

# 8. From Housing to Health – To Whom are the White Working Class Losing Out? Frequently Asked Questions

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The remit for this chapter was to produce a contribution which translates academic thinking to non-academic audiences. Concerns of and for the ‘white working class’ are most frequently expressed in terms of how they might be losing out to groups of people recently arrived in Britain – immigrants – most of whom happen to be white also. In this short chapter I take a few commonly made assertions and suggest an answer to them, and what might be done to improve policy for poorer people in general.

## **‘Immigration Means We Don’t Get Houses for Those that Deserve Them.’ True?**

Without immigration much current housing would no longer be standing in Britain. In particular many immigrants in recent decades came to towns and cities in the north of England which would

have been greatly depopulated otherwise. Their coming and remaining has been one of the primary reasons why housing has not had to be demolished on a large scale outside of Scotland. In contrast, in Glasgow, a city which did not attract that many immigrants in recent years, a great deal of housing has had to be demolished. Fewer immigrants results in fewer homes.

A majority of immigrants to Britain from abroad now settle in the south of England. Here there is the least social housing and so almost all housing is not allocated on the basis of who most deserves a home, but on who can afford a home (or homes). More and more housing has been bought to be rented privately, or as a second or third home by richer people. We have never had as much housing in Britain as we have now, but we have also never shared it out as badly as now. Recent immigrants to Britain tend to be the worst housed, living in the most overcrowded accommodation and in some of the worst quality properties.

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Concerns are often expressed over who is housed first in social housing. Recent immigrants without children have almost no chance of being housed in such housing because of the rules of allocation, based upon need. We do not have enough *social* housing for everyone's needs in Britain. We do have enough *housing in general* for everyone's needs. What we need is a way of transferring more homes that people cannot afford to pay a mortgage on to social housing so that there is enough social housing for all who need it. This could be done if the current government programme that allows local authorities to buy a few repossessed homes at auction were extended so that people could sell their homes to the local council but remain living in them when they hit hard times.<sup>174</sup> That 'right to sell' would increase the stock of social housing. If it were coupled with policies to help people owning multiple empty homes to give up some of their spare houses, and to help single people in very large houses downsize, that would also help. Then we might get the housing we deserve.

#### **'Immigration is a Drain on the Health Services.' True?**

Health Services in Britain only work because of immigration. In fact there are more nurses from Malawi working in Manchester alone than there are in Malawi.<sup>175</sup> Immigrants and the next generation of children of immigrants make up a vastly disproportionate number of the staff of the National Health Service (NHS). Any sensible calculation of the net effect of immigration on health services could not conclude that there is any drain on resources. There is, however, an obvious drain on the health services of other countries from our reliance on so many staff from abroad. If more clinicians from Britain were to work at least part of their career abroad that effect would be somewhat offset, they would gain insight that they could not easily secure in Britain. They could have a significant impact worldwide.

There is a problem with accessing health services for some groups of recent immigrants however. The National Health Service is not a national service. Often services are limited, such a dental care, and recent arrivals to an area can be put at a

disadvantage because all NHS dentists are booked up. This affects all migrants, not just immigrants. More seriously, in 2004, proposals were made to further exclude overseas visitors from eligibility to use the NHS primary services. Only 'ordinary residents' of the UK are entitled to free NHS treatment (someone living lawfully, voluntarily, for settled purposes). This regulation is particularly detrimental to anyone who has recently arrived in Britain who may find it hard to establish that they are ordinarily resident here. If someone is found not to be ordinarily resident then everything is charged for except immediate A&E care. The Hippocratic Oath does not include a clause allowing this discrimination. The moral dilemma which doctors are faced with is also a moral dilemma confronting society as a whole. Do we really want to be the generation which dismantles the principle that a doctor's first concern is his or her patient, especially for such a spiteful cause?

