

# In the work of tony sewell in

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In this essay I will argue that school as a formal education system has an insufficient awareness of learning, which significantly contributes to the academic failure of young students. It is also important to note that academic failure within these institutions does serve as an accurate indicator of a child's overall ability to learn.

There are several reasons for arriving at this viewpoint which are highlighted through the work of Tony Sewell in *Generating Genius: Black boys in search of love, ritual and schooling* (2006) and Gillian Evans in *Educational Failure and working class White Children in Britain* (2006). By providing the opportunity for black boys schooling in the UK to attend a summer education scheme in Jamaica, Sewell (2006) demonstrates how practical learning styles, and the reorganisation of an individual's social and material environment has the potential to awaken the academic 'genius' within. In a similar manner, Evans (2015) emphasises social class as a key factor in addressing underachievement within schools in which "white working class boys are doing worst of all compared to any other group of young people in the country" (Evans 2015: 9). This finding is surprising to many because it disrupts the dominant narrative that race, and namely institutional racism, is the greatest hindrance to academic achievement for young schoolboys in formal education systems. Nonetheless Evans' classroom participation in Pokemon affairs draws attention to a particular kind of intelligence among white middle class boys despite poor academic performance. This leads us to question the ways in which formal education systems might reap better results once taken-for-granted assumptions about learning are dismantled and revised in order to meet the potential of its occupants. Notably,

categories of race and social class have played a large role in contributing to debates surrounding academic success among children.

However, by drawing greater attention to social class, it becomes evident that it is the most significant factor in understanding educational failure, largely because it challenges our emphasis on race. Evans highlights that only 16% of white working class boys were achieving 5 GCSEs in which “white working class boys are the worst performing ethnic group in the country” (Telegraph 2016). This disturbs the notion that the current education system only disadvantages race in which a large proportion of the debate only focussed on institutional racism and the underachievement of African-Caribbean boys. It also displays the fact that African-Caribbean boys who are failing also happen to be from working class backgrounds. It suddenly becomes very clear that white, black and Asian boys from working class backgrounds have a lot in common, and more in common than focussing on race allows for. To only focus on race is to focus on difference however, by focusing on class, greater similarities can be drawn.

In this way, we can better challenge the formal education systems and the taken-for-granted assumptions about learning. This is not to argue that institutional racism does not matter but rather that there are also broader issues relating to social class that also significantly contribute to how well students pass through formal education. Lave's (1982) focus on learning emphasises that there is a rich variety of learning processes in which formal and informal learning are integral to every form of education. Formal learning can be understood as teaching that takes place through systematic,

formalised and explicit verbal and written communication. This is often presented through school education systems which function in a highly specific and institutionalised social environment. Notably, any form of learning that does not align with the latter is often deemed informal. However as humans have an advanced capacity for learning, it is important that we do not restrict the ability to learn to one particular social sphere, but instead observe and review many different types e.

g. at home and at school. In addition, we should be mindful not to fall into the assumption that the learning process is natural lest we take it for granted. There are deep structures that humans are involved in, and it is the content of the interaction and environment that influences the outcome of the learning process. Institutions must therefore recognise the value of informal learning, review the form of participation required in classrooms, and examine the possible reasons why the current formal education system is not prosperous for all students.

HIRSCHFELD In the process of childhood learning, anthropologists have been guilty of over-estimating the role of adults and under-estimating the role of children. However, to understand how things become cultural knowledge, we must be attentive to how children process information, because it is these cognitive processes that help us to understand adult life. For example, Hirschfeld (2002) highlights how well known games such as 'Cooties (US) have become children's unconscious culture, and are reproduced without adult intervention. Cooties can be defined as " a social contaminant that pass

from one child to another, a form of interpersonal pollution” (Hirschfield 2002: 617), and while cooties are invisible, cootiechildhood practices are not.

Ascooties are used as an offensive weapon and aim to exclude and stigmatiseparticular children, it shows that children have the ability to engage in asystem where individuals are strategically regulated through space. This game is solely enacted by andexperienced by children, and it is important that we credit them with the sortof intelligence, talent and agency required to practice such games. TOREN Similarly, Toren (1990)demonstrates that children are not passive recipients of the socialisationprocess but actively make sense of hierarchy. In Fiji, a child’s first experience of the classification of socialhierarchy is through materiality. They are able to co-operate and participateeffectively by bowing to the adult seated in the highest chair whilst adultsbow because he is the highest ranking in society. Despite their being a difference inunderstanding between adults and children, it highlights that children have thecapacity to successfully and effectively make sense of their social settings, and respond accordingly. Possessing the proficiency to act in an acceptblemanner, as a child, is indicative of how well children are able to process andlearn information.

