of the 'I' that examines from that which is examined, develops in relation to interaction, separating the 'rational' from the 'embodied' and sets up the conditions of domination embedded within an embodied identity. Indeed, in chapter 9 we can see the effects of this for visible minority boys, some of whom viewed their bodies with frustration, as they knew they may change many aspects of their bodily demeanours but not their skin colour. Therefore, the centrality of the body as the base of habitus and through which mindful action and embodied intelligence operate are somewhat obscured. Instead self-consciousness generated through interaction tended to encourage boys to view their bodies and/or habits as an object among objects, as separate from action, and therefore as something one *has* which can be worked on and changed. Moreover it is my contention this is further compounded by migrant boys' habit of reflection.

The inability to be somewhat invisible or engaged in backstage behaviour (Goffman, 1990 [1959]) for visible minority boys or the fear for 'white' migrants of their migrant status being exposed, seems to mirror Sayad's (1999 [2007]) contention that migrant groups tend to experience their bodies with unease as somewhat problematic and shameful, as a result of which they suffer from a break with their embodied selves, through a disruption of their internal time in which they are pushed from habitual into reflexive action. Drawing on this perspective and of Du Bois' (1996 [1903]) concept of 'double consciousness', this thesis contends that the body within intergroup relation is 'doubly-estranged' for many migrant boys. Sayad (2006) uses the concept of double estrangement to characterise second generation children as 'les enfants illegitimates', estranged from both the first generation and also from their dominant

[181] See chapter

group peers. However, he also uses the concept of 'double absence' to describe migrants as absent in both their country of emigration and immigration while also experiencing a break from their embodied selves, therefore, in one sense he describes migrants as experiencing a triple break (Shilling, 2008). However the description of being 'doubly estranged' from one's body seems apt in characterising the experience of migrant group boys in this study. Firstly, the phenomenology of the body through visible difference and dispositions mark migrant boys out as not belonging as not really 'Irish' or 'hegemonically masculine', therefore they have a tendency to feel always on display and judged through their bodies. Secondly, this has the effect of heightening a boy's self-consciousness of their body as an object within the field, estranging them from their own embodied being. This experience mirrors Sayad's (2007 [1999]) description of a break in which one moves from habitual into reflexive thought.

However in the account of 'double estrangement' used here, reflexivity is not understood as a separate form of action from that rooted in habitus, but is a reflexive habitus, through which one does not consciously choose to reflect on oneself but develops a habitual disposition to do so (Crossley, 2001)[182]. This process amounts to a compulsion for migrant origin boys to second guess themselves and be aware of their actions and body constantly, which seems to be both exhausting and painful. To a certain extent then, this sows the seeds of their own domination, as both Bourdieu (2000) and Merleau-Ponty (1962) keenly point out, being a 'fish in water', indicating to others that one belongs, is a disposition of the body. Thus, in a field which values practical activity borne through the embodied intelligence, reflexive habits tend to stilt one's action and make one's performances them seem unnatural and 'inauthentic'. Therefore, while interaction within the child world was primarily structured through apperception, which unfairly judges the actions of those low in symbolic capital, there was a subtle layer of material difference in the actions of those with high and low capital. As the deference hegemonic boys received seemed to quell their self-consciousness, in turn this allowed them to act without second guessing themselves, and therefore their actions were slightly more fluid and less hesitant or closer to a 'flow' state (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). Without hesitancy then, one's performances are more likely to be judged as 'authentic' true performances of self (Goffman, 1967).

[182] See in-depth discussion the chapter 5 methodology.

Thus, migrant boys' motivations to remain invested in the field also seemed to be partially rooted in an attempt to gain symbolic capital and deference to quell their self -consciousness[183] and allow them to gain some relief from engagement in constant reflexivity. However, in striving to be accepted, one indicates that one values the capitals on offer in the child world and becomes somewhat complicit in one's own domination. Thus, within a field whose doxic value is 'authenticity', in trying to be viewed as 'authentic' one is automatically precluded from such, as authenticity is not perceived as something one gains but something one is. As Hage (1998) argues, in the accumulation of what is perceived as natural one indicates that one does not belong. Domination through reflective habits is not the preserve of migrant boys alone though, but with their more exposed existence within the child world seemed to have the effect of shielding and deflecting criticism from dominant group boys. To a certain extent then this freed these boys from engaging in reflexive habits as they knew migrant boys were always going to receive more flack then they, this decrease in self-consciousness then somewhat materially improved the fluidity of their actions within the child world field. Therefore, migrant boys provided an important 'other' for dominant group boys to compare themselves to and establish their self-conception against (Devine et al., 2008; Kitching, 2010b). Therefore symbolic violence within boys' social relations is both a disposition of the body but is also derived from the body as an object of value in the child world field.

Possible Policy Implications

One of the biggest personal lessons I have learned from this process is that it takes a lot of hard work and patience to have even the smallest grasp of a field of knowledge. Too soon there is a perhaps a tendency to proclaim that one knows something for sure, that one's own opinion is tantamount to gospel. Hence, I will not attempt to make any such proclamations here. However, this research does highlight some important questions for policy that others with more knowledge and know-how than I may wish to consider.

[183] See above discussion on affect and self-consciousness in interaction

The Doxa of Authenticity

Firstly, the field of children's social relations[184] seems to be based on a doxic assumption of 'authenticity', which presumes that a boy should and can be themselves in the child world. However what is understood as authentic behaviour is recognised and produced in apperception and misrecognition through the hegemonic masculine habitus of the field. Hence, while the type of overt and covert symbolic violence faced by migrant group boys is intimately related to racist and nationalistic assumptions of who and what can constitute 'authenticity', the violence exerted and dominance experienced are not necessarily understood as 'racist'. This is important to bear in mind as any anti-racism or anti-bullying initiatives undertaken within schools must be aware that perpetrators are unlikely to view themselves as racist, but as simply punishing 'inauthentic' behaviour. Therefore, any initiatives which are framed as anti-racist may not be recognised by the children as applicable to the behaviours in which they themselves engage. Moreover, many migrant boys are committed to the field of social relations which may make them complicit in supporting this point of view, by interpreting their own behaviour partially through the eyes of their dominator (Bourdieu, 2001; Du Bois, 1996 [1903]). This point possibly has implications for the development of multi-cultural curricula in schools. As reviewed in Curry et al (2011), the evidence on the effectiveness of multi-cultural curricula as evaluated within the international literature is not encouraging, with no effects to weakly positive effects for social relations commonly measured. However what is clear from this study is that it is not enough to talk about cultural diversity and discuss 'other' cultures, as in essence these cultures will always remain other than dominant culture (D. T. Goldberg, 1994) and the use of small words such as 'these', 'they', 'those', 'other' separate out cultures, and once again reinforce the standard in relation to the deviant (Billig, 1995; Audrey Bryan, 2008). Any anti-racism strategies or multi-cultural curriculum must therefore be careful not to rationalise groups and once gain create new categories of what is 'normative' and what is 'abnormal'.