Working class people are often talked down to by middle and upper class doctors.<sup>176</sup> Such doctors often resent the kind of work they find themselves doing. When they applied to go to Medical School it did not cross their minds that they might, later, be asked to work with sick people all day. A better skilled medical workforce would provide a far better resource for working class people.<sup>177</sup> Medical staff who come from abroad are less likely to see people in Britain as beneath them. If our doctors routinely worked overseas following training then teenagers might think more carefully before applying to medical school. The experiences they would gain from abroad would also be useful. Younger doctors in Britain have usually not seen cases of measles and tuberculosis. But both diseases are becoming more common in Britain. When the influenza pandemic or any similar event does strike, all of us, including the white working class, would benefit from the knowledge and understanding of a more internationally experienced health workforce.

#### **'My Boy's the Only White Boy in His School – I Can't Leave Him There Can I?'**

There are many ways in which children can be the only one in their school. Often this is hidden. For instance being the only child to be living with your

<sup>174</sup> Some policies similar to this were announced on 2 September 2008 as this chapter was being submitted.

<sup>175</sup> Worldmapper (not dated)

<sup>176</sup> Greenhalgh, Seyan and Boynton (2004)

<sup>177</sup> Seyan, Greenhalgh and Dorling (2004)

grandparents, the only child that has a particular illness, or being the only child to have reached grade 7 on the violin. When other children find out that someone is unique they can be badly teased and bullied; but all children are unique in many ways and all can be teased and bullied. In every class one child will be tallest, shortest, fattest, thinnest, have the most spots, the least friends, go through puberty first, or last. Being the only white boy in a class is just one of the only things your boy may be. Hopefully, it may well be the least of any problems he has. And it may well be your problem, not his.

However, if your child is being bullied because he is white, that is different from being bullied for having spots. Racist bullying is not equal to other types of bullying; it can lead to race hate violence. Racist bullying is usually worse because it is more structural and systematic, and it is more likely to persist and then translate into other forms of discrimination later in life. Being bullied for being the only child playing the violin is unlikely to follow that child into the job market. No bullying should be tolerated but especially racist bullying. Your child's skin colour will not disadvantage him in the job market, but no form of racist bullying can be tolerated because of where it leads a society. Would you want your son to adopt racist views because he was bullied? If the problem is teasing and bullying, then like any parent, you should expect the school to take it seriously and talk to all the children responsible – and their parents too.

If all children went to their nearest school there would be slightly fewer schools in which a single child was white, or of any other category. There would still, however, be a great number where there was only one child who was not white in a class. But if all children went to their nearest school it is likely that far fewer people would notice this anymore. That is because if there was one non-white child say in a village school, it would be because there was one non-white child in the village, not because that school had an admissions policy making it harder for other non-white children to gain entry (being 'faith' based for instance, linked to a particular denomination).

### 'But How Do We Stop Schools Becoming More Segregated?'

There is no evidence that schools in Britain are becoming more segregated by ethnicity but they are more segregated than are the neighbourhoods they draw from. It is very likely that they will become less segregated over time as the areas the schools are in have been becoming less segregated.<sup>178</sup> The way in which schools are becoming more segregating is by whether the children in them come from poor, average, or rich homes. The great new range of schools that the current government has created has been compared to Britain introducing a new caste system, with differing schools, academies, beacon and 'bog-standard' establishments catering for children thought of as being of differing inherent abilities. This is very bad news for all our children, rich and poor, black or white. If children walk to the nearest school: 1) they can walk rather than be driven; 2) the schools mix; 3) almost all children from the same street go to the same school so know each other; 4) fewer schools will appear to be very bad, nor will parents have to worry so much about trying to get into 'good' schools; 5) there will be fewer schools where your son is the only white (or black, or brown, or whatever) boy in the school; 6) there will be no single sex schools..

Why in some cities are schools more segregated than the residential areas which surround them? The reason for this is mainly the government's 'choice' agenda; in reality, low-income black and Asian parents find it harder to exercise choice and tend to downgrade their options.<sup>179</sup> Most will send their children to the nearest secondary school due to size of family, convenience, lack of access to own transport and avoidance of high crime areas. Importantly this is not an issue of self-segregation, as most BME parents prefer their children to go to ethnically diverse schools. Rather, it's an issue of resources, and will therefore almost certainly have such impact on white working class families as well, although the Runnymede Trust's study<sup>180</sup> which tells us about these issues did not include white working class pupils in their sample.

