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The Impact of Arts Education Programmes on Anti-Racist School Practice in the South West of England

By

HEATHER KNIGHT

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Author's Declaration

At no time during the registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other University award without prior agreement of the Graduate Sub-Committee.

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Abstract

Heather Knight

The Impact of Arts Education Programmes on Anti-Racist School Practice in the South West of England

In predominantly White schools, a common belief exists that anti-racist education is unnecessary, despite a rise in the number of people who admit to being racially prejudiced. A colour-blind approach, which silences issues of race, tends to dominate in schools, while, fear of 'getting it wrong' prevents meaningful dialogue. My thesis addresses the question, in what ways do arts programmes support anti-racist education in predominantly White areas? This includes two threads. Firstly, I take a critical race theory approach, drawing on Whiteness studies, to explore White teachers' and school students' assumptions about racism and education. Secondly, using a critical pedagogy framework, I investigate learning through anti-racist arts projects. The fieldwork is ethnographically inspired, including interviews, focus groups and observations of participants' engagement with arts programmes that visit primary and secondary schools in Devon.

I found a gap between theoretical and common understandings of racism. Participants' conceptualisations of racism shaped their beliefs about anti-racist education and their methods of engagement, which, in the contexts studied, tended towards promoting niceness rather than tackling deep-rooted racism. Furthermore, racism was found to have embodied and aesthetic components, which lead to racist thoughts, feelings and behaviours, either willingly or unwittingly. Teachers' tendencies to force respect through classroom control appeared ineffective, by masking rather than addressing embodied racism.

My research contributes to the literature on critical race theory and Whiteness studies by offering insight into the ways that White teachers and students construct anti-racist practice. My findings add to critical pedagogy by suggesting that when dialogue has been silenced, and fears surround the subject matter, critical art pedagogies that work at the emotional and cognitive levels can offer additional methods of engagement. However, working to uncover embedded racism can challenge the notion of safe classrooms and requires teachers and students to take risks by engaging with the embodied and sensual aspects of racism, which can be both disturbing and exciting. My research offers hope through presenting new ways of thinking about and engaging with, anti-racist school practice in predominantly White areas.

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Chapter 1: Treading a Troublesome Terrain

This thesis seeks to answer the overarching question, in what ways do arts programmes support anti-racist education in predominantly White areas in South West England. When using the term anti-racist education, I refer to pedagogical approaches that challenge different forms of racism, such as stereotyping, violence, perpetuating systems of advantage/disadvantage and destroying cultures (Fredman, 2001), as part of a broader purposeful strategy to transform racist structures (Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs, 2017). See chapter two for a discussion on anti-racist education. My study has two main threads, expressed as sub-questions: (1) how do White teachers and students, in predominantly White areas, conceptualise their learning about issues of race? (2) What kinds of learning takes place amongst White primary and secondary school students, in predominantly White classrooms, who take part in anti-racist arts projects? I begin by outlining the aims, focus and rationale for this thesis and situating the research by discussing previous work in this area. I then describe key concepts and terminologies in contemporary race work. Next, the rural context in which the study takes place is introduced. The second half of this chapter explores competing approaches to working with diversity: multiculturalism, colour-blindness and anti-racism. This is followed by an examination of prior art approaches to anti-racist education. Finally, I provide a chapter synopsis to outline the thesis content.

Bridging the Gap: Aims, focus, rationale

In an increasingly globalised world, communities are becoming more diverse in a range of areas such as ethnicity, culture, religious beliefs, gendered expression, sexual orientation, skills, abilities and economic capitals. While recognising the intersections of these characteristics, this thesis focusses mainly on issues of ethnic diversity in education. Resentment and hostility towards multiculturalism are growing in some quarters, evidenced by a surge in popularity of far-right political groups including the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP). UKIP present migration as a problem and immigration to Britain as a concern. The party has five 'Pledges to Britain', three of these relate to reducing British ties with the wider world; these being, leaving the European Union (EU), tighter controls for immigration and cutting international aid (UKIP South West, 2015). A sharp rise in the reporting of racist incidents has occurred following the results of the recent European Union (EU) referendum, which led to a 52% to 48% vote in favour of Britain leaving the EU. The 'Brexit' results appear to have legitimised hate crimes (BBC World News, 2016). According to the British Social Attitudes (2013) survey, the number of people who admit to being racially prejudiced is on the rise. Meanwhile, educators are required to teach increasingly diverse cohorts, yet the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) reports that many feel under-equipped to do so. In 2012, just under half of newly qualified teachers stated they did not feel prepared to teach pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds (TTA, 2013). This figure improved in a 2013 survey; yet, over a third of newly qualified teachers still report a lack of confidence in working with Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) children. As a result, many BME children, who are subjected to racial discrimination, are left unsupported in their educational setting and restricted by

teachers who feel unable to meet their needs (Maylor, 2010), which can have long-term consequences regarding self-esteem, identity and life chances (Courd, 1971). Education has the potential to help create social change. However, when action is not taken, schools risk repeating the same patterns of behaviour, which reinforce racial inequalities, and allow racism to continue. This problem is not easily resolved because the issue of racism has become taboo, to the extent that many people fear to discuss the existence of race (Leonardo, 2009). As the ability to work with diverse communities becomes ever more relevant, inability to talk about race can lead to feelings of disturbance that are difficult to articulate. Consequently, dealing with issues of race in schools becomes problematic, when teachers do not feel they have the necessary experience and do not feel they can participate in a dialogue about things they find troubling. My thesis aims to bridge this gap by engaging in a dialogue about racism with the purpose of supporting teachers and educators to engage in anti-racist education.

As expressed in the opening paragraph, this thesis has two key themes. Firstly, it takes a critical race theory approach to examine the issue of racism through a lens of power and privilege. Secondly, it explores critical art pedagogy as a method that utilises the arts for social justice purposes. The rationale is founded on the idea that when issues of race are difficult to talk about or conceptualise, art media may offer an alternative language for engagement. This research is situated in the predominantly White area of Devon in South West England, which is gradually becoming more visibly diverse, in parts. The purpose here is to explore the perceptions of White teachers and White students who are growing up with minimal experience of racial diversity and potentially have

limited exposure to positive discourses of racial diversity, which might counteract negative media portrayals.

This research offers an original contribution to empirical knowledge by addressing an identified gap in research regarding how White teachers and students conceptualise their learning about issues of racial diversity. Little is known about the practice of teaching and learning about diversity and especially how White teachers conceptualise learning about multicultural teacher education (Lowenstein, 2009). Lack of research into White teachers' perceptions of their learning is problematic given claims that schools are imbued with racism (Gilborn, 2011) and that White students and trainee teachers resist learning about racism and systems of oppression (Evans-Winters and Twyman, 2011). Resistance is found to be magnified in rural areas due to a regular assumption that racism is not a problem (Gaine, 1987, 1995, 2005). Conversely, a marked increase in racist incidents has been reported to the extent that, in rural areas, towns and smaller cities, racism has been described as appearing "almost systematic" (Burnett, 2011:3). The combination of these factors can lead to complex challenges for teachers. This thesis explores this troublesome terrain and in doing so, contributes to the theorising of Whiteness along with adding to the knowledge of educational practice and professional development of teachers and educators. Finally, through exploring a critical art pedagogy approach, the thesis offers a creative and innovative approach to supporting this topic of local, national and international concern.

Scope and limitations of previous studies

In a UK conference presentation in 2003, David Gillborn (2008) introduced ideas about critical race theory to a predominantly White audience. He included a discussion about Whiteness as a system of supremacy that serves to maintain an advantage for White students and disadvantage Black students. Afterwards, no one spoke or asked questions nor desired to engage in dialogue about the issues raised. Gillborn (2008:163) states, "My presentation was met with total silence". Mazzei (2008:1127) explores the issue of "racially inhabited silence". She draws on Morrison (1992), to explain silence as a purposeful strategy used by pre-service teachers who feel uncomfortable when faced with a discourse that shifts the focus of diversity from the racial object (non-White other) to the racial subject (White self). Mazzei (2007:1) argues that the "silent speech" which can follow, reveals much about attitudes and behaviours related to race. Evans-Winters and Twyman (2011) found that White pre-service teachers use silence to resist counter-hegemonic pedagogies and thus reinforce institutional racism.

Gillborn (2008) argues that race inequality does not come about accidentally but is deeply entrenched in a system that privileges White people. He contends that this is no coincidence; White teachers and policymakers engage in a conspiracy that upholds White superiority. The notion of conspiracy is based on the idea that when people in positions of power act in ways that lead to unequal outcomes the result is a conspiracy, irrespective of whether people set out to conspire. Gillborn (2013) argues that those who believe people should be judged on their good intentions contest this stance. He argues that good intentions are not enough; all people make mistakes and must be ready to listen and learn from others. Gillborn

(2013) maintains that currently, across the UK, Europe, Canada and the USA, there is a drive, amongst White people to reassert the rights of the ethnic majority. He argues that, when minoritised groups point out behaviours that are offensive or lead to inhumane treatment or violence against them, the group who holds power tends to respond by stating, "You do not get to tell us what to do". Gillborn (2013) argues that the free speech argument is often perverted at this point and used as a way to maintain the power of the privileged to say and do as they want, thus reinforcing a system of White supremacy.

A growing focus on issues of power and privilege in race studies has led to a rise in the literature on Whiteness. The Whiteness studies approach serves to shift the focus from Black people as victims, which can result in preserving Whiteness as the norm against which all other groups get measured, to a focus that seeks to unpack White privilege and explore the structures of inequality. Emerging from the US, critical race theorists have shown ways in which White students and teachers resist learning about issues of race. It has been found that students experience fear and guilt and hence disengage from learning (Wall, 2001), express denial and become defensive finding it difficult to conceptualise the privilege that White skin brings (Zingsheim and Goltz, 2011) or become hostile and reinforce their status through performances of racial superiority (Warren, 2001).

There is an emerging body of literature in the UK influenced by critical race theory, albeit critical race theory is still in its infancy in the UK (Chakrabarty, Roberts and Preston, 2012). For example, Gillborn *et al.* (2012) explore Black middle-class parents' interactions with their children's teachers and expose White teachers'

lower academic expectations, greater disciplinary scrutiny and criticism compared with White children. Thus, Gillborn *et al.* (2012) expose how White teachers maintain an advantage for White children and disadvantage Black children, this being a key focus of critical race theory. Rollock (2012[b]:517) draws attention to racial microaggressions, which are "subtle and insidious" forms of racism that tend to go undetected by White people, yet can be very wearing for Black people, due to their regularity and the tremendous difficulty with making such incidences visible to the White majority. Pearce (2005) uses diary extracts to explore her teaching practice and her journey as a White primary school teacher teaching children of predominantly Pakistani or Bangladeshi origin. Her thinking moved from believing she was part of the solution to her pupils' inclusion to recognising she, and other White teachers might, in fact, be part of the problem.

While the literature on critical race theory and Whiteness studies are emerging, much literature on racism focusses on the experiences of victims rather than theorising the position of perpetrators. This is especially so for literature based on the South West of England context in which my study takes place. Jay (1992) exposes a range of racist behaviours experienced by Black families living in the South West, including cases where racism was experienced daily. The report records the complacency of organisations and services and lack of willingness to address the agenda of racism. Dhalech (1999) built on Jay's report by identifying BME groups in the rural areas of Cornwall, Devon and Somerset, identifying their needs and exploring what they perceived the barriers were regarding organisations and services meeting their needs. Burnett (2011) explores a contemporary picture of racism in Plymouth, Devon by drawing on these previous reports and examining the changing demographics of the area, which have given

rise to new patterns of racism. These include increased activity from far-right groups in rural areas and increasing numbers of racist attacks, especially on asylum seekers. Similar research exists, which explores the difficulties faced by BME groups living in overwhelmingly White areas. For example, Scourfield *et al.* (2005) explore the effect on the social identities of minority ethnic children living in virtually all-White communities in the South Wales valleys. They found children use different strategies to cope with racism, including identifying as special and as better than those from the same ethnic group who live in cities, identifying as White and wishing they could change their skin colour. While such works demonstrate the impact of racism on individuals and families, there is a need for further literature exploring Whiteness and theorising the position of perpetrators in predominantly White and rural areas.

In education settings, a range of identified themes appears to be reoccurring over time. The Runnymede Trust, a UK based race equality think tank, provides a collection of reports and publications, which expose the extent of racism in the UK including in racial inequalities in schools. One such report, produced almost two decades ago, uses achievement statistics along with qualitative accounts to expose inequalities in schools and unfair treatment towards BME students. Themes include being exposed to high degrees of control and criticism by White teachers, being reprimanded for engaging in the same behaviour as other White students, whose behaviour goes unpunished, and being perceived as challenging even by teachers who are committed to ideas about equality (Amin *et al.*, 1997). These themes reoccur in contemporary literature, showing that little has changed. For example, Crozier (2005:585) highlights, what she calls, "a war" against children of African Caribbean origin, due to being one of the "lowest achieving

minority ethnic groups in the UK and are disproportionately one of the highest ethnic groups of children excluded from school". Indeed, Black children are three times more likely to be excluded from school than White children are (DfES, 2005). In Crozier's (2005:586) study, parents state that their children often find themselves in trouble, "no matter how hard they try 'to do the right thing' in school". This was found to be especially so for Black boys, who were subjected to "disproportionately high amounts of control and criticism from White teachers" (Crozier, 2005:586). Crozier (2014) states that the academic achievement of pupils of Black Caribbean, Bangladeshi and Pakistani heritage remains lower than the rest of the population, despite policy developments put in place by New Labour (1997-2010), which introduced race equality initiatives and targeted BME underachievement.

A discourse of underachieving Black children can be a double-edged sword, in that it describes an issue, which very much needs tackling, yet at the same time can fix an assumption of Black people as low achievers. Maylor (2014) seeks to challenge the discourse of Black students as underachievers often held by White teachers, which she argues reinforces negative stereotypes that lead to unfair treatment of Black children. She states that the focus for intervention to improve Black children's underachievement tends to be centred towards how Black parents can improve children's motivation, aspirations, self-esteem and behaviour. To counter this, Maylor (2014) identifies the role of teachers in shaping Black children's attainment and their role in reinforcing underachievement. Teachers in the US and UK tend to be White, female and middle-class and have little experience of the backgrounds of many of the children they teach. Trainee teachers are known to feel inadequately prepared to teach minority ethnic

children (TDA, 2005, 2007, in Maylor 2014:3). Maylor (2014) argues for a critical discussion about race and education of different ethnic groups. She seeks to improve equality through equipping teachers to be better prepared to improve Black children's outcomes.

Equipping teachers to engage in anti-racist education can be especially problematic in rural and predominantly White areas, where a prevailing assumption exists that if few BME people are present racism does not exist and therefore there is no need to implement anti-racist strategies (Gaine, 1987, 1995; Dhalech, 1999). Myers and Bhopal (2015:25) explain that discourses of racism are understood differently within predominantly White rural populations. They argue that a "culture of complacency" exists whereby dealing with racism is understood to be "irrelevant to the actualities of rural life and schools". Consequently, people who report incidences of racism are often dismissed and recast as threatening to the image of the school or area. Myers and Bhopal (2015:24) found that parents who challenged racism were identified as "villains rather than the victims". Dhalech (1999) challenges the image of the "rural idyll" which leads many White rural residents to believe that BME people do not belong there and to cover up incidences of racism that might soil the idyllic image of the countryside. Gaine (1987, 1995) reveals the contradiction in predominantly White and rural areas between deeply ingrained hostile attitudes towards BME people and a common belief that there is no problem. The idea that racism is not a problem in rural areas is problematic in itself. This perspective assumes that only the White majority matter and fails to consider that White children need to develop the ability to grow up to live and work and contribute to a multicultural world. Derman-Sparkes and Ramsey (2006) argue that not doing anti-racist work

damages White children too by allowing them to grow up with a false sense of superiority and racial entitlement.

Engaging in anti-racist education is troubling for many White people. Since it involves acknowledging the existence of a system that privileges the White majority, which can be an uncomfortable position to take. It involves adopting humility, being prepared to acknowledge mistakes and being prepared to stand against the tide of the White majority who will inevitably oppose this position. Ladson-Billings (2009) argues that, due to education's image as a 'nice field', researchers and theorists will have to take bold and often unpopular positions, where they will be vilified, misrepresented and potentially become permanent outsiders. Nevertheless, this is an important position to take when addressing injustice, although discomfort will inevitably be felt. There is a growing body of work proposing that engaging with discomfort is an important starting point for individual and social transformation. For example, Boler (2004) argues for a disruptive pedagogy, which includes honouring troubling feelings and exploring these in the classroom. Shotwell (2011) argues that paying attention to uncomfortable emotions such as shame and sadness can act as pivotal moments for change. Zembylas (2010:703) argues for an "ethic of discomfort" as a way to conceptualise new emotional challenges, which are arising for teachers who are adapting to changing working conditions as communities become more multicultural.

My research explores a predominantly White and rural context. Much work in rural areas focusses on the lived experiences of BME people, and the reluctance of the White majority to accept racism exists and engage in strategies to reduce it

(for example, Jay, 1992; Dhalech, 1999; Burnett 2011). Little is known about how White teachers and students in such areas perceive and experience anti-racist education. My thesis adds to the field by exploring this terrain using critical race theory, critical pedagogy and Whiteness studies.

It is not all Black and White: Concepts and Definitions

A thread running throughout Gaine's (1985, 1995, 2005) trilogy of books about Whiteness in UK schools, is a challenge to the idea that if there are few Black people present that there is no problem with racism and therefore no need to learn about issues of race. Gaine (2005) argues that White people tend to conceptualise racism as something to do with Black people rather than something that goes on in their own heads. Thus, they can shift responsibility for resolving racism. Ahmed (2012[a]) argues that Black bodies often come to embody race. She illustrates ways in which Black people are frequently assigned to deliver anti-racist studies and policies in education settings. Ahmed (2012[a]:204) argues, "If you embody race for them, they do race through you, which can be a way of not doing race". Instead, valuing diversity has become a mainstream discourse with White people preferring to learn about diversity and multiculturalism rather than racism (Ahmed, 2012[a]). This section explores some of the contentious, multiple and ever-changing meanings of terminologies that arise about anti-racist education. For a more in-depth discussion of anti-racist education, see chapter two.

Race and Racism

In Britain today the term race is used freely as a means of distinguishing between various groups of people of different appearance and cultural origin. However, Mason (1995) put forward the contention that there are no races. The term became a popular way of grouping people around the turn of the nineteenth century. Mason (1995) argues that the growth of European exploration, coupled with the rise of scientific thinking following the eighteenth century period of Enlightenment, became a perfect breeding ground for both exploring and exploiting the idea of race. This was partly due to the growing interest in ideas of science and classification and partly because it legitimised colonisation and the brutality of slavery. People were grouped according to skin colour and physical characteristics and ranked to suggest levels of superiority and inferiority. Before this time, the word race for grouping humans was rare. Miles (cited in Mason, 1995:8) argues that race is an ideological construct used by those who wish to maintain that there are real fixed differences between groups of humans. Race became a model for linking physical variance with personal, social and cultural competencies. Pseudoscientific explanations of race were overthrown by the discovery of genetics and the recognition that there is more genetic variation amongst people of the same supposed race than between different supposed races.

Within contemporary social science literature, it is acknowledged that race is socially constructed and therefore speech marks are frequently placed around the word race (Walters, 2012). However, Warmington (2009) argues against the use of race in what he calls scare quotes. He states that despite race being an

ideological illusion it possess an objective quality, which allows the formation of racialised boundaries and categories that lead to very real lived experiences. The term ethnicity is often used interchangeably with race and can be seen as a preferable term due to it being more objectively accurate (Warmington, 2009). It can also be seen as a more positive term that relates to attributes that bind people together, such as, shared ancestry, heritage, culture, language and customs, whereas race divides people by skin colour, hair types and facial features (Pilkington, 2003). However, the use of the term ethnicity to replace race has been challenged, because this obscures the reality that race is a central social practice regardless of which words are used (Warmington, 2009). Warmington (2009) suggests that replacing the term race or rendering it an ideological illusion can lead to the utopian notion that racialised categories are no longer relevant and we are now living in a post-racial world. Paradoxically, although race is not a scientific reality, it is very real in terms of its social and economic consequences. Thus, race is indistinguishable from racism, which Warmington (2009) argues, must be subjected to constant interrogation not be something to overcome.

Leonardo (2012:20) argues that "there are at least two ways to define racism: as a system of privilege or as a system of oppression". The first relates to a concept of racism as a system of power. The equation of Prejudice + Power = Racism (Bidol, 1970; Katz, 1978) is used to explain that acts of prejudice done by people who benefit from institutional power, contribute to systemic racial oppression. Conversely, those who do not possess institutional power can be prejudiced but cannot be racist. Leonardo (2012:21) argues that under this discourse, "people of color can be just as hateful as whites and perpetrate individual acts of violence toward them, but they cannot be called racists". He points out that this definition

of racism centralises the role of power and highlights who benefits from racialised systems. The second definition points to the idea that actions of people of colour can be racist if they contribute to maintaining a racist system. However, Leonardo (2012) argues that not all racist acts are the same and the actions of people of colour are not equal with similar actions from White people:

> …attention to racist acts as opposed to racist people does not suggest that… all racist acts are the same, …as if to call a black person a 'nigger' is somehow the same as calling a white person a 'honky'. A sophisticated conceptual analysis arrives at the historically divergent material source of the meaning of each term – both derogatory but different in force (Leonardo, 2012:21).

A standard position on racism is that it is fuelled by ignorance and competition for resources. The notion of ignorance (Macpherson, 1999) has been used to explain thoughtless racial discrimination that arises when White people have had little contact with diverse cultures. The ideas that racial conflict is about competition for employment, housing and culture become exacerbated when Black people arrive. Gaine (2005) recognises that material factors can have an impact, yet, he maintains that racism goes far deeper than this and far deeper than ignorance. Gaine (2005:2) found that lack of knowledge was not the problem but rather too much knowledge and wrong knowledge:

> Their [people in White areas] views were not random collections of muddled ideas; they were patterned: the same stereotyped, negative, detailed myths were cited all the way from Cumbria to Cornwall (Gaine, 2005:2).

This suggests racism that has been learnt and learnt in a way that allows it to spread as a national pattern. Gaine (2005:2) refers to this as "learnt misinformation". He argues that young people, in predominantly White areas, do not arrive in schools ignorant about BME groups; knowing little, but rather

believing they know a lot, and what they think they know is negative. People, who believe they mean no harm, are often unaware of the harm that is nevertheless caused by embedded understandings, and unquestioned assumptions and behaviours. People whom unwittingly, engage in repeated acts of ignorance may be unaware that such acts are experienced as discrimination and contribute to institutionalised racism (Magne, 2003). The idea that their own behaviours are racist can be hugely problematic for many White people due to the "force of the label" (Gillborn, 2008:3). People can react defensively to the word racism due to its highly derogatory nature, which Gillborn (2008) argues shows a failure or refusal to engage with understanding how racism operates. Nevertheless, due to the discomfort and fear generated by the label of racism, terminology such as promoting diversity and multiculturalism tend to be preferred in education settings.

Diversity and Multiculturalism

Ideas about Britain being a multicultural nation have been developing since the 1960s following the recruitment of workers from the Caribbean and Asia after the Second World War (Modood and May, 2001). Multiculturalism sought to address hostility towards the newcomers by actively valuing cultural diversity and the contributions that such diversity brings. Parekh (2000:ix) put forward the idea that Britishness should be conceptualised as having a plural identity, where difference is celebrated as a "community of communities". Rosenthal and Levy (2010) propose that Multiculturalism has three key threads: 'important differences', 'appreciating contributions' and 'maintaining cultures'. 'Important differences' relate to all cultures being recognised, respected and celebrated through areas such as a multicultural curriculum, use of diverse resources and through

celebration events and festivals. 'Appreciating contributions' recognises and promotes positive contributions to society from diverse groups, such as in history, science, literature and sport. These can take the forms of Black History month, trips, role models and visitors to schools. 'Maintaining cultures' involves keeping and celebrating customs and traditions, thus opposing an assimilationist ideology. However, the multiculturalism project has been questioned. Multicultural education has been accused of exacerbating and eroticising differences and patronising pupils through a 'tourist curriculum' (Owen, 2010:18). Howarth and Andreouli (2012) argue that as a philosophical concept and as a policy multiculturalism is seen as both a solution and a problem:

> On the one hand, it is praised for advancing equality and social recognition and on the other hand, it is criticised for creating inequality and social fragmentation (Howarth and Andreouli, 2012:4).

Promoting diversity is an arm of the multiculturalism approach. The concept of valuing diversity seeks to remove the negative associations of challenging racism and instead focus on the positive contributions that racial diversity can bring. Ahmed (2012[a]) argues that valuing diversity has become a mainstream discourse. However, issues exist in that diversity tends to be linked with ethnic minority groups rather than exploring the diversity of all groups and individuals. Sleeter (2014:86) argues, "Diversity studies too often stress learning about the other rather than engaging with or learning to work in solidarity with diverse others". Maylor (2010) found that when diversity is taught in the curriculum, it is regularly associated with minority ethnic groups and their cultures and heritage. Ethnic and religious groups tend to be homogenised rather than explored for the diversity that exists within such groups. Equally, there is a lack of reflection on White British diversity and diverse regional identities, such as Scottish, Welsh and Northern

Irish ethnicities. As Maylor (2010:248) points out, this suggests, "that only minority ethnic groups have diversity which others need to learn about". She suggests that both majority and minority ethnic pupils are finding diversity education to be a negative experience. Maylor (2010:249) proposes, "Educating about 'diversity' should enable pupils to counteract notions of homogeneity and discourage them from seeing minority ethnic cultures as fixed and essentialised".

Ahmed (2012[a]:206) argues that diversity documents, such as race-equality policies, describe education settings as having certain "qualities, characteristics and styles" and therefore, the existence of such documents gives the false impression that those settings are made up of those components when they may lack diversity. Ahmed (2012[a]:208) argues that some practitioners use the term diversity as a word for engaging people around race work, due to it being a 'cuddly' term, which is an easier term to engage with than racism, which can be challenging. Ahmed (2009:41) discusses the problem and paradox of diversity. She argues that diversity is often seen as a numbers game by getting more "people of colour to add colour to the White faces of organisations". The presence of a few diverse people is seen as evidence of commitment to change and progress (Ahmed, 2012[a]). However, Ahmed (2012[a]) argues that an orientation to the concept of diversity allows institutions to feel good while obscuring inequalities. Diversity policies are said to have marketing appeal that allows institutions to portray themselves as happy places that celebrate diversity. Diversity becomes a brand that conceals racism while promoting a veneer of anti-racism (Ahmed, 2012[a]:207). Therefore, according to Ahmed (2012[a]) 'doing diversity' is the inclusion of people who look different to the White norm. It does not mean behaviour, perspectives and treatment have changed, but rather it is

the presence of different coloured bodies, with no transformation having taken place.

However, it can be argued that some changes have taken place over time. Gaine (2005) states that political opinion moved from a position of indifference and curiosity in the 1980s to opposition and undermining of race equality in schools in the 1990s. He argues this evolved again to a position where some educators and policymakers were more willing to support change and value racial diversity, yet claims there is still much to be done. However, Gallagher and Pritchard (2007) question whether advances made towards favouring multiculturalism are being eroded. The authors highlight that a discourse of assimilation, which argues for people to fit in and be like the host culture, was gradually giving way to a multicultural model, which preferred to celebrate diversity, seeing the strengths that it can bring. However, the authors argue that this idea is being eroded and return to an assimilationist ideology is occurring following the events of 9/11 and fears that permitting difference can lead to the growth of extremism.

In a previous study (Knight, 2014), I found that providing opportunities for young White people to mix with Black people, where little previous opportunity had occurred, helped to challenge previously held stereotypes and conceptualisations of 'the other'. However, dichotomous ways of perceiving others appeared to persist, with fears of certain groups being "not like us" being replaced by the new notion that they are "just like us" (Knight, 2014:94). This perceptual movement is problematic in that it still works within a framework of people being either fearfully different or relief that they are the same, which misses the actuality that there are both similarities and differences amongst us all. However, this small-scale study

focusses on a small group of young people and does not take into account discourses arising around religious differences and media representations of Muslims as being essentially different, which add further complexity to the debate. Meanwhile, the conceptualisation that Black people are 'just like us' appears to play to an assimilationist framework that prefers sameness, at least in tastes and behaviours even if diversity in terms of skin colour is favoured. Thus Ahmed's (2012[a]) assertion is highly plausible; promoting diversity of faces can obscure a lack of diversity and hide organisational racism.

Black, White and Coloured

The terminology of race and racism can cause much confusion, which can lead to hesitance and resistance to engaging in dialogue amongst White people, due to fears of using the wrong language. In part, the confusion is motivated by changing terminology in the UK and different meanings being attached to terms around the world. Gillborn (2008:2) points out that "people of color" is an accepted term in the US, whereas the word coloured is considered outdated and offensive in the UK. Nevertheless, coloured is still used especially in more rural and predominantly White areas and amongst older populations, still influenced by a legacy that viewed the term Black as negative (Brah, 1996). Indeed the racial colour coding of a past era deliberatively linked derogatory judgements to colour, which were attached to imagined races. Gobineau (1856), whose ideas were used to formulate Nazi propaganda, added colour descriptions to categories of race, proposing that people could be grouped as black, white and yellow (Solomos and Back, 1996). Mason (1995) points out that in the English language colours were emotionally loaded concepts. For example, black was the colour of

death, evil and debasement, yellow signified cowardliness. Red has also been used as a loaded racial concept to portray Native Americans as hot-blooded and aggressive through the term Red Indian. In contrast, white is used to represent good, purity and virginity. Following the reclaiming of the term, Black as a positive concept, many anti-racist activists and theorists use the term politically to encompass all ethnic groups who are subjected to colour based racisms (Brah, 1996). An alternative term used in the UK is Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) people, which seeks to describe a variety of ethnic groups. However, the term minority is controversial given its negative connotations and inaccuracy due to White people being the minority globally. Gillborn (2008) states that the term minoritised rather than minority is a useful descriptor for highlighting the constructed nature of the relationship. This actively points out what is done to certain ethnic groups rather than accept the term minority as a simple descriptor.

In considering the terminology that I will adopt for this thesis, I decided upon using the term Black in the political sense of it encompassing all ethnic groups who are disadvantaged by a system that privileges White people. I include a theoretical section on Whiteness in the following chapter. By theorising Whiteness as a system of supremacy that benefits people who are visibly 'white', it seems logical to utilise the term Black in a similar way to refer to those minoritised (Gillborn, 2008) by this system. For this purpose, I choose to capitalise the concepts of Black and White to signify their role in describing being part of a constructed system rather than describing skin tone. Exceptions are when I am quoting authors who have not capitalised these words. I am aware that these descriptors are inadequate. According to Zack (2004:153), "there is general myopia about the black-white dichotomy". Zack (2004:153) points out "the black-white racial

dichotomy imposes a myopic linguistic convention, which holds that everyone belongs to a race but that there are only two races: Negro and Caucasian". People of the world who do not fit the opposites of Black or White, often perceived as African/Caribbean or European, immediately appear not to exist. Scholars are increasingly questioning whether generalised categories such as Black and Asian are adequate to describe, "Highly differentiated ethnic and racial minorities with quite separate cultural and religious traditions" (Solomos, 2003:210). All those people who fall into the categories of neither Black nor White immediately become Black. As a result, "non-white 'mixed race' voices are marginalised in current debates" (Mahtani and Moreno 2004:313). Opposing standpoints exist regarding eradicating or modifying these terms. On the one hand, there are those that wish to end restrictive terminology, to avoid the "binary traps of categorisation" (Mahtani and Moreno 2004:314). Conversely, the terms Black and White can be viewed as useful tools to understand and challenge racism or concepts that perpetuate negative discourses and maintain divisions between those who are White and those who are 'not-White'. Zack (2004:153) maintains "in a context where race is devalued…racial designations are as racist, i.e., as cruel as racist devaluations" since they limit individuals due to their biases. A counter argument insists that removing the terms Black and White will destroy the positive tone of Black pride that Black activists have fought hard for, and will eradicate the ability to describe and challenge the systematic oppression of people who are 'not-White'. Gilman (2000:230) argues that removing the use of the terms may not eradicate the underlying problems, "in reversing the idea of race we have not eliminated its negative implications, we have only masked them". Hence, while I wrestle with my discomfort of the inadequacy of current terminologies, driven in

part by being a White mother of brown-skinned children, for now, I press on with the political notion of the concepts of Black and White.

Contextualising the Study: White rural racism

The summer of 2001 marked the start of a new era in anti-racist work, following a number of race-related incidences. These include, 'race riots' in the Northern towns of Oldham, Burnley, Bradford (Casciani, 2001), and Aylesbury (*The Guardian*, 2001), police clashes in Leeds with Asian young people (Allison, 2001), and the terrorist bombings of Sept 11th in the US (BBC History, no date). Bell (1980) argues that changes that benefit non-White people only come about when it becomes in White people's interest to implement change. Hence, the changes that followed can be seen the result of fear rather than a desire for an equal society. New policy initiates included *Community Cohesion* (Cantle 2001), the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 (RRAA), the Prevent Strategy (2008) and the Single Equalities Act (DfE 2010). The Community Cohesion agenda (Cantle 2001), sought to improve race relations, tackle growing extremism within different community groups, and build integrated resilient communities. RRAA placed a duty on organisations to "eliminate unlawful racial discrimination" and actively "promote equality of opportunity and good relations between persons of different racial groups" (CRE, 2002). The key principle of the RRAA being that it was no longer sufficient to tackle incidences as they happened, but to work pro-actively to prevent them from taking place. In schools and communities, teachers and educators were bound by a duty to work to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination, promote equality of opportunity and good relations between people of different

racial groups (DfE, 2002). In schools, Personal, Social and Health Education (PHSE), Citizenship classes and multicultural education were also added to the school curriculum. The Equality Act 2010 brought together nine areas that were protected from discrimination, harassment and victimisation, such as, race, religion and belief, sex, gender and disability. However, despite these policy initiatives, racism remains.

The British Social Attitudes survey (BSA) (2013) shows the changing nature of attitudes towards ethnic diversity in the UK. The data shows a decline in self-reported racial prejudice throughout the nineties, falling to an all-time low in 2001. Then, a sharp rise in self-reported racial prejudice occurred in 2002, following the 9/11 attacks in New York and the invasion of Afghanistan. However, self-reported prejudice reveals the extent to which people feel able to admit their thoughts rather than actual feelings about race. Nevertheless, the figures show that in 1987 38% of those surveyed said they were either "very" or "a little prejudiced" against people of other races, this declined to 25% in 2001 and rose back to 38% in 2011 (BSA, 2013). The following year it dropped back to 26%, possibly be due to the positive impact of the London Olympics (Taylor and Muir, 2014). The downward trend then rose back to 30% in 2013. According to campaigners, the findings are partly due to a decade characterised by "9/11 and the subsequent "war on terror", rising inequality and increasing hostility towards immigration – especially from Eastern Europe" (Taylor and Muir, 2014). Since the 2016 EU referendum results of 2016 were announced there has been a vast increase in reporting of racist attacks (Parveen and Sherwood, 2016).

Trevor Philips, former chair of the Commission for Racial Equality, argues that it is unlikely that people's views on race fluctuate each year, but that certain events make people more or less comfortable about discussing how they feel; "They are emboldened at certain points to discuss their discomfort" (Philips, in Taylor and Muir, 2014). The notion of being able to discuss discomfort is a crucial driver of my research, in that I explore perceptions, assumptions and experiences of White people. For this purpose, my research uses a qualitative methodology to explore in depth the issues and perceptions held by teachers and students and their relationships to their learning about issues of race. An ethnographic approach has been selected so that participants can be observed as they learn through the medium of art projects, which come into their school environments. The process includes interviews and focus groups to explore participants' conceptualisations of their learning experiences. Ethnographies explore the cultures and meanings that people attribute to the situations they inhabit. It involves a commitment to cultural interpretation, yet recognises that meanings and interpretations are continually constructed and reconstructed (Punch, 2005). The sample includes White teachers and students in Devon, South West England who took part in art projects working with issues of racial diversity.

My study takes place in four schools: one in Plymouth, two in Exeter; and one in a rural town, all located in Devon in the South West of England. Although Devon hosts the two cities of Plymouth and Exeter, due to their geographical location they hold many characteristics of rural areas through being less developed than many of England's larger cities and far less multicultural. However, the demographic and economic climate of Devon is changing with more businesses investing in the area in recent years and higher migration. The settings in

Plymouth and Exeter are particularly relevant due to their historical contexts, having developed rapidly over the last decade from predominantly White cities to more multicultural environments (Burnett, 2011). Many communities have struggled to adapt to recent demographic changes, resulting in an alarming rise in the number of racist incidents. Rayner (2001) used government statistics to produce a map of race crime, in which the region of Devon and Cornwall was highlighted as the second most likely area in England to become a victim of racial crime. Since this time, hate crimes are reported to have increased:

> Hate crimes in Plymouth have increased significantly in recent years and the number of racist incidents reported to the police rose by 60 percent between 2004/05 and 2009/10: from 224 to 359 incidents. However, such is the extent of under-reporting that the Plymouth & District Racial Equality Council (PDREC) estimated that throughout the city there are, in reality, at least fifty racist or religiously aggravated incidents a day (Burnett, 2011:3).

Local research has documented the unique complexities of racism in rural Devon, ranging from acts of ignorance to institutionalised racism to overt race hate crimes (Magne, 2003). Rural areas are said to be faced with specific challenges that differ from more multicultural urban areas, due to the minimal experience of cultural diversity. Myers and Bhopal (2015:2) draw on Chakraborti and Garland (2004) to describe forms of racism in the countryside that range from "low-level harassment such as name-calling and staring, to graffiti, physical attacks, damage to property and petrol bombing". Ironically, this is found to be coupled with a regular assumption from White indigenous populations that racism is not a problem in rural areas (Gaine, 1987, 1995, 2005).

Contrary to the assertion that racism is not a problem, negative attitudes towards racial diversity are found to be greater in predominately White areas. Christ *et al.* (2014) found that people living in the least diverse areas were the most racist.

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However, they found that after moving to more ethnically mixed areas White people develop more tolerance towards ethnic diversity even if they have no direct contact with other ethnic groups. However, if Black families move into overwhelmingly White areas, tolerance amongst White people does not generally improve due to new proximity to Black people. Instead, hostility tends to increase. Gaine (1987, 1995) explored attitudes amongst White children living in predominantly White areas and found much negativity towards ethnic minority groups and entrenched beliefs about people with brown skin being allegedly dangerous and undesirable. This led Gaine (2005) to locate racism, not in relation to the bodies of Black people but the heads of White people. This analysis counteracted the idea that if no Black people were present, there was no problem with racism. However, Gaine (2005) postulated that holding negative ideas and hostile stereotypes do not necessarily manifest in harassment and hostile treatment. He points out that children may have demeaning ideas about Africans or hold images of Muslims being frightening while also have an African or Muslim friend. In such incidences, the known friend is protected by the assumption that they are somehow different from the 'others'. Nevertheless, the existence of hostile imagery in the imagination of White people, in predominately White rural areas, leads to substantial hostility towards Black people on the whole (Jay, 1992; Dhalech, 1999; Burnett, 2011). The combination of a region with high levels of hostility towards racial diversity, coupled with the assumption that a problem does not really exist, along with resistance to learning due to fears and discomforts and a belief that such learning is unnecessary, can make teaching and learning about issues of racism especially problematic in the South West of England.

Battle for Equality: Multiculturalism, colour-blindness and anti-racist approaches

In UK education settings, a discourse on race and cultural diversity emerged in the 1960s, in response to migrants arriving from the West Indies, India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh (Modood and May, 2001). In schools, responses sought to counteract "the racialised rejection and perceived 'alienness' of the newcomers" (Modood and May, 2001:306). Two discourses became prominent, one of anti-colour prejudice, which proposed that people should be judged on their merit, not their visual body type, the other on welcoming and celebrating, whereby including the cultural practices of newcomers was encouraged (Modood and May, 2001). The second approach was later criticised for its superficial nature. Troyna (1987) called it the saris, samosas, and steel bands approach and criticised the tokenistic way in which it was often carried out; it did not seek to counteract racism and could reinforce it by making other cultures seem alien, strange or exotic. Modood and May (2001) contend that these early responses paid little attention to the cultural isolation and impact of racism on ethnic minority children, nor did these early responses consider the educational impact of racism and the underachievement of Black pupils, which came to be identified in later years.

During the 1970s the Labour Government requested an independent inquiry into the causes of underachievement of children of West Indian origin. The Rampton Report was commissioned, which highlighted racism as a contributing factor along with cultural biases in IQ testing, lack of trust between teachers and parents of Black children, negative stereotyping and inadequacy of teacher training to support working in multicultural classrooms (Rampton, 1981). The inquiry caused

considerable controversy when it also highlighted racism amongst teachers, some unintentionally, some deliberately. This included having low academic expectations of West Indian pupils and believing that they are unlikely to achieve academically but will instead be good at sport, dance and the arts. Some teachers were found to hold negative and patronising attitudes towards Back children, believing them to be either a problem or deserving of sympathy. The Rampton Report argued that by highlighting these issues, they could "help teachers to be more aware of the implications of their actions" (Rampton, 1981:13). However, this was not received well by the new Conservative government, who pressurised Rampton to resign and subsequently be replaced by Swann (Modood and May, 2001).

The Swann Report (DES, 1985) changed the focus from anti-racism to inclusion for everyone, as emphasised in the title of the report *'Education for all'* (Modood and May, 2001). The idea being that *all* children should be able to participate fully in society, diverse ethnic communities should be able to maintain their distinct ethnic identities, and multicultural education should be promoted. Following the Swann report, it was hoped that studying of a range of cultures within the curriculum would foster tolerance and racial harmony. Promoters of this Multicultural approach argued that racial prejudice could develop through lack of understanding and appreciation for other ethnic groups and thus diversity should be celebrated. Critics, however, argue that emphasising the distinctness of racial and ethnic groups, even if done positively, could result in continued racial stereotyping (Rosenthal and Levy, 2010).

Tension ensued between anti-racist approaches, which sought to address structural and racial inequalities and multiculturalist approaches, which focused on a broad, inclusive agenda. Modood and May (2001) discuss contestation between multicultural and antiracist education, pointing out that some anti-racist educators regarded these, as ''oppositional and antagonistic forms'' (Mullard, 1984:12, in Modood and May, 2001:308). The anti-racist critique of multiculturalism is that it fails to address the core issue of racism in society and that the focus on celebrating cultures merely acts as a form of tokenistic diversion. In contrast, the multicultural critique of the anti-racist approach was that it tends to dichotomise racism as a Black/White struggle, leaving out the experiences of other ethnic groups and missing a growing form of racism such as cultural prejudice. A further critique was that a militant form of anti-racism, casting all White people as racist, caused further hostility from White people. Modood and May (2001) conclude that multiculturalism and antiracism should not be seen in opposition but as paired discussions, where both fill in for the weaknesses of one another:

> …the antagonism between multiculturalism and antiracism was always a false dichotomy. Such positions can be seen to be dialectically engaged voices that address the weakness of the other, rather than as oppositional forces (Modood and May, 2001:314).

A third approach, the colour-blind model, is based on the idea that by ignoring skin colour and treating everyone the same racism will eventually disappear. Rosenthal and Levy (2010) highlight three colour-blind approaches: 'similarities', 'assimilation' and 'uniqueness'. Similarities relate to promoting connection across intergroup identities such as promoting a sense of Britishness. Assimilation proposes that all groups should adopt the ways of the dominant mainstream

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culture. Uniqueness ignores the value of ethnic identity and instead focusses on an individual's characteristics. The idea is that 'you cannot judge a book by its cover'. The assimilationist nature of the colour-blind approach is unlikely to be successful in a world where racial and ethnic group categories affect people's life experiences and can be profoundly important for people's sense of identity. I engage in a more in-depth discussion and critique of the colour-blind approach in the following chapter.

The multiculturalism model is facing a growing critique. Howarth and Andreouli (2012:1) state that multiculturalism has been declared a failure. The authors claim that Britain and other European countries are experiencing a "backlash against cultural difference". Gallagher and Pritchard (2007) suppose that the multiculturalism model is being pushed back in favour of a return to an assimilationist approach. This coincides with a move to promote Britishness, as seen in the language of the Community Cohesion strategy (Cantle, 2001) and through the introduction of British Citizenship tests. Gallagher and Pritchard (2007) posit that post 9/11 a shift back to the assimilation model occurred through a national integration agenda. They questioned whether the "elevation of similarity and commonality might be given precedence over the celebration of difference" (p.567). This can lead to an increasing acceptance that people from Black and Minority Ethnic groups must adapt to fit with the cultural norms of the dominant society, with all its inequalities (Green and Pinto, 2005:50).

Howarth and Andreouli (2012:2) state that a paradigm shift has occurred within the British political discourse "from multiculturalism to social cohesion or from celebrating difference to affirming shared values". This shift is partly due to the

Cantle report (2001), which was commissioned to explore racial tensions following the 'race-riots' of 2001 in the North of England. The report was framed by a desire to establish how "national policies might be used to promote better community cohesion, based upon shared values and a celebration of diversity" (Denham in Cantle, 2001: Foreword). Cantle (2001) reported on the extent to which many communities are living parallel lives that do not touch or overlap at any point, thereby excluding opportunities for meaningful relationship building. He argued that cultural and community segregation, such as when White and BME groups do not mix, contributes to ignorance of each other's communities. This can lead to fear and hostility, especially when exploited by extremist groups seeking to undermine community harmony and foster division (Cantle, 2001). It is unsurprising, in this context, that a discourse of fear of multiculturalism should emerge, where a focus on divided communities is used as evidence of the failure of the multicultural project. In a speech in 2011, Prime Minister David Cameron argued:

> Under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and apart from the mainstream. We've failed to provide a vision of society to which they feel they want to belong. We've even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run completely counter to our values (Gov.UK, 2011).

The implicit notion here is that ethnic minority groups have been 'tolerated' by the White majority and hold a negative value base that is somehow vastly different and detrimental. Worley (2005) argues that by suggesting communities settling in the UK must be fostered that aspire to a common set of values within a context of Britishness is to suggest that 'they' are inherently different to 'us' and negates recognising the identities, aspirations and values that may be already shared.

Evidence from the Office for National Statistics (ONS, 2014) appears to counteract the idea that ethnic groups do not mix. According to the 2011 census, people of mixed race are the fastest growing ethnic minority group in the UK. The growing number of children being born within interracial relationships suggests diverse ethnic groups are forming bonds and connections together. Nearly 1 in 10 couples were found to be in inter-ethnic relationships in 2011. However, White British people were found to be the least likely to be in an inter-ethnic relationship at just 4%. This stood in stark contrast to Black Caribbean inter-ethnic relationships at 43% and the 'Black other' category at 62% and Chinese at 31%. South Asian groups had the next lowest inter-ethnic relationship rate, including Bangladeshi (7%), Pakistani (9%) and Indian (12%). Low percentages of mixing by White British people, to some extent, is due to this group being the largest category. However, Black and Chinse groups have relatively high occurrences of interracial mixing, which challenges the notion that BME communities do not mix and raises the question whether White British people are more inclined to want to keep segregated and live separate lives.

Over the years, varieties of reports have endeavoured to merge the ideas of valuing diversity while promoting a shared British identity. These include the Diversity and Citizenship Curriculum Review Group, The Swann report (1985), the Stephen Lawrence inquiry report (Macpherson, 1999), The Parekh report (2000) and the Commission on African and Asian Heritage (2005). Maylor (2010:234) states these reports have all argued, "The school curriculum should positively reflect ethnic, cultural and religious diversity as part of pupils developing a more acute awareness of the plurality of British society". However, teaching diversity and a sense of Britishness remains problematic. Pupils can have

localised identities that they relate to more than a national identity, and some pupils may feel actively excluded by those who feel they are not sufficiently British (Maylor, 2010). Maylor (2010) outlines some issues in schools including lessons that accentuate difference rather than similarities or omit certain groups from the discussion such as mixed heritage or White ethnicities, teaching not challenging or even exacerbating stereotyped views about particular ethnic groups, and pupils' and teachers' racist attitudes that go unchallenged. Furthermore, lessons on racial diversity can be experienced negatively causing pupils to feel they have "overdosed on diversity" (Maylor, 2010:249). Thus, the battle for equality continues with diversity, multiculturalism, colour-blindness and anti-racist approaches all being critiqued for their ineffectiveness in supporting the development of an equal and fair society. Sleeter (2014) raises the question:

> For teachers in societies that are becoming increasingly diverse, the question becomes how to prepare their students as citizens who can engage with complex issues in a way that reflects equity and justice (Sleeter, 2014:86).

The following section explores art and social justice approaches to anti-racist education to contextualise the empirical work of this thesis.

Creating Change: Arts, education and social justice

The arts have a history of being utilised for social change (Hunter *et al.,* 2011). The arts help to "remember, imagine, create and transform" oppressive practices by making marginalised stories, voices and experiences visible (Bell and Desai,

2014:2). Their sensual qualities enhance the ability of the arts to encourage imagination and critical thinking:

> The greatest social impacts of participation in the arts arise from their ability to help people think critically about and question their experiences and those of others, not in a discussion group but with all the excitement, danger, magic, colour, symbolism, feeling, metaphor and creativity that the arts offer (Matarasso, 1997:84).

Various reports have endeavoured to capture the benefits of the arts (Newman, Curtis and Stephens, 2003; Kay, 2000; Matarasso, 1997). Matarasso (1997) divided the social impact of the arts into six themes: personal development, social cohesion, community empowerment and self-determination; local image and identity; imagination and vision; health and well-being. Newman, Curtis and Stephens (2003) produced an extensive literature review exploring whether Community-based arts projects have achieved identifiable evidence of social gains. They found four reoccurring themes within arts evaluation literature: personal change, social change, economic change and educational change. Kay (2000) researched the role of the arts in regenerating communities and proposed benefits in areas of personal and social development. This included benefits in changing the culture of an area by creating a positive local image and promoting health and well-being. Fujiwara and MacKerron (2015) found a positive association with happiness and relaxation when engaging with cultural activities and art forms. The personal, social, communal and economic benefits are a testament to the potential power of the arts.

The evidence is growing for the benefits of arts approaches to social change (Bell and Desai, 2014). However, this is not always recognised in education settings. Best (2004) proposes that despite their lack of recognition in education

environments the power of the arts for learning is evident through the censoring

and banning of artists and art throughout history:

> The arts are commonly regarded as peripheral, expendable in education. It is assumed that they are merely for entertainment, enjoyment or catharsis, from which nothing of significance can be learned. Hence, the arts are marginalised in the curriculum. Yet, on the other hand, the powerful possibilities of learning from the arts are clearly conceded in the frequent nervousness about the arts exhibited by authoritarian regimes. It is all too common for artists to be censored, banned, imprisoned, tortured and executed. Why, if there is nothing of significance to be learned from the arts? Mathematics and the sciences, the core subjects, do not normally frighten such regimes (Best, 2004:171).

Writing in 1897, Tolstoy (1995) posited that some prominent figures and religious

organisations had perpetuated the view that the arts are dangerous:

> Some teachers of mankind — as Plato... the first Christians, the orthodox Muslims, and the Buddhists — have gone so far as to repudiate art. ...[They consider it] so highly dangerous in its power to infect people against their wills, that mankind will lose far less by banishing all art than by tolerating each and every art (Tolstoy, 1995:41).

Writing around 380 BC, Plato (2008 edition) argued that art was dangerous in

that it carried a powerful charm, which could stir up pleasure and pain in ways

that could disturb law and reason. He proposed that art should be banned from

the republic because if you "admit the highly seasoned muse of lyric or epic poetry,

pleasure and pain will have sovereign power in your city, instead of law and

reason, which is always thought in common to be best" (Plato, 2008 edition:32).

Plato believed that childish passions needed to be guarded against in the pursuit

of truth. Aristotle's stance stood in contrast to Plato; he argued that the arts have

rebalancing, cathartic and educational effects. Aristotle (2008 edition) claimed

that delight in learning is magnified when coupled with the pleasures that come

from the arts. Plato argued that tragedy in poetry and theatre confuses people

about values because if good people are portrayed experiencing tragedy, this

shows that virtuous people are not necessarily rewarded. Conversely, Aristotle believed that portrayal of tragedy could be cathartic in that it can be cleansing and rebalancing through eliciting emotions of fear and pity. Tragedy can be helpful in that it can show how people can confront adversity.

Propagators of the arts for social justice favour the ability of the arts to arouse emotions and jolt people to take action:

> Social justice practices, at their best, should awaken our senses and the ability to image alternatives that can sustain the collective work necessary to challenge entrenched patterns and practices and build a different world (Bell and Desai, 2014:1).

The relationship between the arts and education can take many forms, including Arts Education, Arts in Education, Community Arts and Community arts in Education settings. The concept of arts in education is distinguished from art education in that it proposes that learning can take place through art experiences that go broader than learning about specific art media. Arts in education are widely believed to nurture creativity and innovation and promote critical thinking. However, controversy exists regarding the use of the arts as an educational instrument. Conceptualising the arts as an instrument for personal, social or academic gains distracts from the notion of 'arts for art's sake' and appreciation of art in its own right (Fleming, 2008). Winner, Goldstein and Vincent-Lancrin (2013) argue that when the arts are seen as a means to an end, this fits into an outcomes and accountability agenda, with the focus being placed on the arts' ability to develop skills that enhance economic growth rather than being valuable in their own right.

Hetland and Winner (2001) found that arts educators have endeavoured to strengthen the position of the arts in schools using the argument that the arts can help develop academic skills. For example, listening to music can increase spatial-temporal reasoning, learning to play music enhances spatial reasoning, and classroom drama helps develop verbal skills. However, Hetland and Winner (2001) maintain that this instrumentalist argument is a double-edged sword, because it can cause arts to lose their position in schools if test scores do not improve in other subjects due to the utilisation of the arts. Eisner (1999) concludes that framing the arts regarding what they can do for other subjects undermines the value and unique contributions that the arts make in their own right. However, this is not to suggest that the arts should not be incorporated in non-arts based subjects. Winner, Goldstein and Vincent-Lancrin (2013:19) argue against the idea of the arts being required to provide evidence of increased test scores for other subjects, yet propose that arts education can develop "artistic habits of mind", such as, mastery of craft and technique and skills such as envisioning, exploration, expression, collaboration, reflection. These include skills in thinking and creativity and social and behavioural skills that can develop through the arts. The arts are important in that they offer a different way of understanding than the sciences, they have no right and wrong answers, giving students' freedom to explore experiment and find personal meaning (Winner, Goldstein and Vincent-Lancrin, 2013). Hetland and Winner (2001) maintain that the arts can offer benefits to academic subjects, such as role-playing in history lessons, or analysis of rhythms in mathematics lessons. Such arts approaches can lead to subject enjoyment and willingness to succeed, increased confidence, motivation and effort leading to higher achievement. While the arts are

recognised for their ability to increase enjoyment, confidence and motivation they also offer new ways of perceiving the social world. Bell and Desai (2014:2) propose that arts pedagogies can offer "alternative epistemologies" for understanding oppression and seeing what social justice should look like. Methods described in Bell and Desai (2014) range from identity narratives explored through poetry, music, photography and performance to a school empowerment project for Black young people. The latter explored unexamined internalised oppressions, to develop positive racial identities and see themselves as agents of change, using theatre, stories, film and poetry. A further approach examines critical performative pedagogy in urban teacher education to expose and analyse institutional power dynamics that affect their work as multicultural educators.

However, it is questionable whether the success of arts-integrated approaches is due to the art itself, the quality of teaching, or the culture of an organisation that aspires to academic innovations that lead to students' success or seeks to transcend the structures in which some students do not thrive (Hetland and Winner, 2001). This has implications for thinking about who is best placed to deliver arts-based education for social change, especially in the area of anti-racist education. In a context where teachers hold prejudiced attitudes, resist learning about issues of race or believe there is no problem; teaching about such issues is likely to be ineffective or at least limited. Stenhouse *et al.* (1982) found that teaching about race relations amongst 14-16 years olds tended to have more positive effects upon inter-racial tolerance than not teaching about it. They also found that when teachers' attitudes and values are in line with what they are teaching, more students move towards the "desired direction" (Stenhouse *et al.*,

1982:275). Nevertheless, the authors state that teaching young people about race-relations in schools is unlikely to have long-term effects without reinforcement and actions and policies designed for this purpose.

Stenhouse *et al.* (1982) explored three approaches to teaching about race-relations: one where the teacher plays a neutral role in delivering information, a second where the teacher is free to express their own or the schools commitment and the third whereby a drama approach is used. The authors found that all three approaches had some benefits in reducing negative attitudes toward race relations. However, they conclude that schools would be unwise to rely on a drama approach alone, due to this method being less direct and teachers tending to use it to teach about prejudice in general rather than racial prejudice specifically. Furthermore, a lack of time affected drama approaches and, in some cases previously low prejudiced Black pupils, developed a slight increase in prejudice against White pupils, although Asian pupils did not. The report speculated that this increase was caused by Black pupils developing recognition of racial hostility against themselves, which gave rise to feelings of retaliation. This increase in prejudice was still reported to be lower than prejudice amongst White pupils. The report stated that the expected benefits of drama approaches, such as, affective and imaginative rather than cognitive and judgemental, could not be measured by the quantitative experimental tests carried out.

