

Constructing Teacher Identity in Braithwaite's *To Sir, With Love*: A Bhabhaian Postcolonial Study

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ABSTRACT

E. R. Braithwaite's *To Sir, With Love* (1959) narrates a Black teacher's experience in a working-class school in London's East End. Previous research on the novel has focused mainly on racial prejudice and postcolonial integration, and few studies have examined how teacher identity is constructed through the novel's own narrative apparatus. This study addresses that gap through a qualitative descriptive-analytical design. Structuralism organizes the analysis, accounting for the sequence in which the novel's oppositions dissolve, while Homi K. Bhabha's (1994) postcolonial theory supplies the interpretive vocabulary for what that dissolution produces. Fifteen extracts were purposively selected through close reading of the novel's first edition (Braithwaite, 1959). Findings show that teacher identity is constructed through four categories: mimicry (4 extracts, 26.7%), ambivalence (6, 40.0%), third space (3, 20.0%), and hybridity (2, 13.3%). Ambivalence is the most frequent, reflecting the tension between institutional recognition and relational exclusion produced by racial othering, while hybridity marks the point at which teacher and students jointly author a classroom practice belonging to neither side beforehand. The study's contribution is methodological: professional identity in postcolonial texts can be read as a product of narrative structure and characterization, relevant to teaching postcolonial literature.

Keywords: Teacher identity; Structuralism; Characterization; Bhabha; Postcolonial literature

INTRODUCTION

Literary works of enduring significance often encode social and educational values that transcend their historical moment. E. R. Braithwaite's *To Sir, With Love* (1959) is one such text: a semi-autobiographical novel narrating the experiences of a Black teacher in London's East End during the post-World War II period. The novel has attracted sustained academic attention across several decades, yet existing scholarship has engaged with a comparatively narrow range of analytical concerns. Most prior research on *To Sir, With Love* focuses on racial prejudice, social

integration, and postcolonial discrimination. Saraıbaş (2020) examines how the novel critiques the gap between Britain's rhetoric of integration and the reality of racial exclusion in postwar educational institutions. Labh and Sapkota (2023) approach the novel through a pedagogical lens, analyzing how identity negotiation operates in multicultural classroom settings. Nandhini (2024) addresses teacher identity more directly but remains anchored in racial prejudice as the primary analytical variable. What these studies share is a focus on sociological and historical dimensions of the text; existing scholarship has not, as a primary concern, examined how teacher identity is constructed through the novel's literary architecture, including its narrative patterns, binary oppositions, and characterization techniques.

This gap constitutes the central motivation of the present study. The study argues that teacher identity in the novel is not merely thematized but structurally produced: it emerges through the interaction of narrative form, characterization, and the progressive dissolution of binary oppositions that organize the novel's dramatic movement. By employing structuralism as the primary analytical framework, and Bhabha's (1994) postcolonial identity theory as a complementary interpretive lens, the study offers a reading of teacher identity as a literary construction. This combination, not previously applied to this novel, constitutes the principal novelty of the study relative to prior scholarship. Specifically, the study examines (1) the characterization techniques through which Braithwaite is constructed as a character, (2) the four categories of postcolonial identity his characterization enacts, and (3) the narrative structure that governs the sequence in which these categories appear.

The study focuses specifically on teacher identity in order to maintain analytical depth within the scope of a journal article. The main research question is: how do characterization and narrative structure construct Braithwaite's teacher identity in *To Sir, With Love*? Two supporting questions guide the analysis: (1) through which characterization techniques is this identity built, and (2) how do Bhabha's four categories, mimicry, ambivalence, third space, and hybridity, account for its development across the narrative?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous Related Studies

The existing body of scholarship on *To Sir, With Love* is limited but instructive. Saraıbaş's (2020) study provides a comprehensive reading of racism and prejudice in postwar British education, demonstrating that the novel functions as a sharp social critique of an educational system that proclaimed integration while practicing segregation. This work establishes the racial context that shapes every interaction in the novel but does not engage systematically with how the teacher-protagonist's professional identity is narratively constructed. Labh and Sapkota (2023) shift the focus toward pedagogical identity negotiation in multicultural classrooms, analyzing how Braithwaite builds teacher-student relationships through shifts from confrontation to collaboration. While their study acknowledges the relational dimension of teacher identity, it does not foreground structuralism or

characterization as analytical tools, nor does it examine how narrative form itself produces identity meaning.