If we reverted to the system of our parents' time, when almost all children went to their nearest

178 Finney and Simpson (2009)

179 Weekes-Bernard (2007)

180 Ibid.

school, you might think that schools would become more segregated by wealth as areas are so segregated by wealth and poverty. This is not necessarily true, however, as part of the attraction of some wealthy areas is that local schools are seen as especially good, tend to be over-subscribed, and those parents more able to argue their child's case to get their children in. Here 'arguing' includes pretending to have religious beliefs for long enough to fool the selecting panels of the largest group of discriminatory schools in the country – the faith schools. If all children went to their nearest schools then the few poor children living in richer neighbourhoods would be almost certain to go to their neighbourhood school and the school would appear slightly less 'exclusive', house prices would become slightly less elevated and so on. Similarly, if all children in poor areas went to their local school, schools in poor areas would not appear as poor as they currently do. That is because currently there is massive commuting out to schools from poor areas.<sup>181</sup>

A policy of children only receiving free state education and going to their local school would probably reduce segregation in schools by income, wealth and race, but not by much because children are already so segregated geographically. To further reduce segregation between schools would require parents to have less incentive to segregate themselves by geography, would need them to live in less fear. If schools were better resourced according to the needs of their pupils then it would make less sense for a parent to try to get their child into a 'good' school by living in a 'good' area. More would be spent on their education were they to go to a school where children needed more resources. In practical terms a primary school at the 'bottom of the hill' in the poorer district might have two classroom teachers and two teaching assistants for a class of thirty children as compared to one as the 'top of the hill' having half as many staff. The precise ratios should be set at the levels at which it no longer matters to a rational parent where on the hill they live. You can tell when it no longer matters as then more parents choose the 'poorer' school. It is, in effect, a policy of 'bussing' additional staff to schools with low demand. It would only be a policy that would be feasible when people in this country realize the value of

educating their children as higher than many other ways we currently spend tax money (supporting American war efforts for instance).

### **'Multiculturalism or Britain, I Have to Choose Sides Don't I?'**

British society is a multicultural society so it is difficult to see what you would be choosing between if you were to try to choose. Every so often a politician or journalist suggests that it is time to make some choices. Some form of patriotism is needed. Often sport is involved or a perceived aspect of a thing they call 'Britishness'. These events are usually embarrassing. The temptation is to shy away and leave them to their ramblings. Occasionally, however, other people pick up on such suggestions and so it might help to choose to be on the side that knows a little bit about British and World history, cultures and multiculturalism, rather than on the side of ignorance.

For example, often things that are thought of as being especially British, 'tolerance' is an example, are not especially British. Often people in Britain are not especially good at things thought to be especially British, such as fairness. What people in Britain are unusually good at, compared with almost all of the rest of the rich world, is multiculturalism. Most countries in Europe do not have people from such a range of places as in Britain. People from different ethnic groups are permitted to mix far less in a country like the United States of America as compared to Britain. In the United States you will rarely see black and white couples together on television; there is a taboo against it. In contrast again, that often forgotten large population of the rich world, Japan, currently severely limits immigration to Japan. Japan is the fastest ageing large population on the planet. A majority of adults in Japan are now living on their own in single person households, such is population aging there. People in Japan are going to find coping with the immigration to come there much harder than we do in Britain. We could perhaps help.

Multiculturalism is Britain. It is one of the things that is quite special about Britain and which makes Britain less like other countries. If Britain were a less socially divided country, if working class people were not so poor compared to middle class people, and if middle class people were not so poor as compared to upper class people, then there may not be such recognizable differences in Britain.

<sup>181</sup> Dorling (2005)

Countries with much lower income inequalities, such as Iceland and Japan, have become far less concerned about the different cultures within those countries. You hear very little talk of different Japanese or Icelandic ethnicities. This is not because these two sets of islands are home to remarkably homogeneous ethnic groups, but because income and wealth inequalities are so much lower there. We often mistake the wealth divisions of Britain for multicultural differences. Britain is a country divided by wealth, but brought together by the many cultures that have found their way here over the centuries.