Measuring the benefits of art projects is problematic due to the sensual, emotive and process learning that can take place, which is not easily captured by testing. Qualitatively speaking, drama based approaches have been heralded for their ability to engage young people to bring about social change. Prentki (2014:5)

argues that Theatre in Education (TIE) and Theatre for Development (TfD) provide opportunities for young people to explore and express their reality and "act upon it to make an intervention into the world around them". Prentki (2014:5) states, "Our sense of worth as human beings derives from the spaces we have in which to tell our stories and to be listened to as we tell them". He argues that these opportunities for young people are becoming increasingly rare in a neoliberal education climate. They are being eroded as education becomes viewed as a "fixed body of knowledge, which is to be transmitted to learners by means of a curriculum upon which they [young people] are tested with ever increasing thoroughness" (Prenki, 2014:5). Prentki (2014) argues this is due to young people's ability to be productive in the economic market being valued over their own needs. In contrast, TIE explores values and notions of humanity through drama:

> TIE is not a theatre of instruction for the transmission of a 'message' to the audience. There is no message. The aim is to use the dramatic art of theatre to explore values, by dramatizing the human condition and behaviour so that the audience makes meaning through experience (Cooper, 2013:44).

Community arts approaches to education are often linked to community development work. "Arts projects have become an important part of community development strategies" (Newman, Curtis and Stephens, 2003:310). Clinton and Glen (1993) outline the objectives of community arts as artistic and cultural activities that emphasise active involvement, generate a collective creative expression, release talents and skills, positively reinforce collective identity and sense of community and help vocalise social, political and economic concerns of communities. Community arts workers are said to emphasize process,

participation, social inclusion, creative production, expression of identity, social action and celebration through artistic and cultural activities:

> Community arts can help challenge inequalities and oppressions such as experienced through ageism, ableism, sexism, homophobia and racism by explicit targeting and positive action through engaging with a variety of communities of interest and identity (Clinton and Glen, 1993:101).

The different historical legacies of arts in education approaches and community arts education can potentially have an impact on the kinds of work that can be achieved. Arguably, practitioners in community organisations geared towards personal and social development may have more freedom to cultivate social justice projects than those in formal education settings which are required to produce graded outcomes. Nevertheless, community arts organisations are increasingly required to shape projects according to the desires of their funders and produce numerical evidence of their outcomes (Newman, Curtis and Stephens, 2003). My thesis explores a blended approach whereby art projects, developed by community organisations, in conjunction with community artists are brought into schools to offer creative approaches to anti-racist education. My findings offer an exploration of such approaches and a discussion of ways in which they might add to previous endeavours to reduce racism through education.

To give an outline of the rest of my thesis, Chapter Two discusses critical race theory, critical pedagogy and critical art pedagogy approaches to anti-racist education. In doing so, a theoretical framework is developed for analysing the issue of racism in in predominantly White and rural areas. Chapter Three explores the methodological approach to gathering empirical data; including a discussion of what is data and how silence can act as data in the context of anti-racist research. The chapter outlines the epistemological approach and describes the

methods chosen for the study. Chapters Four, Five and Six present and discuss the data, exploring White teachers and students assumptions about race and education and how these shape orientations towards engagement in anti-racist education. Finally, Chapter Seven discusses the implications of the findings and questions how they might support the continued development of effective anti-racist education.

Chapter 2: The Art and Silence of Anti-Racist Education

Social theories can be seen as analytical frameworks for examining social phenomena (Murphy, 2013). While social theories have traditionally sought to *explain* social phenomena, alternative epistemologies have arisen that seek to reconceptualise ways of understanding the world, to bring about social change. My research takes a critical theory stance. Critical theory is used to bring about social change through drawing attention to unequal power relationships. Power relations are often not recognised due to the voices of disadvantaged groups being silenced and suppressed and issues of power being left out or obscured within dominant ideologies. In this thesis, I draw on three areas of critical theory: critical race theory, critical pedagogy and critical art pedagogy. Critical race theory strives to make visible ways that White privilege is maintained through laws, discourses, organisational structures and policy, including education policy, while critical pedagogy seeks ways to liberate the oppressed and promote transformation through education. Critical art pedagogy aims to enhance democracy and challenge oppressions through the language and media of the arts.

My purpose through this chapter is to develop a theoretical framework that serves four aims: (1) orientates towards social change, (2) addresses issues of power and privilege in relation to race, (3) explores critical pedagogy in education with a focus on anti-racist education and (4) highlights the potential of the arts in anti-racist education. I have divided the chapter into four sections. I begin by exploring approaches to anti-racist education and drawing out implications for my study. The second section introduces the critical theory approach and examines critical

pedagogy. The third section discusses critical race theory and explores the concept of Whiteness. The fourth section, examines the role of the arts in critical pedagogy, though discussing the arts as a form of critical knowledge.

Anti-racist education

The field of anti-racist education is historically, theoretically and practically diverse (Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs, 2017). It includes work and influences from a variety of sources, such as activists, campaigners, supplementary schools, consultancy organisations, think tanks and community programmes. Gillborn (2006:13) argues, "Racism takes many forms, and so anti-racism must be flexible and constantly adapt". Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs (2017:6) argue that common descriptions of anti-racist education relate to "a deliberately politicised pedagogical approach, concerned with confronting systemic and structural oppression". Structural definitions arise from the understanding that race is a social construct and therefore, racism is not about physical and social factors but "relationships of domination and subordination" (Bhavnani, Mirza and Meetoo, 2005:15), which affects people physically, emotionally, psychologically and economically. Fredman (2001:2) refers to 'racisms', putting forward three axes of racism: firstly, stereotyping, hatred and violence; secondly, perpetuating cycles of disadvantage; thirdly, destroying cultures, religions and languages of the target groups. Combining these it follows that anti-racist education must involve forms of education that tackle one or more of the three axes in ways that address relationships of domination and subordination. Therefore, if education is about one of the three areas but does not seek to transform power relationships, it

cannot be a form of anti-racist education. In this section, I explore different sources, definitions and approaches to anti-racist education and draw out the implications for my research.

Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs (2017) carried out a systematic review of academic literature concerned with anti-racist education. The study covered fifteen years of peer-reviewed articles from 2000 to 2015 and found anti-racist education to have three main goals:

> …making visible systemic oppression (visibilising), recognising personal complicity in oppression through unearned privilege (recognising) and developing strategies to transform structural inequalities (strategising) (Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs, 2017:1).

The first goal, visibilising, relates to becoming race aware, recognising one's own racial identity and coming to understand how people are positioned differently regarding privilege. This includes engaging with feelings of resistance, denial, guilt and anger. Frankenberg (1997) argues that students tend to resist the idea of White privilege more than the notion of racism. This is because "White people's conscious racialization of others does not necessarily lead to a conscious racialization of the white self" (1997:6). Gillespie, Ashbaugh and Defiore (2002) sought ways to address the resistance they experienced from White middle-class women students when studying White privilege. Accusations of "You're just white bashing" (p.237) were addressed through highlighting that the issue is not just about Whiteness but dominance and that the end aim is not to provoke guilt and shame but to examine how historical social injustices can be dismantled (Gillespie, Ashbaugh and Defiore, 2002). Denevi and Pastan (2006) argue that some White teachers and students are concerned about racism, want to do something and so get involved in conferences, clubs and meetings, yet despite

this commitment, little changes. "It feels as if we continue to tinker around the edges of the problem, but we still haven't reached the core" (Denevi and Pastan, 2006:70). Expressing awareness of racism, discussing it and expressing sorrow or guilt are all very well but unless accompanied by action, can be ways to *not* engage in actual anti-racist work. Much of visibilising involves tackling resistance and denial to the idea of White privilege as a prerequisite for getting involved in anti-racist activities. Denevi and Pastan (2006) proposed an institutional response, to avoid being hampered by individual reactions of fear and guilt. They worked on forming a community of White Anti-Racists to talk about the effects of White privilege on White people, to locate themselves collectively in the anti-racist struggle and to shift the focus from individual fear and guilt that can distract individuals from committing to anti-racist action.

The second goal, recognising, involves identifying personal complicity in Whiteness in maintaining oppression and colluding with unearned privilege and generating desire to take action to dismantle this. Applebaum (2005:278) argues that it is not enough to consider oneself a "good moral anti-racist citizen" because it is often those very people who are "contributing to the perpetuation of systemic injustice". Belief in one's own moral position can act as a barrier to seeing White privilege (Applebaum, 2005). Gillespie, Ashbaugh and Defiore (2002) seek to generate a desire to take anti-racist action amongst their students, following becoming aware of their White privilege. They introduce their students to stories of White women becoming "race cognizant" who have then developed their understanding into "public efforts to dismantle racism" (2002:248). Students are then invited to engage in autobiographical writings to examine their White racial identities and the contexts in which anti-racist understanding and action can

emerge. Srivastava and Francis (2006:275) explore storytelling workshops as a method for revealing stories told "by and about the 'other'". They argue that while stories can reveal the narratives that underpin racist culture, they also can place a "heavy toll" on the tellers and may have limited impact on bringing about structural change (Srivastava and Francis, 2006:275).

The third goal, strategising, is about seeking social transformation by developing ways to dismantle structural inequalities. Swartz, Arogundade and Davis (2014) discussed the role of anti-racist education as a process for bringing about social transformation. Students were asked to reflect on texts by Peggy McIntosh and Khaya Dlanga about privilege in ways that encouraged self-reflexivity and linking personal experiences to social structures and histories. Swartz, Arogundade and Davis (2014) found the process prompted some students to express a moral obligation to make changes to their actions since recognising their privilege. Although some viewed the process as transformative, for others, the process reinforced ideas about social stratification, advantage and disadvantage. Teel (2014) describes anti-racist pedagogy as a form of social justice pedagogy. She (2014:6) argues that education is "inescapably political"; including such aspects as access to specific schools, availability of resources, curriculum content and the way content is communicated. These factors link to the larger social world and highlight the need for greater racial justice (Teel, 2014). Teel (2014) uses a number of techniques: adding diversity to the curriculum, use of stories to highlight issues, self-disclosure, data and statistics, and metaphors that shed light on oppression. Teel (2014:20) expresses "implementing antiracist pedagogy to be a career-long process".

Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs' (2017) three goals provide categories for situating anti-racist education initiatives. However, they note that in many of the papers reviewed, approaches for achieving the third element of strategising are not clearly expressed. This poses a problem; if the notion of social transformation is posited without a vision, it can be difficult to achieve if the goal is out of focus. Hence, clear visions of the aims of anti-racist education need to be articulated. The following sections explore the contributions to anti-racist education from a variety of backgrounds and perspectives: activism and supplementary schools, schools and education authorities, consultancy organisations, and community programmes. However, these are not discrete groups, approaches and interventions crossover, impacting on and influencing one another.

Activism and Black supplementary schools

Warmington (2014) describes the influence of Black activists and intellectuals on British society and policy, from Black British thinkers involved in the abolitionist movement of the late eighteenth century, to anti-colonial movements of the second half of the nineteenth century to an emerging body of Black intellectuals in the first half of the twentieth century. Black thinkers and activists of the 1930s and 1940s worked on developing a strong Black British identity, which paved the way for post-war activism and the development of education strategies for Black children, including supplementary schools (Warmington, 2014). In the 1960s and 70s Black intellectuals and activists formed movements to draw attention to racist treatment and disadvantage (Troyna and Williams, 1986/2012) and challenge a system that marginalised Black people, thwarted parents' ambition and kept expectations and outcomes low for Black children (John, 2014). John (2014)

points out that while many White British people believed African and Caribbean immigrants to be illiterate and uneducated, Black intellectuals were forming social and political movements. These sought to "resist the structural and institutional manifestations of racism that secured the marginalisation and exclusion of black people and to pose a counter-narrative and set an alternative agenda" (John, 2014:22).

In 1966, John La Rose founded New Beacon Books in London, the first African heritage publishers and booksellers in the UK (Andrews, 2013). Along with providing books for libraries and education authorities, the organisation became a hub of activity for writers and activists (Andrews, 2013). The organisation ran training and development workshops for teachers, organised public seminars on policies and practices that had a negative impact on Black communities and provided advice and guidance for setting up supplementary schools (John, 2016; Alleyne, 2007). New Beacon Books was instrumental in the formation of the Black Parents Movement in 1975 (John, 2016; Alleyne, 2007), which sought to tackle inequalities and discrimination in education, police, housing and unemployment, along with involvement in campaigns and legal cases (La Rose, no date). Courd, (1971) argued that Black children were subjected to a racist curriculum that leads to poor self-belief and self-esteem, accentuated by the destructive force of low teacher expectations. Parents protested that schools could not teach their children to the standard and content that they would like, including maintaining cultures, languages and religions (Tomlinson, 2008).

The Black Parents movement was an extension of the Black Education Movement (La Rose, no date), which formed to debate and take action against

educational issues, such as the Haringey Council streaming policy. Black children were disproportionally placed in low groups, and many children who were arriving from overseas were put in special schools, described as schools for the educationally sub-normal (ESN) (Andrews, 2013; Courd, 1971). Coard (1971) argued that the British education system was creating the notion of West Indian children being educationally subnormal through racist policies and practice. Members of the Black Parents Movement and Black Education Movement campaigned extensively against the Eugenics movement that proclaimed a causal relationship between race and intelligence and had a detrimental impact on education policy and teacher's poor expectations for minority ethnic pupils (Alleyne, 2007; John, no date).

The Black Supplementary Schools Movement arose from the Black Education Movement. Gus John, an activist, academic, education campaigner, consultant, lecturer and researcher (John, 2015) played a key part in these movements, campaigning for Black children's education entitlement, racial equality, social justice and against unlawful discrimination of Black children and young people (John, 2015). John co-founded the first supplementary school in Oxford in 1965 and the first supplementary School in Birmingham in 1968 (John, no date). Supplementary Schools emerged around the time of the first arrival of Black Caribbean migrants to Britain and were set up in London, and cities such as Birmingham and Huddersfield (George Padmore Institute, No date[a]). They were set up to run after school and on weekends, to complement Black children's education and provide spaces for promoting Black positive social identities (Maylor *et al.,* 2013). The schools sought to address the prejudiced, biased and false education that Black children were receiving regarding their own histories,

cultures and identities (La Rose, no date). They also sought to counteract exclusion in the White educational system (Mirza and Reay, 2000) and address teachers' dismissive attitude towards Black students and the assumption that they were incapable of high attainment (Alleyne, 2007; John, no date). Tomlinson (2008) argues that the last fifty years has shown a lack of political will to ensure all groups are treated fairly and equally. This has left many young Black people feeling they have been miss-educated and are not accepted as citizens in their country of birth in the UK (Tomlinson, 2008). As Mirza and Reay (2000:521) argue, "supplementary schools provide a context in which whiteness is displaced as central and blackness is seen as normative".

Mirza and Reay (2000:521) describe supplementary schools as "covert social movements for educational change". The schools are largely grassroots organisations run mostly by volunteers (Maylor *et al.,* 2013) and mostly by women (Mirza and Reay, 2000). Mirza (1997:272) argues that race activism is often characterised as a "masculinist version of radical social change". For example, young men involved in highly visible public acts seeking recognition, through protests, riots, political discussions and community organisations. In contrast, Mirza and Reay (2000:523) argue that supplementary schools are a form of "Black female centred collective action", working at grassroots level to transform structures away from the public eye. Mirza and Reay (2000:538) state that on an institutional level "black supplementary schools create new 'types' of professional intellectuals who carry the 'cognitive practice' of the movement on into the larger society".

Maylor *et al.* (2013) explored the impact of supplementary schools on Black children's attainment and found contributions, such as greater confidence, motivation, improved behaviour and attitudes to learning, which contribute to mainstream school attainment. However, they also argue that these gains, defined as soft outcomes by Ofsted, can be disregarded by the government due to a narrow focus on hard outcomes with quantifiable results, such as GCSE grades. This misses the importance of supplementary schools' role in nurturing, valuing and supporting marginalised students to be able to flourish in educational settings including mainstream settings (Maylor *et al.,* 2013) and counteract feelings of un-belonging (Maylor, 2010).

Schools, Education Authorities and the influence of pressure groups

Growing pressure from Black educational activists, pressure groups and communities led to policy progress through the 1976 Race Relations Act and in the 1980s in mainstream schools and Education Authorities (Troyna and Williams, 1986/2012; Gaine, 2000). This resulted in substantial increases in state funding for multiracial urban schools, to support the educational needs of pupils of West Indian origin (Gaine, 2000). This government response suggested growing recognition of how racism operates in schools to disadvantage Black children (see also chapter one section on the Battle for Equality). In the late 1980s, this widened to include interventions in White areas, through funding to implement anti-racist education for White teachers. The Swann report (1985) highlighted the need to educate *all* children. This meant including adequate provision for Black children and educating White children about Britain as a multicultural society.

Most English Local Education Authorities employed staff to develop multicultural projects and create courses for teachers in White areas. Issues of race and culture were added to ITE courses.

Teaching resources were already being produced by pressure groups, such as the National Antiracist Movement in Education (NAME) and All London Teachers Against Racism and Fascism (ALTARF) (Troyna and Williams, 1986/2012). NAME, originally the National Association for Multiracial Education, was set up in 1973, to support educators working in multicultural schools; debate issues through local events, publications and conferences; and lobby the government regarding multicultural education (George Padmore Institute, no date[b]). NAME focused on areas such as the use of mother-tongue languages in schools, developing a multicultural and anti-racist curriculum and providing advice and information for teachers, parents and Teacher Education courses (George Padmore Institute, no date[b]). In 1984, the title changed to the National Antiracist Movement in Education, to reflect a change in focus from multicultural education to anti-racist education, due to growing concerns that multicultural education did not counteract the institutional racism that pervades the country (George Padmore Institute, no date[b]). Mullard (1984:33) argued that multicultural education seeks "to produce a passive consciousness of cultural differences", whereas anti-racist education "seeks to produce an active consciousness of structural similarity, inequality and injustice". Mullard (1984:13) proposed the focus of anti-racist education must be on "White native majority groups in dominant relations and structures of power". The change in focus from multiracial education to anti-racist education proved controversial, leading to a "steady

decline in membership" and eventual closure in 2004 (George Padmore Institute, no date[b]).

A group of teachers created ALTARF, in 1978, following growing concerns about the National Front; they produced workshops, a book and pamphlets for schools (ALTARF, 1984; Troyna and Williams, 1986/2012). ALTARF (1983:17) made their stance clear through their resources that although a multicultural curriculum was important, it was not enough since "staff are bound, by virtue of their own upbringing, education and experience, to be in some ways racially prejudiced". ALTARF (1983:17) described ways that education, the police and communities interlock to "separate people's privileges on the grounds of race sex and class". Many resources at the time sought to expose and explain inherent racist attitudes to White teachers, and provide materials for doing the same with their students. Crampton-Smith and Curtis (1983) used comic strip stories to highlight common racist behaviours and assumptions. The '*Issues in Race and Education*' series used metaphors, stories and examples to explain issues such as race and gender, diverse language use and equality in schools, along with suggested resources and strategies for overcoming race and gender bias (*Issues for Girls*, 1984).

NAME, ALTARF and other pressure groups were influential in the development of anti-racist school policies by acting as mediators between academics and local education authorities (LEAs) (Troyna and Williams, 1986/2012). However, Troyna and Williams (1986/2012:75) argue that central government provided anti-racist rhetoric rather than guidance on how to do it. Furthermore, criticism was directed to policies that were developed by White professionals with little or no consultation with Black parents or campaigning groups (Troyna and Williams,

1986/2012). However, the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) did consult with groups such as NAME and ALTARF and argued, "Antiracist policy is for the public good because there is a tradition of tolerance and opposition to injustice in British society which will support initiatives to dismantle racial inequalities and disadvantages in society" (Troyna and Williams, 1986/2012:75).

This progress was halted, in the 1990s, by a change of government. ILEA was abolished by Margaret Thatcher (Richardson, 2013), multicultural and anti-racist work were cut, and the requirement to embed issues of race into teacher training was eradicated (Gaine, 2000). During this time, the National Curriculum was being developed, which sought to reinstate the idea of Britain as a White, monoculture society and embed this into core subject areas (Gaine, 2000). This was emphasised by Prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, claiming children needed to focus on how to read and write rather than learn 'anti-racist maths' (Gaine, 2000:69). The subsequent leader, John Major, stated that student teachers should learn how to teach, "Not waste their time on the politics of race, gender and class" (Gaine, 2000:69).

Nevertheless, activists, campaigners and scholars continued to develop educational approaches to tackling racism and develop resources and anti-racist pedagogies across the school age range. Examples include Babette Brown's (2001) personal dolls approach for early year's settings, Richardson and Miles (2008) approach to tackling racism in primary and secondary school classrooms, and the Runnymede Trust's whole school approach to embedding race equality within school structures. The persona dolls approach aims to prevent young children from learning prejudiced attitudes and behaviours and to unlearn any

they may already have (Brown, 2001). The dolls come in a range of ethnicities, with different personal features, hair textures, body sizes and disabilities. Educators create personalities, family and cultural backgrounds, likes and dislikes for the dolls. Persona dolls are for use in circle time and storytelling sessions. By interacting with the dolls, using the stories that practitioners create around them, children are encouraged to recognise and understand injustices and feel emotions of joy and sadness with them. The dolls become children's friends, and children are encouraged to become problem-solvers and decision-makers and provide solutions and advice for the dolls (Brown, 2001). Proponents of the approach argue that children are more likely to take action when similar situations happen in real life if they have worked with persona dolls and developed their thinking around discrimination and what to do about it. Whether this approach counts as an anti-racist pedagogy or anti-discriminatory practice (Thompson, 2012) potentially depends on the understanding and implementation by individual teachers. While it does not align with Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs' (2017) definition of challenging structural racism through White children becoming aware of systematic oppression and unearned privilege, it needs to be seen in context regarding age-appropriate pedagogies. The approach may act as a contributing pedagogy to anti-racist education, by helping children unlearn prejudices (Brown, 2001) and sowing the seeds for future anti-racist understanding.

Richardson and Miles (2008) explore the practical side of understanding what constitutes a racist incident in schools, how to respond and how to prevent them. Drawing on four features of bullying behaviour, (1) repetitive, (2) intentionally hurtful, (3) involves an imbalance of power and (4) causes distress, fear,

loneliness and lack of confidence; the authors add that racial bullying is legitimised by shared views of a wider community to which the perpetrator belongs. Therefore, action to challenge and transform racist actions and beliefs also needs to target the 'perpetrator community'. While providing strategies for dealing with individual incidents, this approach highlights the need for anti-racist education to develop a vision that seeks to transform school cultures while also dealing effectively with individual incidents. Richardson and Miles (2008:37-46) draw on Sibbett (1997:104) to highlight four responses to racist acts: dismissive, punitive, corrective and restorative/transformative. The dismissive approach ignores or trivialises racist behaviour, which sends a message that such behaviour is acceptable. The punitive approach issues punishment without education about the underlying issues. This can lead to resentment amongst perpetrators, who may cease behaviour in the classroom but continue it elsewhere. Students targeted by perpetrators may avoid telling teachers due to fear of repercussions. The corrective approach involves explaining and educating children about why racist behaviour is wrong and that it is against the law. However, it does not challenge the underlying issues or tackle influences from outside the school from which children develop their ideas, which the restorative/transformative approach endeavours to do. This fourth approach involves listening to those on the receiving end of racial bullying and involving perpetrators, bystanders who provide support to perpetrators by not intervening, families and wider communities who are all affected. Perpetrators are given a chance to take responsibility and acknowledge the harm they caused to others and the school community. The restorative justice vision promotes principles of interconnectedness and the idea that communities are a web of relationships:

when disrupted all are affected. This approach somewhat aligns with Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs' (2017) strategising category in that it aims to transform relationships rather than correct behaviours. Transforming must be the goal of anti-racist education if schools are to move beyond entrenched racism.

Many scholars and campaigns argue for a whole school approach, to bring about meaningful change (Richardson, 2004; Complementing Teachers; 2003 Cheng and Soudack, 1994). Cheng and Soudack (1994) propose strategies that lead to a change in areas such as, teachers' expectations, attitudes and behaviour along with staff composition, staff development, racial incident policies and parental involvement. Richardson (2004) produced materials for schools to explore issues of belonging, identity and equality, including embedding multicultural teaching and principles into the curriculum across subject areas, dealing with racist incidents in the playground and on the journey to and from school. The Runnymede Trust *Complementing Teachers* handbook (2003) aimed to support teachers' duties to promote racial equality and eliminate discrimination, stipulated as part of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000. This included a shared vision throughout the school, building links with local communities and inviting parents from diverse ethnic groups to be actively involved in the school through talks, activities and event planning. The handbook drew on the aims of the national curriculum to show ways in which schools could meet the duties of the new act. It included lesson plans for embedding global knowledge and racial equality messages into subjects across the curriculum for key stages 1-4. The strategic approach potentially offered a way to transform what Gaine (2000) referred to as the White, monoculture curriculum. Although titled as an approach to racial equality rather than anti-racist education, the complementing teachers

approach aims to transform educational institutions through embedding change into the curriculum and promoting a whole school approach to racial equality. Hence, it also meets Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs' (2017) third anti-racist education category of strategising.

Predominantly White areas and schools

While resources and approaches have been developed to address racism in education, resources that address the specific issues of mainly White schools appear limited. Gaine (2009) points out that there is a relatively small body of work on the subject of mainly White schools. In less ethnically diverse areas, the idea that minority ethnic people 'do not belong here' and should 'go back to where they come from' is prevalent (DFES, 2004:12), racist attitudes and behaviours can be encouraged and applauded and even dedicated and experienced teachers often do not know what to do to tackle racism (*Complementing Teachers*, 2003). Asare (2009) argues that schools in less ethnically diverse areas need to look beyond just responding to racist incidents to understanding how people think about and experience racial and cultural differences. Racism is an underlying discourse not simply the actions and language of racist incidents. Asare (2009) posits that the challenge for education is to develop a pedagogy that introduces pupils in less ethnically diverse schools to the lived experiences of cultural and racial realities outside of their own perceived norm, while avoiding essentialising cultures but building connections to pupils' own identities.

Promoting racial equality is particularly important in contexts where children may have limited experiences of racial diversity and where the motivation to support anti-racist initiatives can be lacking (Gaine, 2000). Gaine (2000) argues that the

benefits of anti-racist education, in mainly White areas, are not immediately visible in terms of the reduction in prejudice towards Black people or obvious in terms of the need for restructuring institutional racism. Gaine (2000) provides insight into motivation arguing that it can be principled or pragmatic. He states that in the 1980s incentives for LEA's and head teachers to implement change came through pragmatic motivation, in the forms of funding, technical support and the potential for career advancement. However, he suggests that for a moment in history, during this time, there were also pockets of influence based on principled motivation, which led to the recognition that White children were miss-educated if they did not receive an anti-racist education. When anti-racist education is missing, all children lose out on the collective benefits and opportunities of shared knowledge and experience, which can amount to a form of epistemic injustice (Fricker, 2009). Fricker (2009) argues that epistemic Injustice takes place when some knowledge claims are given less credibility, based on unconscious prejudice. This leads to disbelieving certain individuals in their capacity as knowers (testimonial injustice). It leads to difficulties making sense of certain social experiences, due to a gap in collective understanding, in certain cultural or historical contexts (hermeneutic injustice).

The DFES report *Aiming High* (2004) stated that in mainly White schools it is essential to learn about shared humanity and belonging across a range of cultural backgrounds and ethnic groups and to recognise the role of global interdependence. This approach potentially offers a way to de-centre the hegemonic White perspectives. *Aiming High* (2004) stated the need for pupils and teachers to learn about individual and institutional racism and know about local and national strategies, campaigns and activities that can help address and

prevent racism. Although it was not widely published and distributed, Richard and Miles (2008) highlight that this report did have some influence in a few counties, including, Derbyshire, Cambridgeshire and Hampshire. It also influenced the development of community programmes such as Kick It Out (see section on Community Groups).

Consultancy organisations and think tanks

A number of consultancy organisations and think tanks emerged to support a multi-ethnic Britain, such as the Runnymede Trust, the In service Training and Educational Development consultancy (INSTED) and the Institute for Race Relations. The work of activists and committed individuals are evident through their influence that crosses organisations. Robin Richardson worked as director of the Runnymede Trust in the 1990s and as manager of the INSTED website with founder Angela Gluck (http://www.irr.org.uk/about/people/robin-richardson/). Gus John worked for the Runnymede Trust (John, 2005), was founder trustee of the George Padmore Institute and a member of the Council of the Institute of Race Relations from 1970-1974 (John, 2015). John La Rose worked as Chair of the George Padmore Institute and Chair of the Institute of Race Relations from 1972-1973 (www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/).

The Runnymede Trust, ongoing since 1968, is the UK's leading independent race equality think tank (www.runnymedetrust.org/). The organisation works to support a multi-ethnic Britain, through research reports, stimulating debate, engaging with policymakers and providing resources for educators. The Runnymede Trust has developed numerous reports on a range of subjects, including, race equality in universities (Alexander, and Arday, 2015), racism in schools (Alexander,

Weekes-Bernard and Arday, 2015), the struggle for Black pupils' Academic Success (Rollock, 2007), issues for mixed heritage children (Sims, 2007), issues in predominantly White schools (Asare, 2009), and race and class in post-Brexit Britain (Khan and Shaheen, 2017). Such reports aim to ensure dialogue, policy and practice are founded on evidence-based research and analysis (www.runnymedetrust.org/). The Runnymede Trust also produces lesson plans for teachers along with audio and visual resources. For example, the *History Lessons* project (Runnymede, 2015) provides information and guidance for primary and secondary teachers, to develop projects about diversity through learning about local knowledge and exploring oral histories. Further resources include video clips and lectures discussing and debating contemporary issues, such as, does talking about race fuel racism, does sport promote or challenge racism, and how does it feel to be treated like a terrorist? (www.runnymedetrust.org/).

INSTED, which ran from 1993 – 2011, worked with schools, local authorities, government departments and the voluntary sector to support equalities in education (www.insted.co.uk/). The organisation addressed issues, such as the requirements of the UK Equality Act 2010, counteracting Islamophobia, understanding and dealing with racist incidents in schools, raising achievement for Black children and promoting multiculturalism. The INSTED website houses numerous publications, lectures, articles and continues to be regularly updated through a blog on contemporary issues of equalities, education, race and religion, such as British values and the prevent agenda, Islamophobia, the Charlie Hebdo massacre and Brexit (INSTED, no date).

The Institute of Race Relations (IRR) was established in 1958 as an independent educational charity to carry out research, collect resources and publish information on race relations around the world (http://www.irr.org.uk/). In 1972, the IRR became an anti-racist think-tank and began to focus specifically on institutional racism and the needs of Black people, including investigating areas such as, exclusions from school, racism and the press, racism in the police, the impact of anti-terrorist legislation and attacks on multiculturalism, and publishing the Journal *Race and Class* (http://www.irr.org.uk/). In the 1980s, the IRR argued that while schools were teaching children about other people's cultures they were not learning about the racism of their own. Hence, the IRR created a range of educational books and audio-visual resources (IRR, 2017). These include *Roots of Racism (1982), Patterns of Racism (1982), How Racism Came to Britain (1985 and) Homebeats: Struggles for Racial Justice (1998)* (http://www.irr.org.uk/). An IRR (2017) video argues, "The success of the pamphlets can in part be measured by the wrath they induced in Thatcher's ministers and advisers", who then sought to eradicate anti-racist education in schools (Gaine, 2000).

Community arts and sports programmes

Cronin (1991) argues that multi-ethnic education has been somewhat marginal in the government's educational interests. It did briefly acknowledge the needs of minority groups in the late 1970s, but interest in anti-racist education has not been sustained (Kirp 1979; Dorn and Troyna 1982). However, commitment has continued through the work of dedicated individuals, organisations and groups, including through the work of sports and art community groups. Approaches such as Kick it Out (www.kickitout.org/) and Show Racism the Red Card

(http://www.theredcard.org/) harness the potential of popular culture for tackling racism. These programmes developed materials and lesson plans to prompt discussions and explore feelings about racism, using real-life experiences from football icons, also film stars, pop stars, poets and authors. Richardson and Miles (2008:89) argue that capitalising on young people's "passions, interests and heroes" is a useful way to engage with learning about and challenging racism. Kick it Out, established in 1993, utilises mock interviews, role-play, designing leaflets, posters and writing letters to develop a sense of roles and responsibilities and empower students to believe they can act against racism. Show Racism the Red Card, established in 1996, uses film, workshops and sporting activities to raise awareness, encourage thinking and promote teamwork. Richardson and Miles (2008) argue that initial teacher training lacks teaching about racism, and therefore work to combat it tends to fall to committed teachers who have little or no training in teaching about racism. Therefore, organisations, such as these, that produce materials, lessons plans, activities and ideas for teachers offer valuable contributions.

Community theatre groups use the medium of drama to raise awareness, promote critical dialogue and encourage people to think about and perceive solutions to issues of injustice. ALTARF (1983:16) proposes the use of drama to "enable our White children to come to appreciate that a shift in their own perspective is required if they are ever to truly come to an understanding of their black peers". The method of Forum Theatre, often utilised in community theatre projects, was developed by Boal (1979) and offers a way to work through issues of injustice in ways that invite audience members to stop the play and suggest ways to challenge oppression by suggesting new actions that could change the

outcome. Boal (1992:258) argues, "It is more important to achieve a good debate than a good solution" since it is the discussion, not the solution, that encourages people to engage with related issues in life. As Richardson and Miles (2008) note, the debate encourages empathy and solidarity with those who suffer from injustice, which serves a more significant purpose than the solution to an issue portrayed in a drama workshop. Knowles and Ridley (2005) explore teaching strategies in White areas in Cumbria and propose that forum theatre can be a form of transformative justice. It can help towards uncovering prejudiced attitudes amongst teachers and children and work towards transforming mistrust and othering of particular cultures.

Richardson and Miles (2008:96) argue that bullying often has the characteristics of performance. It works as a form of improvisation where actors select lines based on a script, such as "go back to where you came from". The audience consists of passive bystanders familiar with the story and expected script performed before their eyes (Richardson and Miles, 2008:96). The performance of racist bullying aligns with the idea of Whiteness as performance (Moon, 2016; Picower, 2009), where White children are taught how to become White, reinforced through repetitive actions, statements and assumptions. Day (2002) argues that forum theatre can provide opportunities to try out certain behaviours, which can later be applied to real-life situations. Therefore, the approach offers a pedagogical approach that can potentially interrupt established performances of Whiteness and give rise to new anti-racist scripts. For further discussion on community arts projects, see section 'Creating Change' in chapter one.

Implications for my research

This section explored multiple approaches to tackle racism and promote race equality from different angles, including, policy and practice, teacher resources, dealing with incidents and embedding preventative strategies. Carrim and Soudien (1999) argue that anti-racism is a familiar term in many educational systems but it has a variety of meanings. My critical theory framework leans my definition of anti-racist education away from methods that are "reactive and corrective" (Thompson,1997:7) and towards the idea of addressing structural factors as in Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs' (2017:6) definition of a pedagogy that is "deliberately politicised". I agree with the idea that transforming racist structures through anti-racist education must involve a whole school approach, whereby racial equality strategies are embedded across the curriculum, throughout the school, reaching out to the wider community and encompassing the will of all staff and families (see Richardson, 2004; Complementing Teachers; 2003 Cheng and Soudack, 1994). However, I recognise the limitations of achieving structural change for the programmes in my study, which are brought into schools through community arts programmes and thus are not part of the structural fabric. Programmes that come into schools as one-off interventions are limited in their capacity to bring about structural change and hence adopting the term anti-racist education can be misleading. On the other hand, structural change involves collective actions and multiple methods working together to promote transformation. In this sense, the anti-racist pedagogies of individuals and groups can contribute to the pursuit of transformation through anti-racist education. I align with Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs' (2017) three goals of anti-racist education: making systematic racism visible, recognising one's own racial identity including

how people are positioned differently and the complicity of Whiteness in maintaining privilege and developing strategies to transform these. Therefore, for this thesis, I define anti-racist education as a pedagogical approach that takes action against one or more 'racisms' (Fredman, 2001) (stereotyping and violence, perpetuating systems of advantage/disadvantage and destroying cultures), as part of a broader purposeful strategy to transform racist structures. This inevitably involves pedagogies that seek to transform rather than prohibit racialised beliefs and behaviours. Throughout this thesis, I use the term anti-racist education with this multi-faceted aspiration in mind. The next sections explore critical theory, critical race theory and critical pedagogy as it builds my theoretical framework.

A Critical Theory Framework

My research explores the role of art projects for supporting anti-racist education in predominantly White areas. Two key areas are investigated (1) how White teachers and students, in predominantly White areas, conceptualise their learning about race, (2) what kinds of learning take place amongst White primary and secondary school students in predominantly White classrooms, who take part in anti-racist arts projects. I examine the overarching issue of racism through a critical race theory lens and approaches to anti-racist education through a critical pedagogy and critical art pedagogy lens. Critical pedagogy is linked to the critical theory movement of the Frankfurt school. Having Marxist leanings, the Frankfurt school gave rise to a theoretical tradition that uses theory to uncover oppressive power relations and transform them. Critical pedagogy evolved

through building on critical theoretical perspectives. Darder, Baltodano and Torres (2009) describe critical pedagogy as emerging from a historical legacy of radical social thinkers who aspired to link education with principles of democracy and transformative social action for the benefit of oppressed communities. Paulo Freire is considered the most influential educational philosopher in the critical pedagogy movement (Darder, Baltodano and Torres, 2009). His work is also widely cited in texts that explore the relationship of the arts in social justice movements (see for example Bell and Desai, 2014). I keep with this tradition due to the relevance of Freire's work on dialogue and social transformation through education and the argument that the arts can act as a form of dialogue for social change (Knight, 2014). However, the concept of transformation through education has been challenged due to the paradox of organisations simultaneously working to maintain hierarchies of privilege while seemingly offering liberation. Lorde (1984) argues that the master's tools cannot dismantle the master's house. This suggests that if schools are structured along raced, classed and gendered lines that limited change can be brought about through engaging in lessons about anti-racism, anti-classism, or anti-gender discrimination.

Foucault's (1984) work on power and the regulation of bodies offers further understanding of this point. Foucault (1984) suggests that control and normalisation take place through processes of surveillance that lead to self-regulation and the performing of assumed norms. "Normalising judgements are also used, according to Foucault, to justify correction and coercion in teaching and promote standardisation and homogeneity" (Murphy, 2013:25). According to Foucault (1995:184), "the power of the norm functions within a system of formal

equality". Students are measured regarding their distance from the norm and disciplinary procedures used to normalise students or even exclude them. When organisational norms become individually embodied through the process of self-regulation, creating change can be problematic. Lorde (1984) and Foucault (1984, 1995) highlight potential challenges and contradictions embedded in educational structures and processes of regulation, which can replicate inequalities and regulate social norms while offering lessons in social justice. It follows that teachers and students can come to believe the rhetoric of inclusion while maintaining assumptions and contributing behaviours that help maintain oppressive structures. Nevertheless, Boler (2004) argues that education settings can offer unique spaces for social change where issues that may be difficult to communicate in everyday settings, can be worked through in the classroom. Thus, although transforming inequalities and challenging discrimination in schools is problematic, hope for social change exists, as reflected in the continued efforts of many theorists, educators, artists and critical pedagogues.

Critical Pedagogy: Education for social justice

Critical theory developed the Marxist idea that education is a capitalist ideology that ensures social, economic, cultural and bureaucratic reproduction. However, it also suggests that education establishments can become "venues of hope" and "sites of democratic possibility" if teachers and students work within a liberatory pedagogical framework (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2002:89). Freire's (1970) book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* along with Augusto Boal's (1979) *Theatre of the Oppressed* provide practical strategies for social change. Darder, Baltodano and Torres (2009) argue that these texts offer a significant turning point for educators

and artists who became frustrated with the theoretical nature of critical pedagogy and the apparent absence of adequate practical strategies. Freire (1970:68) argues that transformation involves both action and reflection. Reflection alone is *verbalism* (empty words), and action alone is *activism* (action for action sake). Together they can lead to transformation, through a process of *Praxis*.

Freire (1970) proposes that education either domesticates or liberates. Domestication education replicates the status quo with all its inequalities, while liberation education transforms it. He argues that traditional education acts as a form of 'banking', whereby 'expert' teachers fill passive students with deposits of knowledge. He argues that this dehumanises students because they do not develop critical consciousness. That is to say, they do not create or imagine their own world but rather entrust the givers of knowledge (teachers, newspapers, parents) accepting it as passive recipients. This leads to students becoming dehumanised and, in doing so, dehumanising others (Freire, 1970:53-55). Freire (1970:60) argues that liberation is not another deposit to be made in people; it is the praxis: the action and reflection of men and women upon their world to transform it. He argues, "Liberation education consists of acts of cognition not transferals of information" (Freire, 1970:60). He also offers an alternative method of education: 'liberation education', which involves engaging with students in critical thinking for social change. Freire (1970:49) coined the term 'conscientization' to refer to ways of raising the conscience and consciousness of communities and individuals so that they can reconceptualise perceptions that they have previously understood as 'normal' or inevitable. This pedagogical approach involves moving away from ideologies of deficit where communities are blamed and need correcting by depositing knowledge in them. Instead, students

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engage in critical dialogue to explore issues in ways that relate to their own hopes, dreams, fears and doubts. Not addressing fears and doubts leads to blocks and silences (Freire, 1970).

Feminist scholars have criticised critical pedagogy arguing that it is ethnocentric and reductionist (Lorde, 1984; bell hooks, 1994). This is due to it mainly being established by White men and thus developing according to patriarchal notions of pedagogy. Darder, Baltodano and Torres (2009:15) note a "failure of critical pedagogy to explicitly treat questions of race, culture or indigeneity as central concerns". As feminist scholars raised concerns about a lack of consideration of race, they were silenced by accusations of essentialism. Nevertheless, feminists and critics of colour insisted that issues of race, gender and sexuality be given equal weight and thus the importance of including intersectionality within critical pedagogy gained ground (Darder, Baltodano and Torres 2009:15).

Further critique of critical pedagogy arose in relation to its assumptions about knowledge. Patriarchal undertones of critical pedagogy were said to lead to a "carte blanche acceptance of the Enlightenment's emphasis on the emancipatory function of cognitive learning that informs the Marxian perspective of reason" (Darder, Baltodano and Torres, 2009:14). Feminist contributions to critical pedagogy included reconsidering what counts as knowledge and who counts as a producer of knowledge. Feminists have challenged the idea that 'expert' reasoning is the best way to produce knowledge, through promoting methods such as autobiography and narrative, along with focussing on the historical and political positioning of the 'knowing subject' (Darder, Baltodano and Torres, 2009:24).

Black feminist writers such as Audre Lorde and bell hooks provide important inputs to contemporary critical pedagogy. Lorde (1984) argues that we cannot bring about meaningful social change using the tools and frameworks of the current system since it is these that help maintain oppressive divisions:

> What does it mean when the tools of a racist patriarchy are used to examine the fruits of that same patriarchy? It means that only the most narrow perimeters of change are possible and allowable (Lorde, 1984:111)

bell hooks' theory of transgression is useful for examining how anti-racist arts projects might operate in Freirean terms, given the limitations suggested by Lorde. bell hooks (1994) acknowledges the profound effect that Freire had on her thinking and practice, particularly around his concepts of literacy and consciousness raising. That is to say that reading, writing and critical skills allow marginalised people to develop a critical consciousness. She criticises Freire for sexist language in his work, declaring this as "a blind spot in the vision of men who have profound insight" (bell hooks, 1994:49). Nevertheless, she does not let this overshadow the importance of his work that she describes as "living water" (1994:49). bell hooks (1994) states that privileged people may drink bottled water considering tap water impure. She argues this is "an expression of luxury not just simply a response to the condition of water" (1994:50). As such, the metaphor of unclean water is used to illustrate that good resources, even when containing some impurities, need not be wasted and can be life-giving. Likewise, Lorde (1984:111) does not throw out those ideas that seem different, but rather champions difference as "a fund of necessary polarities between which our creativity can spark like a dialectic". Lorde (1984:112) refers to acknowledging differences amongst women as part of a feminist agenda including issues of race and class. She argues that women have been taught either to ignore differences

or to view them with separation and suspicion and that this plays to a patriarchal principle of "divide and conquer". Lorde (1984:112) argues that difference can be recognised as a creative strength and reconceptualised as "define and empower".

bell hooks (1994) draws on Freire's work to develop a feminist, engaged pedagogy relevant to multicultural contexts. She argues that banking forms of education are passive, silent and 'safe' to the point where many students do not enjoy the learning process. bell hooks (1994) promotes the idea of engaged pedagogy where all voices contribute to the collective effort and collective spirit of excitement and engagement about learning. This involves building shared communities of education, rather than 'masters' banking knowledge in silent, passive students. bell hooks (1994) maintains that excitement in education is often seen as disruptive to the atmosphere of seriousness assumed to essential to learning. Equally, she argues that being flexible and allowing for spontaneous shifts in direction can be seen to threaten a curriculum being 'kept on track'. Therefore, teaching to encourage excitement in learning is to transgress accepted boundaries. bell hooks calls for students and teachers alike to become more engaged as active participants in learning:

> To emphasise the pleasure of teaching is an act of resistance counteracting the overwhelming boredom, un-interest and apathy that so often characterise the way professors and students feel about teaching and learning, about the classroom experience (bell hooks, 1994:10).

Nevertheless, problems exist when teaching and learning about racism. Firstly, bell hooks (1994:9) notes that transgressing habitual boundaries can be frightening, "their [students] spirit of rigid resistance seemed more powerful than any will to intellectual openness and pleasure in learning". Secondly, bell hooks

(1994) recognises that multicultural education is riven with antagonism. It poses a contradiction regarding engaging students in learning that is enjoyable and exciting while tackling subjects that are perceived as threatening. For example, learning about racism can provoke fear, shame and discomfort, it can be challenging, conflicted, heated and emotional. This recognition that teaching and learning about racism can be troublesome and uncomfortable challenges the construction of classroom learning as safe.

The notion that classrooms should be safe spaces to encourage student engagement and enhance academic outcomes permeates teaching and learning literature (Barrett, 2010). However, it has been questioned whether safety is dangerous. Barrett (2010) provides a critical examination of the classroom as a safe space, including the impact of safety on student intellectual development and the impossibility of safety for students in marginalised and oppressed populations. Drawing on the work of Boostrom (1998), she shows that the promotion of student critical thinking and intellectual development can be impaired by a discourse of classrooms as safe spaces. Boostrom (1998:406) argues, "The "safe space" metaphor drains from classroom life every impulse towards critical reflection". Furthermore, students who belong to racially, socially, or economically marginalised groups may find that classrooms are and have always been unsafe spaces structured by classism, sexism and racism that regularly pose a threat to their well-being and ability to engage as equals. It is argued that promoting the notion of safe classrooms for marginalised communities is a product of a privileged standpoint:

> I have learned that I cannot offer my less privileged students—students of color, LGBTI students, students from poor families—safety, nor should I

try. In fact, it is a function of my own privilege that I ever thought I could. It is only from privileged perspectives that neutral or safe environments are viable and from empowered positions that protecting others is possible (Ludlow, 2004:45).

Leonardo (2009) states that the individual guilt that arises from fear of looking racist can block dialogue and critical reflection about racism. Where safe classrooms involve avoiding critical reflection on issues of race because it is troublesome this serves to preserve inequality and protect White privilege through silence and avoidance of the issues. Critical race theory provides a vehicle for making this visible.

Critical race theory: White power, privilege and primacy

Critical race theory examines inequalities about Whiteness and racism. It has a relatively short history in education (Taylor, 2009). Critical race theory's history can be found in critical legal studies in the US, which arose during the era of the Civil Rights Movement. A group of Black legal scholars began to criticise the role of law in the constructing and maintaining racial oppression through social and economic means (Taylor, 2009). They recognised that civil rights legal changes alone would not necessarily lead to social change. For example, in the US the intended desegregation of schools following the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling led to resistance, which manifested in re-segregation of most schools and a growing racial achievement gap (Taylor, 2009). Crenshaw (1988) explains that critical race theory provided an explanation for disaffected anti-racist scholars, which highlighted why civil rights gains were being resisted and reversed by

White populations and how concepts such as colour-blindness and meritocracy were masking racial discrimination rather than eradicating it.

Delgado and Stefancic (2012) put forward three key tenets of critical race theory. The first tenet is that racism is ordinary and common rather than unusual and rare. The assertion here is that "White supremacy is the unnamed global political system that has profoundly shaped the modern world" (Taylor, 2009:4). The second tenet of Interest Convergence (Bell, 1980) proposes that conditions for non-White people only change when interests converge, and it becomes in White people's interest to change things. The third tenet, the social construction thesis, proposes that race is a social construct based on products of social thought and relations. Critical race theorists have argued that the "dominant society racialises different social groups at different times" to meet the needs of the labour market and other perceived needs (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012:9). For example, before slavery, North African civilisations were highly advanced compared to European nations, with libraries and centres of learning, knowledge of mathematics, medicine and astronomy. Racist ideologies have constructed African populations at times as "simpleminded" and content in roles of servitude and other times as menacing and in need of control and repression (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012:9). Critical race theory explains racism as a monster with two heads: racial oppression that affects people who are not White and a system of power and privilege that supports those who are. This "two-headed hydra" is said to be especially powerful because if one head were lopped off the other would still exist (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012:88). Thus, if explicit racist language and actions were halted, people who are not White would still occupy a position of

disadvantage. Hence, tackling structural material and economic factors that maintain advantage and disadvantage become a key consideration.

According to Delgado and Stefancic (2012), critical race theorists have been divided into two main camps, Idealists and Realists. These shape different approaches to tackling racism, which in education settings can be broadly linked to race-equality or anti-racist approaches. Delgado and Stefancic (2012) give an overview of the two approaches. Idealists, focus on cultural factors, arguing that because race is a social construction, racism and discrimination are products of mental categorisation, thought processes, attitude and discourse. Therefore, it can be undone by changing words and meanings, negative imaging, unconscious feelings, emotions, scripts, social teachings and ways that certain social groups are bestowed with positive or negative associations. Solutions, therefore, lie in laws for racist speech, addressing media stereotypes, increasing representation of diverse faces in organisations, on TV as positive role models and so on. On the other hand, Realists focus on material and economic factors, arguing that although cultural factors are important, racism is more than this because racial hierarchies are created and perpetuated for economic purposes. Dehumanising certain groups allows others to exploit them and their labour to retain their own privilege and advantage. Solutions include areas such as changing the material conditions of minority groups through creating unions, addressing immigration issues, prison matters and loss of manufacturing industries.

Whiteness as privilege: White bodies and White hierarchies

A growing body of literature seeks to conceptualise and explain Whiteness. Garner (2007) explores a variety of ways to examine Whiteness, including as

terror and supremacy, as absence, as norms and racial purity and as positions of Whiteness at the margins of White. Garner (2007:1) describes Whiteness as "a lens through which particular aspects of social relationships can be apprehended". However, he makes it clear that Whiteness has no stable consensual meaning, but rather meanings of Whiteness and conceptualisations of race are time and space specific. Garner (2007) argues that the purpose of using Whiteness as a conceptual tool is to:

> ...insert a conceptual crowbar between Whiteness as 'looking White' and Whiteness as the performance of culture and the enactment of power, then pull the crowbar down (Garner, 2007:6).

As such, Garner (2007) proposes that a focus on Whiteness, in the pursuit of anti-racist studies, can support naming and analysing of hegemonic beliefs and practices that appoint White people as 'normal'.

Teaching Whiteness as part of multicultural education has grown in importance. Critical race theory literature indicates the need for racism to be understood not merely as acts of prejudice and discrimination, but as a systemic institutionalised force that disadvantages people defined as not-White (Derman-Sparkes and Ramsey, 2006). When teaching Whiteness is not included in multicultural education, the notion of Whiteness as being normal is said to be reinforced. It is argued that education that just teaches about racism rebukes White people to change their behaviour towards victims of racism, yet this diverts White people away from examining their own Whiteness (Brunson Day, 2006). An alternative approach, arising from critical race theory, focuses on Whiteness as a marker of privilege. This method seeks to teach that present-day racism, and racial inequality is not just a product of historical disadvantage that will gradually

disappear once people are aware of it, but rather that Whiteness affords people social and economic advantage that, in turn, disadvantages those who are not White.

However, teaching Whiteness is fraught with difficulties. Students are said to experience fear and confusion, express denial and become defensive (Zingsheim and Goltz, 2011; Wall, 2001; Warren, 2001). Studies highlight a range of problems with teaching Whiteness as researchers seek ways to create an effective pedagogy of Whiteness. These include difficulty conceptualising the privilege that White skin brings (Zingsheim and Goltz, 2011), feeling guilt or other emotions that lead to a desire to disengage from learning (Wall, 2001) reinforced racism through performances of racial superiority (Warren, 2001) and teachers frequently questioning whether teaching about racism and multiculturalism is relevant in all-White classrooms (Derman-Sparkes and Ramsey, 2006). Also, when teaching Whiteness as a marker of privilege that there is a danger of homogenising Whiteness. This obscures the fact that "the material advantages of being White are not equally distributed" (Brunson Day, 2006:xi). Garner (2007:4) quotes Mills (1997:11) stating, "All Whites are beneficiaries of the contract, though some Whites are not signatories to it". Further, he argues that discussion over the degrees to which different White people benefit can be used to obscure the issue of privilege:

> Whiteness has two simultaneous borders; one between White and the 'other' and the second separating grades of Whiteness. Over-emphasis on the latter is problematic. In zooming in on the distinctions at that end, the overarching frame goes out of focus (Garner, 2007:10).

Hill (1998) addresses 'the invisibility theses'; this being the unseen nature of Whiteness that renders it normal on the one hand, while offering unspoken

privilege to those who happen to be identifiably White. Cooks (2003:248) strives to construct a pedagogy for making visible the "constraints of Whiteness". This draws on the work of Judith Butler (1993), who argues that bodies are constrained by their social location. While bodies and their subsequent identities are constrained, these constraints can be reworked once they are made visible. Cooks (2003) argues that many White students who come to recognise their Whiteness are left with a sense of loss, feelings of cultural blandness and a sense of invisibility. Whiteness has become the standard against which all others are judged. Therefore, Whiteness begins as everything, but when exposed becomes nothing (Cooks, 2003):

> For some students, learning about Whiteness meant confronting feelings that they had no culture or no sense of a space/place in which or from which to construct their identity (Cooks, 2003:254).

Wall (2001) considers the pedagogical implications of teaching Whiteness within the classroom. She addresses some of the problems her students encounter in critically engaging with understanding the dominant discourse of Whiteness and seeing themselves in terms of their Whiteness. Wall (2001:186) highlights three common distractions that get in the way of students understanding Whiteness: guilt, empathy, and a White victim discourse. Warren (2001) writes about a victim of political correctness discourse and discusses how it serves to maintain privilege. Warren (2001) argues that a stance sometimes taken by White people who use racist language is that they are now the victims of reverse discrimination, unable to speak up due to political correctness. This stance has led to the accusation that political correctness leads to a fragile version of social cohesion, built on fear of speaking. From this perspective, a politically correct community is not a cohesive community; it is a "careful community" (Chief executive of

Leicester City Council, ODPM 2004:6). However, Warren (2001) describes this alleged silencing of White people as a method of perpetuating otherness, locating oneself as a disadvantaged/victim while maintaining White middle-class privilege.

Derman-Sparkes and Ramsey (2006:1) argue that racial superiority affects White children too because "a false sense of racial superiority is damaging, causes isolation and ill prepares children to function in a diverse society". They argue that racial power affects White children's ability to think critically, distorts their perception of reality and of themselves and teaches them to gain status in unrealistic ways. It also encourages them to develop "overblown, yet fragile identities instead of developing a solid sense of self-based on their real interests, connections to people and contributions to the community" (Clarke, 1963:81, in Derman-Sparkes and Ramsey, 2006:42). Ending racism is, therefore, humanising and liberating for all people. This involves White people developing a "new White consciousness" that resists false notions of racial superiority and entitlement (Derman-Sparkes and Ramsey, 2006:3).

The practice of teaching Whiteness is not without controversy. Fine *et al.* (2004) show concern that their desire to create spaces to speak about Whiteness may have rendered it a fixed category of experience and identity, with an essentialist nature that is not helpful. Hill (1998) asks whether too much literature on Whiteness might do more harm than good. He argues the regularity with which work on Whiteness is appearing is said to make it so visible that it has become unremarkably ordinary. Derman-Sparkes and Ramsey (2006) heed the caution that teaching Whiteness can place White children's needs at the centre. However, quoting Lewis (2001), they argue that for change to take place the educational

experiences of White children must undergo some transformations and this must involve teaching and learning about Whiteness.

Leonardo (2009) argues for White privilege to be recognised as White supremacy. He points out that it is not simply White supremacist groups that do acts of supremacy, which support and maintain the system but rather "it is the domain of average, tolerant people, lovers of diversity and believers in justice" (2009:267). Whites recreate White supremacy regardless of their good intentions. White supremacy is said to be the normal background against which all other systems are defined, yet, because it has become "all-encompassing and omnipresent" (Taylor, 2009:4) it has become invisible, rarely recognised by those who benefit from it. In a well-cited list, Peggy McIntosh (1988) outlines 50 privileges that White people gain by having White skin. This includes not being followed around shops, not having people cross the street to avoid them and not being deemed a credit to their race when they do well or being part of a biologically inferior race if they make mistakes. The consequence of privilege being invisible or not being recognised is that to most White people racial inequality and discrimination are "uninteresting and unconcerning" (Taylor, 2009:4) and racial oppression does not seem like oppression to the dominant group perpetuating it (Lawrence, 1987). Instead, incidents of racial discrimination appear as rare and isolated acts. Leonardo (2009) argues that very few Whites exist who believe they are racist; racism is always the remit of the other. As such, racism becomes a slippery phenomenon where it appears to thrive despite the apparent absence of racists as described by Whites (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, in Leonardo, 2009).