Nandhini (2024) comes closest to the present study's concerns by examining how racial prejudice challenges and transforms Braithwaite's teacher identity, demonstrating that this identity is not static but evolves through social interaction and conflict. However, the study's framework is primarily thematic rather than structural, and race remains the dominant explanatory variable throughout. The present study extends this conversation by proposing that Braithwaite's teacher identity cannot be fully understood without attention to the structural mechanisms through which the novel produces it.

Teacher Identity as a Professional Construct

Teacher identity in this study is understood as a professional identity that is relational and socially constructed rather than fixed by appointment or credential. Beauchamp and Thomas (2022) describe teacher identity as an ongoing negotiation between how a teacher is expected to act and how a teacher comes to understand their own practice through relationships with students and colleagues. Beijgaard et al. (2000) similarly argue that professional identity is not a stable attribute a teacher possesses at the outset of a career but something built through interaction over time, and that experienced teachers describe their identity through the roles they have had to negotiate rather than a title they were given. This relational, negotiated view of teacher identity is what makes Bhabha's (1994) postcolonial framework, developed to explain identity negotiation between unequal cultural positions, applicable to Braithwaite's situation as a Black teacher establishing authority within a predominantly white institution. If teacher identity is negotiated rather than simply given, the literary question becomes how a novel represents that negotiation formally, a question structuralism is equipped to answer.

Structuralism as Analytical Framework

Structuralism treats the literary text as a self-organizing system of relations in which meaning emerges not from any single element but from the differences and oppositions among elements. Saussure (2011) established the principle that language functions as a relational system, and Lévi-Strauss (1955, 1966) extended this principle to cultural narrative, identifying binary opposition as a fundamental organizing mechanism. In literary analysis, structuralism directs attention to narrative patterns and the formal mechanisms through which meaning is generated rather than to theme alone (Culler, 2002; Chelliah, 2018; Bertens, 2020). Todorov's (1977) tripartite grammar of equilibrium, disruption, and restoration further provides a model of narrative movement that maps directly onto the arc of *To Sir, With Love*, which proceeds from an initial state of disequilibrium through sustained conflict toward eventual resolution. Where structuralism explains the pattern in which identity is negotiated, Bhabha's theory names what is being negotiated at each stage of that pattern.

Bhabha's Theory of Literary Identity

Homi K. Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* (1994) develops a postcolonial theory of identity essential for understanding Braithwaite's situation as a Black teacher in a predominantly white institutional setting. Bhabha argues that colonial and postcolonial identities are never fixed but are produced through ongoing negotiation between cultural positions, and four of his concepts are directly applicable here. Mimicry happens when a person who has not yet been granted full authority within a dominant system nonetheless adopts the visible codes and behaviors of that system in order to claim a position within it; Bhabha (1994, p. 122) describes the result as an imitation that is never identical to the original, and it is that gap which makes mimicry unstable rather than simply successful. Ambivalence happens when a person is accepted and rejected within the same relationship at the same time, so that recognition and exclusion are not separated into different moments but pressed together into one continuous experience. Third space happens when teacher and students stop relating to each other through the original roles of authority and resistance and instead build a new kind of relationship that belongs to neither side alone (Bhandari, 2022). Hybridity happens when practices from two different cultural backgrounds meet inside the same setting and combine into something that did not exist in either background before the meeting took place.

Structuralism and Bhabha's theory serve two distinct roles in the analysis that follows, and this division is maintained consistently throughout the article. Structuralism organizes the analysis: it accounts for why the four identity categories are found to appear in the sequence mimicry, ambivalence, third space, and hybridity, following the movement from disequilibrium through conflict toward resolution that Todorov (1977) describes as a general narrative pattern. Bhabha's theory supplies the interpretive vocabulary: it names what each stage of that structural movement means for Braithwaite as a subject negotiating identity within the school. References to structuralism in this article therefore concern the narrative's organizing pattern; Bhabha's four categories are not themselves treated as structuralist categories, but as the content that pattern carries.