Moreover, through an understanding of the consequences of doxa and its orthodox expression, it seems imperative to problematize dominant culture and challenge the master narrative of 'Irish' identity and diversity in Ireland[185]. This seems especially

[184] Which is summarised above
[185] As discussed in the introduction

important as it is arguable that populations in the North-Inner City may also feel less than 'Irish' in relation to the 'rural, Gaelic, middle class' hegemony of the term (M. Cronin, 2003)[186]. Indeed if in recent times visible migrant populations have been characterised at the macro political level as 'suspect patriots' (Tormey, 2007), historically that designation has arguably been levelled at the urban poor in Ireland, and nowhere more so than Dublin's North-Inner City (Goodwin, 2002). Indeed further research on how authentic 'Irishness' and 'masculinity' are constructed in the wider local population seems imperative if such doxic assumptions and their effect in local cultural capital are to be broken. Thus, it is perhaps possible that problematizing a rational view of 'Irishness' may have a wider impact than simply encompassing a migrant 'Irish' identity.

Sports, Games and Masculinities

However, the rationalising of policy in terms of simply adding more knowledge to the curriculum or correcting a child's idea of 'race' seems unlikely to ameliorate the difficulties discussed in this thesis as any policy approaches must understand the embodied root of these dispositions and perceptions which cannot simply be displaced through the intellectualising of new facts. Indeed, more successful initiatives appear to be found in co-operative learning approaches (for a review see P. Curry et al., 2011; Paluck & Green, 2008) and social cognitive skills training involving arts and media (J. Connolly & Dolan, 2010; Pfeifer, Brown, & Juvonen, 2007). The findings from this thesis, however, also suggest that performative based sports in the child world also need to be reviewed as they appear to provide a space onto which symbolic violence and domination is both partially generated but also heightened and re-enforced.

In relation to this, there are possibly some practical initiatives which could be adopted without much delay or disruption, for instance limiting the space football takes up in the yard. Taking school three as an example, it would seem reasonably easy to move football to the back yard and allow each year group to have a game on a rota basis, or set up a league that could be conducted in the sports hall. This shift could possibly lessen the de-facto segregation between migrant group and dominant group boys by

[186] See introduction

allowing different sorts of activities to have free rein in the larger yard. Moreover, playing football in a more confined area could possibly lessen its ability to be an exposed stage, as without as large audience or daily prominence discussion of football within the class could possibly be reduced. A smaller space would also seem to be more practical for teachers to supervise. Furthermore, the data suggests that to help lessen anxiety levels the practice of pickies should be done away with, which would also seem an easier way to organise sports for teachers, as teams can simply be created through one class group against another or through set teams in a league. In school 2, a lunchtime football league was developed and seemed to work quite well. However, football in the yard continued parallel to this and therefore football dominated the boys' time in two senses. When we consider that football was also the most common activity in physical education classes, the need to introduce other types of activities into schools seems to be quite necessary. However, it would be a very naïve suggestion that simply bringing in other activities to the school or minimising football would go a long way towards eradicating the problems identified in this thesis. While football partially creates these issues this is through a dialectical relationship, and it is likely that other activities and sports would be used in similar ways and generate similar behaviours and perspectives[187].

Shilling (2008) though, identifies another form of sport which he calls 'lifestyle sports'. The extreme examples of this are mountain and BMX biking, skateboarding, surfing kayaking and rock climbing. While there is a competitive element to these sports their initial focus seems to spring from experience rather than competition[188] (Baker & Moreno, 2001; Bale, 1994; Booth, 1995; Borden, 2001; Heywood, 1994; Lewis, 2000; Maguire, 1999; Rinehart & Sydnor, 2003; K. Walter, 1991). Recent research has contended that participation in these sports appears to facilitate the experience of 'flow' states of embodiment (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Shilling, 2008), especially as these activities appear to be somewhat autotelic rather than driven by competition or a desire for recognition. However, these sports would be practically impossible to bring into schools for financial and spatial reasons, yet a relatively inexpensive alternative to these activities does exist in activities such as dance,

[187] Although many other sports do not have the same 'masculine' connotations for inner city boys, as football has been heavily branded and marketed at young boys.

[188] Again however competition seems to be increasingly on the rise in these sports for instance the development of the x-games tournament.

gymnastics and the eastern tradition of sports. Activities such as Yoga, Tai Chi Chuan, Qigong and some martial arts do not treat the body as a rationalised object to be disciplined, but as an embodied activity to be experienced in the here and now (Sandlund & Norlander, 2000). Indeed, the psychological and emotional benefits of these activities in terms of stress and anxiety disorders have been well documented and appear to not only relieve unpleasant emotions during the practice of these sports but to have a trickledown effect into participants' daily lives (J. R. Brown, 2011; T. Danaher & Briod, 2005; Dechamps, Quintard, & Lafont, 2008; Ferreira-Vorkapic & Range, 2010; Leite et al., 2010; Mendelson et al., 2010; Neumark-Sztainer, Eisenberg, Wall, & Loth, 2011; Prakash et al., 2010; Robertson, Sheikh, & Moore, 2010; Sandlund & Norlander, 2000; Telles, Gaur, & Balkrishna, 2009; Telles, Naveen, & Balkrishna, 2010). While there is probably not enough evaluation of these activities in terms of their effect in intergroup relations, positive effects have been found in school based interventions for urban youth at risk of criminality (Mendelson et al., 2010) and for ameliorating a mechanistic view of the body for young men (Robertson et al., 2010). Thus, In light of the double-estrangement many migrant boys seem to experience from their bodies, activities which may relieve reflexive habits even for short periods of time would seem worthwhile to evaluate for future policies. This would possibly be relatively inexpensive to develop and evaluate as their implementation only calls for an instructor or trained teacher and could possibly take place during P.E sessions.

However, I am aware that by suggesting the consideration of such initiatives I am treading on somewhat political and academic thin ice. I would briefly like to explore two possible objections. The first is in relation to the school as masculine making institutions. The vast bulk of the post-modernist gender research reviewed in chapter three, suggests that any attempt to curb activities seen as those which turn boys into men and support heteronormativity will be vigorously opposed as an initiative which is trying to feminise boys[189] (for review see Skelton, 2000). Thus, the dictum that 'boys will be boys' does not really seem to be believed by authorities, but is rather defended and created. Hence, any attempt to take the competitiveness out of sport participation is probably a politically contentious suggestion. However, this thesis has been at pains to show that issue of racism, gender and socio-economic position are not

[189] As outlined in detail in chapter 4

separate issues but as Crenshaw (1989) argues intersected and mutually constructive. Separate policy initiatives to promote interculturalism are unlikely to succeed without simultaneously looking at their gendered root. Thus, the defence of traditional monolithic modes of masculinity are in one sense a defence of racism. Therefore, while alternative modes of 'doing masculinity' possibly need to be encouraged and incorporated in schools, sports including football must be approached within schools in a more light-hearted way without such an overt focus on competition.