The notion of White privilege has been challenged due to the position of White working-class and underclass poor Whites. Gillborn (2012:30) argues that poor Whites experience a "very real material and symbolic violence". However, he uses the critical race theory principle of interest convergence to argue that the existence of poor Whites does not disprove the notion of White supremacy, but instead is an essential part of maintaining a White supremacist society through a discourse of 'victims; and 'degenerates':

> A system of White supremacy benefits from popular discourses that present the working-class as, on the one hand, innocent victims of unfair racial competition and, on the other hand, degenerate threats to social and economic order (Gillborn, 2012:30).

Shotwell (2011:81) explores the notion of White privilege and argues it is useful for helping White people understand how they benefit from a system that privileges them. Nevertheless, she argues that the term "primacy" might better explain the notion of being put first. This potentially captures what it means to be privileged, such as in the examples given by McIntosh (1988). It also highlights the notion of being first in line for educational and economic resources along with being part of a system that favours people based on skin colour. Shotwell's (2011) primacy argument is helpful in that avoids the mistaken idea that White people are always more privileged than other individuals are, which can be a sticking point for understanding White privilege when poor Whites do not *feel* privileged. Further, Shotwell (2011:81) asks, "Who wouldn't want to be privileged?" She draws attention to the notion that all groups will struggle for greater privilege and some people can acquire privilege, regardless of skin colour, despite a system of White primacy that favours Whites, politically, ideology and economically.

Whiteness as 'normality': White primacy in education

Diversity education in schools leans towards Idealism, in that education generally focusses on prohibiting racial discrimination and promoting positive attitudes towards diversity. Models such as multiculturalism tend towards celebrating diversity and promoting tolerance, which operates at the level of culture, attitude and discourse rather than seeking to change structural inequalities, which would be the remit of realism. Structural inequalities can be evidenced in areas such as exam performance statistics, the ethnic make-up of children in higher and lower ability group settings (in ethnically diverse contexts) and disproportionate numbers of excluded Black children, which Gillborn (2009[a]) argues, is reinforced by education policy. Taylor (2009) also suggests that teachers are reluctant to tackle racial inequalities or acknowledge their existence. Therefore, measures for combating racism tend towards prohibitive language or silencing discourses of colour-blindness.

Gillborn (2009[a]) uses critical race theory to contemplate the role of UK education in actively structuring racial inequality. He questions the "comforting myths" that are told about progress in educational policy, and he asks progress for whom? (Gillborn, 2009[a]:52). Gillborn (2009[a]) argues against the perspective that education policy is a gradually evolving process of betterment for all. He refers to a White-washed version of history where policy is seen as a rational process of change whereby new better policies build on and advance those that came before in a linear progressive fashion. He argues that this is contradicted in England by the fact that almost every policy aimed at improving racial equality has come as a result of conflict. Resistance and protest by Black and minority ethnic groups

have been key forces in creating change including the aftermath of bloodshed. Examples include a brief improvement in education policy following uprisings in Brixton, Bristol and other cities in the 1980s (Gillborn, 2009[a]) and Doreen and Neville Lawrence's campaigning for justice following the racist murder of their son Stephen. This led to the Macpherson Report (1999), which named 'institutional racism' as "collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin". Institutional racism was said to be possible regardless of individual good intentions. Indeed, Taylor (2009) argues that the predominantly White teaching population contribute to the racial achievement gap through their practice, while being unable to see what they are doing. Crozier (2001:338) argues that 'one size fits all' policies in education serve to disadvantage ethnic minority children when coupled with institutional racism. Further, she proposes that a "desire for sameness and uniformity and an ignoring of difference and diversity" goes against the principles of democracy. Ladson-Billings (2009) argues that the image of education as a nice field leads to resistance to change despite the vast extent of racial injustice in the classroom. Taylor (2009) appears to concur arguing that despite research that highlights inequalities in education, teachers are said to be reluctant to agree these problems exist and therefore unlikely to construct approaches to fix them.

Developments have been made regarding Black and minority ethnic authors and poets being introduced into English literature curricula [1] and multicultural

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[1] However, a recent education policy debate, instigated by Michael Gove, the former education secretary, seeks to remove some international books from examination texts to be replaced by English authors (http://www.independent.co.uk/news/education/education-news/michael-gove-axes-to-kill-a-mockingbird-and-other-american-classics-from-english-literature-gcse-9432818.html).

perspectives are being explored across areas such as religious education and history. However, while this goes some way to providing children with a more inclusive and post-colonial view of the world, it does not tackle structural racism. Providing a multicultural curriculum can increase the representation of Black faces in classroom materials and provide diverse role models that may help to uproot stereotypes. Indeed, Reay *at al.* (2007:1044) argue that many White middle-class families feel multi-ethnic comprehensive schooling is important to develop their children's ability to be "socially fluent and adaptable". As such, "multiculturalism is seen as an important value reflecting inclusivity in a diverse, global world". Idealism can be seen at work here, with growing multiculturalism in inner city schools leading to increased acceptance and value being placed on racial diversity. However, the authors also state that privileged White people can benefit from racial diversity by "extracting value" from or "dipping into" multiculturalism, while maintaining their White privilege (2007:1041).

The benefits and impacts of a multicultural curriculum differ in rural or predominantly White areas, compared to more urban cosmopolitan areas. Here, many children have little access to racial diversity. In these contexts, the expansion of multicultural resources does not necessarily offer White children a diverse view of the world, nor represent diverse cultural voices and perspectives, nor begin to change thought processes, attitudes and discourse or challenge the structural inequalities of White privilege. Gaine (2005) argues that strategies to introduce information about other cultures into the curriculum are insufficient when done in isolation and might even reinforce stereotypes, due to prevailing myths and existing hostile attitudes. Ladson-Billings (2009) argues that, in education, the White voice still becomes the voice of reason against which other

voices can have little influence or contribution. She proposes that the school curriculum is a "culturally specific artefact designed to maintain a White supremacist master script" (2009:29). She describes ways in which stories of African-American people are "muted and erased when they challenge dominant culture authority and power" (2009:29). Ladson-Billings (2009:29) points to Swartz' definition of a master script:

> Master scripting silences multiple voices and perspectives, primarily legitimizing dominant, White, upper class, male voicings as the "standard" knowledge students need to know. All other accounts and perspectives are omitted from the master script unless they can be disempowered through misrepresentation. Thus, content that does not reflect the dominant voice must be brought under control, mastered, and then reshaped before it can become a part of the master script (Swartz, 1992:341).

Benedict (1999) argues it is not adequate to merely teach positive information about different ethnic groups, although this is important, it is also necessary to hold up democratic ideals in practice and teach children the importance of mutual interdependence, and that unsatisfactory conditions of any group must be actively eradicated and not accepted as an unfortunate inevitability. Benedict (1999) argues that education is not enough to stop race conflict. What is needed is social engineering:

> It is often said that our school systems must make themselves responsible for ending race prejudice, and attempts have been made to achieve tolerance by special instruction. This is of great importance, but we should be quite clear about the limits of its effectiveness; otherwise, in the end, we shall cry that we were betrayed because it has not succeeded (Benedict, 1999:46-7).

It can be argued that some advances have been made albeit not sustained. Writing a decade ago, Gaine (2005:7) argued that the political and educational climate in the UK is "significantly more positive about combating racial

inequality…than in the mid-1990s". He drew attention to ways in which politicians helped improve conditions through legislation such as the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 and the media covered campaigns to support individual cases of refugee families. Gaine (2005:35) argues that this led to "brief analysis of shifts in policy and practice on a national scale and some of the effects on classrooms", which led to many teachers being more aware and more willing to tackle issues of racism. Unfortunately, it appears a reversal has occurred evidenced through a current politically controlled anti-immigration discourse, a rise in racist attitudes (Taylor and Muir, 2014) and teachers' expressed lack of confidence in working with issues of race (TTA 2013).

Nonchalance and knowing: White teachers and students responses to racism

This section explores White teachers' and students' responses to racism and how attitudes and behaviours towards race become manifest in education settings and the wider community. It includes reflections on my own troubled position within the category of Whiteness.

White selves, White others

Writing about White teachers and students responses to racism and education is filled with complexities. I sit in this category, having been a White pupil, a White university student and now a White HE educator. Being a White mother of mixed heritage children causes tension and discomfort, due to a desire to want to blame White people for racism, yet not be blamed myself. Preston (2009) states that White writers can never be fully comfortable writing about Whiteness. I am aware

that experiences of negotiating schooling for my children and disapproval towards myself by teachers and community members, provides insight into the impact of racism that may not be available to many White people (Harman, 2008). On the other hand, I benefit from the privileges of Whiteness (McIntosh, 1992), which can hinder the way I construct knowledge when doing anti-racist research, due to assumptions that have been shaped by my White experiences (Maher and Thompson Tetreault, 1997).

It was relatively recently that I came to know I was White. Preston (2009) discusses, he did not know he was working-class until he went to university and did not realise he was White until he read Roediger's (1991) *The Wages of Whiteness.* I too did not know I was White when having Black friends; I did not know I was White when having a Black boyfriend and Black children. I did not know I was White when moving from a multicultural area to a White area and began experiencing almost daily derogatory comments towards my family along with dismissive attitudes from teachers, relatives and community members when I raised my concerns. This led me to recognise that my children were Black but not that I was White. Frankenberg (1993) argues that Whiteness is conceptualised as an unmarked category by White women who are socialised not to see race. My Whiteness was invisible and normal (Sue, 2006). That was until things began to go wrong with my relationship and I noticed assumptions being made about my partner; he was always perceived to be in the wrong, and I was seen to be in the right. I sensed that this was not based on fair appraisals of behaviour but assumptions about Black men as bad and White women as innocent. I came to recognise that although I was uncomfortable with these unfair assumptions, I nevertheless benefitted from them. Spry (2011ª) highlights the

innocence of White women through her poem *Teasing*. She uses performance autoethnography to link teasing a comb through her blonde hair with teasing and flirting with Black men. Spry (2011ª) describes being confronted by Black women in a nightclub for her performances of Whiteness, which were dangerous to Black men. If she were to accuse one of the men, she would be judged as innocent, regardless of her behaviour.

By considering my own relationship to Whiteness, I seek to avoid presenting Whiteness as a fixed and essentialised category. Bonnett (2014) argues that too often White anti-racists present Whiteness as a fixed rather than a changeable social construction. This damages the anti-racist struggle by creating a stereotype of Whiteness that White scholars themselves appear to sit outside of as passive observers (Bonnett, 2014). When used without critique, the category of White is taken as obvious, based on a notion that all White people have common histories, experiences and assumptions about race. Bonnett (1998) argues that White identities shift over time. In the nineteenth century, British working-class White identities were marginalised due to Whiteness being constructed around middle-class identities, whereas in the twentieth century, White identities were actively adopted as significant to their sense of self, nation and community. However, in education White identities fragment, since education is one of the modes of respectability of the middle-classes (Preston, 2009). Preston (2009) poses that this distinction is held in place by contrasting notions of middle-classes respectability with ideas about working-class or underclass lacking. The latter becomes the excluded White other. This notion has been perpetuated by the construction of the 'Chav', with poor taste, anti-social behaviour and educational deficiency.

Due to intersectionality, it has been suggested that Whites do not benefit equally from privilege (Mills, 1997). Poor Whites, White women and gay and lesbian White people face oppression and lack privilege in relation to White heterosexual, middle-class men. White mothers of mixed-parentage children often experience a loss of White privilege as they endeavour to protect their children from racism (Harman, 2008). For example, through having to consider which areas and schools are safe for their children, facing discrimination and rejection in their own families and having their concerns dismissed by teachers when reporting racism against their children (Caballero and Edwards, 2010; Harman, 2008). However, Leonardo (2009:121) contends the notion that White people benefit differently, arguing, "Whites benefit equally from race and racism but they do not all benefit equally from other social relations". Preston (2009:189) states, "Whilst class fragments Whiteness it does not alter White supremacy". Thus, Whiteness affords me the same racial privilege as White men, although my working-class background and position as a woman and a mother of mixed parentage children do not. Despite the heterogeneous nature of Whiteness and the multiple lived experiences and identities amongst White people, Whites still benefit.

Having become aware of the impact of Whiteness on their constructions of knowledge, Maher and Thompson Tetreault (1997) revisited their book *The Feminist Classroom* to re-examine their data. This reflected a shift from assuming that as White feminists they were equals with Black feminists to recognising they were oppressors as well as allies. Likewise, Pearce (2005) shifted her understanding from a belief that she was part of the solution to the recognition that she was part of the problem. Pearce (2005), a White teacher from South West England, kept a reflective diary over a five-year period to explore her

developing thinking on race and difference. This changed from believing the South Asian Muslim pupils in her class were a problem, to thinking a narrow curriculum was the problem, to realising her White background was an obstacle to her ability to teach the children. Pearce (2005) recognised that her own and other White teachers' unconscious behaviours were having a negative effect on the children's developing identities and ideas about race and difference. This included her own avoidance of dealing with racism, and resistance from her White colleagues when she tried to implement strategies that were more inclusive.

When considering how my own complex position affects my research, I find this difficult. My desire to want to be an effective anti-racist researcher inhibits my ability to recognise my own complicity with racism through acts of White privilege. This causes a contradiction that leads to troubling feelings of shame. However, Shotwell (2011) argues that reflecting on shame can be a useful tool in anti-racist education. Furthermore, she maintains that White people may never feel good when doing anti-racist work and if they do, they are probably making a mistake. However, because I am aware that White people tend to downplay the existence of racism, I find myself compensating by being extra vigilant to recognising racism to ensure I am not doing the same. The danger is that this may have led to a biased over-reading of racism in situations where other explanations might be just as valid. For example, intercultural conflict between males might be as much about asserting masculinity as enacting racial oppression. Furthermore, when reflecting on the strategies that White people engage in to distance themselves from racism, I cannot help but wonder if over-reading of racism is also a subconscious strategy to distance myself from my Whiteness. My desire to shed light on racism in education may lead to enhanced vision or distorted vision, yet

my position as a White researcher may also mean I have blind spots. Just like Maher and Thompson Tetreault (1997) and Pearce (2005), I may find myself rewriting parts of this thesis in the future as my understanding develops.

Ignorance, knowledge and postponed action

A common belief held by White people is that racism is a product of past generations and no longer exists except in far-right groups (Farr, 2014). This belief is especially prominent in mainly White areas (Myers and Bhopal, 2017; Gaine, 2005) and for White people who mostly only know people who look like them (Farr, 2014). There is a tendency for many White people to construct racism as the conscious intentions of individuals and so, if they are not consciously committing overt acts of racial discrimination, they do not see themselves as racist (Farr, 2014). However, if the issue was just about not understanding the pervasive nature of racism, due to being sheltered from it, education could bring new understanding. Leonardo (2009) argues that lack of understanding about racism is not due to ignorance but active resistance and refusal to engage.

The idea that White people do not know much about race permeates the literature on studies about race (Leonardo, 2009). Macpherson (1999) proposes that White people can be unwittingly prejudiced, through acts of ignorance, and thoughtlessness. However, Moon (2016) argues that White people can appear extremely naïve about or indifferent to issues of race, yet can also exhibit considerable racial knowledge and exert their views forcibly. Lander (2015b) interviewed Black and White school students in a comprehensive school in a low diversity area in England and found that although White students knew racial bullying was wrong, they still did it. White students were found to use the N word,

defending its use due to it being in rap music, called other students derogatory names such as 'Pikey' and 'Paki' and told them to go back to their own country (Lander, 2015[b]). Furthermore, Lander (2015[b]) found students and some teachers were complicit with racism through not challenging or reporting racist language or incidents, and claiming shock and ignorance about how to tackle it.

Leonardo (2009:107) argues that the notion of ignorance is helpful to an extent in that it exposes the "nonchalant…lack of urgency" in the way White people respond to racism. However, he also argues that this paints White people as innocent and obscures their active investment in racialised structures, in terms of their own personal and group interests. Hence, ignorance and innocence can be seen as myths that serve the interests of White supremacy, by acting as tools for maintaining dominance. Leonardo (2009) argues that acquiring White privilege is not a passive process in which Whites automatically benefit. Rather, he argues that the process is maintained by a system of active oppression, in which Whiteness is mystified, discussions about racism are stifled, and dialogue is avoided or dismissed. Mills (1997:17) argues that White people use an "epistemology of ignorance" to mystify and misinterpret the racialised world they have created. Leonardo (2009) argues for moving away from framing White people as ignorant to reframing them as knowledgeable about race; in doing so, White people are held accountable.

Resistance and protection

Watson (2014) argues that White students can find conversations about race difficult and therefore resist or avoid such conversations, so as not to experience a loss of self and authority. Leonardo (2004) proposes that White people's

feelings of fear and individual guilt block the ability to engage in critical dialogue about race. Resistance is often justified using the argument that White people are the real victims now, due to affirmative action (Picower, 2009). Some White people see affirmative action as a way to privilege Black people rather than as a way to counteract discrimination against Black people. Part of the problem is that most White people are taught from a young age not to recognise Whiteness as a marker of privilege (McIntosh, 1992). Instead, they are trained to believe that they are individuals whose success is based solely on moral will and earned through individual achievements, not invisible systems providing racial dominance from birth.

Moon (2016:282) analysed "epiphany stories" from White students in their late twenties, at a US university, who mostly grew up in predominantly White areas. Students responded to the question "When was the first time you became aware that you had a race and what that meant?" Moon (2016:283) found that families, friends and even strangers play key roles in socialising their children into "becoming White". This is done through performances of Whiteness including public performances of White privilege. Examples include, teachers punishing Black children but not White children for the same behaviours, putting White children on accelerated learning programmes in multicultural schools and White parents admonishing their children for forming friendships with Black children or young people, or expressing fondness for Black sports people. Moon (2016) argues that such performances reinforce White people as righteous and Black students and their parents as deficient.

Picower (2009) argues that teachers' resistance to learning about race and engaging with multicultural teaching is not passive resistance but active protection. Picower (2009:197) proposes that teachers use "tools of Whiteness" to protect and maintain their dominant stereotypical beliefs. These tools being: emotional, ideological and performative. Emotional tools relate to feelings of guilt and active resistance to such feelings through blaming educational materials that they feel try to incite guilt. Statements such as "I never owned a slave" (p.205) are used to deflect guilt. Leonardo (2014) argues that becoming fearful of being perceived as racist inhibits the ability of White people to engage more critically in understanding structural racism. Watson (2014) also discusses the issue of students expressing feeling guilty. Watson (2014:44) states that she does not seek to absolve her students of guilt nor make them feel bad for what happened in the past. Instead, she keeps the focus on the present by stating, "You should feel guilty if you go into schools and continue to perpetuate the systematic oppression of color".

Picower's (2009) second tool of Whiteness, ideological tools, relate to beliefs used to protect hegemonic narratives. These narratives include, we are all equal now, people of colour are undeserving, and White people are now the victims due to affirmative action allowing Black people to take what belongs to Whites. The third set of tools, performative tools, relate to performances that maintain hegemonic beliefs. Examples include saying "shh" to silence conversations about race, acts of help such as saying, "I just want to help them" (p.209), which helps maintain a hierarchical power balance and affirms White identities as good, charitable and not needing to engage in extra race equality work. Picower (2009) argues that these performances of Whiteness feed a belief that by their very

presence in school, White teachers are "altruistic and helpful" (p.207) so do not need to do extra race work; it is ok to "just be nice" (p.208). Picower (2009) states that White teachers are often carrying a lifetime of hegemonic beliefs that are performatively reinforced and which cast "students of color and their communities as dangerous, and at fault for the educational challenges they face" (p.211). When White teachers can absolve themselves of any part in the maintenance of racism, then lack of success for Black people becomes constructed as their own failings, family or cultural failings, rather than institutionalised racism.

White teachers perpetuating White primacy

Picower (2009) interviewed White, female, pre-service teachers, who were enrolled on a course on multicultural education in the US. She found that statements about Black people being deficient were overwhelmingly present in White teachers' narratives. This notion is reinforced by White teachers who propagate a belief that any underachievement by Black children and adults is due to cultural inadequacies and family failings (Moon, 2016; Bhopal, 2014; Chubbuck, 2010). Crozier (2005) argues that White teachers engage in negative stereotyping and maintain low expectations for Black children. Crozier and Davies (2008) carried out an ethnographic study regarding the views of South Asian parents and children's experiences of schooling in the northeast of England. They found that parents and children felt pushed to the margins then accused of self-segregating and not wanting to mix. They argue that there is an emphasis on young Black people needing to change, to assimilate, stop being different, and become more like White people, yet this brings no guarantee that they will then be accepted. Indeed, when Black parents and children exhibit the same ideals as

White mothers, they tend to be judged differently (Rollock *et al.*, 2015; Bhopal, 2014). Bhopal (2014) interviewed Black mothers in predominantly White rural areas and schools in the UK and found that Black people felt positioned as 'other' and as outsiders. She argues that White mothers who place a strong value on educational success are deemed good middle-class mothers whereas Black mothers are deemed too ambitious and having expectations beyond their children's capabilities. Rollock *et al.* (2015) found that Black middle-class parents' status did not protect against teachers low expectations for their children or hyper-surveillance and discipline especially against Black boys and young men.

In predominantly White areas, differential treatment can be exacerbated. Bhopal and Myers (2011) state that rural locations are portrayed as idyllic, clean, pure, spaces, which stand in contrast to aggressive, selfish and unwelcoming cities. Bhopal (2014) challenges this notion, arguing that rural communities can be hostile and unwelcoming to 'outsiders', and hence such communities are sites of conflict where Black families are not given entitlement to a feeling of belonging. In her in-depth interviews with Black mothers who had moved with their families into rural areas of England. She found that in White rural contexts, middle-class constructions of White parents are used to position Black parents as uncaring about their children's education. This is done through not giving Black parents the same entitlement, treating White parents sympathetically and addressing their needs rather than questioning them, while not listening to Black parents and treating them as villains, not victims when educational issues are raised, or incidents of racism are reported. Bhopal (2014) posits that teachers position Black mothers as deviant and non-conformist because their presence disrupts the 'normality' of the rural context. Thus, Black mothers experience a feeling of

being looked down upon in the "White space of the school" (Bhopal, 2014:497). Crozier (2005) argues that schools need to tackle the contribution that White teachers make to Black underachievement.

Tackling racism in predominantly White areas can be challenging, due to claims that addressing cultural diversity in the curriculum is "making an issue where there is no issue" (Asare, 2009:3), and arguing that race equality work is not necessary because the majority are White (Gaine, 2005). Farr (2014) argues that refusal to see the long-term effects of racism is a refusal to see the ways that social, institutional, legal and economic systems operate to keep significant numbers of Black people from achieving as well as their White peers. Thus, inability to see and feel racism permits White people to enjoy privileges that are denied to Black people.

White primacy in teacher training

Performances of Whiteness in higher education institutions have implications for the way Whiteness is reinforced during teacher training. Rollock (2012ª:76) proposes that White people in the academy enact a form of "faux niceness or violence as niceness", which is disguised as "polite collegiality and theoretical debate". This niceness obscures a form of violence that denies and reduces Black people's experiences by not engaging with the disturbing reality of racism. White niceness in the academy feeds into the idea that racial dialogue should feel comfortable and safe for White people, which Rollock (2012ª) challenges by stating that such conversations are often imbued with tension and difficulty for Black people. Hence, White people's comfort reinforces Black people's discomfort. Rollock (2012ª:77) discusses a collection of modified behaviours that

are necessary for survival at the margins, which she calls the "rules of engagement for (possible) survival in a White world". She describes ten strategic behaviours, including never accuse White people of racism even if faced with "horrendously racist" (p.78) words, actions or aspects of othering. Also, do not show emotion and keep a low voice tone to avoid accusations of subjectivity and emotionality, which Whites may use as a reason to disengage from the conversation. Furthermore, engage as a problem solver or negotiator, which allows Whites to feel safe, comfortable and un-blameworthy. Rollock (2012[a]:81) also highlights a tension between performing this "language of Whiteness" to encourage White people's engagement with issues of race equality and to prevent White people from rejecting Black people's insight, without clouding the purpose of the "racial justice project"'. Thus, she highlights the extra work that Black scholars are required to do in which dual spaces are negotiated through "an implicit requirement to survive whiteness and as an agentic critical response to it" (p.82). Pushing too far in the direction of racial justice can lead to accusations about Black people being angry, irrational or overly emotional, yet not doing so can be seen as remaining complicit with the niceness and safety of White dialogue that inhibits change.

Despite the active maintenance of Whiteness by White staff, higher education institutions use the concept of diversity through having diverse images featuring prominently in promotional materials and documents (Ahmed, 2012[a]). However, she argues that to document diversity is not necessarily to do diversity. Diversity can be promoted through visual images and policy rhetoric rather than through engagement with actual inclusive diversity practices. Ahmed (2012[b]) points out the term racism is often replaced by the term diversity. Thus, promoting diversity

through images can be a way to avoid tackling the issue of racism. When the language obscures racism, a "shiny veneer of diversity" (p.113) is preserved that excuses a lack of genuine commitment to transformation. Ahmed (2009) argues that Black people are included to embody diversity so that White people do not need to do diversity in the transformational sense of the term. For example, as long as Black bodies exist, in the organisation, Whites can excuse themselves from engaging in anti-racist work. She argues Black people are expected to express "happiness and gratitude" (p.41) and not to talk about racism since this can introduce bad feeling into the organisation. She argues for reclaiming the figure of the angry Black feminist and refusing the command to be "happy objects" (p.41) for the organisation.

Whiteness and commitment

A lack of commitment to anti-racism in universities (Ahmed, 2009) coupled with performances of Whiteness (Picower, 2009) and "faux niceness" (Rollock, 2012[a]:76) add to the ways that Whiteness operates in school classrooms. Leonardo, (2004:144) argues, "the hidden curriculum of Whiteness saturates everyday school life" and can thus be seen as a pedagogical process. This hidden pedagogy of Whiteness potentially thrives when understanding about racism is missing from teacher education. Lander (2015[b]) argues that policy and practices help maintain ignorance about race and cause Black children to suffer racist abuse in their everyday lives at school. Lander (2015[a], 2015[b]) argues that teachers are ill-prepared and unsure about how to tackle racism; they receive very little training on race and have limited spaces for critical reflection around racism in initial teacher education. Trainee teachers report not feeling prepared

to teach students whose cultural values differ from their own (Chubbuck, 2010; Sleeter, 2001), or to deal with racism in the classroom (Lander, 2015[a]). Lander (2015[a], 2015[b]) argues that the language of race has been removed from the initial teacher training standards, which has taken away the reference points and language needed to engage in Anti-racist education. Bhopal and Rhamie (2014) argue that lecturers on teacher training courses also lack the knowledge and confidence to support students through the process of learning about race, diversity and inclusion. Issues of confidence are particularly prominent in White schools, where teachers are found to lack confidence and do not feel experienced enough to engage with issues of race (Bhopal and Rhamie, 2014; Asare, 2009).

Encouraging White teachers and students to engage with anti-racism can be problematic. Leonardo (2004) argues that when White people begin analysing their own privilege, this can be a threat to the status of privileged access to material resources since privileged access to resources relies on maintaining Whiteness. Thus, the process of coming to recognise White privilege and one's own complicity with racist structures can be unsettling. Leonardo (2004) discusses a tension when giving an analysis of White privilege to White audiences. He argues that there is a danger that the messenger will be rejected if "the message produces psychological dissonance between a White subject's desire for racial justice and her inability to accept radical change" (2004:143). The necessity of discomfort has been put forward as a part of the process of change (Shotwell, 2011; Zembylas, 2010; Boler, 2004). However, Rollock (2012[a]:81) warns that while discomfort may be necessary it also can lead to "instability and danger for those of colour if whites fear that their positions of privilege and power are under threat or even merely being called into question".

Staying in the conversation

Watson (2014) states the importance of having conversations about race. She proposes, "Staying in the conversation" by "listening with the heart and being fully present" (p.41). Staying in the conversation involves talking through race issues and ideas even when they are uncomfortable or painful. She advocates setting up classrooms as safe spaces to talk about race but not safe in the sense that people will not feel hurt, anger or pain but safe enough that students can feel this and still want to come to the sessions to learn. Farr (2014:103) uses the term "racialised consciousness" to represent the unconscious nature of racism but also to highlight that most of our conscious choices are racialised. Given the current climate of racism deeply embedded as a norm and the lack of education about race, Farr (2014:107) states, "it is a given that we will make mistakes and offend someone (unintentionally) during the conversation". The answer is not to resist but to engage despite this. Farr (2014:106) utilises the term "preventive forgiveness" in classrooms to avert the usual anger and discomfort that can inhibit even the engagement of "well-intentioned White liberals" leading to conversations becoming "truncated and very superficial". This "preventive forgiveness" is brought in as "recognition that we have all been ill-prepared by our society for a serious, honest conversation about race" (Farr, 2014:107). There is an urgent necessity for White people to engage in conversations about race in ways that embrace discomfort, move away from "faux niceness" (Rollock, 2012a) and hold White people accountable as knowers (Leonardo, 2009). However, conversations can be fraught with tensions due to issues of power during dialogue and tensions between free speech and harmful speech. The next section discusses this issue.

Trouble with race talk: Freedom of speech versus freedom from harm

A genuine concern for teachers is the issue of race talk. Leonardo (2009) argues that people avoid talking about issues of race due to fears of looking racist. The colour-blind approach, often adopted in schools, is widely written about in anti-racist literature. Scholars argue that many White people growing up are taught that to notice or mention skin colour is racist or impolite (Mazzei, 2008). In schools, educators are said to socialise students to keep silent about issues of race (Castagno, 2008). Many consider noticing ethnic differences to indicate prejudicial thinking and therefore, ignoring skin colour is believed to be a way to treat people equally (Tatum, 1999). The process of silencing is found to begin early, in primary grade classrooms (Copenhaver-Johnson, 2006). Whiteness becomes understood as normal, privilege is not recognised, and Whiteness becomes legitimised in schools (Castagno, 2008). Pollock (2004:3) discusses the US proposition 209 that "ordered district and university people to actively refuse to talk in racial terms". This arose from a belief that race labels contribute to discrimination. However, Pollock (2004:3) argues that 'Colourmute' policies and practices did not erase racial patterns but instead allowed them to continue unconstrained. Leonardo (2004) argues that the colour-blind discourse serves to maintain the normality of Whiteness thereby protecting Whiteness through silence. Acts of ignoring skin colour are said to reinforce distance between groups (Garcia, 1999) and allow the self-perpetuating nature of racism to continue (Tatum, 1997). Making race invisible does not make it disappear.

In the UK, the measures put in place by the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 and the more recent Equality Act (2010), which replaced it, are often interpreted as the need to silence explicit racist language and behaviour. This is perhaps because these aspects of racism are visible and identifiable, and arguably easier to challenge than engaging with and exposing the more complex issues of power, privilege and primacy raised by critical theorists. The media regularly present racism as whether or not people utter racist words by naming and shaming celebrities for making racist utterances. For example, Jeremy Clarkson was shamed for whispering the 'N' word, and Benedict Cumberbatch was chastened for using the word 'coloured' when speaking about the lack of opportunities for non-white actors. The media focused on Cumberbatch's use of the word and his apology, and hence obscured his key point about structural racism in the film industry. The focus on words can trivialise and conceal the full extent of racism and the broader issues of power and privilege. The approach can hide racial hatred, which is perpetuated *without* the use of racist language. This, in turn, can lead to a backlash against Black people who become recast as the problem due to the fear of using the wrong words and causing offence, which becomes framed as a threat to free speech.

West (2012:233) explains that using racist epitaphs is not the only way to "incite an audience to contempt or hatred for those so labelled". For example, images and words can be used where certain groups are portrayed as animals, depicted as backwards, cave-like, jungle people, dirty, lazy, dangerous and so on, can incite hatred and contempt regardless of the use of racist words. West (2012:222) points out "debates over the regulation of racist hate speech are often set up as posing a choice between free speech and other values (e.g. equality)". Maitra

and McGowan (2012) question whether a genuine commitment to free speech means permitting harmful speech. The authors explore contentions between a commitment to free speech, as a fundamental principle, and protection from harm when free speech violates other liberal values such as equality. Maitra and McGowan (2012:1) state, "Most liberal societies are deeply committed to a principle of free speech" and thus "tolerate some very disagreeable speech", such as racist, sexist or derogatory speech. A common response to harmful speech is not to regulate free speech or silence certain types of talk but add more speech. This perspective argues harmful speech should be addressed by counter-speech, which can take the forms of disagreement in the moment, campaigns, conversations, social movements and education. Critical race theory's strategy of counter-storytelling can be seen as a 'more speech' strategy. However, in cases of racist speech the 'more speech' stance is criticised due to the "burden of challenging" falling on those who are already disadvantaged (Schauer, 1992, in Maitra and McGowan, 2012:9).

Core arguments for protecting free speech include allowing citizens the freedom to criticise the government to maintain democracy and promoting autonomy through individuals having the freedom to think and decide for themselves. However, the ideal of free speech for all can be seen as a myth. The ability to think and act freely can be controlled by cultural hegemony. Maitra (2012:95) draws attention to "the authority problem", such as when speech acts are not carried out by equally powerful voices. People in positions of power can be influential, thus shaping and directing behaviours and creating dominant narratives and discourses. Feminists have long argued that women are denied the right to speak, "The entire history of women's struggle for self-determination

has been muffled in silence over and over" (Rich, 1980:11). Likewise, Spivak (1988) argues that that certain groups, such as the economically dispossessed, cannot speak due to the inability of the colonial oppressor to hear and understand knowledge and perspectives other than through the lens of their western consciousness and values. West (2012) discusses ways that speech can be silenced, such as, by making it difficult for certain people to speak their opinion, not giving people a fair chance to be heard or causing people's words to be misunderstood. Therefore, providing contexts for free speech does not guarantee fair speech. Burbules (2004:xxv) argues, "The right to speak does not entail the right to be heard". He points out that creating a discursive space does not mean others will listen. On the other hand, Boler (2004) argues that education environments have unique potential for democratic dialogue, where marginalised voices can respond and be heard in ways that might not be possible in other public places where racial discrimination is encountered. Spaces can be created where dialogue about issues of race can take place. This allows for marginalised voices to be purposefully listened to and for privileged people to engage in dialogue that can lead to greater understanding of issues of race.

Maitra and McGowan (2012) argue that limiting expression can prevent some ideas from even being considered. This can be applied to issues of race where silencing discourses can limit people's ability to consider and understand issues of racial advantage and disadvantage. Bourdieu's (1977) concept of doxa explains how certain conceptualisations can be obscured from existence due to being outside of the range of consideration. He states that misrecognition occurs when power systems become taken for granted. Doxa is a set of unquestioned shared beliefs that underpin certain aspects of symbolic power (Deer, 2012).

Doxa denotes pre-reflexive opinions and perceptions that are shared and go without question, where "the tradition is silent, not least about itself as a tradition" (Bourdieu, 1977:165-7). Bourdieu (1997:170) differentiates between discourse that goes without saying and doxa that "cannot be said for lack of an available discourse". Doxa explains why it may be difficult for White people to see White power and privilege due to its collective embedded position of normality. Its unconscious normality can mean it has not been thought about and hence it becomes difficult to discuss or challenge.

Mazzei (2008) argues that many White people have not considered constructions of their own of White racial identity nor beliefs about race and ethnicity. Copenhaver-Johnson (2006) explores why White adults do not talk about issues of race to their children. She explains that many people lack sound understandings of what race really means and that "definitions of race evade us" (2006:13). She maintains that for most Black people race is something that is thought about daily, whereas, for White people, it is rarely considered because the subject does not come up. However, when it does come up, conversations about race are often experienced as troubling and therefore best to be avoided, since, for White people, talking about race might somehow imply racist beliefs (Copenhaver-Johnson, 2006). Hobson (2014) argues that the first step to solving any problem is to not hide from it. In a Ted Talk, she proposes that we must be bolder about our conversations about race and hence she argues for being "colour-brave" not colour-blind (Hobson, 2014). Hobson (2014) argues that we must become comfortable with being uncomfortable if we genuinely care about creating race equality.

In a March 2015 documentary Trevor Philips, former head of the Commission for Racial Equality, who helped create the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, expressed that he now believes prohibiting race talk approach is wrong. He highlighted that the commission initially believed that if it was possible to prevent people from expressing prejudiced ideas that eventually people would stop thinking them. Philips now argues that prohibiting race related talk has led to anger, resentment and a backlash, which has given rise to increased popularity of far-right groups such as UKIP. I disagree with Philips' statement that the commission got it wrong, yet agree with the sentiment that we need to talk about issues of race rather than silence them. I argue that backlash can arise from the discomfort of racism being made visible to White people. The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 placed a duty on organisations to actively promote race equality and record incidences of racism[2]. The duty to take action to prevent racism made it harder for racism in organisations to be ignored, thus, forcing White people to confront the painful reality of the existence of racism. Shotwell (2011) argues that when people feel negative emotions about race, which causes discomfort, they can either confront these emotions to bring about change or move away from the feelings of discomfort to reproduce White primacy. As such, I argue that discomfort can be seen as progress. Although many people have reacted by endeavouring to reinstate their primacy through supporting racist ideologies, others have become enlightened to individual and structural racism. Consequently, an era of discomfort replaces an era when racial discrimination was deemed acceptable by White people.

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[2] Although, this requirement, for schools, was subsequently removed by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition Government

Critical art pedagogy: The art of social change

Critical art pedagogy joins the body of practice that seeks to enhance democracy through education and schooling. Cary (2011:8) defines critical pedagogy as "a flexible set of propositions aimed at education's function as a means to liberation and justice, to be adopted by art workers and art makers in particular places at particular times". He states, "A critical art pedagogy explores ways through which schools can engage in the art world to promote these goals" (2011:8). This stands in contrast to an art pedagogy that aims to replicate a particular set of ideas to maintain the status quo with all its inequalities.

An emerging body of literature is arising in the field of social justice arts in education. The arts offer ways to address a variety of social justice issues by developing creative and imaginative practices. According to Bell and Desai (2014), this is increasingly important given a rising global tide of accountability and testing measures in educational contexts, taking precedence over creative practices. Bell and Desai (2014:1) propose, "The arts ought to be a critical component of social justice practice" due to their ability to activate the imagination; the arts help engage "aesthetic and sensory capacities" and encourage people to "experiment with alternative possibilities". The authors promote the idea of "imagining otherwise" as a way of challenging embedded power relations and work towards building a fairer world. This builds on Greene's (1995) philosophy, where in her book, *Releasing the Imagination*, she puts the case for creating new social justice possibilities through the arts. Maxine Greene is described by critical theorists Darder, Baltodano and Torres (2009:4), as the "mother of aesthetic education", due to her stance of the pursuit of democracy as

being social and political and also involving moments of beauty and enjoyment.

Greene states:

> Imagination is what, above all, makes empathy possible. It is what enables us to cross the empty spaces between ourselves and those, we teachers, have called 'other' over the years… of all our cognitive capacities imagination is the one that permits us to give credence to alternative realities. It allows us to break with the taken for granted, to set aside familiar distinctions and definitions (Greene, 1995:3).

Lederach (2005) argues that professionals working in the field of conflict transformation must envisage their work as a creative act. He terms this 'moral imagination', suggesting that new creative methods are needed to transform conflict in a complex contemporary world. He puts forward the case for the peace builder as an artist, theorising that:

> The artistic process initially breaks beyond what can be rationally understood and then returns to a place of understanding that may analyse, think it through, and attach meaning to it (Lederach, 2005:160).

Lederach's (2005) work can be relevant to anti-racist education when racism is conceptualised as a conflict of interest between White primacy and race equality in schools. While Lederach (2005) theorises the 'moral imagination', Greene (1995:5) theorises the 'social imagination'. She argues for a "mode of utopian thinking" in school classrooms that refuse compliance with bureaucratised and uncaring schools and instead "think of humane and liberating classrooms". This involves reshaping imagination through dialogue amongst young people from diverse cultures who come together to undertake shared tasks of protesting injustices. Greene (1995:5) states, "Apathy and indifference are likely to give way as images of what might be arise".

Art as knowledge: Popular culture and 'bodily knowing'

The arts, in their broadest sense, can be seen as core to the process of knowing. Forms, such as music, film, theatre, paintings, images, advertising and fashion, all communicate messages about the world that we live in. However, they can also reflect, reinforce, indoctrinate, express or create new ways of knowing the world. Matarasso (1997) proposes:

> More than any other human activity, culture and art…is concerned with values and meanings…art as activity, process and object, is central to how people experience, understand and then shape the world (Matorasso, 1997:84).

Eisner (2008) concurs, arguing that art is a form of knowledge. Eisner (2008) advocates four ways that the arts contribute to knowledge. Firstly, people learn to read images as well as texts. Secondly, images can generate empathy, which can generate action. Eisner (2008:11) argues that "art often creates such a powerful image that we tend to see our world in it rather than it in terms of our world". Thirdly, the arts can provide people with fresh perspectives, which can aid the giving up of old habits. Fourthly, the emotional properties of the arts can help people become aware of their capacity to feel, which in turn, can help us discover our humanity. Eisner (2008:11) argues that all four processes "contribute to the enlargement of human understanding".

While Eisner (2008:11) posits that "art does not always imitate life, life often imitates art", Dewey (1934) argues that art *is* experience. He claims that art tends to be identified as being in the art object (such as in the painting, sculpture, book or drama production). Conversely, Dewey (1934) sees the art as being in the human experience through which the artwork was created. Dewey (1934) is

critical of the spiritualization of art objects and the constant focus on high-art in art theory. He argues that this deeply affects the practice of living, such theories do harm by preventing recognition that artistic value is present in daily activities and that aesthetic properties are necessary ingredients of happiness. In this way, Dewey (1934:3) argues that works of art become "isolated from the human conditions under which it was brought into being". Dewey (1934) connects the aesthetics of art processes as embodied experiences. For example, speaking of poetry, Dewey (1934:216) states, "it is more than intellectual because it absorbs the intellectual into immediate qualities that are experienced through the senses that belong to the vital body". In short, Dewey (1934) does not separate art from culture and everyday experience.

Hall (1997) describes culture as shared meaning. Meaning is shared through language. Language is constructed of signs, symbols, including sounds, text, musical notes, images and objects that represent concepts, ideas and feelings to others. Hall (1997:1) states, "Representation through language is central to the processes by which meaning is produced". He posits that people whom, "share the same culture must share a broadly similar conceptual map" and "share the same way of interpreting the signs of language" (1997:19) for meaning to be exchanged. He states that, according to constructivists, the world is not accurately reflected or mirrored by language but rather shared meaning is constructed through language, signs, symbols and cultural arts and artefacts, which come to represent ideas and concepts. Hall's (1997) in-depth work on cultural representation offers insight into ways in which cultural arts and artefacts, such as museum exhibits, images, films and advertising have been used to construct simplistic representations of otherness. In the case of ethnicity, White

people legitimise their power through the characterisation of Black people; ranging from savage to exotic, comical, stupid, villainous, lazy and at times as the noble savage. However, Hall (1997) argues the representation of stereotypes have always been contested through the circulation of alternative imagery. Likewise, negative discourses and narratives, which keep racist structures in place, have been challenged by counter-stories. Counter-storytelling is a key component of critical race theory, arising from a long history of narrative and storytelling traditions, such as amongst slave captives, Native Americans and in Latino societies (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012). Delgado and Stefancic (2012:48) argue that society constructs the world through a series of stories, narratives, images and scripts. However, much of this is "ridiculous, self-serving or cruel". Counter-storytelling serves to undo and "mock these pernicious narratives and beliefs" (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012:49). In addition, stories can be used to name discrimination, combat internalised blame and give voice to collective experiences of oppression. Rollock (2012[b]:65) draws on the idea that people who have been "racialised" or "minoritised" can have a "perspective advantage", which can allow a broader understanding of issues than the White majority positioned at the centre space of advantage. Rollock (2012[b]:65) invites the reader to "glimpse the world from this liminal positioning" through using personal narrative and fictional counter-narrative. This offers new ways of understanding specific behaviours and assumptions, as a way of "talking back and working towards disrupting whiteness" (2012[b]:82).

Shotwell (2011) professes that it is not openly hostile narratives alone that lead to racist beliefs, much of what we absorb as 'common-sense' implicit knowing, comes through cultural forms, such as movies, magazines and pop music.

Assumptions can be reinforced through the consumption of arts and culture. Shotwell (2011) reflects on Lubiano (1992) surmising that messages given, for example, in movies are part of a bigger message or ideology; entertainment draws on a set of unarticulated assumptions necessary to convey its meaning:

> Photographs and other salient narratives are the means by which sense is made of the world; they also provide the means by which those who hold power (or influence the maintenance of power) make or attempt to make the world for others. Such narratives are so naturalized, so pushed by the momentum of their ubiquity that they first seem to be reality and then become reality. That dynamic is the work of ideology (Lubiano, 1992:329, in Shotwell, 2011:42).

Thus, the messages of forms of popular culture rest on larger ideological messages. For example, messages about class, gender and skin colour. Movies, songs and other artistic forms function through drawing on common sense unarticulated assumptions about such social categories:

> There is a move between artefacts, feelings, practices and common sense stances that stabilizes an ideological formation...its effects ripple out to expand and give weight to more formalized beliefs and propositions about the world (Shotwell, 2011:42).

Shotwell (2011:45) considers ""where" some of the most difficult prejudice "lives" when it is not visible in the world". While she agrees much is transmitted through the "state-modulated social –realm" such as schools and churches, she finds that identifying the non-propositional, implicit knowing is crucial. This can be seen as knowing that resides in the body, which may or may not have translated into cognitive thought processes. It is useful here to connect Bourdieu's (1977) notion of doxa, which asserts that certain conceptualisations can be unknowable due to lack of an available discourse. However, Shotwell (2011) argues that knowledge can be felt in the body regardless of whether it is consciously known. This suggests that certain practices and assumptions are encoded in the body and

bodily practices. This aligns with Hall's (1977) stance that media messages accumulate a common-sense standing in part through their performative nature. Hall (1977) argues that by repeated performance, staging or telling of a narrative that a culturally specific interpretation becomes plausible. It can then become universal and moved to a position of common sense.

Shotwell (2011:75) highlights that talking about race does not necessarily bring about egalitarian practice, although might be a step towards it. People may fundamentally disagree with racism on a cognitive level, yet unwittingly contribute to structural practices and behaviours that maintain an unequal and racially structured society. Shotwell (2011) argues that changes need to take place at the internal, implicit level because ideas that are believed to be commonsensical can remain implicit. They do not have to be articulated. Shotwell (2011) builds on Shusterman's work:

> Much ethnic and racial hostility is not the product of logical thought but deep prejudices that are somatically expressed or embodied in vague but disagreeable feelings that typically lie beneath the level of explicit consciousness. Such prejudices and feelings thus resist correction by mere discursive arguments for tolerance, which can be accepted on the rational level without changing the visceral grip of the prejudice (Shusterman, 2008:25)

Granger (2010) argues that attitudes and behavioural patterns acquired through the body are crucial to multicultural and antiracist pedagogies. This needs to be urgently addressed, with much more work being needed in this arena to bring about effective social transformation. Granger (2010) draws on Dewey, Foucault and Wittgenstein to discuss Shusterman's concept of "analytic somaesthetics" to examine some of the primary embodied dimensions of feeling, perception, action, and thought that can lead to taken for granted racist habits that elude critical

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consciousness (Granger, 2010:70). Dewey argues that habits are embodied meanings. It is through the body's interaction with the world that it acquires meaning, meaning grounded in experience. Learnt knowledge becomes a habit. Meanings and habits are not formed individually but rather are created and interpreted within socio-cultural frameworks. Wittgenstein, (in Granger, 2010:75) writes about anti-Semitism and stereotypical bodily markers (skin colour, body features, nose shapes etc.) that are repeatedly created to evoke fear and anxieties about the 'other'. The effects can be deeply embodied, acquired subconsciously and be thoroughly institutionalised. Shusterman builds on Wittgenstein's stance by stating, "Rational arguments for multicultural tolerance always seem to fail… because the hatred is acquired not by rational means but by the captivating aesthetic power of images" (in Granger, 2010:75).

Aesthetics lie at the heart of social change when social judgements are connected to feelings and emotions about social and political matters. The arts are heralded for the emotive or sensual connections that people make with them, as they are absorbed through the senses of sight, hearing, touch, movement and so on. Lederach (2005:73) discusses the aesthetics of social change as something that requires creative acts that bring into existence processes that have not yet existed. He advocates finding the image that captures the complexity of a given conflict. This may be through doodling or art or poetry that triggers clarity or an 'ah-ha' moment. Thus, the arts and popular culture can be a part of the process of knowledge formation that reinforces power structures and ideologies of inequality. Conversely, the arts and artistic processes, such as creating, communicating, reflecting also have the potential to transform these. Greene (1995) illustrates how the arts provide new perspectives on current views:

> As I view and feel them, informed encounters with works of art often lead to startling defamiliarization of the ordinary. What I have habitually taken for granted – about human potential, for example, or gender differences or ecology or what is now called "ethnic identity" or the core curriculum- frequently reveals itself in unexpected ways because of a play I have seen, a painting I have looked at, a woodwind quartet I have heard (Greene, 1995:4).

Shotwell (2011:48) argues that aesthetic experience has the power to transform implicit understanding due to its relationship to its formation. Shotwell uses a number of authors, including Herbert Marcuse and Susan Buck-Morss, to illustrate how experiences gained through the senses can lead to an embodied knowledge. Buck-Morss (2000:101) writes, "Aesthetics is born as a discourse of the body. It is a form of cognition achieved through taste, touch, hearing, seeing, smell – the whole corporeal sensorium" (in Shotwell, 2011:48). Aesthetics are said to offer a space for radical change where social relations can be acknowledged and transcended through the dominion of sensuous knowledge (Shotwell, 2011:53). The language of aesthetics are not necessarily understood in ways that can be rationalised or explained, but rather, through the senses and for this reason artwork can "plunge us into a new world" (Shotwell, 2011:54 discussing Marcuse). This new world might offer glimpses of what freedom feels like or what it is to be human. As such, aesthetic experience has the potential to be utilised as a resource for political transformation (Shotwell, 2011). Knowledge absorbed through the arts can be experienced aesthetically through the senses yet not rationally described or put into text. Arts projects have the potential to plunge children into a new world, evoking internal aesthetic experiences, which transform or create new experiences and understanding of racial diversity. While this may not work at the cognitive level but at the implicit level of understanding

it potentially can allow children to know otherwise (Shotwell, 2011) and behave otherwise from structurally acquired discourses of race that perpetuate inequality.

Lorde (1984) provides a deeper understanding of how imagination and implicit understanding work together. She suggests that we have interior frameworks of perception about our lives that shape the kinds of lives we are able to lead. She explains how the poetic, can be used to access internal, previously silenced knowing so that it can become consciously articulated:

> Poetry is not a luxury. It is a vital necessity of our existence. It forms the quality of the light within which we predicate our hopes and dreams toward survival and change, first made into language, then into idea, then into more tangible action. Poetry is the way we help give name to the nameless so it can be thought (Lorde, 1984:37).

Shotwell (2011) draws on Lorde to highlight that the poetic can give rise to a perception of new possibilities that can now be spoken and thought that may not have been possible beforehand, yet may have been felt. Shotwell (2011) highlights the importance of addressing implicit and sensual understanding in the pursuit of transformation. She explains how Lorde's notion of the poetic works at the level of the habitus to shift core assumptions and deeply rooted beliefs. However, confronting our prejudices involve a willingness to engage in 'risky play'. As Shotwell (2011) notes, putting our own prejudices into play *is* risky in that it involves confronting the troublesome feelings and emotions that arise when engaging with anti-racist education. Shotwell (2011) argues that it is necessary to engage with discomfort in the pursuit of transforming racism.

Discomfort as progress: Working with guilt, shame and sadness

The arts are often highlighted for their emotive properties, and thus the arts are said to encourage empathy and motivate people to take action for social change. Shotwell (2011) recognises that developing empathy, such as understanding and feeling for someone's plight can be useful in the fight against anti-racism. However, she argues that empathy is not enough. Shotwell (2011) sees cognitive and empathetic perspectives as being based on acquiring *more* propositional knowledge, which works along the lines of developing sameness and does not challenge deep-rooted notions of superiority or expectations of White primacy. At the propositional level, individuals or groups may help others while having no empathy or understanding for the individuals involved. A person in need can be recognised without any empathetic understanding or feeling for their particular plight, nor solidarity for the anti-racist cause. Conversely, one might feel empathy yet take no action or feel sympathy, which can take the form "patronizing, well-meaning pity" (Adichie, 2009). As such, empathetic approaches can be seen as individualistic and pose little challenge to transforming racist privilege.

Given the fear and guilt that many White people face with teaching and learning about racism, discourses on privilege rather than being positioned as racists are said to provide White audiences with a discursive space they can negotiate as safe participants in race critique (Leonardo, 2009). Conversely, Leonardo (2009) points out:

> In so far as White feelings of safety perpetuate a legacy of White refusal to engage racial domination or acts of terror towards people of colour, such discourses rearticulate the privilege that Whites already enjoy when they are able to evade confronting White supremacy. As long as Whites ultimately feel a sense of comfort with racial analysis, they will not

sympathise with the pain and discomfort they have unleashed on racial minorities for centuries. Solidarity between Whites and non-Whites will proceed at the reluctant pace of the White imagination, (Leonardo, 2009:274-5).

Nevertheless, when White guilt becomes a paralysing sentiment, it helps neither Whites nor Blacks because it blocks critical reflection (Leonardo, 2009). Leonardo (2009:264) argues, "White guilt blocks critical reflection because Whites end up feeling individually blameworthy for racism". He contends when this happens they become "overly concerned with whether or not they "look racist" rather than exploring the structural aspects of racism. Thus, there is more at stake than moving past fear of the subject matter and transgressing learning apathy. Using the critical race theory stance of interest convergence, Bell (1980) explains the potential for White teachers and students to engage only to the extent whereby their own position and privilege remain comfortably unthreatened; where the privilege of comfort and safety in the classroom is maintained through reasoning amongst the White majority in the White majorities interests.

Shotwell (2011) argues that guilt can be unproductive for anti-racist action in that it can immobilise, paralyse and lead to defensiveness. However, she proposes that the negative affect of shame can enable action. Shotwell (2011) offers the term "negative affect" as a way of categorising emotions that many White people feel in relation to race, which causes discomfort, such as, "guilt, sadness, panic, shame, embarrassment" (Shotwell, 2011:74):

> Shame highlights the intersection of inarticulate frameworks of understanding with systems of power, visible in the exercise of dominative privilege. While implicit understanding always moves in relation to power, racialised shame can reveal the implicit as it manifests in "unconscious" racism (Shotwell, 2011:77).

Shotwell (2011) argues that what is needed is an enactment of solidarity rather than individualistic approaches to anti-racism. She sees guilt as an individual response that can be immobilising. While guilt relates to inward-looking feelings of blame; shame can produce political solidarity through looking outwards and connecting with others. Shotwell (2011) describes a situation in which a White male sits at a lunch table and laughs reluctantly along with racist jokes being made, before realising a Black friend is sitting nearby and has seen and heard everything. She explores the subsequent sense of shame he feels:

> He knows he should not go along – he has conceptual understanding that it is inappropriate to do so – but has no socially habituated mode through which to oppose the racist habitus expressed in the jokes and his response to them (Shotwell, 2012:77).

Shotwell (2011:87) explains that through implicit understanding we experience a sense of embodied knowing; we move "un-self-consciously through the world". However, this can be disrupted when we suddenly perceive ourselves as "ridiculous, unwieldy or disgusting", when experiencing moments of recognition that others may see us differently, which leads to a bad feeling. Shotwell (2011:77) states, "Shame can make unspeakable things viscerally present". She argues that accepting certain bad feelings is useful for creating "meaningful solidarity across difference" (p.73) and that "it is important for White people to feel uncomfortable about our own and other people's individual racism" (p.73) and that this can spur people to transform "loathsome social relations" (p.74):

> Explicit bad feeling is an optic that helps illuminate the complex of unarticulated beliefs, feelings, inclinations, attitudes, emotions, first-pass responses, and so on that underlie and shape racialised understanding (Shotwell, 2011:74).

This is not to suggest that White people should be shamed into transforming attitudes about race or understanding their own privileged Whiteness. Instead, Shotwell (2011) examines what happens when White people do feel shame and whether this might have some transformatory properties. Equally, she does not suggest that White people who are already engaged in other "affective states" such as "aspiration for social relations that express dignity, hope of love – should be made to feel bad to "count" as doing good anti-racist work" (Shotwell, 2011:80). Rather she posits that the avoidance of negative affect is often prompted by an "implicit idea that the purpose of life is to be endlessly comfortable and at ease" (2011:80). Shotwell (2011:80) talks about "leaning in" to the sharp points of discomfort when discussing racism rather than "cushioning ourselves from it". She argues that if we do not meet and work with negative affect, we lose a potentially useful tool.

Shotwell (2011) argues that White people may never feel good when doing anti-racist work and if they do feel righteous without complication, they are probably making a mistake because solidarity across difference takes place despite feeling bad. "Shame can be thought of as a moment of contradiction in the multiple selves that we comprise" (Shotwell, 2011:94-5). Shotwell (2011) explains that White people can choose at this point to move away from the feeling of shame and reproduce primacy or act on it in recognition that racism is intolerable. Nevertheless, Shotwell (2011) argues that the presence of negative affect signals success rather than a failure of solidarity. Similarly, I argue that experiences of negative affect suggest progress; moving from positions of either not caring or not being aware of systems of oppression and discrimination, to positions of momentary recognition that perhaps social change is needed. Even if at this point

one is not sure how or what to do about it or even how to think about or conceptualise it.