Incidentally, attitudes to immigrants in both Iceland and Japan are hardly a model of tolerance; people can appear overtly racist and are far less careful about their language than in Britain. Those few migrants that there are, from Eastern Europe and mainly Korea respectively, are greatly exploited. In both countries income inequalities are growing, yet in both, because of their more equitable social histories, life expectancy is much longer than in that third set of islands: of Britain. In the case of Iceland, as in much of the rest of Scandinavia, the rarity of resources made greater equality more necessary and a redistributive welfare state attempts to maintain that (although wealth inequalities are growing). In Japan it was the confiscation of land from the aristocracy and its redistribution by the American occupying forces that had the same equalising outcome (and it is very different mechanisms that maintain it). In Japan, wealth inequalities are currently falling but income inequality is rising. Had the histories of both countries been different, had Iceland been the centre of a world empire with American colonies, had Japan entered the Second World War on the side of America, race and ethnicity would mean very different things in both places.

### **‘What’s Worse than Getting Polish Workers in your Town?’**

Not getting Polish workers in your town! Have you tried getting someone to fix a leaking tap recently? More seriously, hardly any Polish immigrants are plumbers, but the Polish workers who have come to Britain are generally highly skilled and almost all go to where they are needed. If there are none where you live it is most probably because people where you live are not making enough money to employ them; businesses where you live are not expanding

enough to need them; or where you live is really not that desirable a place to come to. Often Polish workers are vastly over-skilled for the work they are doing in Britain.

Recent Polish immigration is not qualitatively different from other recent streams of immigration from abroad. Luckily for people in much of Britain in 2008<sup>182</sup> we are still seen as a desirable destination for significant numbers of migrants from abroad. The numbers who come here roughly match the numbers of people born in Britain who travel to work and live overseas. It is only because people come here that we have the freedom to travel and work abroad without there being a great detrimental effect on the economy in Britain. Every so often a few more people come into Britain than leave. Now is just one of those times. It is very fortunate for us that they do so because since the early 1970s women in Britain have been having fewer than two babies on average. Sadly many of the Polish workers are likely to move on before they have children. Britain has 1% of the world’s population but only ½ % of the world’s children.

As the British economy enters recession it is very likely that fewer people from Poland and other places will choose to come here. Countries like Germany will soon be opening up their borders to free movement of labour with Poland. People from Britain in a recession tend to go to work in places like Germany, to become immigrants abroad. This is especially true for working class men; usually their wives and children are left at home in Britain while they work abroad. You will be able to tell when the bad times are coming when the migrants from abroad stop coming, and some start leaving. Whether you will be able to carry on living where you live, or whether you will have to move to look for work elsewhere, or even go abroad, will depend on the extent to which your government decides to look after people in Britain. During the last major long-lasting recession, in the early 1980s, government chose not to do this. Far more people left Britain than came in during those years. Many never returned.

### **‘Living Separately is a Problem, Isn’t It?’**

We all ‘live separately’ and we all have links outside where we live, even if just outside the street. More

182 At least up until figures released by September 2008, although the economic shocks of that month might well result in far fewer migrants arriving in total in the months to come (and many may leave).



and more of us live separately despite being in long term relationships, and families in Britain now tend to be far more spread out and separated between places than they have ever been. Living less crowded lives is part of what we secure from being more affluent, but that is not what those who use this phrase are really talking about when they say there is a problem. What they are concerned about is a perception that people of Muslim faith tend not to mix, shop, play, go to school, or work with other people, as much as they might if such things were random. However, life is not random.

People don't mix from different areas in all sorts of ways. People don't tend to mix from Hinksey and Barton on opposite sides of Oxford, or Dore and Brightside on opposite sides of Sheffield. If we meet different kinds of people it tends to be in the centre of town. Should we be worried about this? Not really, unless someone sets us against each other or says we should move when we don't want to. In fact, we live separately in all sorts of ways – according to our income, how ill we are, what kinds of jobs we have – and that separation is getting worse at the same time as separation according to our race or colour is getting less (these things are measured by segregation indices).