METHOD

Design and Samples

This study employs a qualitative descriptive-analytical design, appropriate for literary research that prioritizes depth of interpretation over numerical generalization (Creswell & Poth, 2023), and consistent with established standards of methodological transparency in qualitative inquiry (Hesse-Biber, 2021; Tracy, 2020). The primary data source is the first edition of *To Sir, With Love* (Braithwaite, 1959), published by The Bodley Head, London, the edition on which all subsequent scholarship on the novel has been based.

Instrument and Procedure

Data were collected through close reading, in which the researcher systematically read and re-read the full text to identify, mark, and compile passages relevant to the research objectives. Particular attention was given to narrative events, classroom interactions, internal monologue, and dialogue that illuminate how Braithwaite's teacher identity is established, challenged, and transformed. An initial pool of passages was first identified across the novel and organized into categories aligned with Bhabha's four identity concepts. From this pool, fifteen extracts were then purposively selected as the final data set, using three criteria: each extract had to illustrate its assigned category clearly enough to stand on its own, it had to add a feature not already covered by another selected extract in the same category, and the full set of fifteen had to maintain a spread across the early, middle, and later chapters of the novel rather than clustering in one section.

To manage consistency and reduce researcher bias during coding, the initial pool of passages was read and coded twice, with the second coding pass conducted after a two-week interval to reduce the influence of the first reading. Extracts whose category assignment was not identical across both passes were re-examined against Bhabha's (1994) category definitions and either reassigned or, in two cases, excluded from the final data set for lacking a single clearly dominant category. This procedure does not substitute for inter-rater reliability testing with a second coder, a limitation acknowledged in the Conclusion.

Data Analysis

Data analysis followed the qualitative framework of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014), comprising data condensation, data display, and the drawing and verification of conclusions. During condensation, the fifteen selected extracts were interpreted through a structuralist lens to identify binary oppositions and their progressive dissolution, then classified according to Bhabha's four categories. Table 1 illustrates this coding procedure with one representative extract.

Table 1. Sample of the Coding Procedure

Extract	Initial Code	Category	Interpretation
"I went in and walked directly to my desk, seated myself and waited... I waited until everyone was quietly settled, then called the attendance register." (Braithwaite, 1959, p. 50)	Performs authority before it is granted	Mimicry	The teacher borrows the outward form of classroom authority before the class has confirmed his position through relationship.

In the final stage, conclusions were synthesized by integrating structural analysis with identity theory and verified against the original textual evidence. The

distribution of the fifteen extracts across Bhabha's four categories is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Frequency of Teacher's Identity Categories in To Sir, With Love

No.	Category of Teacher's Identity	Total Extracts	Percentage (%)
1.	Mimicry	4	26.7
2.	Ambivalence	6	40.0
3.	Third Space	3	20.0
4.	Hybridity	2	13.3
	Total	15	100.0

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Characterization of Braithwaite: Narrative Techniques

Before analyzing each identity category, it is necessary to account for the literary means through which Braithwaite is constructed as a character, since characterization is the foundation on which every subsequent theoretical reading rests. The novel combines direct and indirect characterization within its first-person narrative mode. Direct characterization occurs when Braithwaite explicitly names his own internal state, as when he admits "I was not making the grade" (Braithwaite, 1959, p. 66) or recognizes "a concern to teach them for their own sakes" (Braithwaite, 1959, p. 85); these moments anchor the reader's interpretation at key turning points. Indirect characterization is built through the accumulation of what Braithwaite does, says, and how others respond to him: his controlled entrance into a hostile classroom, the racial label the students attach to him in their written reviews, and Pamela's spontaneous public defense of him on a train. Because the novel is written in the first person, indirect characterization carries particular interpretive weight, since traits Braithwaite is too modest to name directly become visible instead through the texture of lived experience.

Seven traits recur across the novel and together constitute the characterological substance that gives Bhabha's four identity categories their analytical force: self-discipline and emotional control, patience under sustained hostility, moral courage, genuine empathy, principled fairness, dignity under racial provocation, and pedagogical adaptability. These traits do not merely describe an admirable character; the same composure that appears guarded in the early chapters reappears, transformed by accumulated conflict, as confident moral authority by the novel's end, making characterization the connective thread between identity negotiation and narrative structure. Table 3 maps each trait to the identity category it most directly supports.