Theoretical framework summary

This chapter discussed how critical race theory, critical pedagogy and critical art pedagogy are utilised to form a theoretical framework for examining the issue of anti-racist education in predominantly White schools. At the beginning of the chapter, I stated my purpose of developing a theoretical framework that seeks social change, addresses issues of power and privilege about issues of race, explores critical pedagogy as a means to anti-racist education and addresses how the arts might support social change. By drawing on critical race theory and Whiteness studies, I positioned my research as addressing racism as a power ideology that benefits White people and puts their needs first. Consequently, strategies that seek to stop racism by silencing race-talk result in reinforcing White primacy by making issues invisible and failing to address unfair power structures. This suggests that dialogic methods, which bring issues into the open, will be more effective. In this chapter, I discussed ways in which Freire's critical pedagogy offers a method for structuring anti-racist education, moving away from silencing students and telling them not to be racist to a critical dialogue method, which explores issues including, hopes, fears and areas that are troublesome. bell hooks and Lorde point out limitations of Freire's approach yet offer ways to support his ideas through engaged pedagogy and engaging with the poetic to explore embodied oppressions and raise critical awareness. I incorporated Shotwell's theory of implicit knowing to explain why dialogue is not enough, due to the way racism is embodied. I thus combined critical pedagogy with critical art

pedagogy and the role of aesthetics to highlight how implicit learning can take place and how the arts might offer a method for exploring embedded racism though working with sensual media, igniting the imagination and promoting critical thinking. Critical race theory offers a lens for exploring how White teachers and students conceptualise racism and relate to anti-racist education. Freire's critical pedagogy and Shotwell's implicit knowing provide a lens for examining ways in which White teachers and students engage with anti-racist education and what kind of learning takes place. I concluded my framework by drawing on Shotwell's theory of negative affect, showing how anti-racist education can touch on disturbing thoughts and emotions, giving rise to guilt, shame and sadness. The idea being that if meaningful change is to take place, then it is imperative to work with and address discomfort, harnessing it and recognising it as progress in a world that seeks to silence issues of race and obscure the existence of racism. The next chapter presents my methodology and discusses methods and approaches used for my empirical study.

Chapter 3: Methodology

My empirical study focusses on two key areas. Firstly, I explore how White teachers and students conceptualise their learning about issues of race. Secondly, I investigate what kinds of learning take place amongst White primary and secondary school students, in predominantly White classrooms, who take part in anti-racist arts projects. However, this is not straightforward. The concept of racism has such unpalatable connotations that fear and silences often surround conversations about both race and racism. Although racism has come to be seen as abhorrent, fear of being wrongly accused of being racist has led to people avoiding discussing issues of race and ethnicity. Silencing discourses are found to permeate mainstream schools (Castagno, 2008). Noticing racial and ethnic differences among students can feel "wrong" or a sign of "bigotry or prejudicial thinking" (Tatum, 1999:28). The colour-blind approach, which ignores skin colour, is often seen as a way to treat people equally and teachers often aspire to be colour-blind (Tatum, 1999). However, reducing dialogue about race does not reduce racialised outcomes. Pollock (2004:4) argues, "The way we talk in school both reflects and helps shape our most basic racial orders". "By acting 'as if' we do not see colour, we reinforce the distance between us, rather than the similarity" (Garcia, 1999:308). Tatum (1997:11) argues that, in America, racism is so self-perpetuating and ingrained in the fabric of society that all that is required to maintain it is "business as usual". This impacts on dialogue about racial diversity in schools. Castagno (2008:124) draws attention to research that points out the "glaring absence of critical conversations about racism in educational contexts".

This poses a problem for research about racism and education. The absence of "race-talk" (Pollock, 2004) along with fears and silences surrounding the subject matter can mean White people may not have examined constructions of their own of White racial identity (Mazzei, 2008) nor had opportunities to consider their beliefs about race and ethnicity. Equally, they may be reluctant to engage with the discomfort of speaking about issues of race in a research context (Davis, 2010). Thus, examining the silencing that takes place in educational contexts becomes a key consideration in researching issues of race and racism in schools.

Examining silences has methodological implications, where an absence of spoken data, due to silences, can be a research limitation. However, considering the subject matter, the absences, what Mazzei (2007:1) calls "silent speech", reveals much about attitudes and behaviours related to race. Thus, the aim of this chapter is to explore what is data, what is knowledge and what can be known and accessed when silences surround the subject matter and what are the best methods for achieving this. The first section discusses and analyses the constructionist stance that broadly underpins the approach taken. This section begins to address the silences, absences and invisibility within the subject matter and how they become data. In the second section, I describe and justify the research methods, ethnographic approach, sample and settings. I provide an overview of the data gathered and how it has been analysed. I then discuss fieldwork issues and explore some ethical dilemmas that arose including issues of identity, gaining access and writing up. Finally, I offer a conclusion by summarising across each section and offering a transition to the next chapter.

Epistemology and Ontology

This section is concerned with the ontological and epistemological questions of what is knowledge and how we know what we think we know. In the first section, I justify my constructionist stance and explore different ways of knowing, such as through art and performance, along with dialogue and text-based ways of understanding the world. The second section argues that silences and absences can also act as knowledge and that an absence of data can be actual data due to the silences that are often present in conversations about race.

How do we know what we think we know?

Ontological and epistemological positions materialise together. However, it is important to distinguish between what is ontological and what is epistemological. The former being about the nature of existence and the latter about the process of knowing. Establishing ontological and epistemological frameworks can be problematic given variations in the way terminology is categorised in the literature. Warring (2012) proposes an ontological continuum from realism to constructivism. He states that realism is based on the idea that a single reality exists regardless of individual knowledge of it, while constructivism espouses the idea of multiple realities that are individually constructed. Constructivism is not to be confused with constructionism. Crotty (2009) points out that the two are often used interchangeably and suggests a way to distinguish between them:

> "…*constructivism* for epistemological considerations focusing exclusively on the meaning-making activity of the individual mind and… *constructionism* where the focus includes the collective generation and transmission of meaning" (Crotty, 2009:58).

It is pertinent to note Crotty's categorisation of these terms as epistemological standpoints, which differs from Warring's categorisation of constructivism as an ontological position. Crotty (2009) instead, describes modern ontological debates as being between realism and idealism. Idealism, linking to the idea that reality exists only through the mind. Crotty (2009:10) elaborates by drawing on Guba and Lincoln (1994) to suggest, "The existence of a world without a mind is conceivable. Meaning without a mind is not". When considering that racism is very real and exists independently of whether individuals know about it, a realist ontology has some appeal. However, I take an idealist stance, arguing that racism only exists because of the meanings subscribed to entities such as colours, cultures and body parts. Thus, racism exists as an ideological position, which has been given form and therefore has real implications. The ontological position of idealism links to constructionism. For the purpose of this thesis, I situate constructionism as an epistemological standpoint, because it suggests a process of meaning-making. Constructionism is apt for my research since it links to 'social constructionism', which highlights the influence of societies and cultures on our thinking. This is relevant to critical theory due to the power of collective meaning-making. Constructionism stands in contrast to the epistemological perspective of objectivism. Objectivism links to the realist ontology that meaning resides within objects or social phenomena. Objectivism asserts that the social world can be studied in the same way as the natural sciences. This stance feeds the idea of positivism; that social phenomena, as well as objects, exist independently of whether people know about them and their meaning can be discovered along with their causes and effects. For the objectivist, races are natural divisions in the human species based on objective biological traits, which exist independent of

cultural and social ideas. An Objectivist can see causality in race through the idea that race causes groups to exist and therefore that racial categories are objective realities (Harris, 1999). A constructivist or constructionist[3] position on race is that groups do not exist independent of cultural or social ideas. Racial categories are not objective realities but rather defined by social relations, and these are changeable and based on "malleable social psychologies, defined by social relations of ethnic or national character" (Harris, 1999:19). My constructionist approach does not concern itself with whether ethnic differences exist or are imaginary. Instead, I focus on the value assigned to both real or imaginary difference (Memmi, 1971, in Harris, 1999:281) and the relationship this has to student learning about diversity. This is studied through interpreting research participants' context-specific beliefs and behaviours.

I situate my approach between a critical theoretic research paradigm and an interpretative research paradigm. The critical theory approach resembles an interpretative paradigm but is also concerned with bringing about social change, which is the intent behind my work. However, it may be hampered by "hidden institutional sources of resistance to change" (Ernest, 1994:32). The interpretative paradigm is concerned with human understanding. It seeks to explore the richness of a situation or to build up 'thick' descriptions of a particular case. "The particular is intended to illustrate the general; not with the precision of the exact sciences but suggestively as an illustration of a more general complex truth" (Ernest, 1994:25-6). This stance fits my research approach, which explores a specific context with three intersecting components: critical art pedagogy, anti-

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[3] Harris (1999) uses the term constructivism. However, due to their over-lapping meanings and my epistemological stance, explained above, I also include constructionism.

racist work and predominantly White classrooms, rather than a general examination of an issue. This bottom-up approach stands in contrast to traditional top-down scientific enquiry that instead uses the general to describe the particular (Ernest, 1994), which may miss more nuanced or unusual cases or obscure the complexity of social phenomena. While strengths in the interpretive paradigm reside in the ability to capture unique and individual stories, circumstances and contexts, weakness lies in the potential for subjective accounts that are not transferable to other contexts (Ernest, 1994). However, this suggests an underlying assumption that cases are discrete or independent units rather than entities or phenomena that are embedded and entangled with wider society. For example, in my study teachers and school students enter and leave school classrooms bringing with them and taking away with them knowledge, experience, perceptions and behaviours. These crossover amongst contexts and cases; reflecting, refracting, making and maintaining the context under study and wider social lives and contexts.

Mazzei (2013:734) argues that individuals do not have independent, conscious and autonomous thoughts and opinions but rather voices are part of a collective entanglement.

> "Voice" cannot be thought as existing separately from the milieu in which it exists, it cannot be thought as emanating "from" an individual person. There is no separate, individual person, no participant in an interview study to which a single voice can be linked – all are entangled (Mazzei, 2013:734).

Mazzei (2013) takes a post-humanist approach that moves beyond reliance on individual interviews to access human experience. She utilises Deleuze and Guattari's (1983) concept of the 'Body without Organs', to theorize a 'Voice

without Organs'. She argues that a voice does not belong to an individual body, but rather it is "produced in an enactment among research-data-participants-theory-analysis" (Mazzei, 2013:732). As such, participant voices do not stand alone but are part of a collective assemblage of participant voices, researcher experiences and theoretical ideas that merge in the analysis to give rise to new knowledge.

In order to make knowledge claims, the notion of knowledge itself must be examined. There are many ways of knowing, including knowing that comes about through text, observation, dialogue and reasoning, and non-linguistic forms such as arts-based knowing, sensual knowing, and performative knowing. Shotwell (2011) argues that there are internal and implicit ways of 'knowing otherwise'. My research addresses implicit knowing through paying attention to body language and gestures, body positioning during art activities, artistic expression, expression of emotion and non-linguistic vocal expressions such as laughter, sighs and groans. We know more than we can express in words. Much of what we know comes through our senses; through seeing, smelling, hearing, touching, tasting, moving, and feeling. As Eisner (2008:5) depicts:

> The liberation of the term knowledge from the dominance of the propositional is a critical philosophical move. Do we not know what water tastes like, although we have very few words, and virtually all of them inadequate for describing what water tastes like, or what music sounds like, or what someone looks like? (Eisner, 2008:5).

Eisner (2008:8), therefore, argues that art is knowledge; "through art we come to feel, very often, what we cannot see directly". In addition, feminism has taught us that knowing and meaning are contextual, differently constructed and understood according to how we are positioned in society. For example, what we know can

be shaped by our experiences, which may differ according to identities, such as, our ethnicity, gender or social class. Spry (2011[a]) argues that we all receive judgements and treatment in society according to the colour of our bodies, the shape of our bodies and the age of our bodies. It is through our bodies that we feel and experience our positioning in society, which becomes a form of embodied knowing. Spry (2011[b]) argues that knowing can come about as enactment through the performative body. Through embodying understanding, we come to know it better by experiencing the feelings, movements and emotions of the performance. Alexander (2005) discusses how performance ethnography is based on the belief that culture is carried in the stories and practices of those who engage in it. Therefore engaging in performance offers a body-centred way of knowing and experiencing the social world. Dewey (1934) demonstrates the connections of art with everyday experience and argues that art has the potential to connect divided people:

> …works of art are the most intimate and energetic means of aiding individuals to share in the arts of living. Civilization is uncivil because human beings are divided into non-communicating sects, races, nations, classes and cliques (Dewey, 1934:336).

Thus, observing and analysing the connections between play, performance and imaginative engagement, or indeed resistance to engagement with arts-based learning, along with the art products produced, has much to say about collective belief and behaviour within a studied context.

Silences, absences and invisibility as data

The position of the researcher, along with ideas about who speaks for whom, and what topics are spoken about has methodological and epistemological

implications (Ryan-Flood and Gill, 2010). This includes what it is possible for researchers to know according to their own positioning in society and their life experiences and worldviews. However, a problem exists when voices have been silenced or when certain discourses and concepts are unavailable. Freire (1972[b]:30) used the term 'culture of silence' to describe when the mass population are mute and have no voice, yet are unaware that they have no voice. Similar to Bourdieu's (1997) concept of doxa and the lack of an available discourse, the absence of voice can lead to misrecognition of racism. Prejudices can operate in this way, embedded as unquestionable assumptions. They can be difficult to recognise in oneself and require considerable work to bring them into view (Shotwell, 2011:16).

Critical theory and feminist research have a history of making visible and audible the presence and perspectives of those groups who have been previously hidden (Rich, 1980). A key focus has been on power relationships, whose voices are heard and whose are left out. Ryan-Flood and Gill's (2010) book '*Secrecy and Silences in the Research Process*' offers a collection of writings that explore the silences and omissions that can take place during fieldwork and writing up. The authors posit that secrecy and silences may be due to disempowerment or exclusion but can also be acts of resistance:

> Secrets may be kept from research participants or kept for them, they may be misunderstood or disclosed, may become a currency of exchange or a means of exclusion. Silence, meanwhile, has radically different meanings dependent upon context and power....one may silence or be silenced, keep silent out of respect, rage, fear or shame, or even as a mode of resistance (Ryan-Flood and Gill, 2010:1).

Mazzei (2007) proposes that qualitative researchers do not dismiss silences as omissions or absences of empirical materials but include them as meaningful and

purposeful. Mazzei (2008) researches the notion of 'racially inhabited silence' arguing that Whiteness is revealed through the absence of voice. Davis (2010) advocates learning to listen to silences. Silences often provide insight into issues of conflict; "I began to pay attention to what was noticeably absent from their narratives, what was avoided, repressed or even intentionally left out" (Davis, 2010:149).

> So what happens when we do not notice or are taught not to notice, or pretend not to notice? What can happen is that we lull ourselves into a dream state induced by this soporific silence. A silence that shields and veils until finally, something, someone, shatters the dream (Mazzei, 2008:1126).

This dream is often shattered when teachers or trainee teachers begin to engage with issues of diversity and experience discomfort in the context of diversity discourses (Mazzei 2008). Mazzei (2008) found that pre-service teachers could talk about difference and accept the need to include diversity into education classes. However, "when asked to specifically discuss their perceptions or experiences based on race and ethnicity, it is as if I have asked them to divulge the password of a secret society" (2008:1127). Thus, Mazzei (2008) argues the silences that follow show participants' attitudes and perceptions are revealed more by what they do not say than what they say. It is common for participants to argue a colour-blind discourse proposing that by ignoring colour they are treating everyone as equal and drawing attention to it is to be offensive.

In considering the nature of data seeing and hearing absences, silences and invisibility became a crucial component of my data. My observations revealed that children would mention race and ethnicity or engage in racist utterances of behaviour in certain spaces then keep silent when asked to talk about it. Equally,

teachers maintain secrecy and silence about the need to talk about it. Hence, dialogue about race becomes crafted into absence and secures its taboo-like status.

Given the problematic nature of my study, which explores White attitudes to learning about issues of racism, I take the stance that experiences cannot be accessed or known just by observing and interviewing participants. While I take an epistemological stance of constructionism, seeing knowledge as co-created between subject and object, I include multi-faceted ways of knowing through also exploring artistic interactions, performative embodiment and emotional communication. It is the entwinement of these that give rise to the knowledge constructed through this thesis.

Methods

This section outlines the research methods, justifies the research design and describes ethical issues and fieldwork dilemmas. The first section explores reflexivity, making visible my position and influence as a researcher. I then explore my ethnographic approach followed by describing the sample and settings. Following this, I discuss my data collection techniques, including observations, interviews, artefacts and documents. Next, I describe the data and propose ways in which the data will be conceptualised and analysed. I include a section on ethical issues and fieldwork dilemmas before discussing issues of generalizability and generating conceptual understanding. Finally, I provide a summary of the chapter.

Reflexivity

The concept of reflectivity assumes that researchers' orientations will be shaped by their "socio-historical locations, including the values and interests that these locations confer on them" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:15). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) argue we cannot step outside the social world in order to study it. This is not to say that our data and findings are purely constructed and therefore do not represent social phenomena but rather, by understanding the effects of the researcher's presence and perspective on the outcomes, we can minimize reactivity but also 'exploit' it (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:16). This moves away from the idea of an objective researcher who neither is affected by nor affects the research. Indeed the idea of neutral research has been contested. If we accept that the social world can be observed as a neutral bystander, then we risk reproducing assumptions and stereotypes (May, 2001). Therefore, we need to recognise the influences that operate in society that affect our ways of thinking. Within societies certain types of knowledge dominate. Clough and Nutbrown (2010:222) argue that research should be persuasive, purposeful, positioned and political:

> All social research sets out with specific purposes from a particular position and aims to persuade readers of the significance of its claims; these are always broadly political (Clough and Nutbrown, 2010:4)

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) discuss different views about the nature of change that can occur through research. For example, research can be used to affect or design policies or in itself can be seen as emancipatory for participants, such as in action research with marginalised groups. Emancipatory research and research for social change have come to be seen as an alternative to traditional

research's preoccupation with 'truth' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:14). However, the authors deny that research is necessarily political or that it should be political in terms of serving a political cause or practical outcome, but rather state that, for them, "the exclusive, immediate goal of all research is, and must remain, the production of knowledge" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:15). My research is driven by political desires to promote social change by deconstructing racism. In addition, I have personal reasons and experiences that drive my interest in the subject matter and desire for bringing about social change. I cannot step outside of this desire, and hence I am aware of my own subjectivity and propensity to bias. Thus, I sit with Clough and Nutbrown's (2010) notion of political research.

Issues of reflexivity are particularly salient for ethnographic research where there is a close relationship between the researcher and their involvement in the specific culture being studied (Davies, 2002). All researchers are connected in some way to the objects of their research, which raises the question of how much a researcher's findings are due to their presence in the research (Davies, 2002), although, "how people respond to the presence of the researcher may be as informative as how they react to other situations" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:16). In my research, I accompanied arts projects into schools, and therefore my personal presence was likely to have been experienced as part of a collective group of practitioners in their school. My individual presence is unlikely to have had a big impact on students' behaviour, although some impact must be expected. Students were collectively reacting to a new group of educators in their schools, and this is partly what I am researching, the interaction of students with diversity art projects in their learning environments. My personal story and history

of experience, however, shapes my orientation to seeing, hearing, collecting and interpreting my data and this I make clear.

Rollock (2013) argues that when White researchers carry out race research, they have a responsibility to critically reflect upon and demonstrate awareness of the subtleties of Whiteness and Blackness. "They must remain alert to and report on the dynamics of race and their responses to it" (Rollock, 2013:506). With this in mind, I reflect on my position as a White researcher and how this shapes what I know and can know. I position myself as holding a strong anti-racist political standpoint. I am sensitive to the issue of racism owing to being a lone-parent-White-mother of mixed-parentage children. I feel that I have a heightened awareness of racial prejudice due to past and on-going experiences of discrimination against my children. Harman (2009) argues that lone White mothers of mixed-parentage children can also face social disapproval from their extended family, school and in the local area. She maintains that such women can be disadvantaged when, for example, attempting to access safe places to live with their children, accessing resources and gaining support from wider family and the local community due to discrimination. She argues that this poses a challenge to conceptualisations of White privilege for these mothers. As I reflect on this, I am aware of the contradiction of my experiences, while I share many similar experiences with the issues of disadvantage and discrimination faced by lone White mothers in Harman's study, I am also aware of the privileges my White skin affords me. Yet, in the past, I experienced feelings of desperate powerlessness and confusion when trying to defend my children against racism in school settings and being met with disbelief and scorn from teaching staff. At the time, this confused me due to these experiences standing in contrast to the

levels of respect I was used to receiving as a White woman, which only became apparent due to the contrasting experiences of dismissal when speaking out against racism. In addition, over the years, (when not with my children) I have had many White people disclose their distaste for Black people, in ways that have made me scared for my children's safety and led to feelings of powerlessness at my inability to protect them when they are out of my sight. In these moments, I become aware of a paradox, whereby I feel scared and helpless as a mother, yet safe in my own skin in the moment. To some extent, this highlights the contradictions of disadvantage and advantage of my own positioning, through offering me insight into the devastating effects of racism, a recognition that it can impact negatively on White mothers too, while highlighting my relative privilege or White primacy (Shotwell, 2011). Yet, also making me aware that I can never truly know how racism feels from a Black perspective. I am aware of the importance of engaging in continuous reflection regarding the contradictions and complexities of my position and experiences and how they shape my research assumptions and findings.

Just as my position and experiences shape my findings and knowledge claims, so too do the knowledge claims of others. May (2001:39) states that the more powerful groups of people define predominant knowledge in society, including, what is considered right and wrong, true or false. He proposes that, if research theorising does not take place in democratic and participatory ways, there is a danger that people's experiences can be regarded as faulty. This is especially relevant in anti-racist research when researching in predominantly White schools, where racism is found to be prevalent. As a working-class White woman, with children who have brown skin, I initially found myself positioned between wanting

to blame other White people for their racism and recognising through the literature that I am potentially being blamed for my own assumptions that may be steeped in unwitting racism. White researchers are accused of producing findings that, despite being well meant, are imbued with subtle racism. Rich and Lehman (in Leavy, 2008:74) commentate on "White poets who write about race" noting that "relationships of race and power exist in their poems most often as a silence or muffled subtext".

Due to my experiences of racism in Devon, the South West England, I began my research journey with a tendency to regard White people as racist and therefore in deficit. In the early stages, I wrestled with the idea that researchers must not place themselves in a position of superiority blaming others for their deficit. Such an offensive position reflects colonial notions of 'expert White researcher knows best'. However, I felt a deficit existed by the very fact that racism existed and therefore wrestled with how to position my work (further discussion and resolution of the issue can be found in the section writing up uncomfortable research). I equally tussled with my researcher identity and the internal feelings of 'working-class-under-classness' that stood in contrast to how I often felt viewed as middle-class elite during the research process. For example, when a community worker accused me of using elitist language when explaining my research. Ahmed (2010) discusses the pros and cons of different classed and raced identities and the impacts this has on gaining access to settings. Through the research journey, I have found myself growing, changing and coming to recognise more clearly how I am positioned and how I position others. A more nuanced and detailed discussion about my journey can be found in chapter seven. It is through this developing lens that I come to recognise my potential biases and provide a fairer

account of the issues I am studying. As Tamboukou (2014) argues, researchers have an ethical responsibility to represent people's lives and stories fairly.

An ethnographic approach

My research seeks to answer the overarching question, "in what ways do arts programmes support teaching and learning about issues of racial diversity, in predominantly White areas in South West England?" My study has two key threads, (1) to explore how White teachers and students, in predominantly White areas, conceptualise their learning about issues of race, (2) to investigate what kinds of learning take place amongst White primary and secondary school students in predominantly White classrooms who take part in anti-racist arts projects. This research requires a qualitative methodology whereby experiences, behaviour, relationships and cultural phenomena can be explored in depth and in context. Through observations of students' interactions with art projects, I addressed the first thread. This was accompanied by interviews with students, teachers and arts practitioners. Interviews also addressed the second thread by exploring participants' conceptualisations of the learning process.

Quantitative data is useful for understanding the extent of racism. For example, the region of Devon and Cornwall was pointed out as the second most likely area in England to become a victim of racial crime (Rayner, 2001). Since this time hate crimes have increased significantly in Plymouth according to police statistics that document a 60 percent rise in reported incidents between 2004/05 and 2009/10 (Burnett, 2011). Such statistics have helped to situate my research by setting the background context. The high levels of racism suggest an urgent need to study the topic in this region to gain insight into ways to support teaching and learning

about racism in predominantly White classrooms. On the other hand, qualitative research has questioned how and why racism presents itself differently in different contexts. It has delved into the nature of racism, its characteristics, and the ways in which it is expressed and experienced. It has pointed out that Black people have struggled through oppression and that White people have struggled to understand the concepts of racial oppression and privilege. These are the kinds of issues and concepts that I am also engaging with, the descriptions and qualities of experience, the "how" and "why" rather than the "how much".

An ethnographic approach is suited because it permits participants to be observed in context as they interact with each other and around diversity arts projects that are brought into their school environments. My study is influenced by ethnography although it does not claim to be an ethnographic study in the sense of being a "close, prolonged observation of a particular group" (Edgar and Sedgwick, 2008:116). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007:1) describe ethnography as "first-hand empirical investigation and the theoretical and comparative investigation of social organization and culture". Ethnography seeks to describe a culture or way of life from its participants' perspectives. Researchers engage in the setting to gain an understanding of people's lived realities.

Tedlock (2002) etches out a history of ethnography that describes its origins in as being in anthropology and colonialism. In the 19th century, highly racialised discourses of colonial elitism shaped the practice of ethnography. The idea of dressing like and joining in with 'native' ways of life was seen as a way to find out about cultural ways and meanings. However, this was to be done by maintaining emotional distance and avoid forming friendships and sympathies that might lead

to "moral degeneration" (Tedlock, 2002:457). Ways of doing ethnography have developed over time with the idea of "going native" and fully immersing in the lives and cultures of others becoming a favourable approach, which helped reduce the reactivity effect of the researcher presence and remove elitist notions of research.

Ethnographic research usually involves studying one setting or a small number of settings in depth to make meaning specific to that cultural setting. The culture in question comes to be understood through listening to and watching what happens in the natural setting, undisturbed, as much as is possible, by the researcher (Punch, 2005). Crossovers can exist between ethnography and case studies, in that case, studies can examine cultures and ethnographies can explore cases. However, case studies are more "bounded" than ethnographies in that cases are seen as discrete "units of analysis". Ethnographies, on the other hand, explore cultures and meanings. Through ethnography, researchers seek to learn about cultures and subcultures through the eyes and worldviews of the people they are studying and come to understand the meanings, which guide behaviour (Punch, 2005). Definitions of culture are not easy to pin down, although culture relates to shared meaning and behaviour. Edgar and Sedgwick (2008) propose that culture relates to the notion that the world created by human beings is the space in which we find meaning, "culture is the complex everyday world we all encounter and through which we all move" (Edgar and Sedgwick, 2008:82). Thus, understanding culture can be seen as painting a picture of a way of life of an identifiable group of people, albeit that culture is an abstract concept that is fluid and constantly changing.

Ethnography's main characteristic is its commitment to cultural interpretation. An ethnographic approach is useful when the researcher wants to understand the symbolic and cultural aspects of behaviour in a specific group of people when such behaviour is seen as culturally significant behaviour (Punch, 2005). Punch (2005:152) describes six characteristics of ethnographies. (1) Behaviour can be understood through understanding shared cultural meaning. (2) The ethnographer requires sensitivity to meanings through seeking to understand through the eyes of the group being studied. (3) The group is studied in their natural setting with the researcher becoming a participant. (4) The study is unfolding rather than pre-structured. (5) Fieldwork is always central. However, eclectic data collection methods are used such as direct or indirect participant observation, interviews, diaries, field notes, participant diaries, film, photos etc. (6) Prolonged study and repetition of observation is needed because understanding deeper meaning takes time. In addition, ethnographies tend to be studying reoccurring phenomena and therefore need to observe it repeatedly happening to understand its full cultural significance. Detailed field notes are needed.

My research holds several of these characteristics of ethnography; however, they are also problematic. I address points (1) and (2) by seeking to understand the shared cultural meaning and interpret a variety of meanings from participants' viewpoints. My study has unfolded and developed according to point (4) taking many twists and turns and adapting to issues that have arrived along the way, such as; issues with gaining access and expanding notions of what counts as data, after recognising the extent of issues of silence in race research. Groups are studied in their natural setting, as in point (3). However, I am not able to

become a participant in the sense of being accepted as part of the cultural in-group, due to not being immersed in the setting long enough to bond with the group being studied. This is because I studied school students' interaction with one-off art projects that come into schools for a day. As such, it was not possible to observe the same school group repeatedly but rather to observe school students from different schools interacting with different art projects. Therefore, I remained an observer watching repetition of art projects rather than the repetition of same group observations suggested in point (6).

Sampling and settings

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) remind us that settings are not naturally occurring phenomena. They are maintained through cultural definition and social strategies, with shifting boundaries that are negotiated and redefined. There may be cases within cases. In a school setting, teachers and children can be discrete cases, in that their experiences of phenomena may be similar within their social group yet different to one another. These may be broken down into further cases according to a variety of aspects, such as gender, ethnicity, experience, interest, ability, position. Decisions need to be made about the specific features of cases chosen. This includes what makes them a case and what are their boundaries.

The selecting of cases is an important issue. When more settings are studied, it can mean less time spent in each location, which can affect the depth of study. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007:31) speak about a "trade-off between breadth and depth of investigation". I chose to go for depth rather than breadth. Racism is a troublesome and complex issue. Much evidence exists regarding the nature and extent of the problem. Depth of analysis is more likely to reach the answers

to the complex problem that I seek than breadth, which would be useful for scoping.

My study explores White attitudes to teaching and learning about racism, through the arts, in the context of resistance to this learning. Therefore, I selected schools in areas where racism is reported to be high, and resistance to learning about racism is high. The literature cites Devon as fitting this criterion in terms of being one of the most likely areas in England to become a victim of racism (Rayner, 2001) and being more likely than more multicultural areas such as the West Midlands to be affected by racial incidences (Cline *et al.,* 2002). Individuals in White rural areas are likely to believe that racism is not a problem is such areas while also holding hostile attitudes towards Black people (Gaine, 1987, 1995, 2005).

Selecting arts projects

Purposive sampling was used to select art projects and schools according to availability and adherence to the criteria. Purposive sampling allows the selection of cases that have a purpose in that they illustrate something that we are trying to find out (Silverman, 2011). This stands in contrast to random sampling that seeks a representative sample by selecting from random members of the population. Initially, I drew up a list of organisations that I knew in Plymouth that worked with the arts in schools on issues of racial diversity. My list consisted of the INDRA Congress, Plymouth and Devon Racial Equality Council, TR2 (Theatre Royal), Street Factory and the Barbican Theatre. I explored websites, sent emails, made phone calls and spoke to practitioners to narrow down which projects these organisations were currently running and which best fit my

research criteria. A number of projects existed that worked with the arts on issues of diversity. These seemed to fall into four categories, anti-racism, empowerment, awareness raising and conflict resolution. Anti-racism to reduce levels of racism in society, empowerment of Black people experiencing racial discrimination, awareness raising for local White people regarding the issue of racism and conflict resolution bringing diverse social and cultural groups together to reduce racial conflict.

I chose arts projects that I felt best represented the aims and criteria of the project and that would be available during the fieldwork phase of my research: these being Fatima's Tent, run through Plymouth and Devon Racial Equality Council, and Day of Difference run by the Barbican Theatre. The two contrasting projects, Fatima's Tent in a primary school and Day of Difference in secondary schools, offered a contrast between age group and arts-based methods, both focussing on the same issue of utilising the arts as a medium for teaching and learning about issues of racial diversity.

Fatima's Tent

Fatima's Tent is a visual arts-based programme that works in schools and communities, in Plymouth and surrounding districts. It aims to reduce racism and counteract negative stereotypes of Black and minority ethnic people that may have been learnt through negative media portrayals. This is sought through providing opportunities for children to immerse themselves in aspects of Middle Eastern culture and art and to interact with Black and minority ethnic facilitators. An assembly, led by a police officer, precedes the main art workshop day. The idea being to educate children about racial diversity in terms of legislation and

reinforce that racism is against the law. For the programme, a large aesthetically stimulating tent is set up in the school hall, full of colour and texture, including, textile art, drapes, hanging pom-poms and scattered cushions. These are added to each time the programme works with a new community. The project has a strong visual element, including, textiles, mosaics, food tasting and Arabic name writing. The name writing activity begins by looking up the meanings and origins of children's names, many of which are found to have Middle Eastern roots. Children are taught to write their names in Arabic and have them laminated to make bookmarks. Following this, the children engage in mosaic making while learning about the origins of Mosaics from the Middle East. This activity is adapted to meet the requests of the school. In this case, large mosaic letters were created spelling out 'respecting difference', to be displayed at the school. After a lunch break, the children swap between making pom-poms and immersing themselves in the tent for the 'Fatima's Tent' storytelling activity. Meanwhile, a food table is set up for the children to taste traditional Middle Eastern food. During the day, Arabic music is played to complete a sensual experience that incorporates, sight, sound, taste, touch and movement. The day starts and concludes with messages about diversity and respect being delivered by programme facilitators.

The Day of Difference

This is a drama-based programme that works in secondary schools in Devon and Cornwall to include a whole year group of between 150-250 students. It provides an opportunity for young people to engage with issues of migration, integration, diversity, racial intolerance and discrimination. This is done primarily through

active drama participation, dialogue and related activities whereby students have to consider and make decisions about complex issues such as asylum seeking, integration, local, national and global conflict. Following an introductory talk in the main hall, the day starts with 15 diverse images of people being projected up on the wall. Students are asked to write freely and as much as possible about those people as they can. Later in the afternoon, 10 of these individuals will come into the school to engage in dialogue and storytelling activities with the students. Students are unaware that they will be engaging with the visitors at this stage. Students are then separated into classrooms, in groups of cultures characterised by a colour, each group with approximately 20-25 students. Each colour is given an environmental characteristic. For example, Red land is hot, Blue land is cold, Yellow land is an island, Green land is densely forested and Purple land is a mountain. The students from each culture are asked to invent cultural greetings, likes, dislikes and a cultural taboo, and come up with a rationale for these. Each culture then selects five ambassadors whom design one-minute snapshot presentations about their culture to present to other cultures. For this, they leave their classrooms and travel around to the other classrooms to present their ideas. Students invariably include additional artefacts, such as flags, anthems, dances or other cultural objects that they have created. On return, each culture is asked to summarise the other cultures based on limited knowledge from ambassadors' visits to their own land. Following this, it is announced that an earthquake disaster has occurred in Yellow land and all Yellow citizens need to be evacuated. These 'refugees' will be dispersed to join the various groups. At this point, each classroom culture is asked to reflect on how many refugees they can take in and develop procedures to receive them. They are also told that some refugees may

be sick. Teachers are primed to stand back and let the students make decisions, and just ask questions or use prompts to encourage decision-making. After lunch, a new phase takes place, which begins with a workshop about asking questions and listening, in preparation for the visitors who are going to arrive. The children are separated into classrooms, where a visitor arrives and sits in a chair. Some students realise it is one of the people from the morning images activity. Some are not sure. The visitor does not speak. At first, students are asked to write about this person and then invited to ask questions to the person. Eventually, the visitor and students start to interact, and they tell stories about their lives. This process is repeated with two or three visitors per classroom. Finally, they all regroup in the main hall to reflect on the day.

Selecting schools and participants

I selected schools according to the schools which the art projects were working in during the fieldwork phase of my study. All schools were in the county of Devon. In all cases, arts facilitators, who were working with the schools, introduced me to school coordinators by email. I emailed an information sheet (appendix one) and informed consent form (appendix two) to each coordinator, along with an explanation about the nature of my research and my request to engage in observations and interviews at the school. I requested that staff be informed about my research by forwarding the email on with the information sheets. During the Fatima's Tent project days, I also spoke with each teacher that I met, in classrooms and corridors, and explained my research role and the nature and purpose of my study. I previously asked that information letters be sent home in book bags to all families of children participating so that families would be aware

that I would be observing the project in my research role and could discuss this with their children. Furthermore, the letter gave families an opportunity to request that observations about their children were not included. I received no requests of this nature. At the Day of Difference events, the project facilitators introduced me to staff and students during the introduction assemblies. My research role was explained, including that I would be observing the day and would be interested in interviewing some students about their experiences in the coming weeks. Not all staff who participated attended the initial assemblies. Therefore, I introduced myself to teachers and explained my research role each time I entered a classroom to observe the activities they were helping to facilitate. During the project lunchtime debriefing sessions, the art programme facilitators also initiated a round of introductions amongst facilitators, teachers and myself, where I was able to give a brief overview of my work. Nevertheless, in retrospect, I questioned whether teachers had read or received the information sheets which were sent out about my research role. During the morning activities, I wondered if some teachers, who were not present in the assembly, believed I was an arts facilitator rather than a researcher since some appeared to look to me for advice about the project. Although, this may have been due to assumptions that since I was attending with the programme, I would be familiar with its methods.

I took a flexible approach when some schools permitted observations to be carried out but were either unable or unwilling to permit interviews to take place, due to alleged lack of time or stating it would not be fair for students to give up their break times to be interviewed. However, students were not given a choice; the decision was made on their behalf. One school agreed to participate but cancelled later. This led me to carry out further observations of the Day of

Difference project, each time trying different approaches, such as visiting schools to try to recruit participants face-to-face. Table 3.1 gives broad descriptions of the schools with pseudonyms to preserve their anonymity.

Table 3. 1 Schools selected for the study

Schools	Arts project	Location	Ward area White British population%*	Pupil size band	Age provision
Appleberry Primary	Fatima's Tent	Edge of city on suburban housing estate	96%	1-500	3 -11 years
Bramwell Secondary	Day of Difference	City school	92%	500-1000	11-16 years
Church hill Secondary	Day of Difference	City church school	93%	1000-1500	11-16 years
Peartree Secondary	Day of Difference	Edge of city comprehensive school	92%	1000-1500	11-16 years
Riverway secondary	Day of Difference	Town /civil parish school	96%	1000-1500	11–18 years

*According to 2011 census results http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/ Percentage fractions rounded up/down to remove specificity and preserve anonymity

The rationale behind using more than one secondary school to examine the Day of Difference project is based on the size and delivery style of the project. Fatima's Tent is aimed at a whole year group of approximately 30 primary students and takes place in one location. Hence, it is possible to observe the full project in action at one time. The Day of difference is aimed at a whole year group of approximately 200 secondary students and takes place in several classrooms around the school. Therefore, I conducted a pilot observation to understand how the project was delivered, to formulate questions for focus groups and make decisions about how I would observe different classrooms. Originally, I intended to incorporate two school observations in which I moved from classroom to

classroom as each new section of the project took place, based on the school timetable. However, through the pilot study, it became apparent that by staying with one classroom I could gain a better understanding of the unfolding of events to understand the process better of learning that was taking place. I also decided more observations were needed and thus visited further schools. By visiting the project in different schools, I was able to compare and contrast observations.

Once access had been gained within schools, purposive sampling was used to select focus group participants from students with a range of abilities and range of attitudes to diversity. I wanted to include a range of perspectives. Through negotiations with school coordinators, I asked that focus group participants were drawn from a selection of children with diverse abilities and different attitudes to racial diversity, including those known to have favourable attitudes to diversity and those known to be more resistant. All participants who took part in interviews and focus groups were White, due to the research aims. The focus groups at Appleberry primary school included five girls and one boy in the first group and four boys in the second. Two teachers were interviewed here, one male one female and two female teaching assistants. The Church hill secondary school focus group consisted of eight girls and two boys. In addition, three female teachers and one male took part in a focus group. Two focus groups were held with students at Bramwell secondary school each consisting of six students. The first with three girls and three boys, the second four boys and two girls. One male teacher was also interviewed at this school. At Riverway secondary school, questionnaire responses came from two teachers, one male one female and two students, one male one female. At Peartree secondary school, one female completed an email questionnaire response. With the Fatima's Tent programme,

interviews took place with one Black female and one White female facilitator and from Day of Difference, two Black female facilitators and one White male facilitator were interviewed.

Teachers may have their own motives for selecting certain students, including those who may represent the school in certain ways. However, a variety of opinions and perspectives arose across the data set, which suggests that even if specific selection motives occurred, a diverse range of attitudes and abilities within the sample was achieved. Volunteer sampling was used within schools to recruit teachers. This relied on the goodwill of teachers volunteering. This method is often necessary when recruiting participants, where access is difficult (Cohen, Manion and Morrison*,* 2011). Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011:160) caution about making claims for 'generalizability or representativeness' due to volunteer's personal motives for self-selection. However, this can be linked to theoretical sampling where perspectives are linked to theoretical positions rather than being described as representing populations (Bryman 1998, in Silverman, 2010:143-4).

Data Collection: observations, interviews, documents and artefacts

My data collection consisted of accompanying diversity arts projects into schools to observe students engagement with and learning through the medium of the arts. This was coupled with interviewing participants, writing personal reflections and exploring documents and artefacts given. The latter included student workbooks, drawings and evaluation slips. These data collection tools are discussed individually and also represented in table 3.2.

Observation strategy

I observed participants in the natural setting of the school environment to capture everyday social behaviour within that context (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). Spending time in a situation allows the researcher to capture how events unfold over time, such as group dynamics, personalities, context and roles (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). However, my research concerns itself with one-off projects that deliver work in schools over one or two days. Therefore, although my research is influenced by, and carried out in the style of ethnographic naturalistic observation, I am mindful of the limitations that my approach brings in terms of ethnography. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) argue that although many ethnographers insist on spending long periods in a setting, to allow effects of researcher presence to subside, this may be an impossible task. The authors state that where this is so, elements of subjectivity and interpretation are inevitable.

Observations can be placed on a continuum from covert observation, whereby participants are unaware that the research is taking place, to participant observation. In participant-observation studies, the researcher often spends considerable time immersed in the context with participants. This is to reduce 'reactivity effects', whereby behaviour is influenced by the presence of the observer (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011:465). I took a position of observer, rather than participant observer. During my pilot observation, I began by being a participant, joining in with the students in a facilitator type role encouraging and taking an interest in their work. However, the project was large; taking place in different classrooms around the school, and many things were happening at once

in each classroom. As a participant observer, I had deeper personal experiences but less scope of the range of collective behaviours that made up classroom cultures. I decided I could better capture the flavour of collective behaviours and interactions through observation rather than participant observation.

During observations, I took a 'critical incidents' approach focussing on particular behaviour rather than taking a structured approach that records systematic and repetitive actions. Critical events can be non-routine but revealing, giving insights into individual people and situations (Cohen Manion and Morrison, 2011). Wilkinson (2000, in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011:467) makes a distinction between observing molecular and molar units of behaviour. The author warns that small or molecular behaviours, such as gestures, non-verbal actions and short actions or comment can be taken out of context. Therefore, care is needed to ensure their validity. Large, molar units of behaviour relate to the researcher's theoretical interests, which again must hold validity as certain behaviours can take the researchers attention while others are missed or left out. However, alongside critical incidents, I endeavoured to record as much as possible, including both molecular and molar behaviour. Critical incidents related more to molar behaviour, while molecular behaviour could be seen in silences, gestures and absence of actions that may appear insignificant yet hold high significance, in terms of secrecy and resistance to engaging with issues of diversity.

In order to collect deep notes that reflect a general sense of what is happening, Spradley (1979, in Silverman, 2010:231) suggests observers keep four sets of notes. (1) Short notes made at the time (2) expanded notes made soon after each field visit (3) a fieldwork journal to record problems and ideas arising (4) a running

record of analysis and interpretation. I endeavoured to do all four. I wrote detailed field notes about students' interactions with the arts and with one another, including descriptions of 'performances' though expressions of voice and body language and patterns of phrases. I made quick 'pin' people drawings of classroom layouts and body language at different moments of the day. I wrote descriptions of events happening along with absences and silences, such as noting students who appeared to resist learning and engaging, or whose body language suggested anger, annoyance, frustration, withdrawal, enjoyment, boredom and so on. I wrote down, as far as possible, notes about conversations, statements made, questions asked along with communal gestures and noises such as groans, laughter and whispers, where I was unable to hear actual spoken words from a distance. I also wrote memos and questions to myself about thoughts that certain incidences raised, including incidences that triggered personal memories, thoughts or theories read. I reflected on these as soon as possible after the events, often sitting in my car before driving home. I also wrote up notes and reflections whenever ideas came to me at different times, during and after the fieldwork phase.

Interviews and focus groups

The purpose of interviews and focus groups was to seek to understand participants' experiences and conceptualisations of learning about diversity through the arts. I conducted research with school children, teachers, teaching assistants and arts facilitators. All participants were told the nature and purpose of the research, including advantages, disadvantages and that participation was voluntary. Participants signed consent forms, and parental consent was sought

where school students were less than aged 18 years. All interviews and focus groups were tape recorded with participants' consent. I transcribed all interviews myself changing all names of schools and participants to preserve anonymity. Students were engaged in focus groups to encourage group discussions about the subject matter and issues (Silverman, 2010) and understand group constructs rather than individual offerings. Teachers were interviewed either as individuals, in pairs or in a group according to their time and availability.

In line with my epistemological position, I took a constructionist interview stance. This method pays attention to the process of meaning-making, based on the theoretical standpoint that knowledge of the world as constructed rather than discovered. This stands in contrast to positivist interviews where the primary objective is to access 'facts' about the world that are seen as 'valid' and 'reliable' (Silverman, 2011):

> According to constructionism, interviewers and interviewees are always actively engaged in constructing meaning. Rather than treat this as standing in the way of accurate description of 'facts' or 'experiences' the researcher's topic becomes how meaning is mutually constructed (Silverman, 2011:169).

With constructionism, interviews are not seen as ways of uncovering 'facts' nor as 'evidence' of experience but as "a discourse, account or repertoire, which represents a culturally available way of packaging experience" (Kitzinger, 2004:128, in Silverman, 2011:181). Construction can be seen at play when interviewees stop, pause, stumble, change their mind half way through sentences and so on as they actively construct their ideas in the moment. In my interviews silences, pauses and changes in sentences were commonplace as participants wrestled with making meanings and working through beliefs about racial diversity

that may not have been thought about prior to the interviews. Silverman (2011:201) suggests not tidying up transcripts or reporting isolated quotes or broad themes but rather including "pauses, repairs and overlaps" along with interview questions and prompts. In the analysis, I include such examples that show the construction of meaning taking place in the moment.

The method of constructionism has been criticised for its narrowness and possibility that data has little to say past the context of the interview itself. However, Miller and Glasser (1977) argue that participants are not individuals with unique experiences but rather members of groups and cultures and it is through drawing on culturally available narratives that people construct their stories:

> Participation in a culture includes participation in the narratives of that culture, a general understanding of the stock of meanings and their relationship to each other (Richardson, 1990:107).

Silverman (2011:188) proposes that researchers using constructionism treat interview responses as 'cultural stories' and examine the "rhetorical force of what interviewees say" because it is through these narratives that participants make their actions understandable to those who may not understand them (Miller and Glasser, 1977). Silverman (2011:199) argues we can treat responses as "displays of perspectives and moral forms which draw upon cultural resources". This approach is relevant to my research, given that participants' stories often included sentence patterns found in newspaper reports or that were repeated across different schools and where narratives were being adjusted or created in the moment.

My interviews were semi-structured, using a selection of pre-designed questions and prompts while allowing flexibility for participants to discuss issues pertinent to them. Silverman (2010:194) describes qualitative interviews as using "informal patterns of questioning where the aim is to allow the interviewee to set the pace". Where semi-structured questions are used these act as a guide but allow participants the freedom to discuss issues relevant to them. I asked open-ended questions such as "tell me about the art project day" and "tell me about diversity in your school and community" which gave participants opportunity to focus on what aspects that were relevant to them. Prompts were used to encourage further conversation or gain deeper understandings and in focus groups issues were 'opened up' through using phrases such as "what do others think about this?" or "does anyone have another opinion?" (See appendix for examples of interview schedules).

Documents and artefacts

During focus groups with primary children, I incorporated drawings into the research process. Weber (2008) argues that images can be used in research in a variety of ways including being used to capture what is hard to put into words and making people pay attention to things in new ways. I began with a creative warm-up activity by inviting children to draw a family. I designed this activity to initiate discussions about issues of racial diversity. However, the children continued to draw and develop their pictures throughout the focus group meeting. The drawings acted as an unfolding story that reflected the conversations taking place. I asked the children whether they would be happy for me to keep their drawings to include in my research project or show anyone their drawings. I asked

the children to write on the back whether they were happy or not. Some children gave permission, while others said I could keep them but they did not want their teacher to see or for them to be used in the project. One girl gave the reason that she had not taken enough care over her drawing. I respected the children's wishes and only included drawing in my data analysis from those who had given full permission. Using drawings as data worked well in the primary school context. However, this process worked less well with secondary school interviews, and I made the decision to proceed with more traditional focus group interviews. I also collected data that was unexpected and had not been built into my original design. This included over 170 work booklets from a variety of schools, with writings from the Day of Difference activities. Facilitators told students that their workbooks were for their own purposes and no one would look at them, so they could write whatever they liked in them. At the end of the day, students were given three options; they could take their books with them, have them destroyed or give them to me for research purposes. In addition, at one school, I was given 122 short evaluation sheets, which students had filled in about the Day of Difference. A school coordinator asked if I would be able to evaluate them for the school, which I did and subsequently acquired permission to use this quantitative data for my research. In addition, in order to support my data due to issues with gaining access to interview participants, I offered the option of completing a qualitative set of questions via email, which led to six responses.

Data and data analysis techniques

Qualitative researchers often find themselves "up to their eyeballs in data" facing an overwhelming task (Feldman, 1995:1). Feldman (1994) proposes that the task

is to provide people who have not directly observed the phenomena to have a

deeper understanding of them. This is done through creating an interpretation

that does not simply apply the data to some pre-existing theory, nor simply report

on what members of a culture say. Instead, the task is to develop:

> …[an] interpretation of how parts of the culture fit together or influence or relate to one another that is intrinsic to the setting one has studied and at the same time sheds light on how similar processes may be occurring in other settings (Feldman, 1994:2)

This section outlines data collected and methods and techniques used to analyse

them and produce findings.

Table 3. 2 Data collection table

	School student focus groups	Teacher interviews/ focus groups	Questions sheets via email	Arts, artefacts, documents	Arts practitioner interviews
Appleberry primary	1 Focus group (6 students)	2 individual teachers 2 TA's together	0 sent	Field notes 6 Drawings	2 Fatima's Tent
Church Hill secondary	1 focus group (10 students)	1 focus group (4 teachers)	1 teacher email questions due to lack of time for focus group	Field notes 122 school evaluation forms 71 work booklets	3 Day of Difference (one also worked with FT)
Bramwell Secondary	2 focus groups (2x6 students =12)	1 teacher/coordinator	Sent out via coordinator = Zero response	Field notes Drawings 36 work booklets	As above Day of Difference
Peartree secondary (pilot obs + actual obs)	2X focus groups offered, later cancelled due to Ofsted issues taking priority for focus group discussion slot	0 planned = tried questions method due to issues so far with gaining interview access	9 emails sent out to individual teachers = 1 teacher response	Field notes 39 work booklets	As above Day of Difference
Riverway secondary	0 planned = tried questions method due to issues so far with gaining interview access	0 planned = tried questions method due to issues so far with gaining interview access	Questions sent out to staff involved, also to 50 students = response 2 teacher 2 students	Field notes 33 work booklets	As above Day of Difference
Total	28	9	6		6

Sources of data

I collected extensive field notes during one pilot observation and four research observations of students' engagement with diversity arts projects. I interviewed or ran focus groups with nine teaching staff (three individual teacher interviews, two teaching assistants together and four teachers as a focus group) across three schools. I received four email questions responses from teachers who did not have time to be interviewed and two secondary school students. I ran four focus groups totalling over 30 students across three schools and individually interviewed five arts practitioners across two art projects, including one who had facilitated both projects. I also have six drawings produced during a student focus group and over 170 work booklets that were voluntarily given to me for research purposes by students at the end of an art project days. Data also includes 122 student evaluation forms given by one school contact to include in a project evaluation report for the school. This data was analysed together to compare, contrast and explore themes and contradictions amongst diverse data forms.

Methods of analysis

Critics have accused qualitative researchers of producing findings that often fail to provide sufficient detail on how their data was analysed (Olesen *et al.,* 1994:111). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007:17) argue, "Data should not be taken at face-value but treated as fields of inferences in which hypothetical patterns can be identified and their validity tested". Miles and Huberman (1994:6-7) describe a process of qualitative data analysis that includes writing field notes, coding this field data, writing reflective comments about the data, exploring the data for themes, relationships, similarities and differences, finding consistencies and generalisations and comparing these to existing theories. This may take

place as a linear process or can be more 'messy' with stages overlapping or running concurrently. Bryman and Burgess (1994:217) propose that 'research design, data collection and analysis are simultaneous and continuous processes'. The analysis is not necessarily a separate phase in qualitative research (Bryman and Burgess,1994). Analysis is an important component of the research design that offers ways to filter research observations. My research process tended towards the latter, and I have kept a flexible attitude to my work. This has led to my knowledge of theories and fieldwork and data analysis being developed alongside one another, rather than being carried out as separate linear stages.

'Mapping the woods' and 'chopping up trees'

In qualitative research, a common method is to find themes within the data that are drawn out through a process of coding. "Coding is the first step to opening up meaning'" (Richards, 2009:103). I draw on Silverman's (2011) approach to analysing focus group data using thematic analysis and constructionist methods. I also apply this to individual and paired interviews. Silverman (2011:212) draws on Macnaughton and Myers' (2004:75) distinction between (1) 'mapping the woods' and (2) 'chopping up trees'. The first technique relates to thematic analysis, which involves finding key passages in transcripts, choosing quotations that are relevant, repeated and striking, then marking out quotable themes on each topic of interest. The second technique relates to constructionist analysis, which involves looking at how meaning is 'chopped up' and constructed in the interactions between participants and researcher. This method rejects the idea that utterances reveal people's views on the subject matter and involves describing shifting relations, patterns of meaning-making, discussion about gaps, changes, agreement and disagreement and conclusions reached by participants

about the subject matter. I utilise both methods by looking at the process as well as content (Silverman, 2011). Thematic analysis is used to understand emerging themes relating to existing cultural narratives, whereas, constructionist methods are used to explore ideas about race, Whiteness and arts-based learning that was seemingly being constructed in the moment. The latter was used to "expose the local and sequential construction of meaning" (Silverman, 2011:219).

Coding techniques

Coding frames can be seen as "an integral part of qualitative social research" (David and Sutton, 2004:203). Coding qualitative data allows the researcher to focus their attention from the whole of a text to areas of significance and find emerging themes. It allows patterns to be identified within a body of text and between different pieces of text. Richards (2009:94) describes qualitative coding as 'data reduction'. The aim is to learn from the data through revisiting data extracts until patterns and explanations emerge and are understood. However, coding within qualitative research can be problematic. It can lead to meanings being fragmented and text being de-contextualised due to being abstracted from the original context that gave it its meaning (David and Sutton, 2004:203). In addition, problems can arise through poor design of coding frames. Strauss (1987, cited in Miles and Huberman, 1994:58) recommends reading field notes of contrasting groups in order to become sensitive to what is different about them; this enables the ability to pick out provisional codes. Richards (2009:125) lists four risks that are necessary to avoid when coding data: excessive size, bad logic, coding fetishism and mistaking a catalogue for a model. Taking heed of this and in order to avoid categories that are irrelevant to the research issue, I developed code types that related to my epistemological stance of constructionism, critical

theoretical framework and notion of different ways of knowing through the senses, performances and artistic expression. I endeavoured to keep focused on the purpose of the codes to see what they reveal or add to the analysis. I did this by constantly revisiting my original research questions throughout the coding and data analysis process. Bad logic can lead to poor category assigning which can confuse or distort the data collection and analysis. Coding fetishism can be avoided by being efficient about what is needed and following the principle that coding is a means to an end, not an end in itself (Richards, 2009:126).

Coding frames can be devised either before data collection or during the process of analysis. Miles and Huberman (1994:61) point to Bogdan and Biklen's (1992) scheme whereby an initial division of codes allows the researcher to consider categories for codes that will develop, rather than having starting categories to which the data is fitted. Miles and Huberman (1994:61) propose that codes need regular revision. Some codes do not work; some do not get used while others become overused. Codes, therefore, may need adapting throughout the research process. Some may need to be removed while others might need to be separated into sub-codes. I began by reading through transcripts and coding inductively according to topic themes being discussed and issues or points being raised by participants such as 'classroom control and discipline' and 'racism as meanness'. In search of a more structured approach, I designed a table to which I added theoretical codes, where participants' discussions reflected themes prominent in the reviewed literature and especially where themes matched ideas from my theoretical framework, such as 'keeping silences: fear and protecting', 'transgressing' and 'banking/domestication education'. Initially, I imported my interview transcripts into the qualitative software package Nvivo 9 and set up a framework with the codes that I was developing and began adding additional

codes according to themes arising. However, the process felt mechanical and disjointed. Qualitative computer analysis programmes can be useful for storing and retrieving quotes and provide the benefits of speed and rigour in data analysis (Silverman, 2010). Conversely, such programmes can create distance from data and separation from context (Bazeley, 2007). Therefore, I changed my approach and started reading through transcripts and field notes, examining drawings and booklets while writing fluid notes, diagrams and potential emerging categories across several large flip chart sheets spread over the floor. I searched for links and themes and created tables in Word to store themes, quotes, notes about each and where in the data they could be found. I refined and reworked this process several times before arriving at three potential overarching data chapter themes and sub-themes that linked to the original research questions. My coding method aimed to address Mazzei's (2013:732) assertion that a voice does not originate from individual subjects but is "produced in an enactment among research-data-participants-theory-analysis". Hence, I avoid analysing participants' voices as stand-alone messages but rather as part of a collective assemblage with researcher experiences, observations and reflections coupled with explorations of drawings, emotions, performances and creative acts entwined with theory.