People who have looked at it find that the level of separation between Muslims and others is not at all large in regions such as Yorkshire and Humberside. When you think of 'Muslim' areas in the region you will usually think of places that actually are very diverse. Of the 35 districts in Britain that had one ward at the last Census with fewer than 50% White residents, only one of them was in Yorkshire and Humberside. That one district is Bradford, and even there it's a minority white ward – called 'University' ward – which had 25% white residents, hardly a separation. During the year before the Census, more white residents came to that ward from other parts of the UK than left it and more black and Asian residents left the ward than came to it: so it is becoming more mixed from migration, not a separate ghetto.

Mixing takes place at the most intimate level too, in spite of all that talk about what people would let their daughter, and occasionally son do! According to the Census, a greater proportion of Muslims marry non-Muslims than white Christians marry outside 'their' group. That's simply because most white Christians live in areas where there is no-one

else to meet, and it shows how much easier it is for white folk to segregate than it is for other people to keep to themselves. People in mixed relationships are often ostracized. It was far worse in the 1970s and early 1980s when mixed couples often had to give up their children to adoption due to pressure from families and friends. Those days have gone for most, but not for all.

### **'Why Don't They Speak English? – They are Holding Themselves Back.'**

The government in England wants everyone to speak English fluently, but has cut funding for English classes. It says we should speak more foreign languages, but criticizes those who do! The administration in Wales wants more people to speak, read and write Welsh, but the government in England often forget this. There are very few people who cannot speak English at all in England. There are very many people in England who can only speak English. Most people in the world can speak more than one language, but not so in England. We are holding ourselves back by not expanding our vocabulary.

Almost all people in England welcome help to speak and read or write better. But just like anyone they do not relish being insulted or put down in their attempts to improve. By far the largest group of people who need help with their English speak, read a little, and write even less *only* English. Millions of adults in Britain are functionally illiterate. Everyone who finds English or Welsh difficult and who wants to learn should be helped to do better. Equally we need to learn other languages to better understand the rest of the world and each other. Otherwise we really are holding ourselves back.

Recently there has been official advice against providing translation services, documents in other languages, even providing translators when mothers are giving birth or people are at criminal trials. It should only take you a few second to imagine how terrifying it would be for you to be giving birth and for no-one around you to understand you, or to be trying to defend yourself in a court of law in your second or third language. The British are amongst the least literate people on the planet, partly because they can mostly get by just in English. But we expect things to be in English when we go abroad, or buy goods on the internet. We don't call ourselves immigrants when abroad, but 'ex-pats'. We need to learn

more about English and no longer behave as if we run a global empire.

### **‘Does White Flight Really Have Wings?’**

No. People move when they can get better housing and a better environment, when they can no longer afford the house they are living in, or when they grow up and leave home. They tend to move short distances unless they move to get an education or to a job a long way away. Those who have a bit more money can afford to move where they want to go, and move a bit further. The research on migration shows that the things that are associated with moving are the same for all ethnic groups in Britain.

In Yorkshire and Humberside there are only five districts with a concentration of black and Asian residents as high as 20% in one of their wards. If there was white flight you might expect there to be white people leaving those wards. But the census shows that white people did not leave Batley East in Kirklees, or University area in Bradford, or Burngreave in Sheffield, for other parts of the UK: more white people went to those wards than left them.

And in the other two districts, where there was movement of white residents out of the ‘black and Asian concentrations’, there is also movement of black and Asian residents out of the same areas. So for example in the year before the census, both white and other residents left Harehills in Leeds, and St Johns in Calderdale, the areas in each district that had the lowest white population.

But we can see that some areas are becoming ‘more Asian’ and ‘less white’. Whatever people say about why they move, the figures show that this isn’t because White people are moving out more than Asians. The inner areas are getting ‘more Asian’ for two other reasons. First it is because there are few older Asians yet – those who immigrated mostly did so only 30 or 40 years ago – so there will be relatively few Asians dying until the next couple of decades. Second, it is because there is still some immigration of wives and husbands.