Table 3. Correspondence Between Characterization Traits and Identity Categories

Characterization Trait	Category Most Directly Supported
Self-discipline and emotional control	Mimicry
Patience under sustained hostility	Ambivalence
Principled fairness	Ambivalence
Dignity under racial provocation	Ambivalence
Moral courage	Third Space
Genuine empathy	Third Space
Pedagogical adaptability	Hybridity

This correspondence is not exclusive; several traits recur across categories. It indicates the trait most actively at work within each stage of identity negotiation discussed in the sections below.

Mimicry: Performing Institutional Authority Before Recognition Exists

Mimicry, as explained above, occurs when someone who has not yet earned genuine recognition within an institution adopts that institution's outward codes anyway, in order to hold a position that has not yet been secured through relationship. Four extracts illustrate this pattern during the earliest and most precarious weeks of Braithwaite's teaching. The clearest example occurs in his very first minute inside the classroom, when the students do not treat his arrival as significant. "I went in and walked directly to my desk, seated myself and waited... I waited until everyone was quietly settled, then called the attendance register." (Braithwaite, 1959, p. 50)

This extract qualifies as mimicry because Braithwaite does not wait for the students to recognize him as their teacher before acting like one. He performs the single most basic ritual of classroom authority available to him, taking the teacher's seat and calling the register, even though nothing in the room confirms that the students see him that way yet. He is borrowing the form of authority before its substance has been granted to him, which is precisely what mimicry means in Bhabha's sense. The same pattern becomes visible under greater pressure a few pages later, when the students wait to see how their new teacher will respond to deliberate disruption. "Anger was rising in me, filling my throat; but somehow I managed to hold myself in check. I walked back to my desk. Keep calm, I said to myself, you've got to keep calm." (Braithwaite, 1959, p. 54)

This extract also fits mimicry, but shows a more internal version of the same performance. Braithwaite feels an emotional response that has nothing to do with professional composure, yet he consciously suppresses it and returns to the posture a calm, in-control teacher is supposed to have. The composure the students see from

the outside is, on the inside, a deliberate act of self-construction rather than something that comes naturally to him at this point. The same gap between private feeling and public performance reappears when the class breaks into laughter at an incident Braithwaite privately finds just as funny as they do. "It was really very funny... But, for good or ill, this was my classroom, and Clinty's words were still echoing in my ear. I let the laughter run its course." (Braithwaite, 1959, p. 57).

This extract shows the category working on Braithwaite's own spontaneous responses rather than only on his outward conduct toward the class. He admits his personal reaction would have been to laugh along with everyone else, yet he withholds that reaction because joining in does not belong to the institutional role he is still constructing for himself. A final example shows mimicry taking its most adaptive form, when Braithwaite responds to the students' tactic of banging their desks by changing the format of the lesson itself. "...I was often driven to the expedient of bringing the reading to an abrupt halt and substituting some form of written work; they could not write and bang their desks at the same time." (Braithwaite, 1959, p. 67)

Braithwaite does not abandon the institutional role of teacher when the students resist him; he uses his knowledge of how lessons are structured as a tool for keeping control of the room. His authority is still being built on borrowed institutional procedure rather than on a relationship the students have chosen to give him, the same underlying condition found in the three extracts above. Taken together, all four extracts share one structural feature: Braithwaite holds his position as teacher through formal codes of institutional behavior at a stage when nothing in his relationship with the students yet supports that position on its own.

Ambivalence: The Double Bind of Institutional Presence and Racial Exclusion

Ambivalence, as defined earlier, occurs when acceptance and rejection arrive together in the same relationship rather than as two separate events. This is the most dominant category in the findings, represented by six extracts spanning the early and middle chapters, and its weight in the data reflects the fact that Braithwaite holds the teacher's institutional position while simultaneously being treated, through race and through the students' cold withdrawal, as someone who does not fully belong in the social world that position is supposed to grant him. "Maybe Braithwaite will try a little black magic on them?... He seemed to delight in being irritating, yet always with a smile on his face." (Braithwaite, 1959, p. 62)

A colleague's racially loaded remark, delivered with a disarming smile, is the first sign of this double bind: Weston speaks to Braithwaite as a colleague while the content of what he says carries a racial sting, and the smile prevents either reading from being confronted directly. The same pattern appears on the students' side that same afternoon, in lessons completed without resistance but also without genuine engagement, and turns inward soon after in one of the novel's clearest images. "...as day followed day in painful procession, I realized that I was not making the grade.