Ethical issues and fieldwork dilemmas

The research has been granted Plymouth University's research ethics approval. Ethics are not simply a paper exercise to be carried out prior to data collection but need to be embedded into the research process. Ethics are important to avoid exploiting, deceiving or harming the people being researched (Silverman, 2011). However, ethical dilemmas can arise that test us and may not have easy answers

(Silverman, 2011). I have been challenged by dilemmas that have caused me to have to make quick alternative ethical decisions and judgements. Gaining access to research participants has proved to be a troublesome process. The issues I faced included struggling with my research identity, negotiating access, last minute access, gaining consent, writing up sensitive material and dealing with uncomfortable research, where participants displayed attitudes that I found alarmingly racist. Davis (2010) urges White feminist researchers, sensitive to issues of race and racism, to confront and analyse tensions and research processes in relation to issues of racism. The following sections explore some of these issues and dilemmas.

Research identities

My identity as a researcher and academic has proved to be both an asset and a barrier to my research. Some individuals welcomed me into their organisations, supporting my access to research contexts and participants. However, I faced a number of barriers, in the early stages, to accessing organisations and schools. An initial barrier related to perceived identities in terms of race and class. At times, I felt that I was viewed with suspicion based on an idea that as a White person what could I possibly know about racism. Another time, a project worker suggested that academics are out of touch with what is really happening in the community and use elitist language. Ahmed (2010:98) reflects on academic identities in the research process. She discusses difficulties arising as a critical psychologist researcher endeavouring to access South Asian women to research their experiences of sexual violence. Her ethnicity as a South Asian woman afforded her an 'insider' identity; however, her roles as psychologist and academic researcher gave her an 'outsider' identity. She was greeted with

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distrust due to beliefs and perceptions about who she was and what she represented. Practitioners questioned why she took up that role when she could instead work directly to help South Asian women. Ahmed (2010) found herself keeping secrecy and silence around her role and research, giving simplistic descriptions of her research and not fully disclosing all aspects. This was due to the assumptions and tensions that arose amongst her participants who did not have access to the academic culture from which her critical psychologist position stemmed. Similarly, I was greeted with distrust due to my role as an academic and the assumptions that accompanied that role, while given some 'insider' credibility due to my position as a mother of mixed-parentage children. I sensed that some practitioners feel that research is a luxury item when there is practical work that needs to be done. I was accused of being elitist and exclusionary due to the academic language used on my research poster and initial research proposal, such as 'pedagogical' and 'inter-cultural conflict'. I have since simplified the language used and, as Ahmed found, I too have found myself keeping silences about my research due to attempts to bridge the perceived gap between academia and the organisations that I am approaching.

Issues with gaining access

Access issues arose in terms of interviewing teachers and students. Schools were generally happy for me to attend and observe the projects in action but were less willing or able to take part in interviews. I quietly persisted by regularly emailing school contacts to set up interviews following observations. However, my emails were either not responded to or responses repeatedly postponed. I tried a variety of ways to approach schools and potential participants and proposed different data collection methods that might be more suited to

participants. I added an additional school and carried out further observations in order to recruit additional participants. Here I offered questionnaires rather than interviews, which would require less teacher organisation. A couple of teachers responded to this. However, the overall response was extremely low. A headteacher stated that he sent out 50 questionnaires to students and to all teachers who participated. He received one teacher response and two student responses. I visited yet another school to endeavour to meet with teachers in person during the lunch break rather than seek access through a school coordinator. At times, I came across well-meaning teachers who were both enthusiastic about the art projects approach that I was researching and expressed willingness to help set up focus groups, take part in interviews or fill out questionnaires. However, repeatedly, this did not materialise, despite my quiet, patient and prolonged persistence. I also emailed contacts from two additional schools in Plymouth where arts approaches had been used to teach issues of racial diversity, yet received no response.

During one of my research observations a teacher who keenly offered me the opportunity to speak with 12 pupils through two focus groups, subsequently cancelled in favour of an OFSTED focus group discussion. This demonstrated where school priorities lie, not in the area of racial equality but in creating favourable impressions of the school for inspection. Potentially the school missed an opportunity here to demonstrate to OFSTED race equality activities within the school. Conversely, Education policies may prevent staff from engaging in human relationship work. Gillborn (2009[a]) argues that Education policy is increasingly focusing on performance testing, league tables, ranking systems and ability groupings rather than on creating policies that promote equality. Gillborn (2009[a]:65) states that this means "policymakers have decided (tacitly if not

explicitly) to place race equality at the margins- thereby retaining race injustice at the centre". This, in turn, influences teachers' ability to engage in race equality work. Even well-intentioned teachers who are supportive of such work may find there are consequences to prioritising it when curbed by new policy direction.

Last minute access: issues with consent

After negotiating for months to gain access to research with art projects and schools, I was twice granted access at short notice. In the first case, an art project was going into Appleberry primary school, and the school invited me in to carry out my research and evaluate the project. However, I had only a few days to get consent forms signed and returned. I questioned whether this would have an impact on the types of participants who were involved, which would shape the types of data that emerged. I was able to run a focus group with six children who had returned the consent forms a couple of days before the project went to the school. This was to explore attitudes toward racial diversity before the project took place. I would then interview the same children after their participation in the project. However, I suspected that there was something specific about the kinds of children whose parents had given consent to participate. I wondered whether the types of parents who returned forms quickly and types of parents happy to let their children be involved would potentially be more positive about racial diversity. This appeared to be the case. The children revealed positive responses to racial diversity, yet the school had invited the art project in because of a problem with racism.

On the day the art project went into Appleberry primary school, I was offered another group of children to interview whose attitudes towards racial diversity were potentially more negative. This provided an opportunity for rich data and a

range of opinions. The problem was that consent forms had not yet been returned for these children. Faced with a dilemma, I needed to make a quick decision about whether or not it was unethical to run the group. I made an uncomfortable decision to run the group, assuming that the consent forms would be returned. I also reasoned that the art activities and discussions about racial diversity that would take place in my focus group reflected the activities of the art project. During this second focus group, much was revealed about racist attitudes and behaviour in the school. However, the consent forms were not returned, and I am thus unable to use this data. A similar situation arose in Bramwell secondary school, where despite sending consent forms in advance, when I turned up to run the focus groups, forms had not been completed. Due to the difficulties that had arisen with gaining access, including staff availability, workloads and time available, and that it had taken several weeks to negotiate and set up the focus group, I decided to run the groups. The contact staff member had gone to much effort to arrange the student interview sessions. I also reasoned that due to the ages of the participants (secondary school students) they would be able to make their own decisions and give consent to participate. One student decided they did not want to participate and left the group. I later received an email notification from the coordinator that consent had been gained for the remaining participants.

Interview tensions

Throughout the interview process, I struggled with the ethnographic orientation to maintaining sensitivity to and understanding meanings though participants' eyes. While this was my aim, I struggled to separate this from my own belief that racism in the South West of England is endemic or, as Burnett (2011:3) describes it, "systematic". A tension existed between my wanting to create a supportive

atmosphere where participants felt free to express their views, while at the same encountering attitudes and behaviour that I found troubling. Back (2004, cited in Silverman, 2011:95) discusses issues with researching an extreme right-wing group, and encountering views that were found to be politically and morally offensive. Such "fraternising with groups we dislike" may be necessary to find out certain perspectives in order to promote social justice (Silverman, 2011:95).

I questioned whether schools and organisations feared what I might find out and therefore would not engage in the research. Therefore, in order to gain access, I found myself regularly reassuring staff that I was not there to judge but to explore what students were learning through engaging with diversity art projects. However, at the same time, I am aware that as I endeavoured to understand participants' perspectives, I was often uncomfortable with what was being expressed. I found that White participants often trusted me as a White researcher and revealed what I considered to be disturbing racist attitudes. Yet despite my discomfort, I endeavoured to keep respectful and non-judgemental in my research role. Davis (2010) illustrates that researchers can find themselves befriending and listening to participants' perspectives, while also being alarmed by what is being revealed. She describes ways in which she found herself torn between maintaining emotional comfort to build rapport so that participants would speak freely, while also being alarmed by her findings. Davis (2010) discusses 'colluding' with racism. She wrestles with her compliance in avoiding difficult issues of race in her interviews. She highlights the tension between keeping interviews comfortable to encourage participants to speak to her or risk asking difficult questions that might silence their responses.

Issues of power are relevant here. I found myself moving between feeling powerful to powerless in the research process. Researchers can be seen as powerful due to their ability to portray certain perspectives and make certain conclusions about organisations and participants. Conversely, when negotiating access to organisation, this can lead to feelings of powerlessness when excluded due to mistrust or fear of how participants or organisations might be portrayed. Ahmed (2010:100) describes feeling relatively powerless amongst practitioners and agencies who feared as a researcher she was there "to slag us off". No matter how much a researcher may desire to bridge the perceived power divide in order to achieve social justice outcomes, issues of trust and the perceived power of the academic researcher can act as a barrier to accessing participants through organisations. I found this to be an on-going act of juggling, managing and performing my research identity as part of a continuing process of negotiating and renegotiating access.

Writing up uncomfortable research

The issue of writing up interviews can be equally problematic when torn between maintaining a duty of care to participants and settings and a duty of care to the universal issue of challenging racism. Davis (2010) writes:

> I was faced with the problem of how to write about the group in a way that preserved the significance of their work as an important feminist project while providing an honest and critical account of the recent storms, particularly around the thorny issue of racism (Davis, 2010:148).

Davis (2010:156) is also aware that her own silence in the research process means she is "actively involved in the construction of meaning including meanings that remain implicit or silent". I equally struggled with how to write up material in ways that do not offend or alienate people yet also do not avoid the

issue or sanitise the data making it ineffective for social change. In addition, I wrestled with how to avoid writing to a deficit model; taking a stance of 'White expert academic condemns White working-class communities for being racist' when my starting point was that there *is* a deficit by the very fact that racism exists. I wrote to Professor David Gillborn for advice. Using a critical race theory stance, Gillborn suggested showing students' views as part of a wider pattern of White racism, which includes the 'respectable' folks who teach them and rule them. As such, racism is not excused but situated as an echo of a wider political phenomenon. As previously discussed, through critical race theory, racism is conceptualised in terms of White supremacy that is normalised and taken for granted. It is maintained, not through extreme or explicitly racist individuals and organisations, but through the policy and practice of organisations that are constructed as reflecting people's best intentions. Critical race theorists seek to provide a lens that unveils the power structures that maintain White supremacy and call into question the "comforting myths that self-avowed 'democratic' states tell about themselves" (Gillborn, 2009[a]:52). Gillborn (2009[a]) argues that education policy is an act of White supremacy that actively structures racial inequity. While reflecting on children's racism as a 'political echo' I also considered Mazzei's (2013) supposition that individual voices are part of a collective entanglement. Thus, they are not original perspectives belonging to individual bodies but rather are symptoms that represent a wider structural or cultural discourse. An individual participant can, therefore, be seen as spokesperson giving insight into a particular discourse in a given time, place and context.

Generalizability

Generalization can take many forms (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). Mason (2002[a]) discusses two broad types of generalizations, empirical generalization and theoretical generalization. The first is often used in statistical generalization, where researchers seek to infer knowledge about a larger population from a smaller representative sample. The second type, theoretical generalization, is often used in qualitative research. In this form, studies seek to "contribute to the expansion and generalization of theory" (Yin, 2009:15, in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011:294). Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) explain that this adds to the general understanding of a phenomenon through making logical connections.

The strength of qualitative research comes from the ability to generate depth of understanding and knowledge specific to a certain context. Generalising beyond the specifics of the context is not always purposeful. Larsson (2009:32) suggests that in qualitative studies the aim is to provide 'thick descriptions' and enough detail for the audience to make their own judgements. However, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) ask the question, if responsibility for generalization lies with the audience, not the researcher, what expertise does the researcher offer? They answer this question by suggesting that research can be seen as generating hypotheses, rather than irrefutable truths. Indeed, in qualitative research, a single case can be used to challenge an assumed universal truth (Larsson, 2009).

My analysis seeks theoretical generalization by recognising patterns within the research that are found in other contexts (Larsson, 2009). For example, patterns found in "theoretical constructions, themes, concepts, behaviours, assumptions

made and processes" (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011:243). However, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011:243) state, "Whether a pattern is indeed a pattern or whether a construction is an acceptable construction is a matter of debate and interpretation". Interpretations may differ. Indeed, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) point out "it is not the context but the *interpretation* of the context that has to be similar to the one being applied…whose interpretation should stand". This suggests that there is a 'correct' way to interpret a context or that multiple interpretations are problematic. Conversely, Mason (2002[b]) argues against the notion that there is an actual version of events that can be factually told. Rather, participants' stories are selected fictions, which are told as events are recounted. People choose which bits to mention and how to re-present their stories. Therefore, Mason (2002[a]) argues for a form of generalization that has resonance and speaks to the reader's experience or interest. It is the wider resonance of findings that provide the quality of generalization.

However, this is not to say that all findings have equal value. Mason (2002[a]) states the importance of analytical rigour though demonstrating the accuracy of method and validity of method and interpretation. This can be achieved through building in "strategic comparisons" to sampling and analysis strategies to "test and develop theoretical and explanatory propositions" (2002:198). I addressed this through a strategy that sought to incorporate diverse viewpoints for comparison. Participants within schools were both purposefully and theoretically sampled to explore issues of diversity learning for White pupils in contexts where, according to theory, resistance to learning is said to be high. Teachers self-selected to take part in interviews. Teachers or a contact person for the school selected students. This followed me stating the types of students that I wanted to

interview, these being White students from a cross-section of pupils; a mixture of genders, socioeconomic background, ability and mixed attitudes to racial diversity. There is a possibility that teachers may have selected participants for a particular agenda that benefited the school or staff involved. However, a diversity of behaviours, perceptions, beliefs and points of view arose during focus groups, which enabled "strategic comparisons" (Mason, 2002[a]:198) between participants' narratives, across different schools, contexts and art projects. Participants ranged from White students and teachers who had positive attitudes to racial diversity, to those who appeared to have learnt the politically correct statements to say about racial diversity, to those who expressed negative views about racial diversity. In terms of educational attainment, student participants ranged from those who were higher achieving, with evident ability to rationalise and articulate responses, to those who appeared to anticipate 'correct' responses, to students who appeared to resist engaging with learning and with focus group discussions, despite participation being voluntary. Collectively, participants provided a rich collection of accounts for discussion coupled with many reoccurring or similar types of incidences, which formed the themes written up in the data chapters. Generalizability is thus sought through generating conceptual understanding arsing through an exploration of patterns and themes arising that aim to resonate with the reader. Validity has been sought through seeking to maintain integrity and trustworthiness through analysis and writing up the thesis. O'Reilly (2012:226) describes validity as research which is "plausible or credible and there is enough evidence to support the argument".

Conclusions

I began this chapter by proposing the word racism has become so feared that many teachers and students avoid using it or words associated with it. This has epistemological implications because the fear of the subject matter leads to an absence of examination of personal White racial identities (Mazzei, 2008) and reluctance to engage in talking about the issues in a research context (Davis, 2009) or even to engage with the research at all. Thus, absences are found within and 'without' the data. The themes of silences, invisibility and absences permeate the research on a number of levels from critical race theory explanations of power and racial hierarchy, to a common belief in 'no problem here' (Gaine, 1987, 1995) to the silences, pauses and censorships within interview discussions. However, I do not regard that these silences and absences lead to a research deficit, but rather they become a very loud silence. When researching racism with White participants, silences can be so prominent, they become present in their absence (Mazzei, 2008).

The research takes an epistemological perspective of constructionism where it is proposed that meaning is co-constructed between subject and object. This also draws on Mazzei's (2013:732) theory that voice does not originate from individual subjects but is "produced in an enactment among research-data-participants-theory-analysis". It is through understanding the entanglement of these that knowledge and truth claims are constructed. I have observed and reflected upon the settings chosen by engaging in an ethnographic type study. Students, teachers and arts practitioners have taken part in interview discussions about their experiences and perspectives of teaching and learning about the issue of racism through art projects, and these have been explored along with drawings,

field notes, workbooks and evaluation sheets. The following three chapters immerse themselves in the data; exploring and unpacking voices and visuals, silences and suppressions, activities and absences.

Chapter 4: Conceptualisations of racism and anti-racist education: Equal-meanness, equal-niceness

In the next three chapters, I analyse and explore my data using the three theoretical frameworks discussed in chapter two. I chose three frameworks to examine three overlapping issues: Whiteness, anti-racist education and arts pedagogies. Clough and Nutbrown (2010) maintain that theoretical literature is used for positionality and to locate research as unique. It can be problematic to use three frameworks since this can confuse the research by positioning the focus in multiple places. However, I argue that when used with care, multiple frameworks can converge at an intersecting point to provide a unique focus. In my study, this focus is the point at which White teachers and students, privileged by a system of White supremacy, engage with arts programmes that seek to transform assumptions and practices relating to racism in schools.

My three theories have commonalities due to their critical components. Critical forms of research challenge dominant ideology, through "interrogating commonly held values and assumptions, challenging conventional social structures and engaging in social action" (Crotty, 2009:157). Critical race theory is a necessary starting point for my research, due to its specific focus on race and Whiteness as an organising principle for inequality. Taylor (2009:4) argues that Whiteness is an "all-encompassing and omnipresent" norm against which all other systems are defined. Critical race theory seeks to make visible and challenge unequal racialised power structures. Critical pedagogy also focusses on oppressive power relations but more specifically on the role of education for transforming this (Darder, Baltodano and Torres, 2009). This is important for my research since I seek not only to expose how White power manifests itself and operates through

schools, but also to explore the potential of art projects as a method for challenging racism. However, critical pedagogy would not be sufficient alone, since it offers a generalised power analysis that fails to include issues of race, gender and sexuality (bell hooks, 1994; Lorde, 1984). I find critical race theory to be enlightening because it offers an understanding of why challenging racism can feel like an insurmountable task, due to its embedded structural nature. However, practical strategies for social change tend to be missing in much contemporary literature about anti-racist education. Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs (2017) found that while many studies about anti-racist education defined one of its core goals as seeking social transformation by developing ways to dismantle structural inequalities, they did not clearly express how this could be done. The issue of a lack of solutions in critical theory has also been raised before. Darder, Baltodano and Torres (2009) argue that many educators welcomed Freire's (2009) approach to critical pedagogy because it provided practical strategies for social change, which many felt were missing from the literature. Thus, critical race theory and critical pedagogy can complement each other, with the former providing the necessary race analysis and the latter providing a framework for exploring teaching strategies that reinforce or help transform the status quo. However, the arts component of my research needs additional theorising, which these two theoretical frameworks do not sufficiently address. Shotwell (2011:xxi) argues that racial formations are significantly inarticulate and potentially 'inarticulable'. She suggests that transformative education needs to address implicit knowledge, such as the affective, tacit and embodied experiences that are part of racial constructions. The arts have educational value since they have the potential to work at the affective level. For this reason, Shotwell (2011) combines critical race theory with aesthetics to explore the embodied and

affective aspects of racism. Building on this notion, I believe that critical art pedagogy offers a useful contribution to critical race theory since it draws on the specific role of art in maintaining or transforming power relationships (Cary, 2011), which is a core aspect of my research focus.

This chapter discusses different ways in which White children and teachers in my study conceptualise racism and education about racism. The first section highlights a gap between anti-racist theory and White teachers and students' common assumptions about racism. The second section discusses a common understanding of racism described by participants in my study as a form of meanness experienced equally by Black and White people. In both sections, I draw on the critical race theory principle of racism as a two-headed monster consisting of acts of racism and a system of privilege (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012). The next two sections explore narratives of White superiority using Picower's (2009:197) "tools of Whiteness" and notions of being deserving and undeserving drawing on Moon's (2016) argument that children are socialised to become White. The final section explores teachers' assumptions about being nice, their roles as teachers and relationship to anti-racist school practice. Here I examine how, in my study, teachers assumptions about preventing racism can be exacerbating the problem. I do this by linking back to my earlier theoretical discussion on anti-racist education from chapter two.

Conceptualisations of race: A linguistic race-ravine

In this section, I present and discuss examples from the data, offering a critical analysis of implicit and explicit race narratives. While the common spoken

assumption in my data was one of 'no problem here' (Gaine, 1988), I found hidden narratives embedded in discourse. These ranged from conceptualisations of race as people being different but equal to Whiteness as superiority or Blackness as a deficit. Critical race theory has been used to construct racism as a "two-headed hydra" (Delgado and Stephancic, 2012:88), one head relating to acts of discrimination, the other to a system of supremacy, advantage and disadvantage. The idea being that if one head was chopped off the other would still exist. From this perspective, preventing racist language will not reduce racial privilege. If all racist utterances were silenced the current system that advantages White people and disadvantages Black people would still exist. However, my data suggests that White teachers and students do not conceptualise racism in this way. They assume that racism is simply about race words. These being either nasty words that a few 'bad' people say or 'mean' words that White and Black people say equally, either in banter or to taunt one another. During interview discussions about whether racism exists in their schools, the following comments arose:

> *We've had some children that have used inappropriate language to do with differences and things and quite racist language at times and things like that, but it's very rare (Appleberry Primary school, interview, female teacher 2).*

> *They [a group of ethnically diverse year 10 boys] have a tendency to use racist language among each other although they are not racist to each other…they would call each other nigger, they would say hey black man, you know this kind of stuff, or you know the stuff about black males being more attractive to women… but it's all what they would consider banter. I pull them up fairly regularly and say you may consider it as banter, it may all be harmless, however, people outside of your group may be offended if they hear those kind of things being said, and people within your group may be being offended they are just too scared to say that they are being offended (Bramwell secondary school, interview, male teacher).*

The first quote describes racism as inappropriate but rare language. The second describes racist language as banter that portrays a sense of boys being boys

(gendered implications of race are discussed further in chapter six). The banter is considered equal amongst the boys doing it. Yet, no mention is made about racist language being used by Black boys about White boys, which suggests that this language is one-sided and more racialised than is identified by the teacher in this comment. Critical race theory characterises meanings and stereotypes attached to race as part of a strategy to guard positions of power (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012). The White students use racist language and stereotypes about Black male sexuality to shape their interactions with their Black peers, thus maintaining boundaries of Whiteness and Blackness through evoking common racialised discourses. The teacher does recognise the potential for harm to be done, although in this comment he describes racism in terms of causing offence. Describing the impact of racist language solely as something that can cause offence is problematic when viewed through the lens of critical race theory. This is because it does not differentiate between unpleasant language that individuals from any ethnic group can utter and language that White people utilise to maintain their higher status by reinforcing "relationships of domination and subordination" (Bhavnani, Mirza and Meetoo, 2005:15). Indeed people may feel better if causing offence was outlawed so that they were no longer subjected to derogatory comments but there would be little change to racialised structures and non-verbal racialised treatment (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012).

These two quotes were selected from a number of similar responses from my data and flag up a gap between common and theoretical understandings. I term this a 'linguistic race-ravine' and propose that a linguistic race-ravine exists between theory and practice, where anti-racist theorists, practitioners and the general public are often using different terms and holding different meanings and conceptualisations for the same behaviour. The ravine also conjures up imagery

of a gulf that White teachers may be afraid of falling into if they engage with anti-racist education: perhaps due to fear of being wrong, going against the grain, lacking knowledge or destabilising the status quo.

I argue that this linguistic-race ravine can lead to confusion and resistance to change within White communities. Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs (2017) propose that from a critical race theory perspective anti-racist education is generally theorised as a deliberately politicised approach that seeks to confront systemic and structural oppression. However, teachers in my study did not acknowledge this as a political issue. As critical race theory maintains, when racism is conceptualised as structural inequalities, measures for combatting it will include strategies that aim to level the playing field and provide fairer access to resources and opportunities for Black people (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012). However, if White people have not recognised that resource allocation is unfair, strategies that seek to provide equal access to resources, such as affirmative action, can seem unfair. This has been highlighted by White people claiming that such strategies victimise them (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012; Picower, 2009). Furthermore, I found that when racism is simply conceptualised as the utterances of a few 'bad' people or name-calling that White people and Black people do equally, teachers tend to either prohibit these utterances or justify them by arguing that it is just a form of banter. My data suggest that when prohibitive measures are put in place to curb racist utterances against Black people, White people, who perceive name-calling as a form of equal-meanness, also perceive this as unfair, as discussed in this next section.

The Equal-Meanness Narrative: Conceptualisations and consequences

Throughout my data, a narrative of 'equal-meanness' was presented by White children who felt that Black people received better treatment than they did when engaging in what they saw as the same forms of behaviour. I term this phenomenon the 'equal-meanness narrative'. Equal-meanness refers to the idea that everyone has the capacity to be unkind to one another regardless of ethnicity:

> *White people are racist to the other colour skin but um black people are racist to us as well, but like we get punished for it. If we are racist to them we get punished for it but if they are racist to us they won't (Appleberry Primary school, boy focus group 1).*

> *We get serious punishment and stuff… Say if different coloured people was in our country and we were being racist to them, and they were being racist to us we would get in trouble for it. They won't (Appleberry Primary school, girl, focus group 1).*

> *If we called someone a black piece of shit, we get in so much like trouble but if they call us a white piece of shit we would get in trouble no they would get in trouble (Bramwell Secondary school, male student, focus group 2).*

The first two comments highlight a sense of equal-meanness based on a perception that White people are punished more than Black people are. The second quote reveals a perception of England as being a White country through the notion of "our country" that "different coloured people" are in. This perception potentially adds to feelings of unfairness through the construction that non-White people are not British but a kind of 'other' receiving privilege in 'our' country. In the latter comment, the student appears to utter a common narrative of unfairness, yet muddles up the words. However, the sentiment is one of feeling that things are unfair. Concepts of racism as a structural phenomenon, of which racist language is a part, are absent. This is deeply problematic because when children equate Britishness and Englishness with Whiteness, and racism as a form of

equal-meanness, projects that seek to reduce racism can be viewed as an unfair attack on Englishness, which has been positioned as a White identity (Parekh, 2000). This helps to reproduce structural racism by positioning Black people as not belonging.

When White people claim there is no problem with racism anymore (Gaine, 1987, 1995) and that racism is just equal-meanness, this highlights their ignorance of the history of anti-racist education and the vast work that Black activists, intellectuals and campaigners, have carried out to bring about change (Warmington, 2014). This includes teaching Black children in supplementary schools to counteract the damage being done in mainstream schools (John, 2015; Courd, 1971). Damage continues today, despite evidence of structural racism in schools shown through attainment and exclusion statistics. Gillborn (2008) argues that this amounts to a conspiracy when racial inequalities are evident, yet White teachers and policymakers do not concern themselves with seeking to change this.

This raises the question whether rather than seeking to curb racist language and behaviour, anti-racist school practice needs to begin with a conceptual education that explores the linguistics and definitions of race and racism, including the power dynamics of race. Punishment without education about the underlying issues can lead to resentment amongst perpetrators, who may cease using racist language and behaviours in the classroom but continue it elsewhere (Richardson and Miles, 2008). Richardson and Miles (2008) explored the practical side of dealing with racist incidents in schools. They argue that dismissive responses from teachers send a message that racist behaviour is acceptable and punitive responses without education can create resentment because children may feel

they have been treated unfairly, as my data also suggests. Corrective responses, which instruct children about why racism is wrong, can be ineffective too if they run counter to messages that children hear in their wider communities. Since racial bullying is often legitimised by the shared views of a wider community, which perpetrators belong to, transformative approaches will be needed. This means involving the bullied, the bully, bystanders, families and the wider community as part of a restorative project that examines the interconnectedness of people within communities and how they are all affected (Richardson and Miles, 2008). I argue that this also needs to involve teachers as both learners and facilitators, since teachers need an anti-racist education too, as postulated by an arts practitioner in my study:

> *Sometimes I actually think we need to do more work with teachers. Maybe that is something for the future for us we need to do more work with teachers (Fatima's Tent, female arts practitioner 1).*

According to TTA (2013) data, around half of newly qualified teachers do not feel prepared to work with ethnic diversity in schools. When teachers feel unprepared, their ability to contribute to anti-racist practice is seriously impaired. In my data, children and teachers who constructed racism as equal-meanness also included all forms of name-calling as part of the equal-meanness narrative. For example, in a paired interview with two teaching assistants, one raised a problem with not knowing which language was alright to use, such as whether it was alright to say 'black' or 'coloured'. The second teaching assistant added that some children say the 'N' word because they hear it in music. The teaching assistant suggested that children should not say this word, yet equated it with insults about having ginger hair or wearing glasses:

…and then they come in with the rap music isn't it, some of these rappers do still say nigger and things like that… [I say to the pupils] you don't talk like that [and they say] yeah but it's in a song… but then you get that with everything. You get ginger haired people are called names, people who wear glasses are called names. You know there is lots of rights and wrongs and why you should and shouldn't say things isn't there (Appleberry Primary school, paired interview, female teaching assistant 1).

[Racism] Its more just name calling with children in class isn't it. Somebody says something to you like about your weight or something like that and is quick to turn round and just say something about the colour of em or something like that but nobody really, they don't really think (Appleberry Primary school, paired interview, female teaching assistant 1).

This raises the question why bullying through name-calling is justified and accepted at all. An implicit suggestion here is that racist name-calling is a form of innocent retaliation from White children to unkindness done by Black children, whom they present as the instigators of the behaviour. The social construction of White people as innocent and Black people as deviant and immoral is represented in critical race theory as a key behaviour that White people engage in to protect their privilege. However, Delgado and Stefancic (2012) argue that stereotypes can change over time, for example from Black people as simpleminded and happy-go-lucky to menacing and brutish. Later in the conversation, the teaching assistant evoked this menacing narrative by equating seeing black skin with feelings of fear, expressing this as a normative condition. I discuss this further in the section on racism as White superiority.

The notion of retaliation and defence featured prominently during the focus group with primary school children. While I endeavoured to discuss issues of racism with the children, they persistently changed the conversation to issues of unfairness and hardship in their lives and ways that people are mean to them. For example, during a focus group with children at Appleberry primary school, one participant described an incident of equal-meanness where White and Black children were shouting racist names at one another at the park. I asked if others

had seen anything like that happen. They gave the following conversation responses, which again suggests children are equating of racism with mean name-calling:

> *I get called four-eyed frog and stuff like that*
>
> *Yeah I do as well [lots of voices in agreement]*
>
> *Yeah by people in the class*
>
> *Even people in this class call us it*
>
> *Just cos we wear glasses*
>
> *And my surname gets taken the mick out of as well.*
>
> *I get the mick taken out of as well*
>
> *Because I am a bit skinny people call me anorexic. I don't get it because some people are the same size as me and they call me it as well*

During the focus group, the children were able to discuss incidences of racism at the school and in the neighbourhood and portrayed racist bullying and name calling as regular occurrences, which concurs with the critical race theory tenet that racism is common and normal (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012). However, they repeatedly steered talk away from this and told 'atrocity tales' (Baruch, 1982) about their own lives. These ranged from being bullied to being physically harmed, to being scared of teenagers in the community, to having toys stolen and stories of vandalism in the local community:

> *When we were walking past the park, me and my little brother, and then he [a boy at the park] started spitting at my little brother, and he had a scooter, and he tried hitting my little brother with it. I said why are you trying to hit him and he said because I don't like him. I said why you don't like him and he said cos I just don't (Appleberry Primary school, girl 1, focus group 1).*
>
> *There is a girl called Alison and one day my sister, she is not a different colour or anything, had a fall out, cos Alison always was jealous of my sister and there was a car coming and Alison pushed my sister on to the road and my sister got her hand stuck in the drain and there was like this screw sticking out of the top of the drain so she couldn't pull her hand out and the car like road over her hand and she finally pulled it out and the screw went through her hand and there was a big blood all over her hand and a cut. And Alison started*

taking the mick out of my sister (Appleberry Primary school, girl 2, focus group 1).

From a critical race theory perspective, children's conversations about ways in which they experience meanness can be a diversion to protect Whiteness. When being asked to discuss racism, White children are faced with the consideration that White people are perpetrators. Leonardo (2009) argues that White privilege is maintained through processes that include stifling, avoiding or dismissing discussions about racism. By talking about their own struggles, the children in my study, shift the focus away from considering White people as oppressors and perpetrators or advantaged, to reproducing their White position as victims and as disadvantaged. White people often present themselves as the new race victims of the education system (Gillborn, 2009[b]) and the new victims of reverse racism (Picower, 2009). By recasting themselves as victims and disadvantaged, White people are able to avoid engaging with anti-racist strategies and keep the focus on their own needs to maintain their position of dominance.

Baruch (1982) argues that when participants tell atrocity stories these act as moral tales to construct themselves as rational, sensible and adequate. Baruch (1982) discusses ways that participants use atrocity stories in interviews to portray themselves as moral when discussing issues that have occurred between patients and doctors, where participants may feel judged for being inadequate parents. Likewise, if participants feel their identities are under-threat when discussing issues of racism, atrocity stories provide a way to reposition blame. Nevertheless, the White children who took part in my focus groups at Appleberry primary school do face daily struggles, with many growing up in poverty, in broken homes. As one child mentioned:

A lot of families and mums and dads are broken up [in our community]. So there is a lot of stepfamilies.

This comment arose during an initial activity incorporated into the focus group, where I asked children to draw[4] a typical Plymouth family. The idea was to engage in discussion about families and understand ways in which the children conceptualised different families in their communities. Another child described its drawing in the following way:

> *Mine [drawing] is a typical family house with a boy playing on the X box, dog, person in bed, person shouting "wake up, wake up" and then two people having an argument.*

Stories of trauma and hardship reoccurred throughout discussions. Gillborn (2012:30) discusses the very real difficulties that poor White people face, arguing that poor Whites experience a "very real material and symbolic violence". However, he proposes that a 'poor-Whites' discourse does not disprove a system of White supremacy but rather is an essential part of maintaining it. Gillborn (2012:3) uses critical race theory's interest convergence principle, to argue that the discourses created about the White working-class are part of a "strategic mobilisation of White interests". He argues that maintaining a buffer zone of White people who are viewed as both victims and degenerates protects Whiteness through presenting certain Whites as disadvantaged and protects privilege by presenting the same poor White group as a threat. The intersection of race and class is poignant here. The children from Appleberry primary school come from a working-class area and are often positioned as underclass due to high levels of poverty and disadvantage. It logically follows that 'poor' White children might be more inclined to experience feelings of unfairness and therefore struggle to understand the notion of White privilege. It also follows that families who are positioned as a part of a White 'degenerate' underclass would be inclined to want to defend their communities from claims of inadequacy, such as being more racist

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[4] See appendix for examples of the drawings

than middle-class communities are. This would explain, in part, why participants often react in defensive ways when the issue of race is raised. McDermott (2006) argues that it is the decisions of upper-class White people that lead to plant closures and reductions in working-class job opportunities. The loss of job opportunities is then utilised to construct Black people as a threat to working-class jobs, which leads to rising racial hostility in working-class communities (McDermott, 2006). McDermott (2006) argues that this leads to White working-class communities being positioned as more racist than the White middle or upper classes, an idea that the media perpetuate using imagery of working-class White people engaged in violent racist demonstrations. White people in positions of power who orchestrate structural racism cause enormous racial harm. However, this form of racism against Black populations, in general, remains invisible to White people and White people are therefore, less likely to count these as acts of racism. Using critical race theory's social construction and interest conversion principles this can be explained as the dominant society deliberately racialising different social groups to meet their own needs (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012) and diverting attention away from the formation of structural racism by reinforcing racism as being located in the violent acts of a few working-class Whites. Thus belittling poor White people to protect White supremacy (Gillborn, 2012).

Although the children from Appleberry School used diversion tactics to avoid discussions of race and present themselves as moral victims, they nevertheless, were able to engage with dialogue about racism far more than most teachers and teenagers in my study. They also were able to describe incidences of racism in their primary school with fewer silences, pauses, hesitations and less avoidance. Discussing their own experiences gives White children a way to enter into the conversation and try to make sense of things through expressing ways that

people are mean to them. This explanation offers a mechanism for engaging with children by starting where they are at and finding ways to conceptualise racism, which they are unable actually to experience as victims. Freire (1970) argues that, in critical pedagogy, starting where people are at is a necessary strategy, which educators can then build on to develop students' understanding of oppressive systems. However, this strategy is potentially problematic when examined by a critical race theory lens because it risks reinforcing the notion of racism as equal-meanness.   The pedagogical task here is to find ways to disrupt the equal-meanness narrative and find ways to develop new understanding.

The Racial Deficit Narrative: Racism and White superiority

This section draws on the critical race theory premise that White supremacy is the taken-for-granted routine stance that operates in education institutions to privilege White peoples' interests (Gillborn, 2005). I show how some participants revealed hostility and superiority through their narratives and use "active protection" (Picower, 2009:205) strategies to maintain their assumptions of superiority. I draw on examples collected in my data through interviews and focus groups along with discussions and behaviours observed, collected and written into field notes. I use these data to discuss narratives of fear, hate, disgust, threat and 'foreign-ness' or 'coloured-ness' as pathology.

In my study, many teachers and teaching assistants displayed assumptions and behaviours that carried racist and oppressive messages, which potentially teach, reinforce or perpetuate racism amongst pupils. A teaching assistant described how local residents respond to Black families who move into the area:

> *If a coloured family does move into the area, they do stand out because there is not that many, so people go "ooh my" [laughs] and then they, you know stand out more, whereas, if you live up the line where there is more… [pauses and goes silent] (Appleberry Primary school, paired interview, female teaching assistant 1).*

In writing up the transcripts, I noted that this comment coupled with laughs and voice tone appeared to be conceptualising non-white skin as a form of pathology and something to be sniggered at. Later in the interview, the teaching assistant described being in the presence of Black bodies as making her feel "weird" and stressed that her son found Black bodies made him feel scared and intimidated:

> *I think sometimes when you just go on holiday yourself it feels weird. I mean my son a couple of years ago went to visit his friend at a London University, and he said it was quite scary. I said, "What do you mean it was quite scary". He said, "I think we were about the only white people there"… he said it was like being in a different country. He said nearly everybody was black or coloured, there were hardly any white people and we were only in London, and he felt quite intimidated by it (Appleberry Primary school, paired interview, female teaching assistant 1).*

The notion of being "only in London" implies an assumption of being 'taken-over' by 'foreign' and 'frightful' people in what she implies is too close to home for her liking. The participant attaches a powerful, negative narrative to skin colour. A strong sense of othering is implicit in her description. Curiously, although she draws attention to her own, her son's and her local community's embodied feelings and expressions of xenophobia; she did not appear to recognise these feelings and explanations as a form of racism. The following extract is from the paired interview with two teaching assistants as Appleberry primary school. TA1 and TA2 refer to teaching assistant one and two:

> *TA2: When the head teacher said they [the art project] were coming [into the school] because in this area there are a lot of racial issues. I thought where?*
>
> *TA1: Yeah we thought "no there is not!"*
>
> *TA2: Yeah especially when you live local, you think well I haven't, cos you always hear on the grapevine, all the gossip don't you*

TA1: I don't think I've never heard of it

TA2: No I can't think of any. But the police[5] have obviously perhaps said there is, and that's why

Interviewer: I guess when it's not happening. If it's something that is not happening to us, we don't see it?

TA2: Yeah but you'd hear it

TA1: Yes you would hear about it

TA2: Yes

TA1: Anything happens, and you hear about it don't you

Interviewer: Do you? Is it a quite close-knit community like that?

TA2: I would say so yeah anything like that

TA1: Yeah you usually hear you know such and such happened. Now I've never heard of anything

TA2: No

These two participants were born, grew up, lived and worked in the local community, and appeared very protective about how they represented it. The area can be described as a geographically cut-off and an economically disadvantaged area. Hence, notions of protecting one's own and community identities may partially explain resistance to acknowledging the racism that occurs there. However, these staff members seemed to go further than protecting identities by actively denying incidences of racism that they heard about. For example, denying the head teacher's statement that racism was taking place in the school, questioning police statements about racism and actively disbelieving children in the school, who reported racism to them. The teaching assistant's stories stood in stark contrast to children's stories about the prevalence of racism in the school. The following two sections of text demonstrate this contrast

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[5] A police officer accompanied the arts project to talk to the children about racism and the law

between teaching assistants' and children's accounts, with particular reference to one Black student, whom I refer to as Randolph:

> *TA1: There is a boy [Randolph] in year 6, but he does play on it a bit*
>
> *Interviewer: How do you mean he plays on it?*
>
> *TA2: Well anybody says anything to him he says oh they are being racist to me*
>
> *Interviewer: Is this a boy from a different ethnic background?*
>
> *TA2: Yeah. And he says that all the time. I always say he is playing the race card again because it's alright for him to say it the other way. Because it doesn't have to be something insulting like you're Black or anything like that, it could be something like just be telling him he is rubbish at football or something like that [laughs]*
>
> *TA1: and he will say oh it's because I'm black because I'm black*
>
> *TA2: You know so you sort of like. But other than that*
>
> *TA1: No I mean we've got Cailen, haven't we, over the other side [of the school]*
>
> *TA2: and Saeed doesn't really play on it or anything.*
>
> *TA1: No*
>
> *TA2: And with his name being Arabic as well. I mean he looks, and his name is different, but I mean he never has any problems*
>
> *TA1: Never hear anybody say anything*
>
> *TA2: Never hear anybody say they've said anything to him or vice versa*
>
> *TA1: No*
>
> *TA2: No*

This idea that Randolph is "playing the race card", along with disbelief about the head teacher's decision to tackle racism in the school seems to contradict the assertion that if racism existed, they would know about it. It appears that instances of racism are being told, but a process of selective hearing is taking place, where knowledge of such issues is actively blocked. I draw on Picower's (2009:205) "tools of Whiteness" to explain the teaching assistant's behaviour as active protection to maintain their dominant stereotypical beliefs and preserve

White supremacy. For example, the teaching assistants engage in active protection (Picower, 2009:205) by downplaying what constitutes a racist act and resisting taking action against racism. By relating racism to name-calling, they dismiss possible acts of racial discrimination that White children might be using to exclude Black children. By using the term "playing the race card", they construct Black children as devious and untruthful. In stark contrast, the following conversation took place during the children's focus group at the same school:

> *There is a different coloured boy next door called Randolph*
>
> *He gets called Rhubarb*
>
> *I get called cauliflower as well and stuff*
>
> *Randolph, cos he is a different colour when people get into an argument with him, he don't take the mick out of our colour, but people take the mick out of his colour*
>
> *But he is from here, and his dad is a different colour*
>
> *He is half-caste, his mum is White, and his dad is dark*

The same children in a second focus group raised this issue again:

> *We have Randolph, which um he's like half-caste. People call him Rhubarb and stuff*
>
> *We had this boy who is American*
>
> *Oh yeah*
>
> *People took the mick out of his accent*
>
> *And Randolph is like a different colour he is half-caste his mum is light, and his dad is dark*
>
> *Some people tell him to go back to his own country*
>
> *Yeah*
>
> *Yeah tell him to go back to Africa*
>
> *Yeah they say that to a lot of people*

These children's accounts present the notion of racist name-calling as a norm within the school. A further comment highlighted this.

There is quite a lot of people in this school that's racist. There's a couple of year threes; there's loads, there's wait there, 1, 2, 3. 4 there are about five or six people in year six that like taking the mick out of a little boy called Tacari. He is different coloured, and he has got something wrong with him [disabled] (Appleberry Primary school, girl, focus group 1).

Meanwhile, the teaching assistants present and perform the 'no problem here' (Gaine, 1988) narrative that seeks to represent White people as righteous and Black adults and children as being in deficit. In doing so, they avoid challenging racist incidents and help perpetuate a racist school system. Tomlinson (2008) argues that the last fifty years has shown a lack of political will to ensure children from all ethnicities are treated fairly, which contributes to Black people feeling they not accepted as citizens in their own country (Tomlinson, 2008). My data suggests that this is still the case in the White South West of England, although, some teachers showed some willingness to want to engage. For example, one teacher raised issues with knowing racism existed in the school and wanting to tackle it but sometimes struggling with knowing what to do:

For me in whatever context when I am teaching stuff about diversity and when racism comes up I'm generally worried about saying the wrong thing. Because I do not think it's something the teachers are really trained about… like we were literally just Maths English and the foundations. And its things like that [how to tackle issues of racism] you don't really get taught about. And I know when the issue of racism came up in my class when it was one of the kids kind of misunderstood what was said and misinterpreted I, I actually took it to the head [teacher] because I did not want to do the wrong thing. Like I knew what I thought but because today you have to be so politically correct I don't know, I did not want to screw up so I think that something the teachers need to be taught about like how to teach it, the right things to say, cos that would have really helped me in that situation (Appleberry Primary school, interview, male teacher 1).

This teacher revealed that his teacher education prioritised certain subjects. Maths and English were seen as important, while human relationship issues such as racism were marginalised. An arts practitioner raised a similar point when stating that humanities work, which is needed every day, is marginalised in schools in favour of subjects that may not be needed at all:

The fact that you may never use algebra in your life is immaterial. The stuff you are learning in humanities, you will be using in your life every day, every day (Male arts practitioner, Day of Difference).

The above teacher refers to dealing with potential racist incidences that children speak about openly. However, during a focus group with primary school children, it was revealed that much racial bullying takes place through disguising it as jokes and acronyms. The children mentioned a number of jokes, which they said were told in the school, which caricatured Black people as thieves, as needing to run away and be fearful and that related to body colour. In addition, children described a variety of acronyms that were used, which could appear to grownups as positive or nice phrases, yet were encased with highly derogatory meanings known to the children. This suggests that the children have become clever at subverting the school system and resisting anti-racist messages. A child stated, *"We all know what it means because they have been going around the school for that long that we all know it now".* One of the examples given was "you are EPIC", standing for "Evil Paki in Constipation". The children stated that this acronym was used against Saeed and Randolph, two of the children whom the teaching assistants argued did not experience racism. A child mentioned the impact of racial bullying on Randolph:

In year five, Randolph kept being called names and he was on the verge of moving from this school. He got in trouble a lot because he reacted quite badly.

While children who took part in the focus group were able to understand and articulate overt racism they did not always feel able to tell the teachers what was happening due to experiences of being called 'a snitch' and fear of repercussions and consequences. During focus groups, one child described being called a snitch for telling teachers about an incident, another child spoke about sticking

up for someone and getting in trouble for doing so because the incident broke out into a fight:

> *Because if someone calls me a name or something I just walk off or if there is a fight going on in the school I go and tell the teacher. I don't get involved. I tell the teacher, and people call me a snitch (Appleberry Primary school, boy, focus group 1).*
>
> *I would get involved because I don't really like tell the teachers. I would get involved and end up doing something about it and then getting myself in trouble for sticking up for someone. Because I would have something worse than what they was doing (Appleberry Primary school, girl, focus group 1).*

This reveals how racial bullying can become hidden under what I call a triple layer of silence. Firstly through jokes and acronyms, secondly through discourses of 'snitch' and thirdly through school staff disbelieving or minimising incidences. These three layers interact permitting White children to carry out acts of racism against Black children without repercussion. This allows them to contribute to the reproduction of White privilege within the school, which from a critical race theory perspective allows racism to continue within the life of the school as a "normal and inherent feature" (Picower, 2009:198).

The 'Deserving' and 'Undeserving' narrative: Racism and 'nice-boys'

The above section discusses the equal-meanness and racial deficit narratives. An additional approach was found within my data, which relates to narratives of fairness, pity and notions of deserving and undeserving. Critical race theory characterises White people as believing they are innocent and holding viewpoints that they believe are not racialised but universally valid truths (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012). White people's opinions about the extent to which they deem

Black people deserving can be used to grant or prohibit justice and position Black people as needy or pitiful. During a focus group at Appleberry primary school, children explained that they had seen racist graffiti on walls in their community. I asked how they felt about seeing those words. Children gave the following responses:

> *It's not very nice because I feel really sorry for them.*
>
> *It's not very fair because they are just like us they've only a different skin colour.*

Rather than condemn the actions of White people, they focussed on pitying Black people. Thus, keeping attention away from White wrongdoing. The notion of feeling sorry for Black people also arose during observations at the school where some girls took up the position of helper for Black people. I observed intersections between race and gender during an activity where children were immersed in a brightly coloured textile tent to listen to a story called *Fatima's Tent*. The children sat on cushions in the tent while a practitioner read them an interactive story. This described the travels of a talented young girl, Fatima, who experienced hard times and good times through a journey that took her around the world. The storyteller asked the children what would happen to Fatima if she came to Plymouth. Responses ranged from extremely hostile expressions (mostly by boys) to pity and wanting to help (predominately by girls). For example, foreigners coming to take what is 'ours', or being a burden because of an assumption '*they* cannot write English' or 'our jobs are too complicated for them' to 'sticking up for her' because she '*would* get bullied'. The story contained details about Fatima's talents and resilience, which supported her success and triumph over adversity. Yet the children in my study sought to pity her or express hostility and ignorance about what she could do. White British people have long perpetuated the idea that Black immigrants are illiterate and uneducated; teachers have kept

expectations and outcomes low for Black children and obstructed Black parents ambition for their children (John, 2014). In this activity, the children were drawing on narratives about Black people being in deficit, a threat or needing help rather than pay attention to the story, which characterised Fatima's success. This suggests that even by primary school-age children have been socialised to accept negative narratives about Black people. This concurs with Moon's (2016:283) argument that children are socialised from a young age into "becoming White" and with critical race theory's notion that racism is deeply embedded and structurally present.

The notion of helping Black people was often accompanied by White participants equating helping behaviour with fairness and niceness. Picower (2009) argues that White people often position themselves as altruistic, helpful and just wanting to be nice. She gave an example of a pre-service teacher who argued that in multicultural classrooms culturally relevant pedagogies were not needed, it was enough just to be nice and open minded; "if you're nice to me, then I'm nice to you" (Picower, 2009:208). This throws up the question as to whether a precondition of White people's fair treatment of Black people is their perception of how nice they decide individual Black people are. If this is so, it suggests White people's niceness is conditional. During the focus group at Appleberry primary school, the notion of niceness was used to justify the unfairness of racism. For example, the children brought up the story of Stephen Lawrence:

Does anyone remember Stephen Lawrence?
Interviewer: Yes I do
He got killed because of his colour
He got killed at the bus stop because of his colour
His friend had to leave him

Interviewer: Where did you learn about that?

It was on the news and all that

Interviewer: What did you think about that when you heard about it?

I just thought well he got killed just because of his colour

Horrible

And his friend was the same colour as him, but his friend had to run else he would have got killed as well

He was probably really, really nice

The final assertion that he was probably 'really nice' is used to reinforce the sense of the unfairness of the killing. If someone is perceived as nice, the fateful events appear more unjust. A similar narrative arose in response to the shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson in the US. Brown's family and community constructed him as "a boy who did everything right" and a "gentle giant", while the police used the construction of a dangerous Black man (Swaine, 2014). The discourse of 'nice-boys' endeavours to pose a counter-narrative to the racist idea of Black boys as inherently bad. This, however, misses the structural unfairness of racism by suggesting a discourse where individuals are seen as nice and thus deserving or bad and therefore undeserving, which again reduces racist harm to individual acts of unjustness. Skeggs (1997) discusses how respectability is central to the notion of Englishness and determines whether you are allowed to belong. She argues that respectability is the property of the middle-classes, used to define themselves against Black and White working-classes, who are judged as dangerous, morally corrupt and undeserving. Thus, although the judgement of being nice might allow a reprieve from a deficit judgement, it does not protect against it. Furthermore, from a critical race theory perspective, it can be seen as a tool for White people to control Black people's access to justice. This leads to Black people having to do extra work to survive in a White world, such as

strategically adopting a persona of niceness, reasonableness and friendliness even when challenged by White racist hostility (Rollock (2012[a]).

The Equal-Niceness Narrative: Let's all be nice, we'll tell you how to do it!

I have used the equal-meanness and racial-deficit narratives to describe attitudes to racism found amongst many White teachers and children in my study. Those who conceptualised racism as either equal-meanness or racial deficit tended to believe that little needs to be done other than teaching everyone not to notice skin colour and just to be nice to one another. I term this the 'equal-niceness narrative'. Many teachers argued that people are generally nice but just need to know the right words to use, as articulated during a focus group at Church Hill secondary school:

> *Society is in fear of using the wrong terms these days (Church Hill secondary school, focus group, male teacher).*
>
> *That is the most important lesson, and I think maybe that they [children] have learnt from the day. You can use some terms ask them in a question, and if they are not meant with any racial intent then they will not offend, and someone will understand how to take it and explain to you slightly better their experience if that makes sense (Church Hill secondary school, female teacher 1).*

In this dialogue, the teachers felt that intent was the important factor, although they might fear 'getting it wrong' as long as their intentions are good no one should be offended. This suggests an equal-meanness narrative, through assumptions that racism is simply about misunderstandings and causing offence using 'wrong terms', which can be corrected through using a framework of 'let's all be nice to one another'. The teachers portray racism as a superficial problem

that can be overcome by explanations. The comments related to how White teachers and pupil's fear of causing offence was reduced during the Day of Difference by dialogue with Black visitors. The suggestion from the second quote is that the Black visitors were not offended by the questions asked by White pupils. The generosity of the Black visitors towards White pupils enabled barriers of fear, which many White pupils felt, to be broken down. Denevi and Pastan (2006) argue that fear and guilt can distract individuals from making a commitment to anti-racist action. However, anti-racist education should not just be a remedy for White fear. Denevi and Pastan (2006) propose that an institutional response is needed, whereby White people form a community of White Anti-Racists who can collectively focus on the effects of White privilege without being distracted by their own guilt and fear. Collective responses are important since the collective power of individual actions and beliefs lead to racism being an institutional problem (Macpherson, 1999). Therefore, schools need the collective actions of individuals to bring about significant change in racist attitudes and behaviours. However, in the schools I visited, very little, if any, additional anti-racist work appeared to take place, which was a problem that a teacher at Appleberry Primary school came to realise:

> *I think it [the art project] just generally sparked an awareness and an interest. I think that is something that needs to be built upon... I have been teaching... for two years and I have never taught anything on diversity, not directly. Obviously, it comes up in different topics, but it is not something that I have ever had to really think about, with regards to the children. Now I think about it now that is actually quite bad. I think it is something they [schools] should do (Appleberry Primary school, interview, male teacher 1).*

This spark of recognition provides hope in what can seem like a bleak environment of denial, where the majority argued that racism is not a problem:

> *I have not seen any obvious attitudes about race – very occasionally you may hear a student refer to being 'racially abused', but this is said in jest,*

> *I have never heard any student be openly racist. Students are aware of what is appropriate and generally do not really comprehend racial abuse. They are quite naïve (Church Hill secondary school, questionnaire, female teacher).*

I found this sense of denial to be prominent amongst teachers, who felt that children in their schools were mostly good but some were influenced by their racist parents:

> *I don't think a lot of primary children take much notice [of people from other ethnic backgrounds]. I think it's more if you get it at home you know perhaps if parents are like it [racist] (Appleberry primary school, paired interview, female teaching assistant 2).*

Some children who tried to distance themselves from the behaviour of their 'bad' parent put a similar narrative forward:

> *My dad isn't nice sometimes to them people [Black people]. He don't like em. He makes fun out of em and stuff, but I don't like it. My Mum ain't wiv 'im anymore. My mum don't like it. He just takes the mick out of 'em. If we just walk down the street or in the car or something he just takes the mick and stuff, and they would just walk on and stuff and that, and he just makes jokes out of people and stuff just because they are different to him (Appleberry Primary school, girl, focus group 1).*

Blaming racism on parents allows teachers and pupils to position it as something that happens elsewhere rather than in the school. By positioning racism as being outside of the school, teachers can present schools as good institutions. I use the critical race theory tenet of racism as an ordinary component of everyday life, so deeply embedded in its normality that it is rarely acknowledged (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012). Gillborn (2006) draws on this premise to argue that it is the role of education to actively structure racial inequality. He maintains that liberal approaches to anti-racism keep structural racism in place through "claims of neutrality, objectivity, colour-blindness, and meritocracy" (p.20), which allow structural racism to be camouflaged. By understanding racism as a hierarchical system of privilege, it becomes possible to uproot the conceptualisation of schools as fair, safe and nice and recognise how nice acts can also be oppressive.

One of the dangers of the equal-niceness approach is the risk of reducing anti-racism to acts of charity or sympathy. Teachers can excuse themselves from examining the role of schools in perpetuating White privilege, when they perceive themselves to be altruistic (Picower, 2009). During a focus group with primary school children in my study, some White children spoke about feeling sorry for Black people and wanting to help them. This followed taking part in the story activity about Fatima's Tent, as discussed in the previous section. Sympathy might be preferred to hostility, but moving from one position to the other does not change the power dynamic. Nevertheless, sympathy can be fuelled by compassion and compassion is to be encouraged when it comes from a desire for equality and humanity. When discussing the critical race theory issue of structural power, Delgado and Stefancic (2012) argue that many liberals equate the idea of neutrality before the law with colour-blindness and that colour-blindness can be commendable when it consists of refusing to go along with common prejudices. However, because racism is deeply embedded in thought processes and social structures, it will take "aggressive colour-conscious efforts" to change the current unjust system (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012:27). One of the problems I found in schools is that colour-blindness was not being used as an anti-racist strategy but as a White protection strategy. For example, by arguing that all pupils are treated equally, and that White teachers and students do not see race, White teachers can reconstruct themselves as good people who help Black people. When teachers and pupils' sympathy homogenises Black people as being needy, in deficit or in need of charitable pity, this stance should be interrogated in education settings, for the ways in which it positions White people as superior. Applebaum (2005:278) argues that it is not enough to for people to

consider themselves as "good moral anti-racist citizens" because even those who consider themselves so are often perpetuating systemic injustice.