This circulation of immigrants and their families first to inner city areas where there is cheap housing, and then out to better housing when they can afford to do so, is the same as the Irish and Jewish immigration last century. Over time people get used to each other – unless there is continued racism or discrimination that keeps some people in the worst

housing. Where social inequalities between people are allowed to be high and rise, racism follows.

### **Conclusion – ‘How Would you Like It if You Lived Here?’**

I wouldn’t. I don’t live in a poor neighbourhood, but I do live in an increasingly ethnically mixed neighbourhood. Thinking that your neighbours are your problem is a distraction from looking out at who really has what you don’t have. Ask yourself this:

Why are there people who can live in a flat in the middle of your city during the week, but are living somewhere else at the weekend? Why are there people who only come to their ‘homes’ a few times a year? Where else are they living? Why is there no longer any social housing in the countryside, or almost none? If you are poor there are unlikely to be many second homes near where you live, but where you live will be more crowded than if people today were spread between flats and houses as they were a couple of decades ago. In London the very rich are converting previously subdivided houses back into their original grand sizes, reducing the stock of housing for everyone else. Many of the richest million people on the planet own a house or flat in London as well as many homes elsewhere. Although there may be a servant household living in their London home, these second, third and fourth home owners have removed up to one million homes from being available in the capital alone.

There is enough housing in Britain for everyone to be housed. There are at least twice as many bedrooms in homes in Britain as there are people to sleep in those bedrooms. The same can be said of school books, of medicines, of jobs, of money. Britain is an extremely rich country, but it is one of those rich countries of the world where people have found it harder to learn how to share than elsewhere. Because we find it harder to share, we tend to be mistrustful. That mistrust results in fear, fear in the rich of the poor, fear in the poor of immigrants, fear in immigrants of prejudice. We need somewhere to go in place of fear. We live mostly in fear of monsters we have created in our dreams, but those monsters then become very real. It is our ignorance and stupidity, and our ability to be taken for a ride by those who already have most, which we should be most frightened of.

# Biographical Information on Contributors

**Wendy Bottero** worked at the Universities of Abertay, Cambridge, and Southampton, before joining the Department of Sociology at the University of Manchester, where she is a Senior Lecturer. Wendy's research interests are in the areas of stratification and class, and she has written widely on issues of social divisions, differential association and identity; and on social mobility and social change (most notably in her recent book *Stratification: Social Divisions and Inequality*).

**Danny Dorling** works in the social and spatial inequalities group at the University of Sheffield (department of Geography). He has lived all his life in England. To try to counter his myopic world view, in 2006, Danny started working with a group of researchers on a project to remap the world ( [www.worldmapper.org](http://www.worldmapper.org) ). He has published with many colleagues more than a dozen books on issues related to social inequalities in Britain and several hundred journal papers. Much of this work is available open access (see [www.shef.ac.uk/sasi](http://www.shef.ac.uk/sasi) ). His work concerns issues of housing, health, employment, education and poverty.

**Dr Steve Garner** is a Lecturer in Sociology at Aston University He is the author of *Whiteness: an Introduction* (Routledge, 2007), *Guyana, 1838-1985: ethnicity, class and gender* (Ian Randle Press, 2007), and *Racism in the Irish Experience* (Pluto, 2004). He has published articles on racism and white identities in *Sociology*, *Patterns of Prejudice* and *Parliamentary Affairs*, among others.

Over the past five years, he has carried out qualitative research on white identities in England with colleagues from Bristol-UWE, and later for the Department of Communities and Local Government.

**Kate Gavron** is the co-author, with Geoff Dench and Michael Young, of *The New East End* (2006). After a career in publishing she studied at the LSE, where her PhD research was on the Bangladeshi community of Tower Hamlets, London. She is vice-chair of the Runnymede Trust, a trustee and fellow of the Young Foundation, a trustee of George Piper Dances and chair of Carcanet Press, a poetry publishing house based in Manchester.