It was as if I were trying to reach the children through a thick pane of glass, so remote and uninterested they seemed." (Braithwaite, 1959, p. 66)

Braithwaite is physically present in the room, formally holding the position of teacher, and the students are present too, yet a barrier sits between them that prevents that physical closeness from becoming real recognition: he has the role without the relationship. A different facet of the same double bind appears when Braithwaite reaches for a more personal register of authority and a student, Monica, refuses that extension immediately. "'Tell me,' I replied... 'Do you use such words when speaking to your father?' 'You're not my bleeding father.'" (Braithwaite, 1959, p. 68)

The school grants Braithwaite the role of teacher and the students accept that much, but the moment he reaches for something more personal, the same students who tolerate his classroom authority refuse him completely. Two chapters later, even as most of the class softens toward him, one group continues to withhold recognition on purpose, and the double bind resurfaces at its sharpest a few pages after that. "As I turned away from him, I distinctly heard the muttered 'Bloody black bastard.'" (Braithwaite, 1959, p. 81) Here the acceptance and the rejection happen within seconds of each other: Braithwaite has just acted with the authority of a teacher, and the response he receives treats him as nothing more than a racial target. Across all six extracts in this category, Braithwaite is never simply accepted or simply rejected; he is required to carry both conditions at once, and it is the pressure of carrying both that eventually forces his identity to change rather than stay fixed.

Third Space: The Emergence of Voluntary Mutual Recognition

Third space, as defined earlier, occurs when teacher and students stop relating to each other through the original positions of authority and resistance and build a relationship that belongs to neither position alone. Three extracts, drawn from the novel's middle and later chapters, trace the gradual appearance of this new relationship. The first clear sign of change appears when the established pattern of morning greeting suddenly reverses without warning. "'Good morning, Sir.' I was so surprised I must have gaped at them for a moment before returning their greeting. This had never happened before." (Braithwaite, 1959, p. 97)

The students are not simply following an instruction; they are choosing, on their own initiative, to begin the relationship on equal footing with their teacher rather than waiting to be addressed first, a choice belonging to neither the old pattern of authority nor the students' earlier resistance. The same kind of voluntary recognition reaches beyond the classroom walls when market vendors near the school begin to know Braithwaite by name. "The vendors soon knew who I was... 'That's our Marie's teacher.'" (Braithwaite, 1959, p. 151).

The word "our" signals that the community has folded Braithwaite into its own language of belonging rather than treating him as an outsider who happens to work at the local school; the warmth is voluntary, the same quality marking every extract

. in this category. The clearest and final example occurs at the graveside of a student who has died, where Braithwaite's own language about the class changes in a single moment. "...for there, standing in a close, separate group on the pavement outside Seales' door was my class, my children." (Braithwaite, 1959, p. 173). Braithwaite no longer describes the students using the institutional word "class" alone; "my children" belongs to neither the formal authority of his original role nor the resistance the students once showed him. The opposition that organized the early chapters has, by this point, given way to a relationship that preserves the difference between teacher and student while removing the distance that once came with it.

Hybridity: The Formation of a New Classroom Culture

Hybridity, as defined earlier, occurs when practices from two different cultural backgrounds meet inside the same setting and combine into something new that neither background produced on its own. Two extracts capture this process, and although it is the least frequent category in the data, Bhabha (1994) treats it as the point where identity formation reaches its fullest expression. "The choice is yours; the young ladies will be addressed as 'Miss' and the young men will be addressed by their surnames." (Braithwaite, 1959, p. 73)

This new rule is not simply imported from one culture into the other without change. The students' East End habit of informal, familiar address meets Braithwaite's more formal sense of courtesy, and what results is a classroom code that did not exist in either culture before this moment. Whether the new code will actually take hold is still uncertain at this point in the novel, and a colleague's reaction makes that uncertainty explicit. "She was dubious about the wisdom of imposing unfamiliar social codes on the children, yet, as I had already committed myself, she hoped it would work." (Braithwaite, 1959, p. 76)

Miss Blanchard's word "unfamiliar" confirms that the new classroom culture is genuinely experimental rather than a smooth or guaranteed success: it does not belong to the students' existing social habits, nor does it belong fully to Braithwaite's original training, since he is adapting that training to conditions it was not designed for.