One of the challenges that teachers face is how to promote diversity within, not just between, ethnic groups so that a narrative of hostility is not simply replaced by a narrative of sympathy. In a Ted Talk, Adichie (2009) discusses the problem with what she calls the "single-story" where people have just one narrative about a particular group of people. She gives the example of a woman feeling sorry for her even before she met her, due to her African heritage and thus greeted her with "patronizing, well-meaning pity". She argues that this woman had acquired a single-story of Africa, one of catastrophe. This type of single-story serves to position White people as benevolent and kind. This can be witnessed through charitable giving and overseas links in schools that promote one-way donating to the 'needy' rather than engage in education that promotes reciprocity and mutual learning with diverse communities, which potentially could help dislodge oppressive forms of pity and homogenised versions of ethnicity. Reciprocity differs from equal-niceness in that it relates to the possibility of moving beyond positions of hostility, pity or tolerance to genuine respect for the experiences of minoritised groups. This involves mutual giving, receiving and working together, not one-way benevolence, which can be oppressive. It is relevant here to draw on Freire's critical pedagogy theory since Freire (1970) offers a strategy for mutual working, whereby oppressed groups and their oppressors work together to liberate one another from a system based on the advantaged oppressing the disadvantaged. However, it is important to avoid a simplistic analysis by recognising the potential for all people to be both oppressed and oppressors in different contexts at different times due to intersectional aspects of identity such as race, class and gender. Nevertheless, the issue here is the inevitable need for

anti-racist school practice to incorporate an understanding of how power operates. As Freire (1970) argues, liberation cannot be given but rather must come about through sharing struggles, listening to local knowledge and working together to release and interrogate embedded perceptions of superiority and inferiority. I argue that this element of critical pedagogy can be incorporated into anti-racist school practice, whereby the notion of equal-niceness is dissected for the ways in which it supports and maintains White primacy. Teachers and pupils need to learn about individual and institutional racism and know about local and national strategies, campaigns and activities that can help address and prevent racism (*Aiming High,* 2004). However, White teachers and educators have resisted the focus on a power analysis in the past. In the 1980s, the NAME organisation rapidly lost support when it began to push for anti-racist education to focus on White people recognising their active roles in maintaining inequality and injustice (George Padmore Institute, no date[b]). This problem is still apparent today. Davis (2015) describes the approach taken by many schools as superficial models of compliance, which maintain White privilege. She argues for a critical race theory and critical Whiteness studies approach to anti-racist education in initial teacher education (ITE). However, she posits that when trainee teachers are asked to consider their own compliance with maintaining White privilege, this can be a painful process. This can lead to anti-racism modules being withdrawn from the ITE curriculum due to the impact of university student satisfaction procedures.

Not all White teachers resist anti-racist practices. During my fieldwork, I spoke with and observed those who were supportive of change. I came across committed practitioners and teachers with some experience of anti-racist work, such as a teacher who worked as an ethnic minority achievement coordinator and teachers who supported and enabled arts programmes to come into their

schools to deliver sessions about racism. I also found some teachers to be dedicated to engaging with anti-racist practices, in terms of supporting ways to introduce pupils in less ethnically diverse schools to the lived experiences of cultural and racial realities outside of their own perceived norm. Asare (2009) argues that this is an important challenge for less ethnically diverse schools, where opportunities to mix with Black people may be lacking. Staff at Appleberry Primary school spoke about Black and minority ethnic visitors whom they invited into the school to dialogue with the children or deliver workshops, such as an Indian cricket player, a Black hair braider and a Gypsy Roma break-dancer. The DFES report *Aiming High* (2004) states that in mainly White schools it is important to learn about shared humanity and belonging across a range of cultural backgrounds and ethnic groups and to recognise the role of global interdependence. From my data, I cannot determine whether the types of conversations that took place operated in this way since these events took place prior to my study. However, while the visits may broaden White children's experiences of Black people, it is unlikely to curb racist behaviours and assumptions. It can also have an essentialising effect by reinforcing previously held assumptions about certain cultures, such as Indian people play cricket, rather than building connections to pupils' own identities. Asare (2009) argues that the challenge in predominantly White schools is to find ways to do the latter.

The above approach can go some way towards educating White children about Britain as a multicultural society, as advocated by the Swann report (1985). However, the welcoming and celebrating diversity approach has been criticized for its superficial and tokenistic nature, which can perpetuate stereotypes and exoticise cultures making them seem strange or alien (Troyna, 1987). ALTARF (1983) argue that although it is important to include multicultural learning in

schools, this is not enough, since due to their upbringing and educational experiences, White staff are likely to be racially prejudiced to some extent. This can result in them perpetuating racism even when believing they are implementing inclusive anti-racist practices.

During my study, conversations about race and ethnicity were often presented as something to be feared and hence resisted. Partly, fears related to issues of speech and harm. As discussed in upcoming chapters, teachers seemed to feel responsible for needing to silence race speech to avoid harm to Black people. However, prohibitive strategies tended towards silencing dialogue about ethnicity, culture and race issues in general, rather than just silencing harmful utterances. As one teacher argued in a questionnaire response, the Day of Difference arts programme provides an opportunity to reverse this trend:

> *For them [students] to be able to discuss their issues safely without fear. E.g. ignorance and confusion manifests itself in the belief of some students that it is racist to use the term black to describe someone (Riverway secondary school questionnaire 2, male teacher).*

The teacher mentions that some students feel it is racist to use terms such as 'black'. He points to students feeling fear and confusion around such race talk and have little opportunity to discuss issues, a fear that is also expressed by students (discussed further in the following chapter). The teacher also alludes to the idea that safety and being without fear are necessary components for discussion. The paradox here is that silencing words that cause harm can also lead to silencing cultural talk and silencing discussions that might lead to social change, due to fear of accidentally uttering a 'wrong' word. Such is the problem with the colour-blind approach, which through avoidance and silence helps to maintain Whiteness as normal and allows racism to continue (Tatum, 1997). Equally, avoidance of fear can lead to sanitised or superficial talk that focusses

on White people's comfort (Leonardo, 2004) rather than working through the discomforting truth of a painful issue that causes regular discomfort for Black people.

Throughout my study, fear and discomfort were evident in the cautious manners that participants adopted when they spoke or avoided speaking about race during interviews, focus groups and casual conversations. For this, I use the term 'absent narratives'. Absent narratives became audible through paying attention to ways in which participants wrestled with conversations about race. Examples include pauses, slow speaking and stutters, which suggested teachers were watchful about how they phrased their responses. Sometimes complete silences occurred, which I interpreted not as just pausing to think but as not having an immediately available discourse to enter the conversation, such as, in response to the question "have you ever considered what it means to be White?" The following responses amongst teachers from Church Hill secondary school show the construction of ideas about why the school brought the Day of Difference project into the school. The first teacher spoke positively about the project, yet gave a response that was measured, with slow, drawn-out words, which are unable to be conveyed in print form, yet suggested reflection and construction of ideas was taking place in the moment. The passage also shows pauses, which suggest uncertainty about speaking certain race-related terms:

> *We looked at it, you know we looked through, and we looked all the different activities that were on offer, and I think we thought this one would fit in, er, cos obviously it, it's good for CPHSE, bullying and, and I think really as a school in Devon, because we don't have a huge, diverse range of um different ethnic groups in Devon and they are not that well represented in school, I think it was important to actually you know address that. And we don't actually have any other [pause] I'm not sure in CPHSE, but I don't think we [pause] (Church Hill secondary school, focus group, female teacher 2).*

> *I don't cover it in my group (Church Hill secondary school, focus group, female teacher 4).*

> *No, I think we don't perhaps [pause] do any specific lessons on understanding racial [pause] (Church Hill secondary school, focus group, female teacher 2).*

This echoes Davis (2010) research in which she suggests paying attention to silences, pauses and avoidances in research interviews can provide insights into attitudes to race. Davis (2010) found that interviewees would avoid using race terms and instead talk about 'it or 'the troubles'. A similar phenomenon can be seen in the above quotes, where teachers refer to 'it', pause at words such as 'racial' and, despite recognising that the programme is beneficial, appear to lack the language to fully describe in what ways this is so. The existence of absent narratives points to the need for more dialogue around issues of race to move the understanding of anti-racism beyond a focus on word control and equal-meanness.

One of the issues that emerged in my study was that education approaches that silence and avoid talking about issues of race appeared to lead to a lack of narratives through which to engage in discussions. This appeared to suggest that when White people have little experience of mixing with diverse ethnic groups, their conversations about race are restricted to existing discourses, which are often negative discourses in predominantly White communities. During interviews and focus groups I asked the question; *"what is the school like in terms of racial diversity?"* A reoccurring response was the denial of racism:

> *Everyone is really like, there is no one that's racist. It's not like it's a problem, or like it ever would be (Bramwell secondary school, focus group 1, male student).*

This type of response occurred during focus groups and informal conversations I had with students and teachers about racial diversity in different schools. It was

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a curious phenomenon given that I did not ask whether racism existed, rather, I asked how racially diverse the school was. This appears to suggest that thinking around racial diversity triggers negative notions of racism rather than positive thoughts about aspects of racial diversity. I have since developed this understanding into a seminar activity, whereby students suggest words and feelings associated with the term race. I record the words on a board then point out that the majority of words tend to be about conflict, division, oppression and fear, with just a few neutral terms such as diversity and culture, and rarely any positive connotations such as opportunity or talent. I then raise the question what does this tell us about race discourse today? One of the intentions of this activity is to prompt students to think beyond their individual fear of dialogue about race to begin to consider how racialised discourses operate to spread fear and negativity. However, while this prompts initial conversations about race, there are limits to what can be achieved in a single lecture on racism. Lander (2015[a], 2015[b]) argues that trainee teachers have limited spaces for critical reflection around racism in initial teacher education and often have just one obligatory lesson on the subject. This lesson may sow seeds of enquiry amongst some students. However, those who decide to become teachers may then find themselves working in a school system that perpetuates the equal-niceness narrative and avoids addressing racism. In the absence of a committed whole-school approach to anti-racism, it is likely that little will change in schools, despite legislation, such as the Race Relations (Amendment) Act (RRAA) 2000, which stipulates that teachers have a duty to promote racial equality and eliminate discrimination.

The Runnymede Trust *Complementing Teachers* handbook (2003) aimed to support teachers' duties to carry out the RRAA duty by developing a shared vision throughout the school, building links with local communities and diverse groups

and developing a curriculum embedded with global knowledge and racial equality messages. However, the critical race theory premise of interest convergence posits that change does not come about unless the need to address racism converges with the needs of White elites (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012). In predominantly White areas, there can be little incentive for White teachers to invest in anti-racist education since they are unlikely to feel they benefit in any way and have much to lose by giving up privilege. Furthermore, they may not see the benefit of anti-racist education in terms of the reduction in prejudice towards Black people or the need for tackling institutional racism (Gaine, 2000). Thus, anti-racism remains focussed on the idea of offensive language control. However, the focus on racist language obscures the fact that racism can take place without words though avoidance, unequal treatment, exclusion, denial, acts of discrimination and so on.

A focus on talk and comfort does not begin to address such structural aspects of racial privilege and disadvantage. The equal-niceness strategy, which seeks to teach children to be kind and polite and not notice or speak about ethnicity, in the current climate appears to lead to a build-up of fear, resentment, discomfort and confusion amongst White teachers and students, which seems to be further exacerbating the issue of racism. The following chapter explores contrasting arts approaches to anti-racist education, ranging from instrumentalist forms that seek to deliver positive messages about diverse ethnicities to forms that seek to disturb thinking about issues of race and provide opportunities for dialogue about troublesome issues.

Chapter 5: Hats, Hoodies and Hijabs: Semiotic markers and aesthetic judgements in processes of racism, resistance and control

Meanings attached to semiotic markers such as the colour of the skin, the shape of the face and clothes types are an implicit part of racist processes. Assumptions about race can be linked to semiotic markers and accompanied by embodied feelings of hostility towards others. Images and portrayals of different social and ethnic groups can lead to the construction and reinforcement of gendered, classed and racialised narratives through art media, such as films, novels and theatre. However, these can also be challenged through the arts by utilising forms such as images, music, dance, movement and non-verbal gestures to challenge dominant knowledge and present alternative perspectives; such is the purpose of critical art pedagogy (Cary, 2011). My research explores two very different types of art projects, a programme that uses the visual arts and storytelling to promote positive images of Muslims, and a programme that uses images, drama, dialogue and storytelling to explore issues of immigration, narratives about refugees and xenophobia. This chapter explores ways in which White pupils and teachers engage with anti-racist practices and racial diversity education through these art projects. The first section draws on critical race theory and critical art pedagogy to explore ways in which the aesthetics of race influence learning. The second section uses critical pedagogy to analyse the effects of silencing and controlling race-talk. The final section explores class control, using critical race theory and critical art pedagogy. This examines White teachers' orientation to 'safe' teaching methods and resistance to lively and 'animated' methods of anti-

racist education, which result in reinforcing of the status quo with all its inequalities.

The Communal Roar: Collective expressions of disgust

In this section, I discuss and analyse the aesthetics of race. I combine critical race theory with critical art pedagogy to explain why it is important to consider implicit knowing when developing anti-racist pedagogies. Sullivan (2006) argues that critical race theory cannot assume that rational arguments alone will persuade people to change their racist beliefs. Racism has affective properties, which also need to be addressed since racialised thoughts and actions are accompanied by emotions and feelings about certain groups. Critical art pedagogy explores ways that schools can engage with the arts to promote social justice (Cary, 2011). Cary (2011:270) argues that in critical art pedagogy aesthetics relate to the "experience of attraction or appeal an individual feels when encountering the art object or phenomenon somatically, intellectually and emotionally". When applying this to my study, I use critical aesthetics to mean the sense-making that takes place through bodily experiences, emotional feeling and accompanying thought processes that emerge when students engage in the arts programme activities. Cary (2011) reasons that the meaning of critical aesthetics should extend to helping us understand the functions and meanings of sensuous human experience with natural world phenomena as well as with art. I extend the term art to mean making art in the broad sense of engaging with the drama and culture creating activities discussed in the following two chapters rather than making works of art. I include additional activities, such as the reacting to images

activity discussed in this chapter, as a natural world phenomenon in that it reveals how participants respond to certain bodies.

I present examples from my data to show how knowledge gained through the senses can lead to racist assumptions and judgements. My research findings suggest that race narratives attach to semiotic markers, which give rise to aesthetic judgements. Meanings can become associated with colours, sounds, shapes and movements, which trigger certain thoughts and assumptions about race and lead to racist behaviours. However, in line with existing empirical research, my data reveals that many people are not aware of the assumptions that they hold. In fact, negative suppositions and feelings about race can stand in contrast to people's conscious beliefs about racial equality. Shusterman (2008) argues that much racial hostility exists not through logical thought but deeply embedded beneath the level of explicit consciousness. Therefore, people can agree on arguments for tolerance while harbouring internalised feelings of prejudice.

This section explores what happens when students become aware that they have been holding internalised negative assumptions about certain ethnic groups. This happens during moments when implicit and explicit knowing meet. My data reveals what I term 'reluctant racism'. This is when people recognise that they feel racist and hold racist thoughts but wished they did not. The findings suggest that aesthetic judgements about race are learnt, experienced and often performed without conscious awareness. Hence, once learnt, aesthetic assumptions appear to take on a self-perpetuating character.

During my research, this was revealed through an activity of the Day of Difference project. It involved a full year group of between 150 and 250 secondary school

children gathering in an assembly hall, where they were shown 15 images of faces of different ethnicities from around the world on power-point slides. The images changed every 20 seconds and children were given project books to write down thoughts coming into their heads about these images. The activity revealed that students held negative thoughts and assumptions, which were linked to certain face types, clothes and accessories. This was expressed, not just through things that students wrote down, but through group noises, expressions of emotion and comments shouted out. I observed a curious phenomenon, across all schools, where responses were performed communally, often as loud outpourings of emotion and verbal gestures. Some students laughed, groaned, displayed disgust and shouted out negative comments (discussed later) in response to certain face shapes and colours, others copied and these noises and expressions became magnified, rippling around the assembly hall. These suggested hostility, aggression and potential embarrassment and fear. Such feelings and performances may be experienced individually, yet were expressed communally. I refer to this phenomenon as the 'communal roar'. The communal roar is a connection between ethnic and cultural visual markers, emotions, thought processes and collective performances of racism. The force of the communal roar, as it amplifies round the room, reflects the tenet of critical race theory, which proclaims that racism is commonplace, not simply the attitudes and behaviours of a few extreme individuals (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012).

Each time I observed this activity, in four different schools, this phenomenon reoccurred. The combination of Black skin and maleness triggered outpourings of laughter coupled with isolated giggles. This stood in contrast to Black female faces, to which the hall went quieter and White female faces where I heard comments such as "nice smile" or "normal". Black men with turbans or bandanas

were greeted with shouts of "terrorist", "Osama Bin Laden's brother" and "gangster". However, while the communal roar is generally one of hostility towards Black men, an exception occurred with an image of a man with dreadlocks, which received a warmer and more enthusiastic communal roar, accompanied by shouts of "Bob Marley". Many children growing up in predominantly White areas have little access to positive images of Black people. This can mean children have limited opportunity to experience diverse expressions of Black masculinities. As such, knowledge can be dominated by performances of Black males as gangsters in rap music coupled with media portrayals of Black men as a threat. bell hooks (2006) calls attention to the power of representation imagery in forms of popular culture. She states that a Hollywood film can alter people's perceptions about nations and liberations. Yet, she argues that the power of such imaging is often dismissed. In a video presentation bell hooks argues:

> It's frightening that as mass media uses more, certain kinds of representations for certain impact and effect we are also being told that these images are not really that important (bell hooks, 2006).

bell hooks argues that this has consequences for women and Black men who are often portrayed as victims of sexual or physical violence to the extent that this violence becomes normalised. She argues that such is the power of White male privilege because popular media is dominated by liberal White men who are moneyed and able to select which images and messages they want to produce. bell hooks argues that violence against dark-skinned Black men in films can result in an antipathy towards Black men. This argument is a compelling one when examining the communal roar from a cohort of whom many are growing up with little contact with Black people yet hold hostile and negative attitudes toward Black men. The exception being the association of Bob Marley portrayed in a

warmer light and linked to a more peaceful and non-threatening imagery associated with musical enjoyment. Hence, the semiotic meaning attached to dreadlocks appears to permit an alternative aesthetic judgement, which, in this context, seemed to give possible protection from overt expressions of hostility.

I combine critical race theory with critical art pedagogy to analyse examples of racialised aesthetics arising in my data and demonstrate how the above activity brought this awareness to the fore. Cary (2011) argues that images and semiotic meanings are an important part of critical art pedagogy. It is by analysing the meanings and signs attached to symbolism within artworks, performances and activities that their role in maintaining or transforming oppressive relationships can be recognised (Cary, 2011). By combining this understanding with critical race theory, the connection between aesthetics and racist social structures can be made more visible. The students' behaviours can be understood in terms of Barthes (1972) semiotic signs. Semiotics is based on the idea that all cultural practices have implicit meanings and these are expressed through signs and signifiers. For example, clothes do more than cover the body; they carry messages and hence are signifiers (Hall, 1997). However, the meaning is not carried in the sense that it resides in objects but rather is it is co-constructed amongst participants and between participants and objects. Hence, multiple meanings can be constructed for the same object. My example is that head coverings may keep the head warm or dry or be for fashion purposes. Yet, the way the head is covered such as by a hat, a hood or a hijab can convey and be read as conveying different cultural and political meanings. For example, a headscarf may convey fashion, elegance or religious devotion and meaning may differ according to the colour of the face over which the cloth is draped and the interpretation of the wearer. Additionally, people viewing the wearer of the cloth

may interpret the meaning of the cloth differently to the according to their own cultural signs and signifiers and related meanings.

Cary (2011) argues that students come to accept meanings from visual signs that are taught by professionals, such as meanings attached to body language and symbolic objects in paintings. He argues that teachers can work with students to deconstruct and challenge these symbolic meanings and develop alternative understandings. I draw on this principle to examine ways that students have acquired particular meanings about ethnicity and gender. In the activity discussed in this section, I relate this to the use of learning through responding to diverse images of people. Students' responses to racialised semiotic markers were evident during the images activity above. Further examples were found in additional data sources. The students had been given project books to record their responses to the day's activities. At the end of the day, students were told they could either take their project books home or give them to the project facilitators to be destroyed or voluntarily share them with me for research purposes. Over 170 booklets were handed to me across four schools. An analysis of the booklets reveals five key themes that students write about in response to the face images activity: facial features, moods, assumed jobs, assumed behaviour and personal judgements. For example, some contain descriptions, such as "big nose", "afro", "fluffy beard" or "smart appearance". Others judged moods, such as, "happy", "grumpy", "angry", "sad" or "tired". Some guessed at professions such as, "school teacher", "businessman" and "lawyer", while others made judgements about things people do, such as, "sits on the sofa playing video games", "goes to church" and "likes football". Derogatory judgements were repeatedly made against certain male images: "alcoholic", "druggy", "criminal", "chav" and "terrorist" and against female sexualities: "slut", "thinks she is pretty".

Some faces received judgements that were more positive, such as "intelligent" and "clever", and one White female face received several comments of "normal". The notion of chav is curious, given its common derogatory use against poor Whites (Tyler, 2008). In this instance, the semiotic marker for chav appears to have been carried across in the cap worn by a working-class Black male. From a critical race theory perspective, the response towards the image of a White woman as being normal is unsurprising. Whiteness tends to be invisible to White people due to its construction as the norm, which allows privilege for those who happen to be White (Hill, 1998). In the above activity, this privilege manifests in the lack of communal judgement against White people. The activity reveals the power of collective opinion constructed through shared racist, sexist and classist meanings that have been attached to skin colour, face shapes, clothes and hairstyles. The project books highlighted themes attached to semiotic markers, while the activity itself highlighted how raced associations with colours and shapes, led to the different treatment of people according to those semiotic markers.

In the course of feedback discussions at the schools carried out by project facilitators and later during my focus groups, many students stated that they found the task difficult because they are taught not to judge people yet here they were being asked to judge people, and this made them feel guilty. The following comments were made during a focus group with students at Bramwell secondary, in which students expressed their discomfort with the activity:

> *People learnt not to judge a book by its cover so when they were told you have to judge these people off their faces. It wasn't going to be something people could do easily because they have been trained as they are growing up not to (Bramwell secondary school, female student group 1)*

> *I felt really guilty because I had written down all these like harsh judgements and stuff …and then you see this person and they are actually*

like really nice and you are like why did I do that? (Bramwell secondary school, male student group 1)

Shotwell (2011) argues that guilt arises from inward-looking feelings of blame. Hence, I argue that it is not the act of judging that produces the guilt or discomfort, since judgements can be both positive and negative, but that guilt arises from recognising that negative associations have been linked to certain ethnicities. Guilt would be unlikely to arise if students made positive judgments. Of course, not all students made negative associations or joined in with the communal roar. In each school, whispers of protest could also be heard from a few individuals who expressed distaste at the meanness or unfairness of judgements being made. However, protests were always drowned out by the overwhelming loudness of the communal roar as it spread through the room.

Granger (2010:75) draws on Wittgenstein to discuss how semiotic markers can be created and subconsciously absorbed, which then become deeply embodied and institutionalised. For example, Wittgenstein describes how negative association with skin colour, body features and nose shapes were linked with antisemitism to evoke fear and anxieties about the 'other'. Shusterman adds that racial hatred is not acquired rationally but through the "captivating aesthetic power of images" (in Granger, 2010:75). In my data, the regularity with which certain semiotic signs were interpreted with hostility, warmth or indifference, suggest that children are drawing meaning from limited discourses that are available to them. Responses to diverse images seem to be linked to simplistic notions of what certain semiotic markers have come to signify. For example, dreadlocks appear to trigger feelings of warmth and enjoyment by linking to thoughts about reggae music and Bob Marley, in contrast, a Black male face coupled with a head cloth (turban), for many, signifies danger of terrorism and

hence triggers expressions of hostility. This is a curious connection, given that the image of the man in question was of Sikh heritage; a group that has not been linked in the media with terrorism. Nevertheless, many children interpreted it as so, perhaps due to the nearest available interpretation of the semiotic, this being the image of the headwear worn by Osama Bin Laden and hence linked to terrorism stories in the media. During focus groups at Bramwell secondary school, one male student said that an image of a Sikh man wearing a turban made him "look bomber-ish". Others agreed:

> *They [students doing the task] were saying he was like bomber, suspicious, like Pakis or something (Bramwell secondary school, male student 1 group 2)*
>
> *You've heard so much bad stuff on the news with people with beards and turbans on, and you probably think they are like that or something (Bramwell secondary school, male student 2 group 2)*
>
> *Like once when I was on the plane I seen someone like that and it just scares you cos of all the like news (Bramwell secondary school, male student 1 group 2)*

These students explained that they learnt negative associations through hearing the news and this caused them to fear certain ethnic groups and think badly about them. This links to bell hooks (2006) argument that mass media use certain kinds of representations of race and gender to create certain impacts, such as using dark-skinned Black men to portray violent characters in films or to be the victims of extreme violence. In my study, the students' comments suggest that media links with certain imagery do have an impact on how they learn to adopt negative constructions about Black people. In the first comment, the student reveals that a negative association has been linked to the image of the man with the turban. Curiously, he is unable to articulate the exact negative association but rather expresses a vague negativity towards the image of suspicion and dislike. The second comment elaborates on the connections that have been made between

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the combination of beards and turbans and "bad stuff". The third comment highlights how these connections lead to assumptions that can have very real bodily consequences of fear.

Shotwell (2011) argues that negative affect, such as feelings of guilt, sadness, panic, shame and embarrassment can be useful learning tools that offer moments of insight. Therefore, providing moments for students to engage with feeling about race and to express these feelings may provide pedagogical benefits. The potential for guilt in the learning process was revealed during a focus group at Church Hill secondary school. Here, nine out of the ten children present said they felt guilty, and that negative thoughts were coming into their heads, which they had not realised were there previously. The theme of guilt and the recognition of negative thoughts arising in relation to certain ethnicities was found across all schools that took part in the Day of Difference project:

> *I didn't right[6] down the stuff I was thinking because that was racist…like if I saw a black person I would say, "vandal". The person next to me wrote druggy on each person except one…racism is worse than I thought (Riverway secondary school, student questionnaire response 1).*

> *Like you could say, I don't know, Bradford. Cos I don't know, that is like, I don't know. People will say stuff like ah he is from the Notting Hill carnival and stuff like that you know. Like stereotypes sort of things…So many people put labels on people these days. Like you could hear it and then like not meaning to think of it cos like someone else has been saying it, so you just automatically think it. Like you might not want to think it but you do (Church Hill secondary school, male student).*

The push and pull of reluctant racism is evident here. In the first response, the student acknowledges that they hold racist thoughts but suggests they would not want to make this explicit by writing it down. Conversely, they state they *would* make negative comments upon seeing a Black person. Perhaps writing a racist comment holds deeper consequences than saying a comment, due to it being

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[6] Spelling written by the student

more permanent. The activity appears to have raised the students' critical awareness of their own and other people's racist attitudes, which was revealed through expressing that racism is worse than they thought. In the second quote, the student wrestles with recognising the extent of racist stereotypes and realising that the ripple effect of people's comments impacts on their own thinking. From a critical art pedagogy perspective, people may not be aware that they use codes to make sense of things like race. Codes being rules and guidelines that facilitate how meaning is formed. Cary (2011:192) argues that people use tacit codes to construct racial prejudice as natural and "the way things are", while being unaware of the codes that they are drawing on to create these meanings. He argues that decoding is an important part of critical art pedagogies, whereby teachers seek to expose these codes and make them visible to students. However, he argues that the aim is not for teachers to make students' codes match the facilitators' way of seeing the world but rather to enable students to decode their own understanding and make the notion of coding explicit to the students.

Students' comments above suggest that a deeper recognition of the embedded nature of racism has occurred. Some students come to recognise the racialised meanings they have adopted, while some start to notice that they are unwitting recipients of negative thoughts that become embedded as implicit knowing, thus reflecting the embodied nature of racism (Shotwell, 2011; Granger, 2010; Shusterman, 2008). An arts practitioner from the Day of Difference project elaborated with an anecdote that explains a critical moment that occurred for one student:

> *I relay it back to the first time we delivered the programme…when a young girl…in that exercise put her pen down on the front row and stopped writing.*

And I went up to her quietly and went "you all right; you want to pick up your pen and carry on doing the exercise?" She said, "no I can't do it anymore". She had done like four boxes. I said, "why not?" And she said "I can't believe the things I am thinking, it's not like I am thinking them they are just flying through my head" (Male arts practitioner, Day of Difference).

The notion of things "flying through my head" reveals a critical moment for the student, where she recognises a pull between what she wants to think and is actually thinking. The suggestion here is that negative ideas about certain ethnic groups are popping into her mind. The fact that she stops writing shows her new awareness of these competing ideas; that she is thinking racist thoughts but does so with reluctance. The activity appears to work as a critical art pedagogy by providing moments for students to recognise how they have coded certain ethnic groups, which previously remained an unquestioned reality in their minds.

The activity highlights the interlinking roles of the senses in the construction of assumptions. The aesthetics of racist judgements are revealed through a combination of senses acting together, the eyes, the ears and the voice and inner feelings that arise such as guilt, fear, embarrassment and disgust and in some cases pleasure. Warren (2011:212) argues that bodies are our mediators of the world because "all sense-making orients to the body, although we schooled to think otherwise". While some students refer to the thought processes happening in their mind, others mention bodily feelings, such as fear of men with turbans or guilt and discomfort due to the recognition of negative thoughts highlighted by the activity. The commitment of the writing component of the activity forces students to notice ideas about race that have been previously learnt, even when they do not commit to writing it down. These are brought to the fore compelling students to experience moments of contradiction.

While the above activity highlights the destructive power of racialised semiotic codes, everyday relationships and interactions are controlled by the meanings

that are pinned to these markers. I began to reflect on ways in which the semiotics of race constrained my own relationships. On one of my fieldwork days, I was asked if I could help with giving lifts home to some art projects visitors, including Dan and Sam, two Black British males, and Karim, a Black male who fled conflict overseas and sought safety in England. I was excited at the prospect of getting to know the project participants more on the journey home. However, conversations in the car felt strained and overly polite. I wondered if my companions thought I was a White teacher from the school since we had not been introduced before. This troubled me because, at the time, I positioned White teachers as racist due to my own experiences of White teachers' resistance to supporting my children when they were subjected to racial bullying. In order to distance myself from a similar assumption, I explained who I was and that I was carrying out research about racism and that I had Black children and my family had been affected by racism. Although I did not realise it then, on reflection, what I was doing here was positioning myself as a knower of racism, someone who can relate to it, understand and have compassion for all those experiencing it. However, by constructing myself as knowledgeable about racism, I did not consider my own ignorance about race in terms of lack of understanding about my own White privilege. Gillespie, Ashbaugh and Defiore (2002:241) argue, "even women involved in anti-racist work often consider their work an act of compassion for the 'other' rather than an issue integral to their own lives". At the time, I felt I had an affinity for Black people. I felt safer in the presence of Black people, whom I felt could connect better to the experiences I was having than White people could and whom would not judge my children on the colour of their skin. I felt that many of my White peers belittled my stories about racism and even made further racist assumptions while doing so, and denied that my experiences

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could be true, which is common in predominately White areas (Myers and Bhopal, 2017; Gaine, 2005). I had considered that my experiences of racism were enough to make me an ally with Black people, yet not considered how my White experiences potentially caused my understanding to be superficial. Farr (2014:106) argues that many "well-intentioned liberal White people" are fine with talking about race as long as this does not go deep enough to challenge their own identity and privilege.

The explanation that I gave my travel companions had the effect that I hoped, I felt the mood in the car lighten, laughter arose, and conversations became freer. Although, Dan acted shocked and said he was surprised that I married a Black man. He asked what my parents thought and if they had accepted it. Perhaps, for Dan, I embodied the notion of 'White middle-class woman with privileges', and this came with an expectation that I would have little connection to Black people. Perhaps, the semiotics of my White skin, face and body shape triggered particular memories and assumptions about Whiteness. If so, did the initial awkward silences come from a place of respect or caution? While I am aware that Whiteness often brings with it the privilege of respect, silence in this incidence appeared to hint at caution. Karim leaned forward from the back seat and questioned Dan's assumption, asking why he thought I would not marry a Black man. I was relieved by this as it closed the gap of alienation that I felt from the question. A definitive answer was not given. However, Dan's assumption led me to consider that previous negative experiences of White people were likely to have contributed to his belief. Sam began to share stories and experiences of racism and explain how it had held him back in life and that it was much worse than many realised, I agreed. I felt as though he was trying to persuade me of its prevalence as if my White skin represented an impenetrable wall that blocked the

knowledge of racism from entering into ones' understanding. At the time, I assumed Sam must have been associating me with what I had positioned as 'those other kinds of White people' who do not understand, and thus he was trying to convince me. What I did not recognise at the time was that by thinking this I was tapping into my White privilege and could never understand racism from the structurally oppressive vantage point that he had. Thus, while I positioned myself as an understanding and knowledgeable White person, I was, in fact, ignorant of my own role in perpetuating White primacy. I was likely misunderstanding the full weight of what Sam was saying. Rollock (2012) argues:

> Those excluded from the centre can experience a 'perspective advantage' as their experiences and analyses become informed by a panoramic dialectic offering a wider lens than the white majority located in the privileged spaces of the centre are able to deploy" (Rollock, 2012:65).

I wrongly assumed that my experiences of racism placed me as an equal with Black people in terms of equality of experience and potential knowledge. However, I listened to Sam, felt the frustration, and absorbed the wrenching stories that followed. Stories that also filled me with sadness and concern for my own family and relatives. The incident highlights the complexity of race narratives and shifting, contextualised semiotic meanings and assumptions, as we negotiate everyday interactions with one another. It also highlights for me that racialising others is easier than engaging with conscious racialisation of the White self (Frankenberg, 1997).

I argue that critical art pedagogies can offer an important contribution to anti-racist education by examining ways in which racialised semiotic meanings and aesthetics affect judgements, behaviours and human relationships. Cary (2011) proposes three elements for using aesthetics for critical praxis. Broadly speaking these include, firstly, making or encountering art or other phenomena through

aesthetic experience. Secondly, interpreting aesthetic experience and value as a form of knowing, when used to develop a critical consciousness. Thirdly, engaging in critical discourse about aesthetics as an emancipatory process of liberating human experience. As in the example discussed in this section, critical art pedagogies can be designed so that it is not just the racialised meaning that is interrogated by that the aesthetic experience associated with this meaning is also explored, examined and critiqued. Warren (2001:200) uses Judith Butler's work on repetitive acts that come to regulate and position bodies to argue that the making of race is a performance; "repetition of acts that strategically obscures its own production, thus appearing as something we are rather than as something we do". The performances of aesthetic judgements that arise through the communal Roar reveal the violence that can occur through aesthetic intolerance (Bourdieu, 1984). An arts practitioner stated that the ripple effect of the roar acts as a measure to gauge levels of 'hidden' racism in schools:

> *That is all a measure for us. Like we say to teachers beforehand, look if it gets noisy do not worry. If it is out of control, I will deal with it, but actually, that is part of our measure [laughs] (Male arts practitioner, Day of Difference).*

The communal roar exposes the collective racist disturbances that exist, festering beneath the silent surface. In order to draw attention to these embodied and embedded components of racism, I name this the 'howl beneath the silence'. The howl beneath the silence provides a way to consider the fears, confusions, uncertainty, bodily feelings and hostility, which are aspects of racism that tend to be ignored, yet hold affective power that shape beliefs and behaviours about diverse 'others'. I argue that silencing strategies prohibit teachers and students from working through and making sense of these, which can lead to a build-up of collective hostility and become displaced and erupt in contexts inside or outside

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of the classroom and in the local community. The equal-niceness approach permits rumblings of hostility to lie beneath the surface rather than seeking to work through and transform them. Of course, it can be argued that it is not teachers' responsibility to transform the ills of society. Conversely, the equal-niceness approach can protect White teachers from engaging with the processes of anti-racist education, which Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs (2017) define as making systematic racism visible, recognising personal complicity and developing strategies to transform structural inequalities. The equal-niceness stance allows schools to believe they are tackling the problem, when the approach may be adding to the problem. Exposing hidden raced assumptions and making visible silenced raced attitudes is a step towards recognising the vast extent of racism, which renders it normal. Understanding the normality of racism, as expressed through critical race theory is potentially a step towards recognising the structural and institutional aspects of racism that shore up White privilege. However, the Day of Difference programme tends to act as a stand-alone project, brought into schools on an annual basis, which throws up questions about how significant this learning can be and whether institutional changes can actually take place.

The Consequences of 'Forced Respect': An 'aesthetic of resistance'

This section explores the aesthetics of 'forced respect' when education about racism is performed as 'message delivery', such as when children are told how to behave. I draw on the critical pedagogy notion of banking education (Freire, 1970) to examine how current school practice can reinforce rather than challenge

racism in schools. Freire (1970) refers to message delivery as 'banking' education, whereby learners are seen as empty vessels that need filling up with knowledge. He argues for liberation education, whereby learners are engaged in critical dialogue, which seeks to work through issues and blocks that people have regarding the subject matter. In terms of anti-racist work, forms of banking education could include, telling children to respect one another and not to use racist words, or replacing negative stereotypes with positive stereotypes that depict how they should view diverse populations. Mayo (2004) argues that school policies that seek to prevent harassment are often more concerned with regulating words than encouraging community. Hence, I argue that although the desire to prevent harm may be present, opportunities are missed to bind communities together through fostering discussion, voicing disturbances and working through more complex issues that children may have. Boler (2004:4) proposes that education spaces are unique spaces, where educators can deal with "messy issues" that people resist or are difficult to deal with in other places.

My study found that pupils are very aware of what are considered the correct beliefs about racial diversity, as expressed by a teacher at Bramwell secondary school:

> *They all know precisely what the accepted, what the politically correct opinion and thing to say is because our education system, from foundation level, from year one, drills it into them (Bramwell secondary school, male teacher).*

The notion of "drilling" it into them suggests a one-way process where students are told what adults expect. The teacher argued this did not mean that children would not engage in racist behaviour but that they were aware of what adults would want them to say:

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It comes to the point whereby even if they are formulating ideas of their own that do not conform to those [politically correct views], and I do not mean politically correct in a derogatory way, I mean genuinely positive politically correct views, they are aware enough to realise that is what certain adults, adults connected with education want to hear from them, they know what is the right thing to say (Bramwell secondary school, male teacher).

However, although students may know the 'right' way to behave, the impact of the communal roar suggests that this is having limited impact on transforming racist feelings or curbing racist performances. This highlights an important issue within anti-racist pedagogy regarding what exactly is anti-racist education and how can it be facilitated in ways that make a difference. I argued in chapter two that anti-racist education needs to tackle one of the three "axes of racism": stereotyping, hatred and violence, perpetuating cycles of disadvantage and destroying cultures, religions and languages (Fredman, 2001:2), in ways that seek to transform power relationships. From comments in my study, teachers appeared to be focussing solely on the first axis. This was done through methods that sought to prohibit related behaviours rather than examine them. The term anti-racism suggests practices that are against racism. However, Thompson (1997:14) argues that the opposite of racism is not 'non-racism' and that non-racism is actually a form of racism. This is because non-racism ignores the structural and cultural aspects of racism and simply instructs students not to think about race.

The ways in which teachers and children conceptualise education can have implications for how effective they consider it to be. When teachers conceptualise education as being about experts departing information to children, then education that does not seek to control children's learning through explicit message delivery can be viewed as ineffective. Conversely, Freire's (1979) critical pedagogy works through exploring issues from participants' perspectives,

so that learning becomes meaningful for students, rather than being imposed on them. However, Boler (2004) adds that rational dialogue alone will not alter attitudes. She argues that emotions need to be considered during conversations about topics such as racism or homophobia because people have deep emotional investments, which are connected to their ideologies of difference. Thus, methods that draw on emotional knowing need to be incorporated to make learning more effective. bell hooks' (1994) argues for education as engaged pedagogy, which should not just be about passing on information but educating the souls of students. Such education works with the mind, body and soul to promote intellectual and spiritual growth. Working at the emotional level is key to this approach, where students and teachers work together for the common good.

My findings suggest that some teachers view the emotional benefits of art approaches in terms of their ability to promote excitement and hence hold children's attention and promote a desire for further learning. However, many teachers and children conceptualise education as being told information and thus perceived arts approaches as fun but believe it has little impact when 'messages' have not been made explicit:

> *I do not see how what they learnt, in terms of not being horrible to other children or adults or accepting people if they are different. I did not see what making a pom-pom did. It was just a bit of fun you know (Appleberry primary school, female teaching assistant 2).*

> *I think some of them have not connected…going back to the real objectives, because it is not spelled out them and it is not really discussed at the end of the day in a very, the reason why we have done this refugee thing (Church Hill secondary school, female teacher 4).*

In these examples, teaching staff express concern that learning objectives need to be made explicit. In the first example, the teaching assistant suggests that the purpose of the project is to teach children not to be "horrible to one another" and to accept people who are 'different'. This approach reflects the 'equal-niceness'

approach as discussed in chapter four. Propositional notions of telling children what is right and wrong are implicit here. Shotwell (2011:x) describes 'propositionality' as "claim-making activity" made through linguistic forms, which can be evaluated as either true or false. She argues that "implicit understanding" is taken-for-granted knowing that is implied and embedded. In the teaching assistant's quote, the notion of doing art implied through the pom-pom making is separated from the idea of learning to 'accept people' and hence just seen as fun. The secondary school teacher's quote implies that anti-racist ideas need to be 'spelled out' and that unless this is done, children will not necessarily 'connect' with the messages that adults want them to learn. This approach can be problematic when children assume that learning is about hearing messages, remembering them and being compliant. This can lead to children trying to second-guess what it is that teachers want them to know, rather than seeking to think, analyse and build their own knowledge and ideas about the world:

> *I think they probably wanted the message to be don't judge a book by its cover, so don't judge someone on their appearance and I guess a lot of people sort of already knew that anyway cos its sort of what you are morally taught I guess. I think other than that there wasn't really a lot of difference. I mean it was a really good day, but there wasn't really anything that changed my views on anything (Bramwell secondary school, female student group 1).*

The quote here reflects the idea that learning is about message delivery and therefore, children may try to seek out 'the message' and compare it with what they already know or do not know. Where the message is perceived as one already known, the learning can be conceptualised as ineffective. In contrast, bell hooks (1994) theory of engaged pedagogy calls for both students and teachers to engage as active participants and to foster excitement in the learning environment. bell hooks (1994) denounces banking forms of education that are passive, silent and safe. She calls for love and excitement in learning, yet states

that this is often seen as disruptive. A teacher from Appleberry primary school expressed a belief that the arts are engaging and that arts approaches promote excitement and love of learning for children. Speaking about the children's engagement with the Fatima's Tent project, he stated:

> *They were absolutely buzzing when they came back and then the next day, they were practising their Hindu[7] names the next day, writing them down and they just really enjoyed it. We got the sheets that the lady wrote down on the flip chart. So we put them up in the classroom and then some of them were copying down the names the next day as an early morning activity (Appleberry primary school, male teacher).*

Here, enjoyment of learning seems to inspire children to want to engage more and play an active part in their learning. The art approach was believed to be especially beneficial for children who are easily distracted:

> *They absolutely loved it. It was interesting to see because I have got a child in my class who I would say is one of the most easily distracted children I've ever met. He was bang into it. He came in a just started doing it without me even asking him. So it shows that that kind of just getting them interested in something that is different I think sometimes can really work, especially with the kids who do find it hard and probably do get bored of the day-to-day maths English (Appleberry primary school, male teacher).*

A primary school boy described as exhibiting extreme racist attitudes and behaviour and being regularly disruptive in school was also described as engaging well with the art day, including actively approaching and speaking with Black facilitators and demonstrating interest through repeatedly approaching the table to make items of Arabic art. When asked if anything had surprised her about the day, an arts facilitator explained that this had surprised her:

> *The boy working with Salma that surprised me, that was good. We had heard he was problematic. I imagined he would be sitting in a corner scowling at us just to say get away you diversity people. He was working doing his bit…the fact that he was joining in surprised me… Salma did say to me on the day "he is a lovely boy" which was interesting. I thought hmmm. She did make a positive comment about him so obviously, he must*

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[7] The teachers states 'Hindu', however, the activity actually involved writing names in Arabic

of behaved quite well. So maybe because she is quite a charming person hopefully helped (Fatima's Tent, female arts practitioner 1).

These comments were expressed about a primary school, where play approaches engaging learning and fostering excitement may seem more relevant for the age group concerned. However, children and teachers from both primary and secondary schools spoke about excitement and enjoyment of the art day approach as a positive aspect. In the above quote, the teacher suggests that learning has a ripple effect, which travels out into families. During one art project, children took part in activities such as Arabic food tasting, mosaic making and Arabic writing. The teacher explained that children had asked their families to buy them different cultural foods tasted on the day and showed their families how to write their names in Arabic. The day is conceptualised by the arts facilitators as fostering enjoyment of other cultures to combat hostile narratives being perpetuated in the media. The teacher highlighted how the children's interest in the project generated further discussion beyond the project day:

They [children's mosaic art] were drying on the table. They were literally, I came in in the morning, and there were kids around the table looking at it and discussing it. It is just nice to see them generally excited about something at school… especially when you don't have to push them to be excited they genuinely just loved it (Appleberry primary school, male teacher).

The teacher's surprise at the children's excitement raises questions about the lack of creativity and enjoyment that exists in schools and why this has come to be seen as normal. Another teacher discussed the importance of the art project day for children to meet people from different cultures and experience new cultural activities and artefacts. However, although implicit understanding is implied here, the benefits of the project are described in terms of explicit knowledge, which was felt to be lacking:

It was a very exciting day…Very good for the children to see because we are predominately White British in our area. It was great to meet people from other cultures and from around the world, and I think the children really enjoyed that, especially the Arabic writing because that was very new to them. Things like that they do not get to see very often. The art activities were fantastic… The only thing I do think it lacked a little bit is more sorts of conversations about respecting differences… I don't think the message really got across why we were doing lots of these activities (Appleberry primary school, female teacher).

The majority of teachers and children I spoke with conceptualised learning as needing to be explicit and immediate. Curiously, although this comment points out the importance of meeting people from other cultures and learning interesting things about such cultures, this was not conceptualised as learning in its own right. This raises the question can learning take place regardless of whether it is conceptualised as so? My findings suggest in some ways it can. During a focus group at Appleberry primary school, I asked the children if they had told their families about the Fatima's Tent day. This was to determine whether aspects of the art day were memorable or considered interesting to pass on and share with others. One child stated that she told her mother that they did not do any work. She expressed the idea that doing art was play and play was not 'work', and hence if it was not work, they had not learnt anything. While some children stated they had not learnt anything, they also discussed knowledge that was new to them. For example, primary school children mentioned that they did not previously realise Plymouth had been involved in the slave trade, and that Arabic writing goes in the opposite direction from English writing and uses a different alphabet style. Children also had a chance to taste and learn about Arabic foods that they had not been aware of before. Much of this learning, which came through experiencing and engaging in activities, was not conceptualised as learning. However, it is possible that the disjuncture is not about learning per se but more about expectations of what constitutes anti-racist or diversity learning.

If such learning is conceptualised as making children aware of how they are expected to behave towards diverse others, then enjoying cultural artefacts may be seen as not creating behaviour change. Indeed, it is unlikely to challenge deep-rooted prejudices or tackle any of the three racisms (Fredman, 2001). Although, it could be argued that the approach to some extent addresses the racism of destroying cultures, by awareness raising and creating opportunities where pleasurable feelings towards diverse cultural practices might develop.

Fostering more agreeable assumptions about diverse cultures does have a part to play in developing positivity toward racial equality. However, when examined through a critical race theory perspective, it does not begin to address race equality in the structural sense, and hence cannot be classified as anti-racist education per se. In my study, an arts practitioner argued the difference between anti-racist approaches and awareness raising:

> *Anti-racism is undoing the hatred. Undoing the prejudice. And I think what Fatima's Tent is good at is it raises awareness of difference and difference being White being the norm…I think that what is good about Fatima's Tent is…It gives them that opportunity that they wouldn't necessarily have done before. It gives them a connection between making the mosaics and being able to when they see mosaics around the city they go oh that comes from this culture. And the food so when they go shopping they go oh this isn't British food, this is Greek, or this is wherever, and I think it's an awareness project and the thing about respect (Fatima's Tent, female Arts practitioner 3).*

This comment suggests that enjoyable engagement with cultural arts and artefacts is beneficial in developing certain forms of understanding and respect for certain cultures. However, it does not help to undo racial hostility or foster respect for people. The arts practitioner continued:

> *They [children] might pick up a pot of olives and understand where the pot of olives comes from, but they might still walk outside of Tesco's and see a brown person and think they are a 'Paki'. You know it doesn't necessarily address [the issues], and there is no connection for me between going look at what multiculturalism brings to us, but then you have to also look*

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at what conflicts and things arise from that… it's like I said to one of the classes I was working with last week. When I said what does it mean to respect someone, they gave all the right answers and then they were just treating each other appallingly (Fatima's Tent, female Arts practitioner 3).

When examined through the critical race theory principle of interest convergence, the celebrating diversity approach can be seen as a commodity that White people can tap into, for enjoyment or enrichment, without needing to examine issues of power and advantage. Reay *at al.* (2007:1044) argue that increasingly White middle-class families in inner-city areas deem it important to give their children a multicultural education. By enrolling their children in multi-ethnic schools, they can "extract value" while maintaining their White privilege. Likewise, some White families in predominantly White schools might welcome multicultural education opportunities for their children, such as offered by the programmes in my study. However, as the two quotes above reveal, tapping into the projects merely as an enjoyable activity does not lead children to consider their assumptions about race and explore issues and problems through critical dialogue, which would be the aim of a critical pedagogy approach. This is not to say that multiculturalism should not be celebrated or should simply be replaced with anti-racist education. Modood and May (2001:308) maintain that multicultural and antiracist education have been regarded by some anti-racist educators, as "oppositional and antagonistic forms". Multiculturalism is accused of being a tokenistic diversion from looking at the core issue of racism (Troyna 1987). Conversely, the anti-racist approach is accused of dichotomising racism as a Black/White struggle, missing out the experiences other ethnic groups and not addressing a range of cultural prejudices. Modood and May (2001) argue that by working together, the two approaches can complement each other by filling in for the weaknesses of each another.

However, teachers in my study did not voice concern about which kind of approach was used but rather how explicit the messages were. Many teachers felt the programmes were not effective because they did not give an explicit message about respect. From the Day of Difference perspective, the project focus was not to give a message but to get participants to look at themselves, their own thoughts and feelings towards diverse people. From a critical race theory perspective, if the absence of a message was in anyway the problem, it was not that a message about respect was missing but a message about White primacy. However, from a critical pedagogy perspective, delivering messages is not the aim. Freire (1970:60) argues, "Liberating education exists in acts of cognition not transferals of information". He claims that from a banking education perspective, the teachers' role is to "regulate the way the world 'enters into' the students" (p.57). The position of the oppressors is maintained when they can convince students to fit into their world rather than question it (Freire, 1970). Thus, in terms of anti-racist education, critical pedagogy and critical race theory have a common aim in analysing how education helps maintain oppressive power structures and seeking pedagogies to transform this.

Message delivery can be useful at times to protect certain children from abuse by controlling deliberately harmful racist name-calling. However, schools need to go beyond this to engage pupils in critical dialogue to examine the issues more deeply. Nevertheless, dialogue about racism will not be easy and can be deeply hostile and a form of violence (Boler, 2004) when certain assumptions and perspectives are voiced. Boler (2004:4) argues, "The obligation of educators is not to guarantee a space that is free from hostility" but rather to invoke the challenge of critically analysing statements that are made in schools. She states

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that this is especially important when people hold deep-rooted values that subordinate others.

During my fieldwork, I observed an incident in Appleberry primary school, which exemplified the ineffectual consequences of the 'forced respect' model. A lunchtime playground conflict occurred, involving several children who were taking part in the art project day. A group of children were subsequently ushered into the school hall and heatedly reprimanded about respecting one another. In my field notes, I recorded a facilitator shouting angrily, "*What have we been telling you all morning, and now you go and do this".* The incident highlighted that messages may curb children's behaviour in the context in which the teachers deliver the message, yet may not translate to other places and contexts. In this incidence, forced respect seemed to displace rather than transform hostile feelings and assumptions. Children knew what the teachers expected of them in the classroom when teachers and facilitators were present, yet the message of respecting difference, which taught in the classroom, the children ignored out in the playground.

The incident highlights that knowing is not enough, from a critical pedagogy perspective action is needed to bring about social change (Freire, 1970). Freire (1970) argues that the banking model of education does not allow students to engage in critical dialogue to explore issues in ways that relate to their own hopes, dreams, fears and doubts. In contrast, a critical dialogue approach potentially provides spaces for children to unearth their grievances, fears and doubts and work through them rather than silence them. Taylor (2009) suggests that teachers' reluctance to acknowledge racial inequalities leads to silencing and prohibitive strategies. However, if racial hostility is already being harboured, it is unlikely that

silencing speech, in the context of education, will help with the problems of racism and resentment. In my study, a Day of Difference practitioner argued, "You cannot challenge thought process if you do not allow them to come out" (Day of Difference, female arts practitioner 2). Another arts practitioner stated that conversations should always be allowed in the context of anti-racist education:

> *You should never say 'no' to what is given to you. You should say 'yes' and find a way of working through it because 'no' causes conflict (Day of Difference, female arts practitioner 3).*

She elaborated that this was important when children were making pieces of drama work also to understand their perspectives:

> *For example… I got them to do a frozen image of sadness, and they had someone lying on the floor with someone over the top pointing a gun at them. I said "what has happened here", they said "oh well it's um they've been hurt by the black man", and I said "what?" They said, "they been hurt by the black man in the white van". I said, "where did you hear that from?" They said, "oh my mum". And they said "oh you can't say that", some of them and they said, "ok the man in the white van". Some teachers would go "that is really naughty, you shouldn't say some sort of things". Whereas…by saying 'yes' is accepting what the child is saying and instead of going that is wrong you shouldn't say that you go yes I've accepted what that child has said but I will challenge it but in an accepting way, so it isn't feeling like that child is being a resistance because otherwise they shut down (Day of Difference, female arts practitioner 3).*

The statement "you can't say that" reoccurred during my field observations and interviews. The above quote reveals the students' assumption that by removing the word 'black' the act is no longer racist. The arts facilitator explains that students and teachers have a tendency to put their emphasis on preventing race language. A focus on regulating words often takes precedence (Mayo, 2004). If teachers shut down further conversation about the student's statement, this prevents students from coming to recognise that it is not the word 'black' that is the racist element but that their assumptions about Black men are rooted in institutionalised racist thinking. From a critical race theory perspective, it serves White interests to prevent students from understanding institutionalised racism

(Delgado and Stefancic, 2012). Therefore, silencing the use of the word 'black' can be seen as a way to mask racist assumptions and avoid critical discussions about race. When silenced, the discrimination and stereotyping of Black men as dangerous goes undetected, embedded, assumed and left hidden without critique.

Critical pedagogy methods that open up conversations about race become increasingly important to counteract silencing behaviours that seek to maintain the status quo or force students to respect one another. In my study, an arts practitioner from the Day of Difference stated, *"You cannot change someone's behaviour all you can do is create the opportunity for that person to change their own behaviour".* The suggestion here being that forced respect will be ineffective, and therefore, children need to have control over their learning for transformation to take place. The arts practitioner proposed that Theatre In Education methods operate in this way:

> *This is back to sort of Vygotsky and the 'Zone of Proximal Development'. This is Theatre In Education… where you give the mantle of being an expert[8] to the young person. So you do not operate in an environment where the teacher is the expert delivering information to the student, you operate as a dynamic dialogue and you go you [the student] are the expert here at your life. This is about your reaction to your lives. That is a well-known technique within Theatre In Education... (Day of Difference, male arts practitioner 1).*

Drama in education has been heralded as a useful method for enabling White children to shift their perspectives about their Black peers (ALTARF, 1983). Richardson and Miles (2008) argue that debates stimulated through drama workshops can encourage empathy and solidarity with those who suffer from injustice, which translates beyond the workshop itself. Richardson and Miles

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[8] The 'Mantle of the Expert' refers to a technique developed by Dorothy Heathcote for drama education

(2008:96) argue that drama can be effective, since racist bullying often has the characteristics of performance, due to bullies using standardised phrases, while bystanders act as passive audience members watching a familiar story. Drama methods become critical art pedagogies when they are used to encourage changes to institutionalised assumptions and racialised behaviours.

My data reveals that children are very aware of the assumed correct ways to behave in relation to race. However, racism continues regardless. Children become skilled at knowing when and where to enact racism away from the gaze of the message deliverers (teachers), such as in school corridors, in the playground and in the local community. Hence, I argue that an 'aesthetic of resistance' arises, where children begrudge learning about racism and experience confusion, resentment and a sense of unfairness. This, in turn, can lead to anger and conflict that becomes displaced or reworked in hidden forms. However, an aesthetic of resistance is not solely the reserve of students but appears equally reflected in the actions of teachers. The following section explores how discourses of class control can constrain anti-racist projects.