It would beunfortunate to overlook this ability and underestimate the potential ofchildren to employ advanced intersubjective skills. EVANS In order to better organise formaeducation systems, school based-learning tasks must therefore incorporate asimilar form of participation required of children outside of school. It is not that all working classchildren do not have

the capacity to learn or participate appropriately in classroom settings, but that rather, there is a select number of those who do struggle, who must be accounted for and considered.

Evans argues that the working class child is often at great disadvantage in comparison to their middle class counterparts as a result of the parent-child interaction displayed in the home. She explains that working class parents “focus on other kinds of core values which tend not to hinge on the development at home of success in formal-learning-type tasks” (Evans 2005: 7). Whereas, intensive parenting by middle class parents often includes investing time and resources into ensuring their child is deemed ‘clever’, and so results in “the precocious development in children of proficiencies in formal learning type skills” (Evans 2005: 8). Both approaches to parenting can neither be judged as good nor bad but are made evident when education systems reward children for excellent class participation and contribution. This highlights the fact that, often, the ability to meet the form of participation required in formal learning settings is the standard at which an individual's learning capabilities are measured. By viewing the classroom as a particular situation, Lave and Wenger's (1991) situated learning theory highlights what forms of participation take place within it. The theory emphasises that humans actively learn how to participate appropriately. For example, Evans' ethnographic account in “Pokemon and Peers” demonstrates how her ability to draw Pokemon characters enthused the class and caused many to request drawings for themselves.

Noting that Evans was previously disregarded and ignored by several 'disruptive' class members prior to displaying her skill, it soon became apparent that her drawings paved access to class peer relations and granted a legitimate way to participate. As Pokemon was valued among students Evans could participate in a socially meaningful way and engage in a highly specific form of participation as a result of her competence. While disruptive class members failed to participate constructively in the formal learning style taking place in the classroom, their willingness to participate in Pokemon affairs highlights that learning is not subject to the formality of the classroom but also presents itself in informal matters. It also shows that institutions must learn what forms of participation are meaningful to schoolboys in order to stimulate participation.

As children enthusiastically trade Pokemon cards, we witness how a highly specialised sphere of exchange creates a form of competitive economy between children. Evans describes how children place the most value on rare Pokemon shinies in which the acquisition of such grants social prestige and influence. Reputation is also gained by skilful trading and maintaining a buff collection. This is reinforced as Evans' daughter pleads to buy another pack of Pokemon cards from the store, noting that hers does not contain any shinies. This illustrates that as children develop competence, they begin to embody a particular set of cultural values expressive of what people in this community of practice are striving for and are oriented towards.

Evans' daughter was dissatisfied with her cards because she identified that the absence of a Pokemon shiny would reflect poorly on her social presence within this particular community. This is a result of the fact that she has

embodied an ethical disposition as the emergent outcome of participation, which in turn helps to define what is good to do in order to become, and what is not. This example teaches us that children actively learn what is required of them in particular social situations and can successfully meet the demands of their environment when required.

Similar to the example in Fiji by Toren (1990) and playing Cooties, we see that children are capable of engaging in complex systems that mandate the capacity to learn actively. Arguably, it is not that disruptive children are unteachable or unwilling to learn, it is the form of participation and the learning style that is presented within classrooms that is unappealing, and so this generates resistance. Evans (2005) shows that while schoolboys resist the dominant form of participation, they actively participate in trading Pokemon cards on the basis that this form of participation is seemingly more valuable to them. Whereby, the sulky behaviour displayed by disruptive members of the classroom is an oppositional stance and a form of resistance to the participation otherwise expected. In order for 'disruptive schoolboys to enjoy and be receptive to classroom assignments, the classroom task must be meaningful to them.

SEWELL Sewell (2009) also identified that underachievement among black boys was not a sincere reflection of their potential. While others labelled them "the lost tribe" (Sewell 2009: 3), Sewell was persuaded that they were the next generation of scientists and doctors. With such, he initiated "The Generating Genius" programme alongside his charity, in order to raise aspirations among young black students, and demonstrate that they are



able to achieve academic success in a new material and social environment. The programme consisted of an intensive three-week course at Imperial College London and provided boys (aged 12 onwards), from failing schools, practical experience of science, engineering and medicine. The success of the programme showed that by investing in the academic potential of young 'failing' black schoolboys, they are able to attain the same academic achievements as their racial counterparts. The launch of Generating Genius as a summer programme at the University of the West Indies enabled participants to recreate the self. As the sense of self is emergent and is predicated on the material properties of an individual's environment, as well as the inter-subjective elements they are engaged with, the programme was able to challenge the social history of young black schoolboys.

Noting that the individual and the world are mutually specified, it proves difficult to separate the person from their social relations and reoccurring habitual acts, unless they are given the opportunity to rewrite the conditions of their existence. By travelling from the UK to Jamaica, the young schoolboys were able to dispose of the temptations to engage with gang culture and could instead participate in a new social learning environment that highlighted "the fun and responsibility of campus life" (Sewell 2009: 2). In doing so, the young schoolboys also