The significance of hybridity in this analysis extends beyond these two extracts. Where mimicry shows Braithwaite performing an institutional code alone and ambivalence shows that code being simultaneously accepted and refused by others, the address system in Chapter Nine is the first practice in the novel that both sides visibly adopt and sustain together: by the later chapters, students use the new forms of address without prompting, and the code has become simply how the classroom operates rather than a rule imposed from outside it. This is what makes hybridity, despite its low frequency in the data, the structural endpoint the other three categories move toward: mimicry establishes a code unilaterally, ambivalence contests it, third space builds the relational trust required to sustain it voluntarily, and hybridity is the moment that trust produces a practice belonging to neither party alone. The novel's narrative arc is therefore not simply resolved by third space's

mutual warmth; it is completed when that warmth becomes a durable, jointly authored classroom practice, which is precisely what the two hybridity extracts document.

Narrative Structure and the Production of Teacher Identity

Structuralism's contribution to this analysis is to show that the order in which these four categories appear across the novel is not random. The early chapters establish the oppositions that organize the whole story, teacher against students, authority against resistance, racial inclusion against racial exclusion, a pattern that matches what Todorov (1977) calls the opening state of disequilibrium in a narrative. The middle chapters introduce the changes that begin to dissolve those oppositions, as Braithwaite adjusts his teaching and starts building the relationship that will later support third space. The later chapters show the result of that change: students take part in lessons without being forced to, defend their teacher in front of strangers, and reach the point, captured in the graveside extract discussed above, where Braithwaite himself can no longer describe them in purely institutional terms.

The disruptive behavior of the early chapters, including the desk banging, the racial insults, and the cold, mechanical compliance, is therefore not just a difficult backdrop Braithwaite has to push through; it is the force that drives the story forward, since each act of resistance creates a problem Braithwaite must respond to, and each response moves his identity one step further along the path from mimicry through ambivalence toward third space and hybridity. These findings also reposition the three earlier studies discussed above. Saraıbaş (2020) treats racial conflict mainly as historical and social critique; this study treats the same conflict as the engine that produces the narrative tension the story eventually resolves. Labh and Sapkota (2023) treat Braithwaite's classroom strategies mainly as teaching technique; this study shows that those same strategies double as characterization devices that reveal who Braithwaite is becoming. Nandhini (2024) treats racial prejudice as the main force shaping Braithwaite's identity; this study shows that racial prejudice is one part of a larger structure that also includes characterization, binary opposition, and the overall shape of the narrative arc.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that teacher identity in *To Sir, With Love* is not assigned by appointment but produced through a structured process of narrative and characterization. Using structuralism as the organizing framework and Bhabha's (1994) postcolonial identity theory as the interpretive lens, the study finds that Braithwaite's teacher identity is constructed through four categories: mimicry (4 extracts, 26.7%), ambivalence (6 extracts, 40.0%), third space (3 extracts, 20.0%), and hybridity (2 extracts, 13.3%). Ambivalence is the most dominant, reflecting the structural condition in which Braithwaite sustains institutional authority under simultaneous professional uncertainty and racial othering, while hybridity, though least frequent, marks the culminating creation of a classroom culture neither Braithwaite nor his students could have produced alone.

The study's principal contribution is methodological: by treating characterization and narrative structure as primary objects of analysis rather than theme or historical context, it opens a line of inquiry into how literary texts produce professional identity, applicable beyond this text to other postcolonial narratives in which professional identity is a central concern. This approach also carries a pedagogical implication: it gives literature-teaching contexts a way to discuss teacher identity as something built through narrative craft, not only through social theme, an angle directly usable in the classroom teaching of postcolonial literature.

Several limitations should be acknowledged. The findings rest on fifteen purposively selected extracts from a single novel, so the category weightings reported here reflect this study's reading rather than an exhaustive count of every relevant passage in the text. Assigning each extract to a category also involved interpretive judgment; while a two-pass coding procedure was used to check consistency, the analysis was conducted by a single researcher without an independent second coder. Future research may extend this approach through comparative analysis with other teacher-centered novels, which would help test whether the sequence of categories identified here is specific to this novel or reflects a broader pattern, before combining the approach with frameworks such as critical race theory or Bourdieusian field theory for richer comparative readings.

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