Secondly, the suggestion of evaluating Tai Chi Chuan as an activity in schools can possibly be interpreted as somewhat of a 'hippie' suggestion[190], not really rooted in a rational policy response. Indeed it is likely that such a suggestion will be roundly laughed at or dismissed by 'rational' academic and policy commentators. However, therein lies the problem. This thesis has striven to examine the embodied root of intelligence and the habitual dispositions which guide action and perspectives in the field. Hence policy responses to this cannot be built from a 'rational' enlightenment framework, through which activities of the body can be solved simply through an engagement with the mind. As such discrete entities do not exist in a pure sense; rather the existence of dualism has been examined as a product of self-consciousness generated within interaction which perpetuates symbolic violence rather than ameliorating it. The end point of rationality then is to prove the limits of rationality. Thus, not only does the rationalisation of the body as an object, feed into double-estrangement and racialisation, but policy approaches cannot simply be an intellectualising initiative, separated from an understanding of the embodied root of action and agency. Hence, the possibility that physical activities may be worth evaluating as one element of a larger intercultural policy must be considered[191] as the body is not something which can be considered or discounted as it is our very means of experiencing and acting.

[190] I invite policy makers to explore the expansive literarure for themselves which I simply do not have the capacity to describe here.

[191] Indeed in light of the literature which connects the rationalisation of the body to masculinity in chapter three it is interesting to note that eastern sports have largely been connected to femininity in western cultures

Concluding Comments

In making these suggestions I am of course aware that simply applying untried, untested and unevaluated initiatives in schools is not only naïve but possibly dangerous, not to mention a waste of resources in these financially stretched times. Thus following Curry et al (2011), it is imperative that any intercultural policy initiatives be developed and rolled out only after an intensive period of evaluation. This is especially so since these initiatives must be formulated against the formidable challenge of 'trying to influence interaction deep inside the social world of children' (ibid, 2011: 165) and involve convincing authorities and teachers of the need to act. However, in relation to the policies in place at the present time[192] while English language acquisition is of course a must for integration, this research has also attempted to highlight that individual language skill attainment is not in itself enough, and in some cases can be regressive in terms of a child's emotional well-being and self-conception in the child world.

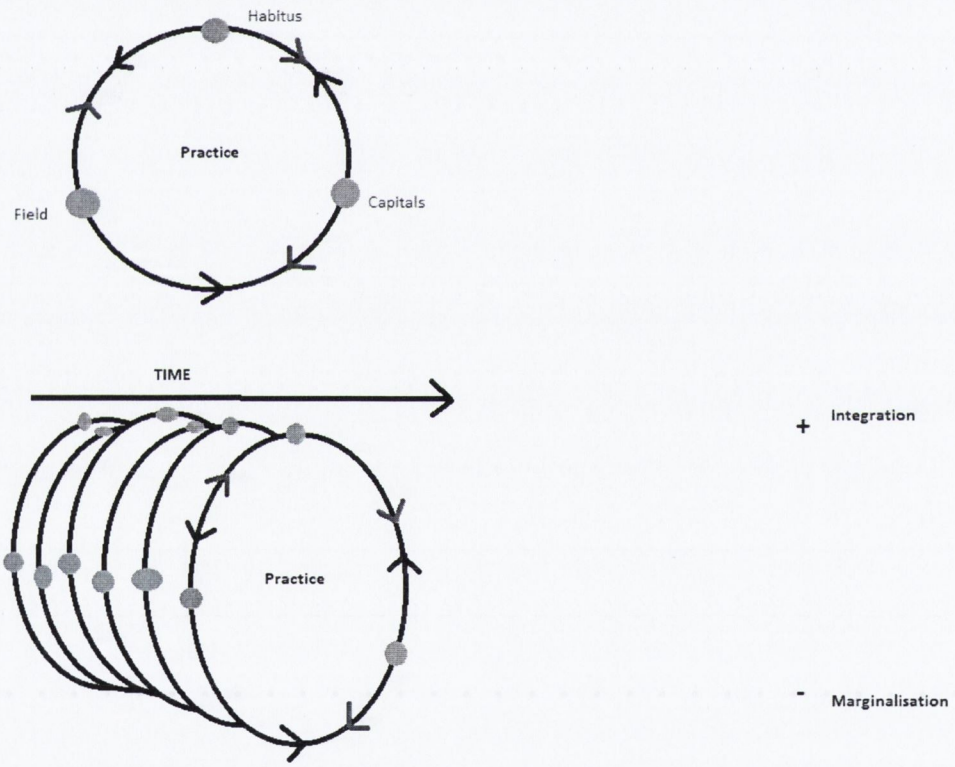
Conversely though, individual resilience strategies were also identified for migrant group boys. Up to this point, reflexivity has been discussed in relation to domination, but not in its more common usage as a means of change and creativity. Thus, perhaps instead of seeing migration and integration as yet another 'problem' to be dealt with it, it in fact allows for the opportunity to bring what is taken for granted into question. Erel (2010) argues that migrants are sometimes viewed as a threat as they expose what is viewed as inherent; therefore the exposure of doxa and orthodoxy at both the micro and macro level can either be embraced or denied by policy makers. It is my contention that for society as a whole it is in everyone's interests to reconsider that which has slipped from the possibility of contemplation. Indeed, at the micro level of individual interaction, while the reflective habits of many boys may be part of their domination, they may also bear the seeds of change.

As discussed in chapter three, fields of practice are not perfect circles of domination, see in which change is precluded, but through extending Bourdieu's insights with the work of Merleau-Ponty (1962) change can be viewed as somewhat of a 'moving equilibrium' in which each habit leave their residue in future action 'coherent

[192] See chapter 2

deformations which modify and transform their structure' (Crossley, 2001: 116). Perhaps then it is more useful to think of action as in somewhat of a spiral instead of a fixed circle, in which habitus, field and capitals shape and structure each other, but this also has a temporal aspect. Thus, past habits affect one's present habits and in turn leave this leaves its residue in future habits, see fig. 2. Hence the path this spiral of action takes needs to be influenced towards more inclusive integrated practice. What can be stated for sure then is that the field of social relations between children will change and it is my guess this change will be a rapid one.