Resistance to 'lively' students and animated pedagogies

During my fieldwork, it became apparent that controlling the classroom was a key concern for many teachers. Many appeared to struggle with lively classroom behaviour and regularly reprimanded children for being rude, mean and badly behaved. Tension seemed to exist for teachers who wanted to keep classrooms passive, 'safe' and conflict free and the methods employed by arts practitioners to create movement and encourage physical and emotional expression. This

section is influenced by critical race theory and critical art pedagogy. I discuss ways that White teachers resist anti-racist art pedagogies and use classroom control to reinforce White primacy by inhibiting student's full engagement with the programme. Watson (2014) argues that White people can resist or avoid dialogue about race so as not to experience a loss of self and authority. In my study, this equally applies to conversations and behaviours that are stimulated by the art activities. I explore how critical art pedagogies can reveal teachers' resistance, while also encouraging students to engage with emotional and critical aspects of anti-racist education.

At Peartree secondary school, students began an activity that involved creating cultures, including developing greetings and taboos (see chapter three for further description of the project activities). Students sat quietly at tables, looking unsure and struggling to come up with ideas. The teacher turned to me apologetically mentioning that she was not a drama teacher. Suddenly an art practitioner burst into the room, elaborately telling the students to get up, move about, push the tables back, and put their bodies into it! Here the idea of embodying the process can be seen as critical to the learning process in that it allows a deeper engagement and helps with tapping into feelings associated with issues of race and cultural allegiance. In this example, 'safe' silent spaces appear to stifle students' creativity, which in turn risks restricting critical thinking about the issues. The notion that classrooms should be safe spaces, to encourage student engagement and enhance academic outcomes, permeates teaching and learning literature (Barrett, 2010). Barrett (2010) questions whether the safe classrooms model impairs student intellectual development and misses the fact that many students in marginalised and oppressed populations often do not feel safe in schools. Boostrom (1998:406) argues, "The 'safe space' metaphor drains from

classroom life every impulse towards critical reflection". bell hooks (1994) argues that silencing pedagogies can be seen as a form of social control, used to regulate working-class children:

> As silence and obedience to authority were most rewarded, students learned that this was the appropriate demeanour in the classroom. Loudness, anger, emotional outbursts, and even something as seemingly innocent as unrestrained laughter were deemed unacceptable, vulgar disruptions of classroom social order. These traits were also associated with being a member of the lower classes (bell hooks, 1994:178).

The focus on control was exemplified during a focus group with teachers from Church Hill secondary school. I began with an open question "So tell me about the day". The immediate responses related to classroom control rather than the content of the programme or what students' were learning:

> *Well, I think my group were a lot calmer than they were last year and I think that is partly because they were not getting dressed up in colours like they did last year. I think that sort of changed the dynamics. Kids did not seem quite so hyped up (Church Hill secondary school, focus group female teacher 4).*

> *I think my pupils were quite settled at the beginning and then towards the bit when they were meant to take on the refugees they just lost focus and quite a few were, they all went wild at one point…we have quite a lot to do with diversity [in RE]… it's a student-led activity, and at some points, I think they were losing the message (Church Hill secondary school, focus group female teacher 2).*

These comments refer to the Day of Difference drama activities, which encouraged the embodiment of the process through active role-play and movement. This included the above creating-cultures activity followed by a simulated refugee evacuation exercise where students interacted in spontaneous ways, through drama, to the arrival of 'refugees' into their created 'countries'. The activity invariably led to hostile and aggressive behaviour amongst students (further descriptions of the activities can be found in chapter three, and the drama activities are explored further in chapter six).

Similar to bell hooks (1994:178) notion of "appropriate demeanour in the classroom" the teachers' comments convey a priority of keeping calm, settled and avoiding being 'hyped up'. The emphasis on class control gives potential insight into how the teachers see their roles as controllers of behaviour and givers of knowledge rather than explorers of issues and discourses or facilitators of social justice.

Arts methods that disrupt controlling environments can be experienced as risky and dangerous pedagogies. Cary (2011:233) argues, "Critical art pedagogy sets out to challenge students and teachers to create dangerous knowledge about art and their art worlds". He refers to using art to deconstruct dominant knowledge and produce new knowledge, which can be considered dangerous yet emancipatory. I extend this to mean creating dangerous knowledge *through* art and drama processes about the social world. While the drama activities being discussed sought to achieve this, some teachers resisted. In the first quote above, the teacher appears to have disallowed the element of dressing up in colours, such as using headbands, wristbands, scarves and paint, which are included in many classrooms, to represent the colours of different cultural lands. The creation of cultural identities is often strengthened by using these colour artefacts. Many students choose to wear these out in the playground during break time and stay in character, acting out 'battles' and feuds with other colour groups. I witnessed occurrences in corridors as I moved from classrooms to meeting rooms, where students were play fighting with one another and exchanging playful jibes. For example, a student grabbed a friend, pulled him by his jumper towards him, and said, *"Come and join our group, you're one of us".* Others pushed each another or threw playful punches at members of other colour groups. Students also told playful tales of playground battles as they returned, after the break, to their

classrooms. One student returned with paint on their arm, splashed on them from another group member and joked, *"Sir I've been contaminated!"*

While some teachers allowed and encouraged such displays of creativity, others saw it as disruptive and asked students to de-role before leaving the classroom. In the second teacher's comment above, 'wildness' appears to be conceptualised as counteractive to learning. She suggests that when students become 'wild', they forget or 'lose' the message about positive respect for diversity that they have been taught in Religious Education. The teacher's response reflects a message-giver style of teaching that seeks to curb and silence dialogue about diversity and replace it with moral teaching. From a critical pedagogy perspective, moralising teaching can be seen as oppressive, since it operates as a way to control students by giving instruction about what teachers consider the righteous way to behave. This may benefit the teacher in terms of keeping control since it serves to pacify students. Freire (1970) argues from a critical pedagogy perspective that education that seeks to create passive students and does not allow them to create or imagine their own world can lead to students becoming dehumanised. When students become dehumanised, they learn to dehumanise others. Likewise, bell hooks (1994) argues that education that is passive, silent and safe, and avoids classroom excitement and impromptu changes in direction, is oppressive. Hence, moral teaching may relate to teachers' assumptions about regulating children through imposing moral codes and keeping control of them, rather than a desire to transform racism. By linking the idea of student-led activity with a lack of control, this seems to be the case. When teachers position themselves as delivers of morality, along with being the keepers of control, they may also be concealing an inability to engage in effective anti-racist practices. Davis (2015) uses critical race theory to argue that race remains a can of worms.

Drawing on the premise that racism is a central part of society, she argues that opening the can may provoke feelings of fear and discomfort and reveal teachers' lack of knowledge about race-equality matters. This notion was reflected in a questionnaire response by a senior member of staff from one school in my study:

> *Attitudes vary, can be very good but lack of awareness, encounters, ignorance means there is still casual racism. Staff generally good but some lack knowledge of how to tackle racist behaviour (Riverway secondary school, questionnaire 2, male teacher).*

Here the teacher suggests that some staff members do not feel equipped to facilitate issues of racism. The Teacher Training Agency has highlighted teachers' lack of confidence to deal with race issues (Maylor, 2014). The quote also highlights that this lack of knowledge relates to how to police acts of 'other' people's racism. From a critical race theory perspective, what is absent from this narrative is the need to develop wider knowledge and understanding of racism as a structural phenomenon and the complicit role that teachers themselves may play in this. Lander (2015[b]) argues that teachers, as well as students, can be complicit with racism by not challenging racist incidents through claiming shock and ignorance about how to tackle it.

To prepare teachers, who will act as facilitators, the Day of Difference put on a pre-training session to explain the nature of the programme, including the immersive, experiential and dialogical nature. A facilitator's pack was given to teachers to help guide the process. The pack stated:

> *With Day of Difference, our aim is to encourage young people to examine their values, attitudes and beliefs, and to explore how we deal with other people's difference. This event provides an opportunity for your students to explore their feeling on the subject of racial intolerance and provides them with an open and safe environment in which to discuss their ideas (Day of Difference, facilitators pack).*

The instructions stated the aims of the project in providing an opportunity for students to examine their thoughts and feelings. However, many teachers struggled to allow this due to the negativity of expression that invariably occurred. The pack also contained a timetable of events along with prompts to direct students' attention during activities. For example, after being told that refugees would be arriving at their land, the pack directed teachers to facilitate a class discussion about procedures for receiving the refugees. Prompts were given to support students thinking, such as, *what will happen when they arrive? Do you want a welcoming ceremony? Do you want to interview them? What questions will you ask them? Can they continue yellow traditions in your land? Should they adopt yours? Do you want them to swear allegiance to your colour? What will you do if they refuse?* The instructions also invited teachers to go along with whatever activities students the students decide on:

> *You will need to be prepared to support them practically. Try to encourage activity however serious or silly (Day of Difference, facilitators pack).*

While some teachers engaged well with this process others struggled to engage in this way and instead shut down animated explorations and reverted to the equal-meanness, equal-niceness methods of delivery. When teachers' struggle it appears to point to their wrestling with roles, which highlights the theatre of the classroom. Teachers become players in a bigger game of education, in which many feel the rules of the game are to play the disciplinarian role. As such, the theatre of the event can merge with teachers' performances of their assumed educational roles. bell hooks (1994:178) argues, "Bourgeois values in the classroom create a barrier, blocking the possibility of confrontation and conflict, warding off dissent". Thus, despite the theatre based pedagogy, which seeks freedom from such controlling practices, in some cases, the practice of middle-

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class adult bodies controlling working-class children's bodies appears to have been carried across into the theatre activities. In these incidences, teaching methods, which preserve White middle-class privilege, are maintained and disguised through presenting children's unruliness as the problem. Nevertheless, a counter-argument arose from a teacher, in the focus group, who expressed:

> *I thought it was wonderfully chaotic! I would like it to be even more so! …It's nice to be on the edge sometimes… It puts more of their [the students] ideas to the fore. It allows the creativity (Church Hill secondary school, male teacher).*

Some students echoed this sentiment, mentioning their enjoyment of power and control and lack of teacher intervention (I discuss this further in chapter six). This highlights the role of arts-based learning as risky, provocative, exciting, engaging and powerful. Thus reflecting the critical art pedagogy notion that liberating pedagogies may be dangerous but that dangerous knowledge is emancipatory when it "reveals and teaches resistance to sources of oppression" (Cary, 2011:233). However, not all students joined in with the chaotic behaviour, some were disturbed by the process, or appeared alienated by it. In one classroom, several girls stood to one side and observed, others were unhappy with the hostile role-play behaviour that they saw but felt powerless to intervene and change things and some expressed horror and upset at why no one was stopping it. For example, in a questionnaire response a student highlighted how she feared that she might receive the same punishment as Yellow land 'refugees', and this affected her ability to challenge things:

> *I wanted to do things differently but didn't want to go in jail (Riverway secondary* school*, female student questionnaire 1*).

Yellow landers spoke about their experiences of playing refugees:

> *I was actually quite nervous because being evacuated and obviously not having anything left and having to go to a foreign environment, a bit out of*

my comfort zone (Bramwell Secondary school, female student, focus group 1, role-playing Yellow lander).

It was awful! They were like haha, to be accepted into our country you must do a talent show by yourself in front of everybody, and you are like noooo! And they were like you have to sing a song or do a dance or something. I was like I don't want to do this (Bramwell Secondary school, male student, focus group 1, role-playing Yellow lander).

Other students were disturbed by the elements of power and control, meanness and hostility that arose. I recorded the following description in my field notes during the activity at Pear Tree secondary school:

A row of chairs lined up across the room diagonally, like a bus. Boys rough and tumbling, climbing through chairs. Forcing yellows to slide on bellies through chair legs to the 'cage'. Yellows forced and locked in the cage. Very noisy chaotic classroom. Girls look on with arms folded and rounded backs. Some ignore the situation and play with their phones and take pouting pics of themselves (Peartree secondary school, field notes, second observation).

During my focus groups, the issue of gender divides was raised, with students and teachers expressing that often boys take over the role-play. As I recorded the above passage at Peartree School, I overheard three girls expressing dismay as they distanced themselves from the activities taking place. They questioned, *"Why is someone not doing something to stop this?"* and *"I can't believe they are trained to do this".* I turned and spoke to the girls who told me that there were too many boisterous boys in their tutor group who want to control things. One girl expressed, *"everyone hates us because of the boys".* The girls appeared to conceptualise the situation as misbehaving boys who were out of control and were mystified as to why *someone* was not controlling them. The activity was designed for students to make decisions collectively. However, some students felt their voices would not be heard or feared the future consequences of their actions beyond the day, or felt it was someone else's responsibility. We discussed whether the activity was similar to real life and how easy or difficult it would be to

change things in life. One girl stated that she would not want to *"cos as long as you are ok you just leave things"*. Another stated *"this is the worst one [learning day] we've ever done. I feel claustrophobic"*. The latter comment suggests embodiment of the day, where feelings of powerlessness and inability to change things had the impact of making her feel closed in. During an interview, an arts practitioner described her experiences of the project, expressing her frustration at how the few loudest and most negative voices are rarely challenged by those who are uncomfortable with their actions:

> *What always annoys me and that is also a reflection of society, is how it is usually a few people making all the decisions, the biggest voices are making horrendous things happen when most people don't even agree with it but go along with it… and they just get swept. The quiet ones won't even bother to really say and make much effort. They will be like I am not comfortable with this, but they won't do anything. All the big lot in the middle will just go with the few loud voices (Day of Difference, female arts practitioner 2).*

As the role-play activity ended and teachers stated it was time to clean up, I recorded the following gendered behaviour in my field notes:

> *As the teacher intervenes and calms things some girls, who were playing with their phones, start paying attention and get up and turn over the 'tunnel' of chairs – as if in an act of resistance against the boy's violent actions of imprisonment. The room ends up in visual chaos with tables and chairs scattered and piled across the room upside down, all over the place... Some kids still painting each other with Blue paint, wiping face paint on each other. Many kids have painted war paint on their faces, or covered their whole faces and arms in thick paint! The boys who have caused the 'carnage' sit back at the edge while the girls come forward and start cleaning up, girls who weren't involved in the caging of the Yellows… (Peartree secondary school, field notes, second observation).*

Some teachers and arts practitioners described the experience as "a microcosm of society". This related to the idea that students are acting out what they have learnt about how to respond to asylum seekers and immigrants:

> *It can show how extreme things can get in real life as well. Because we had almost a dictatorship in our small group of about 3 or 4 boys and they were like "no we are in charge" and even the confident girls, we had a*

couple, they weren't even listened to. So I think it shows how the political issues that we might have in a lot of counties, just a small little snapshot of how that might be magnified in real life maybe. So it's quite interesting, whether they are just copying what they have seen in the media… (Church Hill secondary school, female teacher 1).

During conversations that I had with teachers during breaks and lunchtimes, I received a mixture of feedback, ranging from those who expressed excitement at the methods and impact of the programme to those who were sceptical. Sceptics tended to focus on the need for explicit teaching and some struggled with allowing meanness or conceptualised the existence of meanness as a failure of the project methods. Others expressed feelings of personal failure, due to hearing their students saying mean things when they had taught them not to. During all observations with the Day of Difference programme, teachers would apologise to me for not being drama teachers. This suggested that some teachers felt a need to explain the lack of control when they perceived things were getting out of hand. This revealed a hidden disturbance of the position of teachers, who were clearly uncomfortable with their inability to control children's expressions of racial hostility and concerned about the potential judgement on themselves. It potentially highlights feelings of shame due to knowing they were being watched as participants in, my research (for a further discussion of guilt and shame see chapter six). Furthermore, it exposes the failure of current methods that seek to achieve "non-racism" rather than anti-racism within schools (Thompson, 1997:14). Non-racist education seeks to achieve an absence of prejudicial acts, such as promoting colour-blindness (Thompson, 1997). By drawing on critical art pedagogy, I have endeavoured to show how the theory can intersect with critical race theory to expose how a system of White supremacy is kept in place through safe, repressive, controlling pedagogies that do not encourage children to develop own thinking about race through silencing conversations and avoiding

race dialogue. Additionally, that do not allow expressions of emotion, excitement, or exploring disturbances that exist beneath the surface in relation to race. Critical art pedagogies can be disruptive and thus feel dangerous.

It seems inevitable that when troublesome issues, such as attitudes to race, have been silenced, that exploration of these issues can bring forth disturbing dialogue that feels dangerous. When arts programmes start to touch on deep-rooted and embodied feelings of racism, deeper disturbances can rise to the surface becoming exposed. This can be witnessed in verbal language, physical behaviour and expressions of emotion. This can be silenced, kept at a superficial level or delved into more deeply, which some may find uncomfortable. However, "dangerous knowledge then becomes a means to emancipation as it reveals and teaches resistance to sources of suppression (Cary, 2011:233).

Berlak (2004:142) argues that democratic dialogue, which allows students to remain comfortable, does not disrupt the common wisdom. She proposes that dialogue about racism needs to "recognise and honour troubling feelings" or risk sustaining "cultural secrets" which view stories of oppression and injustice and as exceptions to a general assumption of "justice as the rule". Boler (2004) argues for a disruptive pedagogy that includes expressions of feeling, trauma, witnessing and mourning in the classroom. Gaine (2001:93) argues, "If it's not hurting it's not working". He maintains that anti-racist education is inevitably challenging because "it questions many cultural, social and often political assumptions".

Given the failure of silencing methods to curb racial hostility, it is well worth trialling new methods, such as critical art pedagogies, which open up and explore feelings and assumptions as a method for individual and social transformation. However, this inevitably involves a paradigm shift that moves from seeing schools

as safe spaces, where negative expressions are kept hidden, and working-class bodies are constructed as problematic and in need of control, to one where troublesome learning is embraced. The arts potentially offer a method. Lorde (1984:43) argues that the poetic is a necessary component for tapping into deeper feelings in the process of transformation. She offers hope for moving beyond oppressive silences:

> We can learn to work and speak when we are afraid in the same way we have learned to work and speak when we are tired. For we have been socialized to respect fear more than our own needs for language and definition, and while we wait in silence for that final luxury of fearlessness, the weight of that silence will choke us…for it is not difference which immobilizes us, but silence. And there are so many silences to be broken (Lorde, 1984:43-4).

The next chapter explores troublesome aspects of anti-racist pedagogies and ways in which disturbance can be utilised in the development of an effective anti-racist school practice.

Chapter 6: Playing With Tragedy: Disturbing education in pursuit of an effective anti-racist pedagogy

Anti-racist education has been found to be troubling for White students who disengage from learning due to experiencing fear and guilt (Wall, 2001). Anti-racist education requires that White people come to recognise systematic oppression, examine their own unearned White privilege and complicity in racial oppression and engage in strategies to transform this (Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs, 2017). However, White people often resist anti-racist education because it involves self-examination. They have been found to express denial and become defensive finding it difficult to conceptualise the privilege that White skin brings (Zingsheim and Goltz, 2011). It is easier to racialize others than to engage with conscious racialization of the White self (Frankenberg, 1997). Thus, Whiteness remains an unmarked category for White people who are socialized not to see race (Frankenberg, 1997). Boler (2004) argues that when discourses of race and racism that have been hidden, silenced or are simply unavailable are brought to the fore, they cause fear and anxiety for both teachers and students. This chapter draws on critical race theory when discussing resistance to anti-racist pedagogies by exploring ways that teachers and students resist "counter-hegemonic" pedagogical approaches to learning about racism (Evans-Winters and Twyman, 2011:462). In the first section, I also make use of critical art pedagogy in my examination of students' engagement with a drama-based activity that explores assumptions and behaviours relating to xenophobia. This provides a lens for explaining how art methods that might seem to provoke aggressive behaviour may have pedagogical benefits. Critical art pedagogy challenges official forms of knowledge that are produced by authorised methods of education based on

hierarchical structures. Cary (2011:181) argues when certain forms of knowledge are deemed "official knowledge" this leads to methods that might produce different types of knowledge being marginalised. The second section discusses the use of storytelling and dialogue, which helps create counter-narratives about race and expand students' knowledge and understanding of racism. Here I evoke critical pedagogy as a means for examining the benefits of disturbing dialogue and hearing Black people's stories about racism. Both sections explore the use of trauma and disturbance as a pedagogical tool in anti-racist pedagogies. Thus presenting the idea that disturbance can be conceptualised as an opportunity rather than a threat.

Playing with tragedy: Troubling beliefs and disturbing behaviours

In this section, I present examples from my data where an art project allowed disturbance as a means to explore and experience aspects of hostility and discomfort in relation to issues of race. My data suggests that drama provides a powerful medium for getting in touch with embodied feelings and assumptions about race. Experiencing moments of guilt, sadness, anger or compassion through drama activities can lead to new insights. Far from being a soft approach, some art activities can be hard-hitting, provocative and disturbing. I argue that this can be a necessary approach in contexts where racism is highly prevalent yet masked through silences and avoidance of the issues. Critical art pedagogy does not seek to avoid knowledge that feels dangerous or disturbing but actively engages with it when necessary, as an emancipatory process (Cary, 2011). Critical art pedagogies can be complemented by critical pedagogy techniques

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that seek social transformation. Indeed, some critical arts processes have developed alongside critical pedagogy processes. For example, Boal (1979) developed theatre techniques, which were influenced by Freire's critical pedagogy; both seeking liberation through working with the concerns and ideas of oppressed communities. Boal (1979) maintained that theatre for the oppressed should be about dramatic situations from everyday life and that the barriers between actor and spectator should be broken down. He developed the techniques of forum theatre, as a form of rehearsal for life, and invisible theatre that seeks to raise awareness of everyday oppressive discourses in communities and work arenas. Bell and Desai (2014) illustrate:

> Forum theatre is an embodied approach to social justice in which Brazilian artist Augusto Boal enacts Freirean consciousness raising approaches through improvisational theatre arts (Bell and Desai, 2014:2)

Forum theatre encourages audience members to intervene in the theatre performance through making suggestions that change the outcomes of the play or replacing actors as a way to explore solutions to oppressive situations. Through Invisible theatre, actors, posing as everyday people, start-up dialogues in public spaces. These seek to transform the idea of the monologue, where one perspective is delivered, which is seen as oppressive. While the public are not aware that the actors are actors, the conversations aim to promote political awareness of unfairness, exploitation and oppression in people's everyday lives. When used in schools, theatre and drama can act as a form of critical art pedagogy, when the drama is being utilised as a pedagogy to promote liberation and justice (Cary, 2011).

The Day of Difference project incorporates a role-play simulation activity where students become actors and improvisers, working through a dramatic scenario about immigration. The activity was designed for students to engage as much or

as little as they choose, with no set roles or scripts. Students draw on their personal experience and ideas as they interact with one another through the activity (for further description of the project activities see chapter three).

During my observations, I endeavoured to capture an overview of conversations through my field notes and record critical incidents, general responses and different types of engagement. However, it was impossible to capture all incidences at all moments and record all voices. Many conversations were out of my audible range. Others could not be heard when they were carried out through whispers, quiet talk and as multiple conversations. Undercurrents of behaviour occurred, and diverse attitudes and conversations took place, such as protests against dominant behaviours and opinions. However, these generally had little impact on the decisions of the majority and the loudest voices. What I was able to record were the overtones, the loud and dominant conversations that shaped the currents of behaviours that swept through the class and the overall momentum of events as students entered into the drama.

During all observations that I attended, students shouted out negative and hostile comments following the announcement that yellows would be arriving as refugees. The following comments from students with prompts from their teacher are an example recorded in my field notes during an observation in Red land at Peartree secondary school:

> *We are not helping them*
> *We can't have holidaymakers it's against our law*
> *We don't want em*
> *Not coming here*
> *Teacher: How many are we going to take?*
> *None, they are immigrants to us*

> *It is not racist cos they are the same colour as us*
>
> *We don't want any*
>
> *Do we have to have some?*
>
> *They are scary*

The teacher, acting as a facilitator, used prompts to move the process forward and encourage students to make active decisions about how to proceed.

> *Teacher: How are we going to treat them? Yellows have heard bad things about Red land and they don't like you, so they are not happy about having to come here.*
>
> *Just kill them all*
>
> *Teacher: Do we want a ceremony?*
>
> *No*
>
> *Go by our rules*
>
> *Brainwash them and nick their money, they are rich*
>
> *Put them in poor conditions and make them work for us*
>
> *But we are not like that*
>
> *We are*
>
> *We are gonna gas them*
>
> *Make it so they have no space*
>
> *He's scared to say it incase they judge him*
>
> *But we are not judgemental people*

These loud comments shouted out suggested a parody of current attitudes towards asylum seekers and refugees, extended and played out through theatre. Comments were mostly negative. However, some resistance to hostility was expressed as conveyed in the sentences "but we are not like that" and "but we are not judgemental people". One girl protested against the majority behaviour and stated, *"I feel really bad. If I went to a different country, I wouldn't want to be treated like that".* I wondered how many more students agreed but did not voice this. I wrote further descriptions of students' behaviour at this time:

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A few boys move and sit on side cupboards. One states, "I'm not getting infected". Other boys barricade the door with a table. One boy says, "I'm gonna pretend we are letting them in but won't". Some girls hide in the corner, one repeats, "I don't want to get infected". One lone voice says, "Don't judge them until we know them". Cries of "kill them, kill them" echo around the room (Peartree secondary school, field notes from observations in Red land).

At this point, the teacher asked the students to divide into those that want to welcome them and those that want to 'kill' them. Twenty-one students went to the 'kill' them group and four into the welcome group. As an observer, I felt much discomfort as I watched the majority side with the attitudes of hostility. When half a dozen classmates were calling out hostile chants, there was still hope that the majority held different views even if they felt unable to express it. Yet, when asked to make a commitment to either perspective, the harsh reality was revealed. The majority either agreed with the hostilities or did not want to be seen to disagree with the loudest voices. My discomfort was, in part, feelings of empathy for the four who silently opposed the majority and my feelings of despair at the majority opinion. As I reflected on this moment, I became aware of the very real embodied reactions of concern and dejection that I experienced despite the fact that this was a form of play-acting. This moment revealed a blurring of lines between the predominantly negative assumptions that students held and hostile actions 'playfully' expressed. The boundaries between truth and pretence were being dissolved.

Truth and pretence

Blurring truth and pretence is a strategy utilised by the creators of the Day of Difference project to engage with issues that can be difficult to speak about directly. During an interview, an arts practitioner expressed that a paradox existed between truth and pretence in arts and drama work:

One of the benefits of the [drama] simulation you can enter the material that we are exploring with them and that material is the day to day material related to xenophobia, fear of difference, and how we, in groups and as individuals, operate with that and the power relationships that are related to it… essentially it is play, and they are playing a game, so they enter it from that sort of psychology, which means they are actually often more honest about their interactions, bizarrely, paradoxically… that is the arts form doing that. You can investigate truth more easily if you do it through pretence. That is the paradox. That is the truth of an art form (Day of Difference, male arts practitioner 1).

The idea that "*you can investigate truth more easily if you do it through pretence*" suggests that students can enter into a game in a more real way than if simply discussing their assumptions about a difficult topic. When no one really knows if what you reveal is truth or pretence, you can 'let out' the truth while remaining protected by the veil of the game. In this way, creativity, imagination and emotion are engaged in a learning process that moves beyond accepting information from others, though literally 'playing' with information. Students' thoughts and feelings about foreigners, refugees and 'others' can be explored and taken to extremes in ways that might not otherwise be permitted by teachers.

As the role-play continued, students proceeded to build a prison with tables to contain the Yellow landers. Across all schools that I observed students put up checkpoints and police booths outside of their classrooms to 'protect' their borders. Doors were barricaded, and prisons were built inside classrooms to keep refugees, while they decided what to do with them. Classrooms often became boisterous and chaotic, as described in my field notes from two different schools:

With tables constructed on their sides, the kids built a 'prison'. Yellows are 'locked in'. Some students are in rows standing with arms folded, some sitting in a row in the middle of the room, arms folded. One girl with a blue sash tied around her spinning her around… pulling each other around the room…tying it onto foot…boys pulling each other around shouting "come on join Blue". Putting Yellows back in prison if they try to escape, stacking up chairs…some gathered in corners having conversations of their own… At a table in the corner, a boy asks a Yellow "are you a Blue?" If they say yes, he says, "Welcome aboard!" "Prisoners all have to be interviewed!" he shouts playfully but harshly as he slaps the table with a ruler. One boy

pretends to convert to Blue and then legs it! So they brought him back, and he was forced back into 'prison' (Bramwell Secondary school, field notes from observation of Blue land).

A Red lander says, "Shall we mark the ill people, mark them on the forehead?" The atmosphere is temporarily playful then Yellows are forced to have red crosses in marker pen put on their faces. Physical force is used. Force, coercion and humiliation seem to lead to Yellows preferring to be locked in isolation rather than do the Red dance that they are being coerced to do… Reds simulate burning of Yellows' headbands and wristbands that have been removed… Reds are getting angry and agitated that Yellows won't comply… A Red boy stands on a table to make himself high and powerful, wide leg stance, waving a finger and shouting at Yellows (Peartree Secondary school, field notes from observation of Redland).

While attitudes can be seen as a replica of xenophobic attitudes portrayed through the media and in politics, the high levels of incorporated violence suggest something deeper. It throws up the question whether the students learn violent tropes and figurative language through popular culture, such as aggressive computer games, films, music and literature. Then re-enact this through the role-play, blending knowledge gained by popular culture with their ideas about 'foreigners' into the activities. bell hooks (2006) argues that representations in popular culture can have powerful consequences. She claims there is a direct link between representations and choices we make in our lives. In a YouTube talk bell hooks (2006) argues, *"Whether we are talking race or gender or class, popular culture is where the pedagogy is. It's where the learning is"*. She argues that this link is not absolute in that people will not necessarily repeat ideas represented through film and popular media but that certain ideas, such as sexual violence toward women or physical violence towards Black men become viewed as acceptable. Through my research observations, this reasoning appeared logical. Hyper-violent actions carried out through the role-play were more extreme than most would engage in in real life circumstances yet no less extreme than portrayed in certain films and computer games. However, the implied hatred of

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'foreigners' revealed through play suggested disturbing levels of accepted violent attitudes, which can play out as both real and symbolic violence in everyday settings.

As the activities proceeded, Red landers made up a dance and said that if the Yellows did their dance and gave up their Yellow identity that they would free them from 'prison'. I observed mixtures of playfulness and real anger. Red people were becoming more and more agitated that Yellows were resisting forced assimilation:

> *All of your yellow stuff is being burnt (piles it into middle of room in gesture to simulate fire) [Angry voice]*
>
> *Would you prefer to do it Oppa Gangnam style!*

Here a student adds humour by suggesting the dance be done in the comic style of a popular music video. This appeared to be a way to look for an amicable solution. Other students appeared frustrated as Yellows still did not comply, and they started shouting with insistence and anger:

> *DO THE DANCE[9]*
>
> *Do the fucking dance!*
>
> *WE HAVE TAKEN YOU IN. YOU ALL DO WHAT WE SAY OR YOU ALL GO BACK TO WHERE YOU COME FROM AND BE KILLED OR WE KILL YOU!*

The cruelty and hostility seemed to run away with itself, with behaviour becoming extreme as Reds tried to control Yellows. The activity ended following another announcement that a civil war had broken out in Purple land and that they will have to repeat the process. However, they do not repeat the process, at this point, the facilitators end the activity, and the students are asked to reflect on the

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[9] Capital letters denote shouting coupled with perceived aggression

morning's activities. Following the above incident, the teacher invited students to share their thoughts. I recorded the following extract in my field notes:

> *Some boys say the reason they did it was that Yellows would not do what they say and follow their ways etc. This is a reoccurring narrative and prominent in the booklets[10]. The idea that the asylum seekers should be grateful because they let them in. They conceptualise their actions as a form, of kindness and seem oblivious to the dehumanising actions that they imparted on the Yellows (Peartree Secondary school, field notes from observation of Redland).*

At the time, what puzzled me during these observations is why so many students stayed so focused on wanting yellows to do the dance and obey? The displays of anger and frustration towards Yellows suggest the ultimate goal was to break them and get their complete surrender and humiliation. The use of hostility and force almost invariably triumphed over acts of kindness. The activity revealed that a desire to maintain dominance led students to perform extreme acts of brutality and aggression against their peers who were playing the part of refugees. A few voices did protest. However, they were the quiet minority. An alternative might have been to welcome Yellows, take the sick to hospital, treat them fairly and enquire about their ordeal caused by the natural disaster and find out if they were all right. Host countries might also have shared aspects of their created cultures and invited Yellows to do the same. This raised the question, what causes the focus on hatred and coercion rather than friendship, sharing and cooperation? When examined through critical race theory this behaviour can be seen as normal behaviour, which would be expected as students act to maintain White primacy. The medium of drama does not exempt the narrative of White supremacy being

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[10] Students were given booklets and had times during the day where they were asked to reflect on the activities. Students were given the choice whether to share their booklets afterwards for research purposes

enacted out since this is the global political system that shapes the modern world (Taylor, 2009).

Zimbardo (2007) argues that people act mean in mean contexts. In his famous Stanford Prison Experiment, where college students role-played prisoners and guards, the experiment was cut short when the dehumanising behaviour of the guards escalated to alarming levels of cruelty. Zimbardo (2007) argues that 'normal' and 'good' people can accept dehumanizing conceptions of others as 'animals', inflict pain and develop rationales to defend their actions as good for those they abuse. He states that the power of the situation must not be overlooked. "Veiled behind the power of the situation is the greater power of the system, which creates and maintains complicity" (Zimbardo, 2007:6). When observing the Day of Difference refugee simulation role-play, the 'situation' can be seen as the current public discourse and practice of hostility towards immigrants being perpetuated in the media and through certain political parties, which is perpetuated by White supremacy including through education policy that serves the interest of White people (Gillborn, 2005).

One teacher felt that students simply saw the role-play as a game that becomes contrived and that when students reacted negatively to the idea of refugees, it was because they did not understand the implications of their actions:

> *Generally, you will see students react negatively to the idea of 'refugees', and this can get out of hand very quickly even when it is their friends. It is difficult to try and ensure this does not become contrived. I am not convinced that they completely understand the implications of their actions and very much see it as a game (Church Hill secondary school, teacher questions via email).*

In this comment, the teacher recognises that students hold negative assumptions about refugees. However, she suggests that role-play actions become 'contrived'. This implies that actions are created artificially rather than arising naturally or

spontaneously. For the teacher, this appears problematic. The suggestion here is if students are not aware of the implications of their actions that they are not exploring attitudes towards refugees but merely playing a game, which potentially suggests no learning is taking place. This raises the question, is game-play a non-beneficial pastime, something that is enjoyable but has no pedagogical benefits or can the contrived elements of the game lead to learning? From a critical art pedagogy perspective, if the game leads to developed understanding and a desire to take action against oppression and liberation then it does not matter if actions are contrived. Indeed, contrived actions can be seen as a form of experimentation, which is part of the art form. Furthermore, it can be argued that everyday classroom behaviours are contrived in that specific behaviours are adopted for specific effects, such as maintaining White primacy, which it has also been argued are performative (Moon, 2016; Picower, 2009). The fact that the role-playing concept is based on real-life events makes it impossible to separate the game from real life, as one student explained during my focus group:

> *It's sort of an element of real life, but then most of it was like role-play because you wouldn't do that to someone if it was real life (Church Hill secondary school, student focus group).*

The student argues that although the scenario was based on real life that actions carried out in the role-play were not things that they felt they would actually do in a real-life scenario. Another student explained that she thought she was meant to go along with acts of violence as though somehow it was expected of the students, as the following comment suggests:

> *…afterwards when one of the organisers said why did you act so violently towards them [Yellow landers] and we said well we were told they were going to eat us, and then she was like well why did you believe that, but we didn't know if that was part of, because the whole thing was like kind of an acting role play that we were meant to go along with or something that, cos obviously in real life we would query it, but because it was part of*

> *a role play we didn't know if we were just meant to go along with it anyway… (Bramwell Secondary school, female focus group 1).*

The student suggests uncertainty regarding whether to act in ways that replicate how they might behave in a real-life scenario or whether to act out examples of violence. In this scenario, the student appeared to have done the latter and justified this as assuming she was 'meant' to. A couple of students stated that the enjoyment of the activity was in the freedom to act as they choose and to have an opportunity to enact and experience moments of power:

> *I think that's why people enjoyed it cos obviously it wasn't real, so just for that hour we kind of got to do what we wanted (Church Hill secondary school, focus group, male student,).*

> *I really enjoyed when the Yellows [the refugees] came, and we could control them any way we wanted, and we could do whatever we liked with them. It was nice to have that much control and power (Church Hill secondary school, focus group, female student).*

When considering the stringent control exercised over students, as discussed in the previous chapter, students' desire for power and control may relate to the lack of power and control that they feel in schools or imagine in their futures. Arts practitioners had stated that students could say and do as they wanted and hence engaging in hostile acts was a choice that some make. While some saw this just as a game, others felt it reflected an element of real life:

> *It sort of showed how we don't really accept them [immigrants]. Like that role-play when other people came in you could decide whether to accept them or not (Church Hill secondary school, focus group,).*

The following discussion, which took place during a focus group at Church Hill secondary school, highlights students thinking about the activity as fun and entertainment although awareness of elements of real life and 'truth' were present:

> *Boy 1: some people's views were a bit extreme like quarantine them straight away because they knew it was role play*

> *Boy 2: You wouldn't try and enforce that in real life, well I wouldn't*

Girl 1: and some people were just having a bit of fun and entertainment. They were just doing it because it was a fun thing to do.

Boy 2: Yeah the talent show thing was probably just to have a bit of a laugh really

Girl 2: your entry to the United Kingdom will be based on your juggling skills!

[laughs]

Girl 1: So I guess in a way it was a bit false

Girl 3: there were elements of it that were true

Students were very much aware of the game aspects of the role-play. An arts practitioner argued that although the students engage in a play activity when they later meet real people who have been through difficult circumstances, they make connections between the play and reality:

> *There is quite a lot of artistic practice and craft in how the programme is structured and how that pretence is structured, to keep deepening the experience for them. And then in terms of the afternoon I think what happens because they are real visitors, and they are not actors in role, what you get in terms of the art form is a play, a tension, a dialogue across real and pretence; artifice and reality, which is again fundamental to the theatre experience (Day of Difference, male arts practitioner 1).*

The artist explains that the tensions between truth and pretence are a fundamental part of the process that seeks to disrupt and hence transform students thinking about issues of xenophobia. Even if students perceived the role-play activities merely as gameplay, students nevertheless took part in or witnessed drama based on violence and hostility towards others. This drama-based violence was interspersed with humour, comic behaviour and at times theatre of the absurd, as one student above stated acceptance was based on 'juggling skills'. Nevertheless, the undercurrent of violence and forced coercion within the game reveals collective feelings of hostility towards immigrants, and students get to experience this as part of the process. The arts practitioner

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explained that although a game, the game cannot be rejected and the experience of it is carried forward into future thoughts and interactions:

> *I think that is the strength of the programme it seems to me, because you cannot just reject the game, you realise the game you have been playing in the morning, which is a game, has significant consequences for real people and the cognitive learning is can you build a bridge between those two things, do you know what I mean, and that doesn't happen immediately. Some of it happens immediately for some of them, and then you see in front of your eyes transformational learning taking place in a young person or a teacher. You can see their whole being shift in ten seconds. Other students it takes longer. It takes three months, six weeks whatever and others it will not happen at all (Day of Difference, male arts practitioner 1).*

The arts practitioner's comment suggests the pedagogy lies in the connecting space between the game and recognition of real-life experiences that some people endure. This might happen immediately, over a period of time or not at all. The programme created potential opportunities for this to occur through setting up dialogue and storytelling sessions with diverse visitors from around the world. This took place in the afternoon, following the role-play activity, which I discuss in the section 'Counter-Creation'.

Learning does not have to be immediate to be effective education against racism. Indeed, from a critical race theory perspective, the process of socialising White people to be participants in a system of White supremacy happens over time and since childhood (Moon, 2016; ALTARF, 1983). Therefore, it cannot be assumed that this socialization can be eradicated through instruction in the moment or during one session on racism. Likewise, a lesson on anti-racism may sow seeds of change, but from a critical race theory perceptive the system of White primacy, in which students are immersed, will still exist as a major influencing factor. This suggests that substantial work needs to take place over time to have any significant impact.

From a critical race theory perspective, one of the problems with White students coming to understand the system of racism is its normalised invisibility (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012). However, as the art practitioner states above, the art processes in the Day of Difference provide a forum for deepening students' experiences of racist behaviours and thought processes. By engaging in the drama activities as participants, students get to experience what happens when they play out their thoughts and assumptions about race. In this way, their assumptions and behaviours are magnified and made more visible. Making racism visible through art media is not new. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, anti-racist campaign groups and educators developed arts-based anti-racist education materials, which sought to expose inherent racist attitudes, For example, through comic strip stories (Crampton-Smith and Curtis, 1983), metaphors and stories (Issues for Girls, 1984) and drama and role play activities (ALTARF, 1983:16). However, what my findings reveal is that along with cognition of racism sensual knowing needs to be addressed, for example through exposing and exploring feelings associated with racism. Shotwell (2011) argues that critical race theory can be enhanced by understanding the role of implicit learning, including how embodied knowing can play a part in anti-racist pedagogies. What the drama activities in my study appear to suggest is that it brings to light racialised behaviours and associated feelings. So that even when part of a performative or playful piece of work, however nonsensical and unreal, it enables behaviours and feelings about race to enter into conscious thought processes and be experienced by the senses. These can then be remembered and replayed in the mind and through bodily feelings when related real-life scenarios are encountered. Lederach (2005) argues that the artistic process can go beyond rational understanding allowing people to understand things in new ways by

experiencing, analysing and attaching new meaning to ideas. He argues that the arts can lead to vivid experiences, which can have long-lasting impacts, whereby images and feelings from an event can be remembered long after verbal content has been forgotten.

Trauma and the poetic

The above section explored incidences found in my data where students incorporated cruelty into their improvised role-play about refugees. When students acted out discourses of cruelty, this can be seen as students expressing their knowledge of how refugees are treated. However, it also raises the question, why do some students indulge in cruelty but others resist? It is possible that acts of hostility are more dramatically appealing especially when opportunities to indulge in such dramatic actions are rarely tolerated in school. The critical art pedagogy notion of dangerous knowledge (Cary, 2011) can be combined with theories of trauma in literature and film to examine how disturbing art pedagogies can be utilised to further the anti-racist education aim of confronting systemic and structural oppression (Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs, 2017).

Wilson (2013) acknowledges that grief can be pleasurable when experienced through poetic and literary works and indeed, she argues, the themes of attachment and loss are central to nearly every novel, play, film, opera and piece of music. Yet she states, "The pleasurable nature of the aesthetic experiences of grief, fear, anxiety, and other negative emotions remains puzzling" (2013:77). Wilson (2013) notes that emotions induced through fiction are very real. She draws on Ryle's ideas that when children engage in role-playing and pretending games, they can experience the similar physiological excitement as if the situation or pretended danger were real. Wilson (2013) discusses various

theories regarding the enjoyment of 'grief' through the poetic. These include aesthetic experiences of danger can be felt in relative safety, additionally, feeling tragic emotions at others plight can lead to sympathy towards the people in the situation or happiness that it is not happening to themselves, alternatively, learning about how others fare in tragic circumstances can teach people about how they can act and respond to difficult situations. This suggests that there is pedagogical potential in the mixture of excitement found in the disturbing gameplay coupled with experiences and feelings that emerge towards characters within the game. However, students' experiences may differ greatly, and hence pedagogical benefits can vary enormously due to their different levels of engagement with the drama and different beliefs about the subject matter. From a critical art pedagogy perspective, the purpose is not to indoctrinate students to think the same as art practitioners but to come to recognise that their thinking is shaped and controlled by hegemonic knowledge systems and to begin to create new meanings (Cary, 2011).

For the minority of students who resisted engaging in acts of cruelty towards the 'refugees', sympathy and sadness were expressed. It is difficult to assess whether these experiences of sympathy and sadness had a pedagogical impact on students' understanding or on future inclusive actions or promotion of tolerance, although the possibility remains that experiencing feelings of sadness and sympathy contribute to students' developing attitudes about issues of inclusion. When viewed through Aristotle's lens, the emotions of fear and pity aroused through tragedy in theatre can be seen as cleansing and restorative. Aristotle (2008 edition) argues that we learn by imitation through art and delight in imitation, even when it portrays painful truths about tragedy. Curiously, during focus groups, students overwhelmingly expressed that the day was enjoyable,

despite the trauma that was repeatedly played out in school classrooms. However, the learning may have been different for those who witnessed the tragic role-play and those who engaged in it as the instigators of violent or aggressive acts. It is possible that the activity allowed negative assumptions to be purged through play or provided a release where thoughts and feelings, which had previously been silenced, could be expressed. Indeed, many students stated that the freedom to speak was an important part of the day; especially as they often feel shut down from talking about matters of race, (I discuss this further in the next section 'Counter-creation').

Through the role-play, students experience the extent of hostility that exists and the ability for cruelty to develop to alarming levels when left to run its course. They learn this not through traditional instruction, but through the aesthetic experience of the drama and the meaning they make from participation. The process becomes a critical art pedagogy when the art medium operates as a form of knowing and leads to a developing critical consciousness (Cary, 2011). Knowles and Ridley (2005) argue that theatre can be a form of transformative justice by helping uncover prejudiced attitudes amongst teachers and children. During my focus group interviews at Church Hill secondary school, several students said that they did not realise how bad racism was until they took part in the Day of Difference. The following comments are from students reflecting on the day's experience, during my focus groups:

> *There is lots more racial abuse than what I actually thought there was and like some people say physical abuse is worse and names can't exactly hurt you but like with physical abuse you can like cover it up with a plaster it will get better but with names it will never go (Church Hill secondary school, focus group).*

> *I learnt that racism and different coloured skin really does affect how people live and what they think (Church Hill secondary school, focus group).*

Ormell, (2005) argues that schools should avoid stirring up emotions to get children talking. He suggests that when classroom conversations lack closure, they should be avoided. Instead, he favours a quieter education that enhances curiosity and imagination and builds children's intellectual confidence. He sees this as the purpose of education, rather than schools being utilised to resolve the problems of society. I argue that this form of education offers a privileged perspective where the oppressions of society can be ignored in favour of individual progress and intellectual enlightenment. Furthermore, my data suggest that many students enjoy the stirring of emotions, which runs counter to the daily silencing and emotional controlling that many experience. Furthermore, since from a critical race theory perspective, schools are seen as racist institutions, if they do not tackle the difficult issues of inequality they are part of the problem (Gillborn, 2008). Gillborn (2008) argues that by allowing the education system to go unchallenged teaching strategies can be seen as part of a conspiracy to maintain White superiority. This includes perpetuating racist practices that harm Black children. In addition, prohibiting or ignoring racialised thoughts and emotions that White pupils hold rather than bringing them to the surface to work through them. Therefore, in order to transform the current system, anti-racist education needs to work to stir emotions and make visible the tensions and traumas that White students and teachers harbour.

Lander (2015[a]) argues that Black and minority ethnic children want teachers to talk about issues of race. In a seminar presented at Roehampton University, she argued that children say "tell our teachers to talk about it not just ignore it". However, she argues that we do not give teachers the tools to talk about it (Lander, 2015[a], 2015[b]). When teachers do not feel equipped to talk about racism, it follows that they may have difficulty reacting to the hostilities that arise in drama

sessions. Rather than anticipating that such hostilities would inevitably arise, some teachers seemed to struggle with allowing hostility, such as in the following example that I recorded in my field notes at Church Hill secondary school:

> *Greens see Yellows arriving at the door and a few run and hide under the tables. One shouts, "We asked for 2 and got 8 can we kill six of them?" Loud voices, animated, shouts of "tie em up", "Kill them". Yellows stand in a group "are you going to kill us?" … The teacher interrupts "Guys you are not being very welcoming" to which a student states, "I'm not meant to be I want to kill em". Some Green land girls start chatting with Yellow land girls. Green boys start grabbing Yellow boys and 'man-handling' them "you got to get on the chair". Yellows resist. Chaos breaks out! Soon Yellows are sat on the floor with chairs blocking them in a corner. A male teacher states, "I don't know if you are doing an impression of rude people or if you are rude people because you are being very loud and no one else can get an opinion". He questions whether the death of people is funny; "This is real because it happens; clearly you are not going to kill people?" A female teacher adds, "If you pretend to be children all your life…" The question tails off, and the teacher asks students to come out from under the tables and shapes the rest of the session into a teacher-led discussion, ending the role-play (Church Hill secondary school, field notes from observation of Greenland).*

In this setting, the teachers decided not to tolerate the drama and voicing of hostility. The session was quashed rather than let it run its course and risk behaviour getting further 'out of hand' or utilise the moment to engage in critical dialogue about why students acted in the ways they did through drama. Instead, the exploratory embodiment of the issues that tended to lead to highly emotive and provocative behaviours was replaced with controlled, calmer discussions and explanations about moral behaviour led by the teachers. A real tension exists here for teachers in terms of allowing an exploration of hostility and keeping control. The blurred line between dramatic play and reality, between truth and pretence, can pose risky moments for teachers who feel compelled to act out the role of control providers to keep in place expectations placed on them by parents, colleagues and policymakers. From a critical pedagogy perspective, moralizing instruction delivered by teachers will not eradicate racism. It simply reinstates

the idea that the teachers are the experts (Freire, 1970) and that as long as students listen to them and stay silent about race that this is enough. Watson (2014:41) argues that it is important to "stay in the conversation' and talk through issues and ideas about race even when it is uncomfortable or painful. She argues that classrooms should be set up as safe spaces but not safe in the sense that students will not feel upset, angry or disturbed but that they feel they want to be involved in the session regardless. During my study, I got the impression that this was the case for students more often than for teachers. Some students spoke about disturbances, such as feeling bad when treated in certain ways during the drama activities, feeling guilty at times when recognising the consequences of their behaviours, yet still enjoying being involved with the programme.

Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs (2017) contend that although articles about anti-racist education state the importance of structural transformation, they do not always articulate how to do this. I argue that although the methods discussed above will not bring about social transformation in the structural sense since they work as one-off projects. However, the methods suggest that they do offer some capacity for change in attitude and assumptions about racism. The drama processes to an extent enable students to experience their own participation in racist assumptions and behaviours, bringing this knowledge into view for themselves and the community of students taking part. Thus, although trauma can be experienced through the process, it highlights how pedagogies of disturbance may be necessary to uncover and enable students to begin to understand some elements of embedded racism.

Counter-Creation: Expanding ways of knowing

This section draws on data from my field notes and focus groups, which explore an activity where students took part in a stories and dialogue activity with diverse visitors from around the world. The stories visitors told offered alternative narratives to students who may have learnt limited ideas about diverse people. I utilise critical pedagogy and critical race theory to examine the role of dialogue as a method for anti-racist action. The critical pedagogy strategy of critical dialogue can complement the critical race theory method of counter storytelling. Since stories can be told and discussed in ways that enable students to come to recognise oppressive social relationships. Delgado and Stefancic (2012:48) argue, "Society constructs the world through a series of tacit agreements mediated by images, pictures, tales, blog postings and other scripts". They argue that much of this is self-serving and cruel although people tend not to recognise this. Further, they maintain that these cultural influences can be as influential as formal laws because they set the background for interpreting them. Storytelling and counter-narratives allow racially minoritised groups to speak back and respond to racist narratives that White majorities tell and to provide a version of the world from their perspective and experience (Rollock and Gillborn, 2011):

> Narratives provide a language to bridge the gaps in imagination and conception that give rise to the differend. They reduce alienation for members of excluded groups while offering opportunities for members of the majority group to meet them halfway (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012:51).

In the afternoon of the Day of Difference, following the role pay activities, students took part in a dialogue and storytelling activity. Students were divided into different rooms, as in the morning refugee simulation activities discussed earlier on in this chapter. They sat in a circle on chairs and designated one chair as the

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'hot seat'. Students practised asking questions in turn, to either the teacher or other students who had volunteered to sit in the seat. They were encouraged to use open questions to find out about the visitor. This preceded a visitor arriving for each room who then took up the place in the hot seat. Approximately eight to twelve visitors, with diverse heritage from around the world, took part in this activity in each school that I observed, with each classroom getting to dialogue with usually three different visitors. Invariably, as the first visitor arrived, some students realised it was one of the people from the morning's image activity, and some were not sure. At this point, the visitor had been instructed not to speak. Students were asked to write about this person, as they had done in the morning's activity although with a little more time. An arts practitioner mentioned that it is more difficult for people to make assumptions about people in the flesh than a powerpoint image. The students were invited, in turn, to ask questions to the visitor. If the visitor spoke a home language, which was not English, they had been primed to first respond in this language. They only started speaking in English if a student asks, "Do you speak English?" Ultimately, the visitor and students interacted as the visitor told stories about their lives and responded to questions asked by the students.

Students invariably began by asking superficial questions such as, "What is your favourite food", "What is your favourite colour" or "Do you like football". These questions appeared to mask the deeper thoughts and potential questions that students had but feared to ask but which they ask later. After a round of questions teachers or practitioners encouraged the students to ask deeper questions, reminding students that today they could say what they like and have the opportunity to ask the kinds of questions they really want to ask but feel they are not allowed. Students often appeared fidgety and awkward, looked down and did

not make eye contact with the visitors. It took the visitors' prompts and reiterating it is all right to ask deeper or difficult questions. Some visitors gave insights into troubled moments in their lives as a way to open up dialogue. For example, at Riverway secondary school, Dan, a Black British male, offered, *"Look I used to be in a gang and in prison if you want you can ask me about that".* At this, nearly half the students' hands shot up. This suggests that students did not feel able to ask deeper or more controversial questions until the visitors gave permission and guided them with a suggested topic area. The excitement and desire to ask questions about gangs and prisons may suggest an enjoyment of tragedy stories and the ability to transgress the types of dialogue usually permitted in school classrooms. Dan spoke about stealing cars, robberies, time wasted in prison, remorse and the changes that he ultimately made. Students followed with questions such as, *"What made you realise it wasn't worth it?", "What was the worst thing you ever done?"* and *"What age did it start?"* I noticed that Dan appeared to be avoiding direct stories about racism and instead told stories about coming from a broken home and struggling to survive and fit in. Although his life experiences were, no doubt shaped since childhood by racist structures and treatment. This became very apparent through a conversation I had with him during a car journey home, as discussed in chapter five. However, the story Dan told was about feeling different, not fitting in and potential consequences. He appeared to be using his story not to highlight his struggle as a Black man but to build connections with White boys who may also have difficult childhoods or be living troubled lives. This was reflected in statements, such as, *"Some of you won't have both parents with you"* and *"Anyone who has been fostered or in a kid's home, he will understand what it is like".* There is a possibility that some students engaged with Dan's story on an entertainment level, due to his story

echoing stereotypes about Black masculinity as dangerous and deviant, as often portrayed in popular culture (bell hooks, 2006). However, the story and dialogue were constructed in a way that seemed to allow connections to be made beyond racialised boundaries, through relating to a level of troubled masculinities.

In another example at Church hill secondary school, I recorded students' body language as being closed through arms crossed and legs crossed lots of nervous laughter and looking back and forth at each other. The questions being asked of the visitor, George, were surface questions that avoided dialogue about issues of race. George was a Black British male who had grown up in the South West of England He intervened by stating, *"What have you been doing today, you have the opportunity to ask someone like me questions that you couldn't if you see me walking down the street".* In my field notes, I recorded that silence and seriousness swept through the room and students bodies stiffened. George continued, *"In the assembly this morning the facilitators talked about a man going out with a White woman. This morning you saw my picture, I was the one with the hat".* Some students began ruffling nervously through their books to check what they had written about him. One student spoke, *"Your eyes stood out the most, you looked quite sad".* Some students were frowning, and their bodies were turned, pointing to the side. George continued, *"We make assumptions…you saw my picture, now you see me in the flesh. First, you worried about me looking at you looking at me".* George explained what he did for a living working with young people. He showed a photograph of himself in a Navy uniform and asked, *"If you saw me in this would you have thought different things?"* George began to tell his story. When his daughter was growing up, a White man grounded[11] his son for

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[11] Punished by being forced to stay home and not being allowed to take part in certain activities

playing with her. When she was in year seven at school, the children had to go round and introduce themselves. One boy refused to shake her hand and stomped on her foot. For a long-time, another child used to call her "Black bitch" and spit on her. George took a picture out of his bag and showed the students a photo of a dual heritage girl in a pink dress. In my notes I recorded that the room was silent, the atmosphere felt painful. Many students looked sad and were looking down hanging their heads. George began to engage the students in dialogue, asking how they would describe him to their parents. Students engaged in conversation about being 'black', "in-between", "not fully black and not white", "coloured" and so on. As the conversation progressed, George asked a student to read out from a newspaper article about a racist attack. He explained that he was the Black man who had been attacked, that the perpetrator got community service and that if he sees the man nowadays, he says hello to him because he does not believe in bearing grudges. I wrote in my field notes that students' faces were glum and many were hugging themselves. One student asked if George was scared that if he was out walking that he might be attacked again. George said no because he was well known in his local town. The dialogue continued, and George asked the students questions such as how many people have been abroad and been treated unfairly. As the session ended, George stated that his motto is never judge a book by its cover. The students clapped, and George left the room. The silence and tension evaporated, and the room exploded into loud chatter. Students turned and spoke loudly and excitedly to one another. Due to noise-levels, I could not hear what the students were saying.

While some critical race theorists utilise storytelling to speak back and respond to hegemonic racist narratives that White majorities tell (Rollock and Gillborn, 2011), critical pedagogues employ dialogue to develop a more conscious

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understanding of oppression (Freire, 1970). Together the two methods offer a pedagogy whereby Black people can dialogue with White students by telling their stories and version of the world within a framework of critical dialogue. Students come to feel the stories as well as hear them through being in direct discussion with the storytellers. Some emotional aspect of the activity can be seen in the body language of students, which I mention above, and were expressed during my interviews with art practitioners who revealed that some stories evoke tears. Students understanding is developed through critical engagement with Black people's life stories about racism.