**David Gillborn** is Professor of Education at the Institute of Education, University of London. Recently described as Britain's 'most influential race theorist in education', he is the author of numerous books and articles, including *Rationing Education* (with Deborah Youdell) which won 'best book in education' from the Society for Educational Studies (SES). He is recognized internationally as a leading writer in the field and was recently honoured for his work 'promoting multicultural education' by the American Educational Research Association (AERA) special interest group on the Critical Examination of Race, Ethnicity, Class and Gender in Education. David's most recent book (*Racism & Education: Coincidence or Conspiracy?*) uses 'critical race theory' to expose how racism continues to saturate education policy and practice.

David also works closely with policy and advocacy groups, including the Stephen Lawrence Charitable Trust, the Runnymede Trust and the National Children's Bureau. In addition to his own research and teaching, David is also founding editor of 'Race, Ethnicity & Education', a leading international journal for the critical analysis of race and racism in education.



**Anoop Nayak** is Reader in Social and Cultural Geography at Newcastle University. His research interests are in the fields of race, migration and asylum; youth cultural studies; masculinities, education and labor; and whiteness, nationalism and new theories of social class. He is author of the monograph *Race, Place and Globalization: Youth Cultures in a Changing World* (Berg, 2003) and has recently published a book with Mary Jane Kehily entitled *Gender, Youth and Culture: Young Masculinities and Femininities* (Palgrave, 2008).

**Diane Reay** is a Professor of Education in the Faculty of Education, University of Cambridge with interests in social justice issues in education, Pierre Bourdieu's social theory, and cultural analyses of social class. She is currently working on issues of whiteness and is the author of 'A Darker Shade of Pale: Whiteness, the Middle Classes and Multi-Ethnic Inner City Schooling', published in *Sociology* 41(6). Her most recent book *Degrees of Choice: Social Class, Race and Gender in Higher Education* (2005, with Stephen Ball and Miriam David) examines inequalities in access to higher education.

**Ben Rogaly** is Senior Lecturer in Human Geography and a member of the Centres for Migration Research and for Life History and Life-Writing Research at the University of Sussex. Prior to this he lived in Norwich for seven years, working at the University of East Anglia. Ben has written widely on migration issues. His most recent book, co-authored with Becky Taylor, is entitled *Moving Histories of Class and Community: Identity, Place and Belonging in Contemporary England*. It will be published by Palgrave MacMillan in May 2009.

**Beverley Skeggs** worked at the Universities of Keele, York, Lancaster and Manchester before joining the Department of Sociology at Goldsmiths, University of London. She has worked in the areas of Women's Studies, Cultural Studies and Sociology. Her main publications include *The Media* (1992), *Feminist Cultural Theory* (1995), *Formations of Class and Gender* (1997), *Transformations: Thinking Through Feminism* (2000); *Class, Self,*

*Culture* (2004), *Sexuality and the Politics of Violence and Safety* (2004) with Les Moran, Paul Tyrer and Karen Corteen) and *Feminism After Bourdieu* (with Lisa Adkins). She has just completed an ESRC project on *Making Class and Self through Televised Ethical Scenarios*, a study of the new moral economy.

**Kjartan Páll Sveinsson** is a research and policy analyst at the Runnymede Trust. Largely as a result of travelling the world, where he developed a thirst for knowledge about the nature of cultural diversity, he decided to study social and cultural anthropology. It seemed, however, that with every one question anthropology answered, two new ones were raised. Thus, Kjartan has aspired to put his academic knowledge into practice and promote social justice. He works on Runnymede's Community Studies programme which explores small, less visible minority ethnic communities. His latest publication is *A Tale of Two Englands: 'Race' and Violent Crime in the Press* (Runnymede Trust, 2008).

**Becky Taylor** is a Lecturer in History at Birkbeck College, University of London, where she is interdisciplinary historian specialising in twentieth century social history. Combining archives, oral histories and field work she explores the impact of state expansion and the welfare state, as well as migration, and discourses of inclusion on marginal groups. She has recently published *A minority and the state: Travellers in Britain in the twentieth century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), and is co-author with Ben Rogaly of *Moving Histories of Class and Community: Identity, Place and Belonging in Contemporary England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, forthcoming May 2009).

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