Fig 5.11



The shape of things to come, or the arc of this spiral, can perhaps already be glimpsed through the resilience strategies identified in this study. Resilience through negative emotional capital such as anger have already been identified[193], while Reay (2000) has suggested that negative emotional capital can be used by some children as a motivation to succeed and there is perhaps evidence of this in the case of Warren, who uses his anxiety to spur his academic success, this is not a realistic policy model. As

[193] See chapter 10

for the few boys that may be able to turn a negative into a positive, there will be plenty more who will not have the resources to do so. Moreover, this idea feeds back into a sense that the end justifies the means, or children's lives and experiences are only important in relation to their outcomes as adults but not in terms of their well-being in the present[194] (Greene & Hill, 2005; Knuttson, 1997). There are also indications that some migrant boys are turning to anger to feel protected in the child world, while this is worrying one can see the logic of this in a comparison of Mikhail's story to Themba's. In the sheer weight of sadness and anxiety Themba carried with him, one would almost be tempted to encourage him to get angry at his situation as some anger could be useful for protecting his self-conception in the child world. Indeed, Mirza and Reay (2000) and Lorde (1984) have already shown how anger can be a useful tool for protecting minority groups from racism and prejudice. However, from the wider literature on masculinities and racialisation, it is possible that the use of negative emotional capital may lead migrant boys back into 'laddish' forms of expression. Indeed, in light of the accumulation of symbolic capital as analogous to an uneven race whose starting position can cause one to run an uphill or downhill race, it remains a race, and therefore possible to win if a boy metaphorically or even literally runs twice as fast or displays behaviour in the child world which is twice as tough. Ultimately then, while migrant boys' actions may be apperceived within the child world, it remains feasible for some to gain deference as a 'tough boys' if they were for instance to engage others in overt acts of physical violence and intimidation. However, while this may help a boy gain status within the child world, how long before the motivations behind these possible actions are forgotten, and a discourse of the inherent 'hyper-masculinity' of embodied 'black' males' seeps into the public discourse?

Therefore 'rationalised' educational and immigration policies not only compound the 'otherness' of minority groups through the propagation of 'us' and 'them' narratives of nationalism, but are also unable to address the embodied gendered foundations of racism. Indeed this seems particularly pertinent in relation to policies specifically aimed at children, as James (2000) contends children's identities are strongly

[194] See methodology section

connected to their objective bodies, as the process of growing up highlights body consciousness. In relation to the National Children's Strategy (2000) then, Objective K in the National Children's Strategy aims to identify barriers to full participation for children from ethnic minority groups, so all children can be supported to reach their full potential.

> *Objective K: Children will be educated and supported to value social and cultural diversity so that all children including Travellers and other marginalised groups achieve their full potential (2000: 70)*

However to date the interpretation of 'barrier' in relation to policies and practice with migrant children has been narrowly defined in relation to English language proficiency, which implicitly implies that once English fluency is gained barriers to formal learning and friendship formation will begin to dissolve. However this thesis has shown that integration does not take place within a vacuum of formal skill attainment, but is inherently embodied and plays out at the level of everyday exchanges and interactions. To address the barriers migrant children face then we must expand policy beyond the formal spaces of the classroom and a reliance on indicators based on educational attainment.

I fear as long as embodiment and gender remain peripheral to intercultural and educational policy, boys will remain invested in the child world field where a masculine identity will remain valued and sought after. While of course some very mature capacities were also identified in children, like the capacity to forgive, it is unrealistic and unfair to presume resilience in children can be used as a reason to sit back and do nothing. Such passivity means, in effect, asking a child to be completely unaffected and altruistic and with the types of debasing bullying found in this study how can a boy be reasonably expected not to react to such provocation? Thus, at present it seems that boys of seven, eight and nine years of age are taking on the burden of integration. Too often have commentators been almost self-congratulatory, that there has not been a significant far-right movement against immigration, arguing that the history of emigration from Ireland has mitigated some xenophobic attitudes[195] (S. Garner, 2007a; Healy, 2007). However, I would argue from this study that this is only a slumbering issue, which has more than partially been kept at bay through the capacities and expectations of young children to absorb pain. It is therefore possible

[195] Indeed some commentators have argued this has also been stalled as the major nationalist party in the Ireland is Sinn Fein who are politically left-wing (Garner, 2007)

that the types of racialisation seen in other countries may develop within Ireland. Indeed with the economic downturn there is perhaps a popular presumption that migrant origin groups will now simply return 'home'. However the history of immigration internationally has shown that while a growing economy may be a pull factor for immigration an economic downturn does not reverse this trend but without innovative policy reform inter-cultural conflict can intensify during times of social stress (Favell, 1998). Hence immediate and original policy development is crucial at this juncture.

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Consent form for parents of children in focus classrooms

Parental consent form

We are currently in the planning stages for a research project to be conducted at [NAME OF SCHOOL]. Please see attached information sheet which will explain who we are and what the project is about. The results of the research will be shared with the school board and the Department of Education and Science with a view to improving the social experiences of all children attending schools in Dublin and nationwide. Further information about the project can be got from http://www.tcd.ie/immigration/projects.php or by contacting Professor Robbie Gilligan at (01) 896 1331.

If you agree for your son or daughter to take part in this project please sign below:

I agree that my son / daughter can take part in this research project.

Signed: .....

Name: .....

Date: .....

Learning Together Project

TRINITY IMMIGRATION INITIATIVE
Research Programme on Diversity, Integration and Policy

The Trinity Immigration Initiative

Trinity College Dublin
children's research centre
research for children & young people

Who are we?

- A team of researchers from Trinity College Dublin with a wide range of experience in working with children, in schools and with issues to do with immigration.
- This project is also informed by an advisory group which currently consists of representatives of the Department of Education and community organizations from the North Inner city. We also hope to add school staff and parents in the near future.

What is the 'Children, Youth and Community Relations Project'?

This project is being conducted in a number of schools in Inner-City Dublin and aims to explore the nature of relations between children of different cultural backgrounds. The basic questions that will be addressed are:

- How do children from different cultural backgrounds get along together?
- What do children think about other cultures?

What will we be doing?

All of our activities in the school will be conducted with the best interest of the pupils of the school in mind. The techniques used are all child friendly and age appropriate for the children involved. They involve conversations with the children about their experiences in school, and participation in the life of the class and school through such activities as drama, arts and photographic projects.

The interests of the school and its pupils

All fieldwork for this project will be approved by our Advisory group and by the Ethics Committee of the School of Social Work and Social Policy, Trinity College. Everyone working in a school site will have experience working with children and police vetting. Individual schools and children will never be identified in any written record of the project.

What are the benefits of this project?

The results of the **'Learning Together Project'** will help your school, schools nationally and the Department of Education figure out the best way to organise schools so that children from different cultural backgrounds can be taught together in the most effective and satisfactory way.

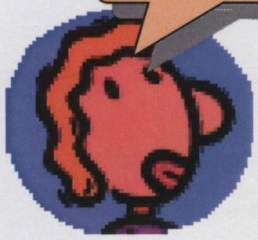
Appendix 2: Children's Consent and info Phase One

Trinity College Dublin
children's research centre
research for children & young people

We are from the Children's Research Centre in Trinity College. We will be doing a project in your class.



We are trying to find out how children from all over the world and from different backgrounds get along with each



So you will see us in your class and in the yard, we will do an art project with you and we may have a chat with some of you.



We hope the project will help to make the time spent at school better for children in Dublin



We won't tell your teachers or parents anything you tell us unless we think you or someone else is not safe. Then we may have to tell someone, but we will always talk to you about it first.



If you are happy to be part of the project please sign your name in the blue box on the other side of the sheet.



If you have any questions just ask us and we will tell you what you want to know.



You can stop being in the project at any time you want.



Do you agree with the following?

- Somebody has explained the project to me.
- I have been able to ask questions and have them answered.
- I can stop being in the project at any time.
- I am happy to take part in this project.

Name:

.....

.....

Date:

.....

TRINITY IMMIGRATION INITIATIVE
Research Programme on Diversity, Integration and Policy

Trinity College Dublin
children's research centre
research for children & young people

NOTIFICATION OF RESEARCH PROJECT

We are currently in the planning stages for a research project to be conducted at [NAME SCHOOL]. Please see attached information sheet which will explain who we are and at the project is about.

Your son or daughter will not be asked to actively take part in this research project but may encounter some of our team members in the school yard or other open sites around the school.

The results of the research will be shared with the school board and the Department of Education and Science with a view to improving the social experiences of all children attending schools in Dublin and nationwide.

Further information about the project can be got from http://www.tcd.ie/immigration/projects.php or by contacting Professor Robbie Gilligan at (01) 896 1331.

CONSENT FORM

Do you agree to the following?

- I have had this project explained to me.
- I have been able to ask questions and have them answered.
- I can stop being involved at any stage of this project.
- I agree to take part in this project.

Signed: .....

Name:.....

Date: .....

TRINITY IMMIGRATION INITIATIVE

Research Programme on Diversity, Integration and Policy

Trinity College Dublin
children's research centre
research for children & young people

Appendix 3 Info Principals

The Trinity Immigration Initiative:

Children, Youth and Community Relations Project

1

Appendix 4 – Interview Schedule Learning Together

Note of relevant field observation

A very important part of these interviews is for you to verify and discuss observations which you have made of these children in the classroom and yard.

Each interview will be different and you should to try to amalgamate questions about these observations into the interview where appropriate.

Make a very quick note for your self here of the relevant observations and where you plan to incorporate them into the schedule:

Amalgamated Interview Schedule

Thank you_____ for talking to me. I am going ask you some questions about you, your school, your friends and your neighbourhood. This little thing here will record your voice so I will remember what you said later because I can't write as fast as you can talk. If I ask you about anything you don't want to talk about tell me, and we can skip it and if you want to stop at any time that is no problem.

Everything you tell me will be private and you name will not be used when I write about what you tell me. I won't be telling your teacher, your friends or your family anything we talk about today but if you tell us something that worries me we may have to tell someone else to make sure you and other people are safe, but if that happens we will talk to you about it first.

Are you happy to have a chat with me for a little while?

Sections

1. School

2. Friends in School

3. Friends Outside School

4. Sense of Place

5. Identity

6. Community Relations

1. School

How long have you been in this school?

What do you think about your school?

Do you like school?

Only ask people who have not been in school from 1st Class

Were you in another school before?

Where?

What was that like?

Is there anything different between that school and this?

What was it like starting in a new school?

What was good?

What was bad?

[All International pupils, every third Irish interview]: If there was one thing that you could change about school what would it be?

2. Friends in School

In general what do you think of the other boys/ girls in the class?

Who are your friends in school?

How long have you been friends with them?
Are you friends with them outside of school?

Who do you hang out with at yard time?

Why do you hang out with them?
Is there any reason you don't hang around with the other boys and girls in your class?

What do you do in yard time?

Why do you do that?
Do you like yard time?
Why / Why not?

[If football is played in the yard, if not don't ask]: Do play football in the yard?

Positive: What does it take to be good at football?
Why do some people not play football?

What do you think about the children (maybe only boys) that don't play football?

Why do you think that?

Negative: Why don't you play football?

Why do you think other children play football?

What do you think about the children that do play football?

[All International pupils,interview]: Do you ever hang out with children from other rooms or classes?

If so, why so, how did you get to know them?

If not, why not'? Does anyone else hang out with older/younger children, what do you think about that?

How many children in your class?

Do you like them all (are there any you don't like)

If not why not?

If so why so?

Mixed Schools

Do boys and girls ever play with one another?

If so what do they play?

If not why don't they?

What do you think of boys and girls playing together?

Why do you think this?

What do you think of boys/girls?

Single sex boys

Do you like being in an all boy's school?

If not why not?

If so why so?

Do you ever play with girls outside of school?

If so what do you do

If not why don't you?

What do you think of boys and girls playing together?

Why do you think this?

What do you think of girls?

Single Sex girls

Do you like being in an all girls school?

If not why not?

If so why so?

Do you ever play with boys outside of school?

If so what do you do? Are any of these boys from other countries?

If not why don't you?

What do you think of boys and girls playing together?

Why do you think this?

What do you think of boys?

Are there any really popular boys/girls in your class?

Why do you think they are popular?

Do you think it is a good thing to be popular?

What do think somebody has to be like to have lots of friends?

And if they are not like that what happens?

What makes you feel happy in school?

Why?

What makes you feel sad in school?

Why?

[All foreign national pupils, every third Irish interview]: Do you feel like you belong in this school?

Has anyone ever been mean to you in school?

When? (what happened?)

Why do you think they are mean?

Have you ever got into fights with other children in your class or school?

What happened?

Why did it happen?

How did you feel at the time / feel now?

3. Friends outside School

How do you get to school in the mornings?

Do you go with your friends or a member of your family or on your own?

How do you get home after school?

What do you do when you go home after school and at weekends?

Why do you like playing _____?

Who do you play with outside of school?

What do like doing the most?

Are there any things you don't like doing? Why?

Have you any friends that don't go to this school?

Who are they?

What do you do with them?

Are you in any clubs or groups outside of school?

Why / why not?

When did you start/stop?

Do you like it?

What is good?

Is there anything bad about it?

Do you ever go to your friend's houses after school?

Why / why not?

Do they ever come to your house after school?

Why / why not?

What do you do with them?

International children only:

Do you have other friends from (country of origin)?

Where do you meet up?

What do you like to do?

5. Sense of Place

Ask questions about the countries: France, Nigeria, England, Poland, Romania, China, Italy, and America. Add any country from which there are children present in the class not already mentioned.

I have a map of the world with a few countries marked on it. The first country is [France] – do you think that you are the same or different to people living in [France]?

In what was do you think that you are the same/ different (depending on answer)

Do you think you are like the rest of the children in your school?

International:
In general what do you think of Irish children? **What are the differences between (country of origin) and Ireland?**

Tell me about your area or neighbourhood.

How long have you lived there?

What is your favourite place in your area?

Are there any places you don't like in you area?

Have you ever got into fights with other children in area?

What happened?

Why did it happen?

Has anyone ever been mean to you in your area?

How did you feel at the time / feel now?

Local Children:	International Children:

Do you always want to live here or wouldn't you mind living somewhere else?	Do you always want to live here or wouldn't you mind living somewhere else? Would you like to move back to (country of origin) one day?

5. Identity

Do you think that someone can be two nationalities at the same time. For example can someone be both Irish and Polish?

If the answer is yes: What situations would make this possible?

If the answer is no: why do you think that is?

Local Children:

If you moved to America and lived there for a long time do you think you would be part American?

International Children:

Do you think you are more like people from your [country of origin] or more like people in Ireland?

How much of you is [country of origin] and how much of you is Irish?

(9-12yrs old only) If you could put a percentage on it how much of you is [country of origin] and how much is Irish what would it be?

Why do you feel this way?

How long have you felt this?

Do you think you will always feel this way?

Is this percentage different when you are in [country of origin]?

6. Community Relations

What do you think of people from all over the world coming to live in Ireland?

What do you think of the fact that there are boys and girls from many different countries in your school?

Do you think that people from different countries generally get along well in your school?

Do you think they are treated differently either in a good or a bad way?

[All International pupils]: What advice would you give to students starting new in the school, what do you think is important for them to know to get on well in (school)?

Do you think that people from different countries generally get along well in your neighbourhood?

Do you think they are treated differently either in a good or a bad way?

Has anyone been mean to you just because you (/ your family) come from a different country?

What happened?

Why did it happen?

Are you friends with them

7. Storytelling

I would like you to tell me a story about a boy or girl who moved from their home country to another country and had to go to school there.

What was moving to another country like?

What was starting in a new school like for that person?

Is there anything we haven't talked about you want to say? Do you want to ask me anything before we finish?

TRINITY IMMIGRATION INITIATIVE
Research Programme on Diversity, Integration and Policy

Trinity College Dublin
children's research centre
research for children & young people

Executive Summary

Who are we?

- A team of researchers from Trinity College Dublin with a wide range of experience in working with children, in schools and with issues to do with immigration.
- This project is also informed by an advisory group which currently consists of representatives of the Department of Education and community organizations from the North Inner city. We also hope to add school staff and parents in the near future.

What is the 'Children, Youth and Community Relations Project'?

This project is being conducted in a number of schools in Inner-City Dublin and aims to explore the nature of relations between children of different cultural backgrounds. The basic questions that will be addressed are:

- How do children from different cultural backgrounds get along together?
- What do children think about other cultures?

What will we be doing?

All of our activities in the school will be conducted with the best interest of the pupils of the school in mind. The techniques used are all child friendly and age appropriate for the children involved. They involve conversations with the children about their experiences in school, and participation in the life of the class and school through such activities as drama, arts and photographic projects.

The interests of the school and its pupils

All fieldwork for this project will be approved by our Advisory group and by the Ethics Committee of the School of Social Work and Social Policy, Trinity College. Everyone working in a school site will have experience working with children and police vetting. Individual schools and children will never be identified in any written record of the project.

What are the benefits of this project?

The results of the **'Children, Youth and Community Relations Project'** will help your school, schools nationally and the Department of Education figure out the best way to organise schools so that children from different cultural backgrounds can be taught together in the most effective and satisfactory way.

What is the 'Children, Youth and Community Relations Project'?

The Children, Youth and Community Relations project is one of six major research projects being undertaken by Trinity College Dublin as part of the Trinity Immigration Initiative. The aim of this particular study is explore the nature of relations between migrant and indigenous Irish children.

Background

The distribution of immigrants by area in Ireland is uneven with many locating initially in what already were high social stress communities. This is a classic pattern internationally, which has often led to latent or overt conflict. It is crucial to anticipate some of the more obvious problems that can be expected such as tensions and conflict between disadvantaged host communities and newcomers. This issue requires a strong combination of sound evidence and wise policy, grounded in knowledge of, and engagement with, actual local conditions.

The Children, Youth and Community Relations Project is part of the wider Trinity Immigration Initiative and seeks to further our understanding of inter-community relations in high stress communities in Dublin. The strategy for studying inter-community relations in this project is to examine interactions between Irish and immigrant young people. Initially most of the research associated with this project will be based in schools in North inner-city Dublin.

The changing cultural composition of many of Ireland's schools and the issues that this raises has long been recognised by the Department of Education and Science. During the 1990's two outputs acknowledged the growing cultural diversity in Irish schools: the White Paper on Education of 1995 and in the subsequent Education Act of 1998. In 2002 the Department of Education and Science's submission to the preparation of the National Action Plan on Racism, Promoting Anti-Racism and Interculturalism in Education noted the need for an educational response to the

suspicion that was seen to exist in Irish society towards ethnic diversity (Department of Education and Science, 2002).

More recently the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment - the body which advises the Department of Education and Science on curricular matters, published a report which goes furthest in offering guidance to teachers on responding to diversity in a way which challenges prejudice or discrimination. The Guidelines state that intercultural education is "... education which respects, celebrates and recognises the normality of diversity in all areas of human life ... It is education, which promotes equality and human rights, challenges unfair discrimination, and promotes the values upon which equality is built" (NCCA 2005. p4).

Who are we?

The team for the Children, Youth and Community Relations project is based in the Children's Research Centre, TCD and consists of Professor Robbie Gilligan, Dr Philip Curry, Margaret Rogers, Jennifer Scholtz and Lindsey Garratt. Between us we have a wide range of experience in working with children, in schools and with issues to do with immigration.

This project is also informed by an advisory group which currently consists of representatives of the Department of Education and community organisations from the North Inner city. In later phases of the project it is hoped that school staff, parents and representatives from migrant advocacy groups will be added.. The advisory group reviews the progress of the project at key stages in the research and advises on how the research may be conducted in the most practical, ethical and relevant way.

What is the Trinity Immigration Initiative?

The Trinity Immigration Initiative (TII) consists of six projects which will explore the experiences of Immigrants in Ireland. It is the biggest project of its kind in Ireland and its goal is to produce sound evidence of the affect immigration is and may have on Irish society at every level. We hope the findings of TII will be used to create coherent policy which will develop a cohesive, inclusive and multicultural society for the future.

Key Research Questions

The interaction between children from Irish and immigrant communities has, until now, received little research attention therefore the strategy for this project is to begin as openly as possible. The basic questions that will be addressed are:

- What is the nature of interaction between children from migrant and indigenous Irish children?

- What are the dynamics that seem to underlie the nature of interaction? Do they lie within the classroom in terms of the micro-management of the class, are broader influences such as the school ethos more important or are key influences broader again in terms of the wider local or national contexts?

- What factors may account for variation or similarities between different school sites?

- How effective are any initiatives to promote integration in the study schools?

How will this research be carried out?

This phase of the project will involve as series of two to three week studies in six schools in the Dublin Inner-city Area. This study aims to adopt a child-centred approach which shows respect for children and acknowledges their competencies and capacities. This will involve the use of flexible range of research techniques which will be tailored to suit each particular site however, it is envisaged that in general the project will rely on three major methodologies; interviews, observation and a series of task-based activities such as games, drama, worksheets or an art or photographic project. While the main focus will be on research with the children in these schools we would also like to interview teachers, home liaison teachers and school principals.

Which students will be involved?

The intention is that the research in each school will focus particularly on second, fourth, sixth class. These children will be in the age range 7 to 12 and have been selected based on their age and capacity to engage with the research process.

Although these classes will form the main focus of the research it is hoped that incidental observation of other children in the school will also take place in the playground and in areas adjacent to the school.

What will participating schools be required to do?

Each participating school will be asked to accommodate two student researchers for a maximum of three weeks. How this time will be spent will depend to some extent on the needs of the school but allowing for the school timetable and school events it is expected that the researcher will spend this time familiarising themselves with the school, observing pupils in classroom settings, playgrounds, sports events, conducting interviews and running one classroom based (art or photography project) activity with each class.

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Why was my school selected?

As part of the wider Trinity Immigration Initiative Community Relations project an annual survey of the demographic profile of 16 schools in Inner-City Dublin is undertaken. This survey (informally called the Nix) formed the basis for selecting case study sites in the inner-city.

The aim of selection was to identify schools that have reasonably high numbers of migrant pupils but that are not currently or on their way to becoming 'migrant' schools. Basically what is required are schools with with a representative mix of migrant and Irish children.

We would very much like to work with your school on the Youth, Children and Community Relations project as your school was one of only three schools which met the strict criteria set by our advisory group.

Will my school be identified in the research?

The school will never be mentioned by name in any reports on the research and every attempt will be made to remove or disguise identifying information.

Ethical issues

All fieldwork for this project will be approved both by the Advisory group and by the Ethics Committee of the School of Social Work and Social Policy, Trinity College.

Explanatory information about the research will be given to the Principals and teachers of the schools involved and to the parents of the children. The research will also be explained to all of the children involved. Written consent for the research will be sought from both children and parents in the second, fourth and sixth year classes which are to be the main focus of the study.

The researchers will also explain the project to all the children in the school and information sheets with the researchers' contact information will be sent home to parents so they can contact us if they have any concerns. At present we will not seek parental consent for the children not in the classes directly involved in the research.

In relation to consent from parents and children who do not have language as a first language, embedded translations of information sheets and consent forms will be provided all relevant languages as required. Parents will be required to sign an English language version of the consent form. Every effort will be made to recruit interpreters who have professional training and experience working with children.

The researchers who will be working in the schools all have experience working with children and will be subject to Garda vetting.

What are the benefits of this project?

The results of the 'Children, Youth and Community Relations Project' will help your school, schools nationally and the Department of Education and Science figure out the best way to organise schools so that children from different cultural backgrounds can be taught together in the most effective and satisfactory way.

How will we be kept informed about the outcomes of this research?

An executive summary of the results from this research will be sent to each participating school in July 2008.

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Appendix 5- Adult Consent

Learning Together Project – The effect of Sport and Games

Who am I?

- I am a researcher form Trinity College Dublin. I have a lot of experience working with children in schools and I am based in the Children's Research Centre.
- This project is also informed by an advisory group which consists of representatives of the Department of Education and community organizations from the North Inner city.

What is the 'Learning Together – The effect of Sports and Games Project'?

Last year I did research in seven inner-city schools to explore the how children form different backgrounds were getting on together in school.

This year I am going back to your son's school to see how the children are getting on one year on, and I will try to understand the importance of sport and games for bringing children together.

What will I be doing?

All my activities in the school will be conducted with the best interest of the pupils of the school in mind. The techniques used are all child friendly and age appropriate for the children involved. I will observe the children in the yard and talk to them one to one about school, their friends, games, sports and clubs they participate in.

The interests of the school and its pupils

All fieldwork for this project is approved by the Advisory group and by the Ethics Committee of the School of Social Work and Social Policy, Trinity College. I have experience working with children and police vetting. Individual schools and children will never be identified in any written record of the project.

What are the benefits of this project?

The results of **'Learning Together – the effect of Sports and Games'** will help your school, schools nationally and the Department of Education figure out the best way to organise schools so that children from different cultural backgrounds can be taught together in the most effective and satisfactory way.

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Parental consent form

Our school has agreed to work with a researcher from Trinity College Dublin. She is trying to understand how children from different backgrounds get on together during yard time through sports and games.

The researcher will observe the children in the yard and have one to one discussions with the children about, school, friends, sports and games and clubs they are a part of.

Please see the attached information sheet which will explain more. We are sending home a form and we would be grateful if you could sign it to give your child permission to be part of the study. It will not take up much of their time but will be a big help to us in the school and in other schools.

If you agree for your son to take part in this project please sign below:

Signed,

_____

_____

I agree that my son / daughter can take part in the 'Learning Together Research Project – The effect of Sports and Games.

Signed: .....

Child's name: .....

Room:.....

Date: .....

NOTIFICATION OF RESEARCH PROJECT

Our school has agreed to work with a researcher from Trinity College Dublin. She is trying to understand how children from different backgrounds get on together during yard time through sports and games.

Your son will not be asked to actively take part in this research project but may encounter some of our team members in the school yard or other open sites around the school.

Please see attached information sheet which will explain more about the project.

Further information about the project can be got from http://www.tcd.ie/immigration/projects.php or by contacting Professor Robbie Gilligan at (01) 896 1331 or Lindsey Garratt (01) 896 2967

Appendix 6: Children's consent Phase 2

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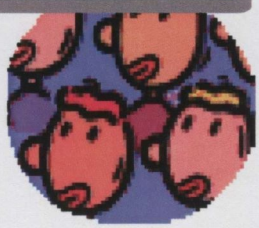
I am Lindsey from the Children's Research Centre in Trinity College. I will be chatting to your class and you will see us in the yard.



I am trying to find out how all children get on with each other in school and in the yard.



I would like to hear about your friends, what games you like to play and the things that you like and things you don't like.



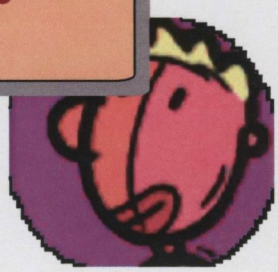
I won't tell your teachers or parents anything you tell me, but if I think you or someone else is not safe I may have to tell someone, but I will talk to you about it first.

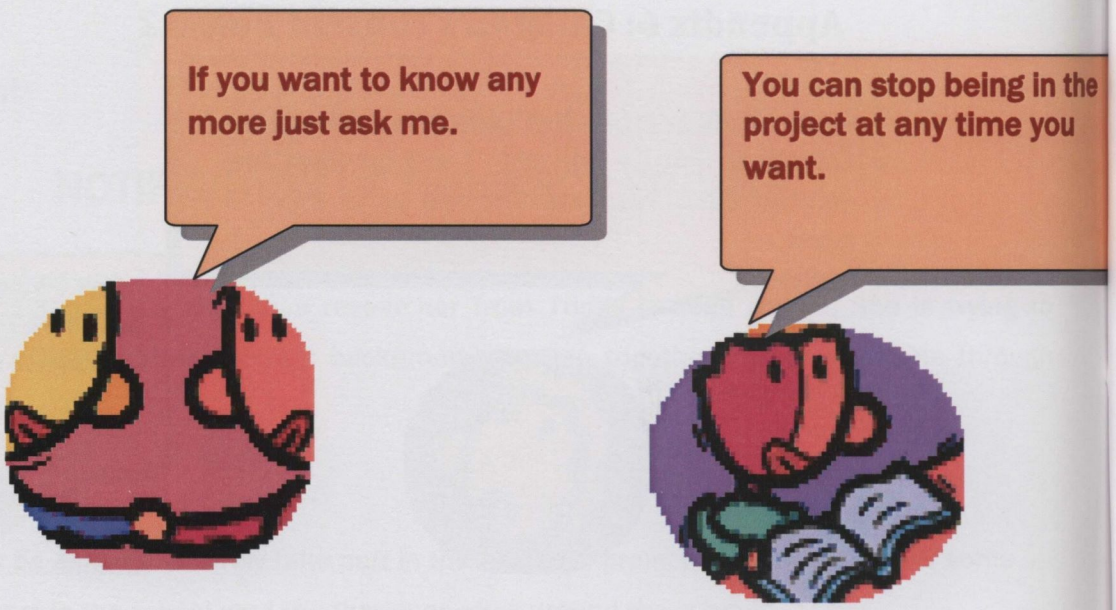


I hope the project will help to make the time spent at school better for children in Dublin



If you are happy to be part of the project please write your name in the blue box on the other side of the sheet.





Do you agree with the following?

- I have had this project explained to me.
- I have been able to ask questions and have them answered.
- I can stop being in the project at any time.
- I am happy to be in the project.

Name:

.....

.....

Date:

.....

Appendix 7: Interview schedule 2

Change

Are there any new people in your class?

Did any boys leave the school? – Do you know…why, where did they go?

What's it like being in 3rd class now?

Do you get on with your new teacher?

Any change outside school?- Move house, New bros/ sisters, Join any groups or clubs?

So has anything else changed with you since I last talked to you?

Group of Friends

Who do you hang around with in school these days?

Have you been friends long? – were you friends last year?

What kind of things do you and your friends find funny?

Where you friends with anyone else that you are not friends with anymore?

Are you friends with anyone from other 3rd class/younger years/older years?

General Feeling Towards Friends

Names of boys in the class say they can do what they want with them, if they put into groups

Their group: so do you all play the same games in the yard Yes/No?

How did you get to be friends?

Do you like the same things as each other?

Do you like different things?

Go around each group:

Do you think your group is the same or different to this group? Why/Why not?

Do you ever play with them? Why/why not?

Is there any group you would really like to play with? Why/ why not?

So which group would your group of friends be the most like? -why

Which group are the most different to you? Why?

Are there some people who don't hang around with anyone? –why do you think that is?

Class

What are the good things about being in your class with all these boys?

What are the bad things?

Map of how good bad you feel about the class?

Why do you feel this way?

Do you feel you fit in with your class or do you feel a bit different?

Have you ever felt you would like to be in another class?

Why? Can you give me an example?

Yard

What do you do in yard time? – why?

Do you like yard time? - Why / Why not?

Do play football in the yard?

What the best bit about it?

What's the worst bit about it?

P = Do some people shout at others and tell them what to do on the football pitch?

Do people pass the ball or do they hold onto it?

What position do you hate playing in? – why, example

Do you like being in goal? – why example

Why are some people better footballers than other?

Are some people naturally better or can you train to be better? – which one is more important?

So what are the most important skills to have if you want be good at football?

Do people ever get slagged for their football skills? – what would they say?

N= Why do you/Why do some people not play football?

Why do you not enjoy it?

What would you like to play in the yard instead?

Would you ever go into the backyard?

What's good/bad about the backyard.

Popularity

Are some boys popular in school?

What makes them popular?

What would make somebody unpopular in school?

Is it better to be the same or different to everyone else?

What ways is it good to be different, what ways is it bad to be different.

Emotions

Tell me about a time when you felt really happy?

What would make you feel really happy in the yard?

Have you ever felt worried/frightened in school?

or a bit sad?

Why did you feel that way?

Have you ever felt like that in the yard?

What would be the most embarrassing thing that could happen to a boy in the yard?

Do people ever laugh when something embarrassing happens to another boy?

Have you ever felt really embarrassed in the yard?

Why what happened?

Being a boy

Do you think boys and girls different or are they the same? – how so?

Do boys and girls find the same things funny?

How do boys behave in school? – in yard, in classroom?

If you had to describe what boys are like to someone from outer space what would you tell them?

Role Models

Is there anyone you would like to be like when you grow up?

Someone famous?

Someone in your family?

Body

Is it important to be strong and fast in the yard?

Y= Why is it important?

N= Why isn't it important?

Would you rather be fast/slow for the rest of your life? Why

How are boys who are not fast or strong treated by others?

Do you think it is important to be tall, strong, good at sports?

Would you rather be really tall or really small for the rest of your life? Why

Is it better to be tall or short?

Would you prefer to look the same as everyone else or look really different from everyone else?

What would be good/bad about looking like everyone else?

What would be good/bad about looking really different to everyone else?

Does anyone ever get slagged off for the way they look?

Ethnicity – Local Kids

So since I was here last year are there more or less kids from different countries in your school?

Are they hard or easy to get on with? – why easy, why difficult?

Do you think they are the same or different to you? – in what way

Do you play with them in the yard? – what do you play?

Do you find it easy to play with them or hard to play with them?

Do you think they are the same or different to Irish kids? – what way?

Ethnicity – Migrant Kids

So do you speak any other language than English?

Why do you know this language?

Was it easy or hard to learn English?

Have you ever been on holiday back to where your parents are from?

Do you like it there?

What are the people like there?

Is Ireland different/the same from there?

Do you think you are the same or different to people there? Why/why not?

Do you know many people form _____ living in Ireland?

Do your classmates ever ask you about _____? Why/Why not?

What do they say?

Are people nice about your family being from _____ or are they ever mean?

Why do you think they say that?

Are people nicer or meaner to you since last year? Why?

How do you feel about people talking like that?

Identity

If you could change anything about school what would you change?

If you could change anything about your class what would you change?

If you could change anything about your life at home what would you change?

If you could change anything about yourself what would you change?