Boler (2004:4) explores the role of democratic dialogue in education, arguing, "The classroom is one of the few public spaces in which one can respond and be heard". It is important to recognise the informal learning that takes place outside of school classrooms, whereby opportunities do exist to challenge racist constructions. However, due to silencing discourses and fears surrounding race talk, school classrooms have the potential to provide opportunities that might be otherwise avoided. This inevitably involves embracing and displaying a variety of feelings and emotions, which tend to be excluded from school environments. Indeed, in my study, teachers were seen resisting displays of negative affect (Shotwell, 2011) in the classroom, such as during an incident when one visitor become quite emotional when telling her story:

> *I remember one teacher at one school saying to me, she said, when I was a visitor, she said oh don't you think this is a bit too upsetting for you to do. And I was like that is my judgement to make. If I do sit down and I do end up crying, that means those children get to see the general pain that you go through. I am not going to stop myself from crying because it was a horrible experience and they need to know that was a horrible experience because they need to know it was people like them who did that. And I think that the biggest thing is when you get them telling you that they have been bullied, when you are walking back to the hall or whatever and they go, oh that happened to me, or I am being bullied and not just racism. It's*

often white young people who will come up to you and say I've been bullied and this that and the other... (Day of Difference, female arts practitioner 3).

It is possible that closing down emotional dialogue protects teachers from their own discomfort, since, silencing emotional discomfort prevents racism from being tackled in any meaningful way. Rather than expose the human effects of racism, it is kept hidden from White experiences in ways that keep White students innocent of the symbolic and actual violence that is inflicted on Black people. By coupling the critical race theory premise of White privilege with aesthetics, Shotwell (2011) argues that when White people think about racism and experience emotions that cause them discomfort, they can either confront these emotions to bring about change or move away from the feelings of discomfort to reproduce White primacy. Thus, when White teachers silence or prevent Black people's stories from being told, it can be a strategy to protect the purity of Whiteness. It enables themselves and other White teachers and students around them, to avoid experience troubling emotions, while appearing charitable and kind by arguing that they are trying to protect the visitor. Conversely, the art practitioner's quote suggests that hearing other people's stories can be liberating, allowing the previously untellable to be told. Students get to feel the impact of the painful story, make connections with their own troubled stories and connect through shared empathy. This, in turn, allows them to reveal their own stories that may have been hidden or untold. This appears to have been the strategy used by Dan, as discussed earlier in this section. A male teacher at Bramwell School elaborated:

I think a lot of it is self-reflection about their own circumstances. The greatest emotional reactions are when the children are minded to think about their own lives, own experiences and their own differences… We do find after that day people who… might identify themselves as different and don't want to expose themselves, they are much happier to expose

themselves afterwards, in terms of sexuality or ethnicity or something like this (Bramwell secondary school, Male teacher).

However, when teachers silence dialogue about issues that can cause emotional discomfort, it becomes difficult for students to reveal things that are troubling them, in classroom contexts. Yet, harbouring aching secrets can be more painful than telling them and making them more visible. Further, due to the emotive nature of issues such as racism and bullying, not working with disturbance can be seen as not tacking the issues in any meaningful or effective way. Keeping emotional secrets does not negate the fact they still exist:

> A discussion of racism or homophobia cannot rely simply on rational exchange but must delve into the deeply emotional investments and associations that surround perceptions of difference and ideologies. One is potentially allowing one's worldview to be shattered, in itself a profoundly emotionally charged experience (Boler, 2004:8).

Engaging in the process of anti-racist education can be emotionally disturbing for White teachers and students since it involves a transition from seeing oneself as a "good moral anti-racist citizen" (Applebaum, 2005:278) to recognising one's own role in perpetuating systemic injustice. As a White researcher, I am encouraged by the dedication and creative approaches of practitioners and some teachers that lead me to feel hope, excitement, joy and inspiration. Yet, this is also coupled with emotions, such as sadness and despair, due to the magnitude of racism, along with moments of awkwardness and shame, when considering my own Whiteness. During the final stages of writing up my thesis, I found a poem that I had written about feelings of awkwardness, on my first fieldwork visit with the Day of Difference. I had intended to keep this poem private, yet, if I am arguing for White people to engage with disturbance, I must also be prepared to take risks by opening up my own experiences for analysis. This incident took place during my pilot study visit before I had experienced the storytelling and dialogue

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activities explored above, as the visitors arrived and met with the teachers and facilitators over lunch.

My awkward lunchtime story

I feel awkward amongst the visitors
I feel excited to be here
I feel awkward that I feel awkward
My world is multicultural
Yet here I feel awkward

Very aware of being a White teacher
Doesn't know much
Yet I am not a teacher here
Just perceived as a teacher
Perceiving other teachers
Feeling the awkwardness amongst teachers

I sit on the rigid brown Formica table top
Leg swinging in awkwardness
Feigning a smile and warmth that I wish would come naturally
A strange feeling pushing up from my belly
Excitement and awkwardness

I want to laugh and joke freely with the visitors
As they laugh and joke freely with one another
Am I being perceived as a White teacher who does not know much?
Are we feigning friendly chat and laughter yet deep down, sussing out trust, feeling awkward?
I want to stay, but I have to leave for work…I am lecturing soon
I leave feeling awkward

This poem draws attention to the fact that in my personal life I am part of a large racially diverse family and have diverse friends and relatives from around the world. However, in the school context, as a White researcher, I felt awkward, fearing that I was being judged as one of the school's teachers due to my age, gender and ethnicity. I found myself caught in a perceptual loop of blaming and feeling blamed. My children's experiences of racism in schools led me to judge teachers harshly in my role as a parent. At this moment, I wanted to distance myself from being perceived and judged as I judged other White teachers. I wanted to distance myself from my Whiteness, but I cannot. A feeling of shame

hung over me. The resultant awkwardness shaped my interactions with the teachers and project visitors, making me feel the weight of my Whiteness, through the embarrassment of being part of the problem. No matter how much I considered myself an anti-racist educator, I had not separated my looking White from being White. Garner (2007:6) argues that to understand the concept of Whiteness; there needs to be a separation of "Whiteness as 'looking White' and Whiteness as the performance of culture and the enactment of power" (Garner, 2007:6). By distancing myself from other White people, I was distancing myself from the latter. Even as I write this, I am aware that I am trying to justify myself as a 'good' White person, by describing myself as someone who has a diverse family and multicultural friends and relatives as I try to position myself as different to other White people, accepting of and accepted by racially diverse people. I find myself caught in a contradiction of Whiteness by locating myself as being 'apart' from White people rather than 'a part' of Whiteness, from which I cannot separate myself. Indeed, by trying to separate myself, I locate myself further into Whiteness through performative attempts to appear virtuous and knowledgeable about race and thus retain a position of White primacy. Through this messy wrestling with the contradictions, some clarity and awareness of my Whiteness are emerging, albeit I feel I have a long way yet to go. Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs (2017) argue that becoming race aware is one of the goals of anti-racist education. This involves recognising one's own racial identity and positioning, including engaging with feelings of resistance, denial, guilt and anger.

Recognising and owning moments of disturbance can be part of the process of social change. This incident alerted me to consider my unwitting complicity in maintaining racist structures. It prompted me to dig deeper to recognise the paradox of simultaneously being part of the problem and the solution in different

moments, times and contexts. It leads me to teach my White students to engage with their discomfort in order to understand, see and challenge racism, rather than avoid doing so because of it, although it is crucial to avoid making anti-racism about White people's discomfort. Shotwell (2011:74) argues that if we pay attention to negative affect, such as feelings of "guilt, sadness, panic, shame, embarrassment", these moments of discomfort provide a potentially pivotal moment for transformation. She posits that the avoidance of negative affect is often prompted by an idea that life should be continuously comfortable. Shotwell (2011) argues that we need to lean-in to the sharp points of discomfort when discussing racism rather than seek to avoid discomfort.

The role of negative affect, in the form of guilt, arose during focus groups with students. Students began to discuss feelings of guilt upon meeting the visitors due to harsh judgements that they had made during the morning 'images' activity (discussed in the previous chapter). A student from Church Hill secondary school stated, "You *felt quite guilty because you had judged them earlier and then you found out what had actually happened to them"*. Other students were nodding and making agreeable noises, so I asked who else felt guilty and nine of the ten students in the focus group put up their hands. The tenth student mentioned that his best friend was Black, suggesting that he had not judged the images in a negative way and hence had nothing about which to feel guilty. In another focus group students elaborated:

> *I felt really guilty, because I had written down all these like harsh judgements and stuff that I felt that I would have to put down because they wanted me to and that I didn't actually really think and then you see this person and they are actually like really nice, and you are like why did I do that? (Bramwell secondary school, Male student focus group 1).*

> *Yeah and then you are faced with them, and they are just a really nice person, and they just want to talk to you (Bramwell secondary school, male student focus group 1).*

In the first quote, the boy speaks about making harsh judgements but suggests that he felt he was meant to do that. The idea that this was an action carried out due to peer pressure seems to clash with the recognition that the visitor was actually nice. This suggests a tension between possible initial negative assumptions, wanting to fit in with the assumed notion of what they deemed normal or expected and possibly presenting a cover story to limit anyone thinking badly of him for doing so. Discussions during all focus groups seemed to suggest that during the Day of Difference a cocktail of emotions and feelings were aroused, where guilt and excitement coupled as students took part in powerful learning experiences.

Voicing guilt can be seen as an act of courage when revealed in a group context. While the above incident revealed a cautious willingness to share feelings of guilt, during the second focus group at Bramwell secondary school, one boy was reprimanded by other boys in the group for his admission of such an emotion. As the boy began to reveal feelings of guilt, he was teased and subsequently silenced:

> *I felt bad because I put some like bad stuff on their thing [in his activity booklet] when I saw them, like on the TV screen. So soon as I saw him, I tried crossing them out [what he had written] (Bramwell secondary school, male student focus group 2).*

The following dialogue then occurred amongst three other boys in the group:

> *Did you feel bad? [Mocking tone]*
>
> *Ugh Cry [makes mocking noises and ruffles hair]*
>
> *He's a right bell-end*
>
> *Even though he is really sad about it and probably cries every night, its fine right!*
>
> *Don't feel guilty, its fine now!*

As an observer, I interpreted the above comments as mocking the boy's admission of guilt. The comments and ruffling of the hair appeared to serve as displays of masculinities and a way to silence displays of 'soft' emotion from another male. The boys seemed to be disciplining one another through body language, silence, eye contact, shoving and forced laughter. Following the incident, the group became more hesitant and seemed to resist answering further questions. With fifteen minutes left to go out of a planned one-hour focus group, I called the session to an end. At the time, I felt I was protecting the more dominant boys from disciplining others in my focus group. I interpreted the behaviour as the result of a transgression of masculinity, which occurred through touching on issues of emotion, followed by a struggle to reassert laddish behaviour. In hindsight, I could have drawn attention to the issue by probing deeper with questions about emotion and masculinity. This requires skill, courage and experience to facilitate a discussion that throws light on the subject without risking the development of bullying in the group. Prior to this, these boys described their favourite part of the day as hearing the visitors' stories:

> *The best part, cos all the island stuff [role play activities] was quite good. But it all led on quite nicely to the bit where you came in and all the people talked about their lives and stuff, and there was that guy who had gone to prison. Everyone loved him he was such a legend Bramwell secondary school, male student, focus group 1).*

During the focus group, I showed pictures of the visitors from the images task. The boys expressed great interest when looking at slides, recalling whom they met, discussing and remembering their stories. Certain stories of tough times appeared to resonate with these male students. These included stories of wars, gangsters and prison. The following is an extract of students' comments as they looked at the pictures:

> *Oh, he was the best. He was well good.*

He comes from Afghanistan, doesn't he or Iraq

He was cool

He was the best definitely

Interviewer: Why was he the best?

I don't know. He had a really good story

The one with the yellow glasses?

Interviewer: What was his story about?

His story was about loads of war in his…

When he went to the shop, and he'd see people getting shot and stuff. He was from Iraq

We learned about like when he was about 10 or 12 or something like that he just went to the shop to get some milk and then he saw like 3 or 4 people die getting shot up against the wall

Interviewer: Wow, what did you think of that?

I was like ah oh right. When I go to the shop, I see like five-year-olds on scooters, not someone getting shot

This story appeared to have had an impact on this student through connections over adversity. A male teacher from the school described that some of the young men in this focus group were troubled young men, in care and fatherless. He described how one male student (not present at this focus group) as making 'profound movement'. The student had thanked the project for coming and said he understood. The student from the above conversation appeared to have developed a new respect for Black people due to connections of masculine stories of hardship:

> *Before that I used to, not all the time, I used to think oh he's black or something like that but I now I think that oh he might have a had a bad life or anything, or he might have been from another country escaping war or something like that (Bramwell secondary school, male student, focus group 2).*

Nevertheless, an art practitioner spoke about the risk of reinforcing stereotypes of dangerous Black masculinities and argued for ensuring students get to

dialogue with a range of Black people. For example, to hear stories which intersect between race and gender and challenge existing stereotypes:

> *My job is to make sure they get a contrast of visitors so they don't have two people who are particularly masculine or have been through similar things so you know just to ensure they do not come away thinking that all black people have been involved in gangs or have been shot because it is so white still down here [in Devon] so that [stereotypes] is their perception, and I think that it is just as important for them to hear the other side of it when they [visitors] talk about being a dad and that kind of more sensitive side… and also to hear it [racism] from a female's perspective as well… because each of those visitors has got significant and impactful stories (Day of Difference, female arts practitioner 3).*

This highlights a tension between creating connections that certain young men identify with, which can develop their thinking about racial diversity, while risking reinforcing the stereotypes that are learnt through portrayals in the media and popular culture (bell hooks, 2006); albeit, switching from negative to positive connections with stereotypes. For many young White men growing up in predominantly White areas, limited access to Black role models exists. This access frequently comes from sportsmen and rap stars, where a particular kind of Black masculinity is often reinforced. This raises the importance of the need for diverse stories that can challenge assumptions brought about through lack of access to multiple stories about certain ethnic groups. Adichie (2009) proposes that when single narratives are held about another person or social group, this makes it difficult to recognise our equal humanity. She argues that even when single-story stereotypes reflect some truths, they are incomplete because they make one story become the only story and this flattens people's experiences and robs them of their dignity. An important message here is to find opportunities to share stories and learn from one another exposing the diversity within diverse groups to share humanity amongst groups. In predominantly White areas this will involve being creative about ways in which this can take place.

During my study, a head teacher at Appleberry primary school raised a further concern. She questioned whether inviting Black people into schools to perform cultural activities amounted to "Black people as treats". In this context, the danger lies in White children viewing Black people as a novelty, a form of entertainment or a reward. Literally, a 'body' of entertainment brought into schools for White people's benefit, which can also reinforce stereotypes due to the absence of other Black people in children's lives.

Opportunities to dialogue

An overarching message coming from students, who took part in the Day of Difference, was their appreciation of an opportunity to dialogue. This included both the opportunity to dialogue about issues of race and ethnicity and the opportunity to dialogue with people with diverse ethnicities and cultural experiences:

> *My favourite part was just like meeting the people asking the questions cos you could just ask them anything, and they would answer it but they would have a really detailed explanation to why and like and like your respect kind of grew for them throughout the day cos you realise they are just normal people like you but like get treated differently (Church Hill secondary school, student)*

Students discussed how they often feel shut down and prohibited from speaking about issues of race or indeed about ethnicity. Some children had developed the notion that even mentioning someone's ethnicity or culture amounted to racism, which highlights the influence of the colour-blind model that equates talking about race with racism (Rosenthal and Levy, 2010). The colour-blind model works to a discourse that claims to treat all people the same and avoid discussions about ethnicity or cultural groups to prevent some from being treated unfairly (Rosenthal and Levy, 2010). Critical race theory seeks to deconstruct the liberal discourse of

colour-blindness (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012) since colour-blindness can be a way to resist examining oppressive discourses of race, which then keep racist structures in place. During the Day of Difference art practitioners disrupted the colour-blind approach, by telling students, "Today you can say whatever you like, and you won't get in trouble"; the idea here being to encourage students to discuss and explore things that they may have always wanted to ask about but felt unable to say:

> *It was probably just like ok to be open with your opinions, and you can just go ahead and ask these things. That was the best thing about the day, and that is probably what you sort of learnt from it as well. Its ok, like everyone has these opinions, so it is ok to ask (Bramwell secondary school, male student focus group 1).*

> *I learnt that people worry too much about being racist they think they are going to say something racist when actually they are not, but it's just people making them think they are going to be racist when actually they are not because what they are thinking is innocent. People worry too much about it (Church Hill secondary school, male student, focus group 1).*

The dialogue did not come easily to all students. Some students highlighted that when silencing strategies have become internalised, it is not easy to overturn this and change when told now it is all right. During the focus group at Church Hill secondary school, we discussed the impact of students being told that today they could behave differently. One boy stated that you could not just behave differently if you have been told for a long time to behave a certain way. This highlighted the impact of implicit learning that has arisen from the colour-blind model. Burbules (2000) argues there are limits to dialogue in critical pedagogy since dialogue has to take place on someone's terms. Someone has set the agenda, and this affects who gets to speak, and what they feel is permissible to say. Although art facilitators set the agenda for the Day of Difference programme, this takes place in a school context where teachers and policymakers have established a previous colour-blind agenda. This also operates in a wider context of White supremacy,

where students are taught from a young age how to perform and protect Whiteness (Moon, 2016).

A female student stated that context and character shape ways in which students might engage in dialogue:

> *It depends what groups you are in. Cos if you are a quiet person and you have been surrounded by other people you wouldn't normally speak to who aren't as accepting and still aren't as into it as you are, you are probably less likely to actually voice your opinion more (Church Hill secondary school, focus group, female student).*

Some students highlighted that learnt habits were hard to change and there were things they would not want to say because it might be offensive. One student raised the point that consequences would occur beyond the day and therefore caution was still needed even when permission had been granted to free-up speech:

> *Because even though you know you are allowed to say anything, you know some stuff you could still offend people by saying… And even to say those things it would just feel completely unnatural because it's just not what, if you have just been told you can't do something forever and then someone suddenly says oh don't worry you can do this, it still doesn't feel right (Church Hill secondary school, focus group male student).*

> *Cos you know if you still made a really racist remark everyone would still remember it everyone in your group (Church Hill secondary school, focus group, female student).*

As discussed in the previous section, habits and fears of speaking about race issues or ethnicity led to caution and silences when visitors first arrived. In every classroom that I observed, students initially struggled to ask questions to the visitors, and without exception, conversations began as sanitised dialogue, where students kept to uncontroversial topics. It took much prompting and reiterating that it was acceptable to ask difficult questions and reminding students that they would not get in trouble and that this was an opportunity to ask the questions they

had always wanted to know yet feared to ask. The following is an excerpt from

Church Hill focus group transcripts:

>*We didn't really know what to ask them*
>
>*It was a bit awkward; first of all, you just sat there*
>
>*It was a bit rude*
>
>*Yeah I didn't want to be rude*
>
>*Yeah first of all people just asked what was your favourite colour and how old are you and then like as it went on people started asking more personal questions*
>
>*Interviewer: What enabled you to be gradually able to ask?*
>
>*Because they didn't mind if we did*
>
>*They didn't really; we were encouraged to ask*
>
>*Even if you are allowed you don't really want to*

Again, the notion of pasts and futures is evident here, where learnt silences and

consequences beyond the day affect students' ability to engage in dialogue with

Black visitors. This raises the question whether White young people, in

predominantly White areas, might resist building friendships with diverse people

caused by fears about wrong speech or speech that has consequences, or

whether the issue here is about being watched in a school context, by those who

set and monitor the rules of silence. Fortunately, some students were able to

break through the silences to open up dialogue, which also encouraged others to

speak:

>*I remember the first time we did it [dialogue with diverse visitors] the first person that came in was a bit awkward at first. There were quite a few people in our group who just spoke their mind and just weren't really afraid to offend people, which was actually really good and they just asked them loads of really straight to the point questions like have you ever been to prison and stuff like that, which was really good and then it sort of all opened up and it was much more interesting and everyone sort of did that from then on (Bramwell secondary school, male student, focus group 1).*
>
>*That atmosphere was different [following the storytelling and dialogue activity]. At the start [of the day] everyone was just like all laughing at them*

[images of diverse people from around the world] but like at the end of the day everyone had just like joined together they had learnt to respect them more (Church Hill secondary school, focus group student).

A male teacher from Bramwell secondary school stated that some students had the opportunity to mix with Black people but perhaps not the opportunity to engage deeply in conversations with Black people:

Maybe they feel shut down from conversations because we barrack them that this is the correct way of thinking. They know that some of the views they may have, yeah there is that perception of our expectations of them (Bramwell secondary school, male teacher).

The Day of Difference arts approach veered away from a focus on the treatment of Black people to explore the fear embedded in White people:

I think the programme [Day of Difference] is not trying to say treat Black people differently. It's not trying to say anything about Black people. It's looking at xenophobia. It's looking at our fear of difference, and it's trying to examine and explore that hand in hand with young people rather than be an information delivery service that says you must think like this, not like this (Day of Difference, male arts practitioner 1).

If diversity work focusses solely on the plight of Black people, there is a danger that White people are excused from examining their own fears and anxieties about issues of race. This is one of the key premises of anti-racist education highlighted by Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs (2017). In order to transform systemic oppression, it first needs to be made visible and White people need to recognise their personal complicity in maintaining it (Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs, 2017). This will not happen if education about racism focusses solely on Black people. As the art practitioner argues, the programme is not about teaching White students how to treat Black people but about examining themselves. This stood in contrast to the prohibitive instruction that students received, as evidence through reoccurring statements about what they should not say. During informal conversations and observations, it was common to hear students say, "You can't say that" when any conversations about ethnicity occurred. I often hear this phenomenon in everyday

settings with grown-ups who question whether they are 'allowed' to mention someone's skin colour or ethnicity. Students and teachers often appeared anxious and confused about engaging in dialogue about issues of race, due to fears of transgressing codes of behaviour that were often mystified and unknown and hence best avoided. This suggests that people are seeking approval about what they can and must not do and say through a strategy of avoidance rather than exploring their own fears of difference. The Day of Difference seeks to focus on the latter:

> *The idea is that you are not actually supposed to tell them [students] what to think. That is not the idea at all. The idea is to get them thinking about difference and prejudice and where they get their information from about how they have made up their ideas about people and constantly challenge where you get your information from, where you get your attitudes from (Day of Difference, female arts practitioner 2).*

All teachers who help facilitate the day are invited to take part in a two-hour training session prior to the event, to explain the nature of the programme and the roles that they are expected to take. During a focus group with teachers at Church Hill secondary school, a teacher expressed that not all attended the training but that those who did were much better prepared. The following comment is from a teacher who did not attend the training in her first year and felt much more prepared for the year that she did attend:

> *I definitely felt more comfortable teaching this year… The training definitely helped. Cos there were little things I didn't spot in the reading it. Just like um going around the room getting leading questions out of the things like that because that information wasn't in the pack (Bramwell secondary school, female teacher).*

Teachers were given a pack that explained each stage of the day and gave guidelines on facilitation. However, regardless of the training or previous project experience, some simply struggled with allowing dialogue that they perceived as impolite. In my field notes, I recorded incidences where teachers repeatedly shut

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down students from dialogue using comments such as "that is not very nice". The following passage is drawn from my field notes, where I reflect on the idea of 'pure-white' schools that fear imperfection:

> *Many White teachers seem to be working to a narrative of 'purity' and 'perfection'. Teachers apologise for not being drama teachers. White children are shut down from the dialogue about racism. Students are told "no question is a stupid question" yet told off for being 'mean'. Double messages are being sent, where some questions are praised, and others are glossed over; implicit value judgements are being sent about what questions can be asked and what feedback can be given. A culture of silence to present purity masks a bubbling storm. A facilitator says because kids are shut down from discussing issues, it explodes when given free play (drama exercise) and this boils up to dangerous levels. I observe that students are actually very keen to want to learn about other people and cultures once they get past the 'wall of silence' and what I shall call 'fear of imperfection' (Church Hill secondary school, field notes from observations).*

Teachers expressed interest, elation and excitement along with fear, anger and frustration. Many teachers appeared to face a very real tension between allowing troublesome discussions to take place and working under the colour-blind model. Notions of politeness and equal-niceness are embedded within this discourse. However, I question whether this is really about protecting certain children from harm or maintaining an image schools as nice and blameless. Ladson-Billings (2009) argues that although vast evidence of racism in the classroom exists, the image of education as a nice field leads to teachers' resistance to change or engage in anti-racist work, which would expose the not-so-nice side of education. Thus, the very necessary implicit work that needs doing is not done, and race work is kept superficial.

Along with shutting down dialogue, some teachers shut down feedback. Such as, when at the end of the Day of Difference, during the reflection session a teacher began by asking the students, "How was the day?" One student replied, "Interesting" to which the teacher stated, "Good well done!" This passing of value

judgement on students' experiences appeared to send a message that only positive or superficial feedback is required:

> *This immediately shut down the discussion and controlled it with jargon that is meaningless. Where children learn that what teachers want them to say is "it was a good day" and don't actually want real human thoughts. Is this due to teachers' fear of engaging or just wanting tick box results? (Bramwell secondary school, field notes from observations).*

This highlights the fundamental necessity for school cultures to change if meaningful learning and exploration of troublesome and emotive issues such as racism are to take place in schools. Meanwhile, the importance of being taught by incomers rather than teachers perhaps allows challenging and creative pedagogies to be brought in to contexts where teachers feel constrained by current structural conventions. If students feel constrained by prohibitive pedagogies, they are perhaps more likely to listen and engage with educators who are able to transgress conventional boundaries of schooling. Practitioners in community organisations, whose purpose is geared towards personal and social development, may have more freedom to create alternative and potentially disrupting anti-racist pedagogies than teachers in formal education settings who are required to transmit fixed and testable knowledge to achieve graded outcomes. Through observations, I noted there was a strong sense of what many teachers felt they can and cannot tolerate in the classroom and what they feel duty bound to control. Although I found exceptions, where teachers felt able to engage in playing with the tragedies that arose and thus support students in their learning to explore internalised narratives and resist racism. However, the resistance and silencing strategies that many teachers seemed to engage in suggests that they needed anti-racist education as much as the students did. Although there is a case to be made for anti-racist education being offered by community practitioners, this does not mean that White teachers should negate

becoming involved in anti-racist practices. If only a few committed White people get involved, little will change, and anti-racist projects remain a way to "tinker around the edges of the problem" (Denevi and Pastan, 2006:70).

Arts practitioners from the Day of Difference argued that a key part of the day was engagement with emotion and human interaction in ways that allowed students to embody the experience through active participation that allows students to open up and discover their inner stories, which can lead to cultural changes within schools:

> *Arts touch the emotions and the soul in a very different way or can do in a very different way than teaching things. Interaction as well is really important (Day of Difference, female arts practitioner 2).*

> *It is fundamentally a participatory theatre experience because it does and it is designed for young people to open up their stories and empower them to open up their stories. To see story, me telling my story, as something powerful and culture changing within a school, within a group or within an environment and that is fundamentally what theatre is about at its root (Day of Difference, male arts practitioner 1).*

> *Good theatre asks questions, that is what the arts can do it can help raise questions and raise debate for people in an environment that they wouldn't normally be able to do (Day of Difference, male arts practitioner 1).*

An arts practitioner suggested that the pedagogical methods used in the Day of Difference approach served to change thought patterns, even if behaviours took longer to adapt:

> *If I am the sort of kid that uses the term Paki, often in school and I have a certain amount of power. Because I have gone through Day of Difference the next time that word comes on my tongue, the weight of the experience of that programme is behind it, I might still call the person Paki but a different thought process is going on, and over time, that is what creates change (Day of Difference, male arts practitioner 1).*

A longitudinal study might capture the impact of the 'weight of the experience' over time. However, this lies outside the boundaries of this research. What the data does reveal is the importance of students having opportunities to dialogue, explore, and express trauma and tragedy. The art methods of drama, dialogue

and storytelling offer a medium for breaking through silences, resistance and giving expression to troubled emotion, anger and hostility. Such creative pedagogies potentially offer methods for working through disturbances and undercurrents of hostility rather than White-washing (Gillborn, 2009ª) or hiding issues through the pretence that there is no problem (Gaine, 1987, 1995) or that White teachers are moral citizens who do not need to engage in anti-racist work (Applebaum, 2005), all of which help retain White supremacy. My data suggests that teachers need more in-depth training as a pre-condition of anti-racist education, to include the nature and potential of critical pedagogy methodologies.

Stenhouse *et al.* (1982) argue that given the extent of racism in society, unrealistic expectations should not be placed on teachers alone to eradicate it. This is not to suggest that teachers should not take up the responsibility. On the contrary, the authors found that teaching about race relations did help most students to develop attitudes that are more favourable. However, although Stenhouse *et al.* (1982) argue that schools can make a worthwhile contribution to improving racist attitudes, they state this amounts to amelioration rather than counteracting the full influence of racism in society. However, I argue that schools could go a long way towards challenging racism if White people developed the hearts and minds to do so. This would involve not simply inviting one-off art programs into schools but developing a whole school approach that embeds anti-racist education across the curriculum, throughout the school and reaching out to the wider community (Richardson, 2004; Complementing Teachers, 2003; Cheng and Soudack, 1994). The art programmes discussed in my study, alone will not change the system of White primacy. However, structural change involves the collective actions of a variety of individuals and groups, including activists, policymakers, educators, think tanks, campaigns, researchers, community

programmes, and others. My research has shown how arts pedagogies have the potential to contribute to the transformation of racialised beliefs and behaviours. I have also shown how White teachers and students resistance to transforming racism can be revealed through critical art pedagogies that work with negative affect (Shotwell, 2008).

Lander (2015) argues that we need the expertise of people with specialist knowledge, including Black workers, who are often asked to do race work in education settings. This is because it can take years to educate a trainee teacher to feel confident to tackle race issues. Lander (2015) argues that in initial teacher education there are limited spaces for critical reflection around racism. She argues that while teacher-training courses need to sow the seeds for growth, becoming an effective anti-racist practitioner takes time and energy. My data suggests a distinct need for expert anti-racist practitioners, who can work at the difficult intersection between encouraging or exposing racism and working to disturb emotions and work with negative affect (Shotwell, 2008) in ways that are transformative, not inhibitive. This potentially involves inviting specialist practitioners to develop anti-racist pedagogies in schools for both teachers and students. However, as Ahmed (2012[b]) suggests, leaving anti-racist work to Black colleagues can be a form of avoidance for White people. Likewise, leaving anti-racism to Black or White facilitators of specialist projects might also be a way for White teachers to avoid personal engagement with the issues. Teachers need to develop the confidence and abilities to work with issues of diversity too (Maylor, 2014). Teachers hold positions of power and influence, and as Boler (2004) proposes, education environments have unique potential for democratic dialogue where racist narratives can be heard, critiqued, challenged and alternative discourses offered. It is a fundamental necessity for school cultures to change if

meaningful learning and exploration of troublesome and emotive issues such as racism are to take place in schools. Thus, it is of paramount importance that teachers along with expert practitioners engage in anti-racist education. To suggest otherwise is to accept teachers' position in maintaining school establishments as defenders of White primacy.

Chapter 7: Paradoxical pedagogies: The quest for an effective anti-racist education

In this final chapter, I begin by summarising the key ideas developed through my findings and discussion chapters (four, five and six) and discuss their implications and relevance to my research questions. I then outline my contribution to knowledge and the significance of my work and make recommendations for practice. Finally, I provide an evaluation of my doctoral research project; exploring some strengths and weaknesses of the research, reflecting on my positioning as a White woman researching racism and make suggestions for further research.

Summary of data chapters

This thesis sought to answer the overarching question, in what ways do arts programmes support anti-racist education in predominantly White areas in South West England? Two sub-questions run through my research (1) how do White teachers and students, in predominantly White areas, conceptualise their learning about issues of racism? (2) What kinds of learning take place amongst White primary and secondary school students, in predominantly White classrooms, who take part in anti-racist arts projects? The first was discussed in chapter four, which provided an in-depth analysis of the ways in which the concept of racism is understood and how this creates a barrier to learning. Conceptualisations of anti-racist education were explored further in chapter five by examining message delivery approaches to education and issues with a 'forced' respect method for stopping racism. The second sub-question was answered in chapters five and six through explorations of students and teachers engagements with art projects. This showed that critical art pedagogies that work

at both the emotional and cognitive levels offer potential methods for engaging with troublesome issues that might otherwise be difficult to access or discuss.

Chapter four was based on the development of three key concepts, which I devised to explain reasons why school approaches to reducing racism may be unsuccessful. These being the linguistic-race ravine, the equal-meanness narrative and the equal-niceness narrative. In the first, the metaphor of the ravine served two purposes. It described the distance found between theoretical assertions and common assumptions about racism and signified a rocky chasm that teachers may be wary of falling into when issues of race are raised. This was found in the fears and uncertainties that were often expressed in comments about being worried about 'saying the wrong thing' and being uncertain whether certain behaviours are racist or not. Equally, wariness was observed through the silences, pausing and difficulty with engaging in dialogue about issues of race. A paradox existed in some schools, whereby the actions taken were often reinforcing White dominance rather than eradicating racism. Hence, teachers may feel they are doing what they can to inhibit racism, while still being accused, by theorists and others, of maintaining racist organisations. Thus, I propose that understanding differences in the ways issues are constructed is crucial for moving forwards, though finding ways to unearth deeply rooted concepts that prevent insight into the power structures of racism. The arts pedagogies discussed offer potential strategies.

The equal-meanness narrative sought to capture common conceptualisations of racism. This being the belief that all people have the capacity to be mean to one another regardless of their ethnicity and that racism is just another form of meanness. This perspective dismissed the power of collective racist acts and the

hierarchy of racial oppression. The equal-niceness narrative offered insight into the superficiality of current approaches, where teaching children to be nice to each another is deemed sufficient. For example, I explored the perspective of some teachers who proclaim that they and the students are basically nice people, with good intent, and therefore no one need be offended if they unwittingly make comments that might be deemed racist. The notion of being offended can be used to misrepresent and trivialise the devastating impact of verbal, non-verbal and structural racism. Conceptualising racism as equal-meanness provides some teachers with an excuse to adopt the 'niceness' approach rather than confront the pernicious nature of racist name calling or explore deep-rooted prejudices.

In chapter five, I explored the aesthetics of racism, including semiotic meanings and affective aspects of racism. I named three new concepts, the 'communal roar', 'reluctant racism' and the 'howl beneath the silence'. The aesthetics of racism describes how negative feelings and destructive meanings can become associated with imagery, voice tone, accent or cultural items. The communal roar explains the collective power of implicit and explicit assumptions, characterised by a collective rippling out of expressions of emotion, such as laughter, disgust, embarrassment and hostility. Along with exposing the pervasiveness of racism, the communal roar also revealed 'reluctant racism'. I described this as moments when people come to recognise that they feel racist and hold racist thoughts but wished they did not. Such recognition provides critical moments of revelation for students who become aware that they have been holding internalised negative feelings and assumptions about certain ethnic groups, which Shusterman (2008) argues can exist regardless of one's belief in equality.

I created the concept of the howl beneath the silence to convey the collective disturbances festering beneath the 'silent' surface; including fears, confusions, uncertainty, bodily feelings and hostility, which were revealed through the communal roar. These aspects of racism tend to be overlooked, yet hold the affective power that shape beliefs and behaviours about diverse 'others'. The silent surface relates to a belief that racism only exists if it can be seen and heard and thus collective hostilities existing beneath the surface are ignored. The howl beneath the silence counteracts the belief that racism does not exist in their schools, as expressed by many teachers in my study. It also provides insight into why school approaches that seek to control racism through forcing respect and silencing race talk may have little impact and can exacerbate the problem by not providing opportunities to work through these internalised troubling feelings and confusions.

My findings suggest that teachers *believe* their intentions are well meant. However, good intentions do not prevent negative outcomes. I discussed the aesthetics of 'forced respect' when anti-racist practice is performed as message delivery rather than an exploration of issues, blocks and concerns that students may have. I argue that forcing respect, by telling students how to behave, coupled with silencing conversations about race can lead to the build-up of collective hostility, which can be enacted out in secret ways, hidden from teachers, such as through jokes and acronyms or become displaced and erupt in contexts inside or outside of the classroom and in the local community. My findings suggest that students welcome opportunities to engage in dialogue about issues of race since they often feel shut down from such conversations. However, when considering that racism has an implicit embodied nature, which can be acquired through the senses, without conscious thought, it will take more than critical dialogue to

transform it. It is here that critical art pedagogy has a role to play in developing effective anti-racist pedagogies.

In chapter six, I explored the learning that takes place amongst White students, in predominantly White classrooms, who engage with anti-racist arts projects and presented three key ideas. Firstly, the need to engage with aspects of anti-racist education that White people find troubling and to open up and explore disturbances. Secondly, that educational potential can arise through arts approaches that blur truth and pretence. Thirdly, that critical dialogue and storytelling can be utilised to recognise one's own prejudices and develop connections and a new respect for diverse peoples. Blurring emotions with gameplay and 'real' attitudes towards others was an important educative feature of the Day of Difference arts programme. An arts practitioner argued, "You can investigate the truth more easily when you do it through pretence". The protection of certain creative arts media provides the potential for expressions that may otherwise remain hidden because no-one really knows for sure, except the participant, whether actions and statements are true or part of the pretence. This offers students a way to engage with issues that they may otherwise resist and to express, expose and examine, hostile attitudes and assumptions.

I explored a dialogue and storytelling activity, where secondary school students engaged in conversations with diverse visitors from around the world. The stories were emotive and traumatic as well as encouraging and humorous. Children would gasp, go silent, laugh and at times cry at the things they were hearing. Some visitors also cried with the recollection of the trauma experienced, as they retold their stories. The activity was found to create moments of contradiction where sympathy and respect for people telling their stories merged with hostile

thoughts and behaviours either carried out personally or experienced from being part of the earlier drama role-play activities. This led to the majority of my student research participants offering admissions of guilt during focus groups. Yet, despite the initial discomfort, students revealed they found the activity enjoyable and informative, thus revealing the pedagogical potential of engaging with negative emotions and the paradox that educative opportunities can be enjoyable even when troublesome emotions are included. This reflects Shotwell's (2011) proposal that negative affect can provide moments for transformation, and education need not strive to be endlessly comfortable.

My findings suggest that anti-racist education can be challenging but need not be threatening; education that is troublesome or disturbing can also be pleasurable and immensely rewarding. Nevertheless, it is important to recognise the range of emotions present in the Day of Difference learning process, such as, guilt, frustration, anger, fear, joy and excitement, which combine to make the learning process enjoyable. As such, the guilt and sadness are not isolated in a way that can leave students feeling exposed or ashamed but rather is coupled with a collection of feelings, which can be rewarding. Nevertheless, it must be noted that each student experiences the learning differently and alternative experiences may have occurred that were not revealed by my study.

Further reflections

During my research, in interviews and during observations, some teachers voiced enthusiasm for the art project methods, and an arts programme was booked annually in some schools. However, others struggled to understand in what ways arts approaches are educative. Dewhurst (2014) points out that social justice art education may not be understood in terms of where the learning lies. This raises

the question do teachers and students need to understand where the learning is for it to be effective? When considering aesthetic elements of learning the answer is no. However, learning will be potentially stronger when teachers and students understand the methodologies used and thus may be more inclined to invest more in terms of personal engagement and school commitment.

The Day of Difference approach demonstrated that while some people might see arts as a soft approach to learning, the arts could also be hard-hitting, provocative and disturbing. I found that, when this happens, teachers and students could express elation and excitement at the revelations and learning that takes place, or express horror and discord with the troubled emotions, behaviours and disclosures that arise. Some resist the method, perceiving it as permitting or even causing racism. I have had both students and teachers ask me whether breaking the silences and talking about race is exacerbating racism or creating a problem that was not there. This can be a sticking point for those who equate racism with name-calling and meanness. I have pondered on the possibility that such arts approaches might cause racism. I recognise that when students witness racist language and behaviours from one another, during role-play activities, this can legitimise racism and thus perpetuate it. However, the presence of the communal roar reminds us that racism already exists as a deeply embedded issue and this needs to be recognised, opened up, explored and addressed. Yet, experience and expertise are required to facilitate this approach.

Resistance to critical art pedagogies is perhaps unsurprising when methods are fundamentally challenging compared to standard teaching methods. The prevalence with which teachers, who were helping facilitate the drama activities,

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told me they are not drama teachers, alerted me to the feelings of discomfort, many experienced and perhaps felt the need to apologise for what was happening or excuse themselves from potential blame. It is possible that the method raises some teachers' awareness of flaws in their current abilities to deliver anti-racist education. Hence, resistance may be underpinned by fears of being seen as a failure, by those who feel they have previously taught students not to be racist yet here students were expressing racial hostility. When anti-racist education is interpreted as prohibiting acts of racial bullying and name-calling, rather than challenging internalised assumptions and thought processes, witnessing dramatic methods that allow it, can seem very puzzling indeed.

I suggest that fears about the project permitting or exacerbating racism go beyond this. The methods used tug at the fabric of confront and safety, which has been kept intact by silencing and avoiding strategies, and this will need to be worked through in order to bring about meaningful social change. Unfortunately, Lorde's (1982) assertion rings true, that the master's tools cannot dismantle the master's house. While critical pedagogies and critical art pedagogies appear to have some impact, silencing discourses and message delivery pedagogies present a challenge, and can limit the learning that could otherwise take place. Furthermore, the art projects explored in my study were booked as a stand-alone project rather than as a part of a collective of anti-racist learning opportunities. As transformation rarely takes place in a day, this tokenistic inclusion highlights a lack of school policy commitment to tackling racism, despite some very willing and committed teachers who booked and participated in the programmes.

Contribution to knowledge

My contribution to knowledge comes predominantly through "creating new understandings of existing issues" (Trafford and Lesham, 2008:141). Deleuze and Guattari (1994:5) propose that we make our world through concept creating. The authors state that the objective of philosophy is to create new concepts. Concepts are created not discovered and therefore "sciences, arts, and philosophies are all equally creative" (1994:5). Creating new concepts can ignite the imagination through capturing the essence of an issue in ways that widen our understanding. In this section, I highlight how the concepts that I have named contribute to knowledge through building on current knowledge, supporting existing theories and extending understanding about racism in education.

In chapter two, I provided a comprehensive discussion of how critical race theory and critical Whiteness theory aim to make visible ways that White privilege is maintained through policy, organisational structures, discourses and resistance. I add to this body of knowledge through my theorising of the linguistic-race ravine, equal-meanness narrative and equal-niceness narrative, which I argue, are thwarting the implementation of effective anti-racist strategies and instead reinforcing the problem. As discussed in chapter four, when White people claim that racism is no longer a problem and that racism is just equal-meanness, this highlights ignorance not just of the present but also the history of anti-racist education. Leonardo (2009) argues that lack of understanding about racism is not based on ignorance but active resistance. Therefore, when White people claim that racism is equal-meanness this may not just be ignorance of the subject but strategic behaviour to maintain White primacy. Since by remaining ignorant to the nature and prevalence of racism one can avoid strategies to transform it. Here I

catch myself in an awkward position because when reflecting on my own knowledge of anti-racism, I found myself a part of ignorance and thus unwittingly involved in the White strategy. I ashamedly admit that during much of the process of writing this thesis, I was unaware of the importance of knowing about the history of anti-racist education in the UK, despite positioning myself as an anti-racist educator. I had focussed on the here and now and ways that racism manifested. I had read and written about the past struggles between multicultural, anti-racist and colour-blind approaches in schools and considered that sufficient. What I had not explored or appreciated was the tremendous dedication, campaigning and political activism that Black intellectuals, practitioners and families had engaged in to bring multiculturalism and anti-racist education into schools in the first place. This highlights my own privilege in being able to believe I was contributing to anti-racist education without having appreciated the endeavours that came before, which made this possible. What made this more interesting for me was that some years ago, I lived in London and regularly took my children to play in Finsbury Park. I would have walked past the New Beacon Bookshop, where activism meetings and campaigns would have taken place, yet remained oblivious to the anti-racist work going on inside. Despite having dual heritage children, at this time I was living a parallel life, ignorant of structural racism.

The history of anti-racist education in the UK shows that some gains have been made in schools. For example, multiculturalism being promoted as a positive aspect of Britishness (Parekh, 2000), anti-racist education having some influence in the late 1970s and 1980s on education policy (Swann, 1985; ALTARF, 1983) and some White educators and policymakers becoming more willing to support change and value racial diversity (Gaine, 2005). However, my findings suggest

that much remains the same. Little has changed in terms of the overarching attitudes in the predominantly White schools that I studied. Over three decades ago, Mullard (1984) argued that anti-racist education was needed in schools to develop an active consciousness of structural racism, inequality and injustice. Yet the prevalence of the equal-meanness narrative shows that an understanding structural racial injustice is still largely absent. Tomlinson (2008) argues that over the last fifty years there has been a lack of political will to make sure all groups receive equal and fair treatment. This is especially so in less ethnically diverse areas, where there is a prevailing idea that minority ethnic people "do not belong here" and should "go back to where they come from" (DFES, 2004:12). By proposing the concept of the equal-meanness narrative, I build on the understanding of White ignorance by showing how White teachers and pupils in mainly White areas simultaneously dismiss the problem of racism while actively constructing Black people as 'other'. This then allows them to draw on the equal-niceness narrative as a solution to feign action against racism. Picower (2009) has argued that White teachers use tools of Whiteness, which include ideological beliefs and performative actions. I build on this by showing how the equal-meanness and equal-niceness narratives are 'tools of Whiteness', which work symbiotically, by White teachers using both of these narratives to trivialise racism as just being a form of meanness and to justify the assertion that niceness is the antidote. By concentrating on racism as meanness and the solution as niceness, White teachers and pupils lead the focus away from engaging with the deeper issues of racism in terms of disadvantage and exclusion, which take place irrespective of whether or not racist words are uttered, or people are explicitly mean.

In the schools that I researched, one of the issues I uncovered was a preoccupation with the linguistics of racism and whether or not one is perceived as looking racist (Leonardo, 2009). This stems from a belief that racism is about words and that words have fixed rather than constructed, changeable and contextual meanings. This also relates to an idea that a person with higher authority holds the key to the righteousness of words, which needs to be passed on to teachers and in turn delivered to students. What this narrative misses is that racism is also made up of unspoken assumptions, biases, feelings and subtle behaviours. Rollock (2012[b]) argues that common understandings of racism are flawed and position White people as innocent bystanders. Microaggressions or "subtle and insidious" forms of racism tend to go undetected (Rollock, 2012[b]:517). Gillborn (2013) highlights the idea that good intentions do not rule out harmful consequences. Even White people who mean well can be involved in racist actions and behaviours regardless of whether they are aware of it. I devised the term 'linguistic race-ravine' to highlight this gap in understanding where White people focus on the linguistics of racism and ignore the social, economic and psychological impacts. The ravine also relates to a gap between anti-racist theories, which construct racism as structural inequities, and school practices that focus on silencing race words and dialogue about ethnicity. The latter then leading to fear of falling into a gulf of shame if they engage with anti-racist practices and 'get it wrong'. White people's focus on their own shame, guilt or fear of being labelled racist shows that more importance is placed on maintaining a positive image of their own Whiteness than transforming racism. When White teachers and students use active protection strategies to avoid engaging with anti-racist education (Picower, 2009), this suggests they are more concerned with protecting White primacy than eradicating racism. One of the fears expressed by

teachers during my interviews was the idea that they do not know what to do about racism. The problem here seems to be that when racism has been conceptualised as being about words and teachers are not sure which words are all right to use, it becomes easier to silence all talk about race and ethnicity. Yet, by silencing and avoiding the issues, the problem is not resolved and fears not tackled. Furthermore, when White people argue that they fear to get involved with issues of race and are unsure what to do, this suggests that they are avoiding the issue rather than seeking out and accessing the many anti-racist resources available. These include a large variety of research reports and teaching resources from the Runnymede Trust along with advice, policy debates, information and practitioner resources available from information and consultancy organisations such as INSTED educational consultancy, the Institute for Race Relations and the George Padmore Institute.

Much has been written about the need to make the structural aspects of racism visible to White people. For example, Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs' (2017) review of the literature on anti-racist education highlighted three reoccurring goals in anti-racist education literature. The first being what they called visibilising. This relates to becoming race aware and recognising that people are positioned differently in terms of privilege. This includes recognising one's own racial identity and working through feelings of resistance, denial, guilt and anger, which Shotwell (2011) calls engaging with negative affect. The linguistic race-ravine builds on this understanding by naming the gap between many White teachers' understandings about anti-racist school practice and this theoretical understanding. By giving a name to the gap, it provides a starting point for building bridges across it, for those that have not yet conceptualised racism in this way. It points out the collective miss-perception that White teachers' have about race or as Goldman (1999:4, in

Mills, 2007:16) refers to as "the distribution of knowledge or error within the larger social cluster". The concept itself will not lead to an easy transition whereby White people come to understand structural racism. Resistance to understanding this has been well documented (Evans-Winters and Twyman, 2011; Picower, 2009; Gillespie, Ashbaugh and Defiore, 2002; Frankenberg, 1997). However, the concept of the linguistic-race ravine serves to point out the collective miss-perception that White teachers have about race or "the spread of misinformation across a group's membership" (Goldman, 1999:4, in Mills, 2007:16). This draws attention to errors in collective knowing rather than focus on individual resistance, which if bridged could support school practice in relation to issues of race by highlighting collective responsibility for change rather than teachers focusing on their own individual fear and feelings of inadequacy about anti-racist education.

In chapter five, I extend this understanding by offering ways of reconceptualising racism in educational contexts to show how a focus on race words and silencing strategies is ineffective due to the deeply embedded assumptions and feelings dwelling beneath the surface. I do this by presenting my concepts of the communal roar and the howl beneath the silence. The communal roar is significant in three key ways. Firstly, it highlights the weight of collective belief through the escalating volume of students' negative responses to certain ethnic markers. Secondly, it reveals to students and teachers themselves the magnitude of racist expression through being able to experience out-loud the collective negativity, which tends to be obscured and ignored by equal-niceness pedagogies. This highlights why teachers' endeavours to cover up the existence of racism will be ineffectual. Thirdly, it evidences critical race theory's assertion that racism is ordinary, not simply the attitudes and behaviours of a few extreme individuals (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012). This builds on Shotwell's (2011)

theory of negative affect, which provides insight into the individual embodied disturbances that can accompany thoughts and actions in relation to issues of race. The howl beneath the silence, evidenced through the communal roar, highlights the impact of collective affect and the necessity for this to be explored in education contexts, to challenge the assumptions of those who believe that racism does not exist. The concept of the communal roar and howl beneath the silence extend Shotwell's (2011) notion of negative affect by drawing attention to the affective power of collective knowledge about race, giving rise to a form of communal negative affect. The concept of the communal roar highlights, for teachers, the ineffectiveness of the colour-blind model for preventing racism. The colour-blind discourse serves to maintain the normality of Whiteness and protect it through silence (Leonardo, 2004; Tatum, 1997). The communal roar makes visible the racist assumptions and feelings that are lying beneath the surface, which emerge forth in contexts where students feel emboldened to express this.

Becoming aware of embodied assumptions about race can be uncomfortable as much as it can be releasing or transforming. There is a growing body of literature, which argues that engaging with discomfort is a necessary component of anti-racist education. For example, Zembylas (2010) argues for an ethic of discomfort as a way to conceptualise new emotional challenges that teachers face as they adapt to working in classrooms that are becoming more multicultural. Boler (2004) proposes that a disruptive pedagogy can be useful for including and honouring troubling feelings and exploring these in the classroom. Shotwell (2011) argues that paying attention to uncomfortable emotions such as shame and sadness can act as pivotal moments for change. Zembylas' (2010) ethic of discomfort differs from the Day of Difference methods in that he proposes discomfort as an active strategy where participants knowingly engage with their discomfort. In contrast,

the discomfort felt during the Day of Difference tends to be due to the consequences of an activity, which students were not expecting. Boler's and Shotwell's stances offer frameworks for paying attention to discomfort, allowing its expression and utilising it to move forward. This involves progressing from a notion of classrooms as safe-spaces, where discomfort is deemed undesirable, to spaces where discomfort is recognised as a core component of anti-racist education, which allows people to connect with their deepest feelings and engage in critical thinking in relation to such discomfort. My research adds to this knowledge by suggesting that an effective anti-racist pedagogy will be one that seeks to challenge the power dynamics of race and needs to work at the implicit and aesthetic level of knowing. This will inevitably involve being comfortable with discomfort.

Critical art pedagogies can work at the emotional level in ways that excite a diverse range of emotions, including guilt, shock, surprise, anger and laughter. The combination of these can make anti-racist pedagogies more appealing, which stands in contrast to current approaches that many students appear to resent. Maylor (2010) argues that both majority and minority ethnic pupils are experiencing diversity education negatively, due to the false idea that diversity is about minority ethnic groups, about which others need to learn. However, the types of art pedagogies discussed in this thesis will not alone change racist structures although they can contribute to creating change at the implicit common sense level, which Shotwell (2011) argues is a necessary part of anti-racism. Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs (2017) argue that the second goal of anti-racist education is recognising personal complicity in racial oppression through unearned privilege. The Day of Difference activity that gave rise to the communal roar did not extend as far as examining unearned privilege. However, what it did

do for some pupils is allow them to become more conscious of their own racist thoughts and behaviours. Some students were alarmed by this revelation of distasteful thoughts that were coming into their minds, which they wished were not there. This approach offers the potential for developing similar anti-racist pedagogies that do not seek to tell White students that they will likely hold negative assumptions about Black people due to their White upbringing but by creating opportunities for self-discovery of this notion. ALTARF (1983) argues that by virtue of their upbringing White people will be in some ways racially prejudiced. What my study does not determine is whether this activity had a lasting effect on students' assumptions and behaviours or whether they experienced this as an individual problem that they can seek to self-correct. It is unlikely that pupils would make the link between their own thoughts and assumptions to understanding how this connects to Whiteness power and privilege, such as how their actions and assumptions combine to produce systemic racism. Nevertheless, it does provide a step forward for thinking about anti-racist pedagogies. This involves going beyond the current school practice of teaching respect and silencing race talk, which my findings seem to suggest causes resentment to be harboured and racist behaviours to be displaced not stopped.

The above relates to ways that racist knowledge can be gained through the senses and lead to assumptions and judgements, which can then be performed without conscious awareness (Granger, 2010; Shusterman, 2008; bell hooks, 2006). Shusterman (2008) argues that racial hostility exists not only through logical thought but is embedded beneath the level of explicit consciousness. This offers an explanation for why people can be deeply shocked or embarrassed when challenged about racist behaviours and assumptions that they had not

realised were there or had not conceptualised as racist. My thesis builds on this understanding by combining the aesthetics of racism with critical race theory, to demonstrate the power of collective aesthetic responses. Critical art pedagogies can work in ways that enable implicit knowing and explicit knowing to meet. The art pedagogies explored in my study, such as blurring truth and pretence, offer potential methods for this. Critical race theory already promotes the use of creative storytelling and counter storytelling (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012). My findings suggest that while storytelling offers opportunities for Black people who have been silenced to speak back and challenge oppressive narratives when this is coupled with dialogue with White students, profound learning can occur. Moments of enlightenment can take place when White students make connections with trauma stories in ways that tap into their own experiences or trigger forms of respect that can dislodge previous racist assumptions. However, this needs to be put into context, art approaches alone, cannot undo racist structures or dismantle White primacy but can offer a contribution towards it. In a White supremacist world that prioritises and privileges White people, anti-racist strategies will need to be embedded into schools, policies and other organisational structures, which is a massive undertaking given the resistance and active remaking of racism that takes place. Approaches such as laid out in the Runnymede Trust *Complementing Teachers* handbook (2003) provide strategies for embedding a whole school anti-racist framework across the curriculum, by promoting race equality practices and attitudes throughout schools. Such embedded approaches avoid tokenistic approaches and do not just rely on one-off programmes that visit the school. This is important since community arts and theatre organisations and sports based anti-racist programmes, such as Kick it Out (www.kickitout.org/) and Show Racism the Red Card

(http://www.theredcard.org/) tend to be small-scale projects or one-day workshops. These arts and sports programmes offer valuable forms of anti-racist education. However, anti-racist education cannot take place in a day, since it involves a process of understanding that takes place over time and needs to be continually cultivated rather than being a problem that can be resolved. Unfortunately, from responses in my study, where teachers say they do not know how to deal with racism and the assertions that the art programmes in my study were one-off projects, it appears that in the predominantly White schools studied there are no strategic anti-racist procedures in place. Furthermore, resources, such as the *Complementing Teachers* approach were clearly not being utilised.

Challenging racism can be a burdensome task, especially in predominantly White areas, where racial intolerance is found to be high (Christ *et al.*, 2014; Burnett, 2011; Gaine, 1987, 1995) and where the motivation for supporting anti-racist initiatives can be lacking (Gaine, 2000). It is especially important to develop resources and research that address the issues of mainly White schools. Since there is a relatively small body of work on the subject of mainly White schools (Gaine, 2009). Especially in these contexts, hope is needed that a difference can be made, to a world where racism appears to be getting worse, and hate-crimes are on the rise. The creative potential of critical art pedagogies and the commitment of the art practitioners and some educators, who welcomed the projects into their schools, offer some hope, including the sense of hope that comes from being involved in endeavours to build solidarity across raced lines. What also surprised me is how my own understanding of racism had grown and developed by writing this thesis. bell hooks (2003:66) discusses activist writer Barbara Deming's statement, "I am no longer the same". She writes:

All white people who choose to be anti-racist proclaim this truth. Challenging racism, white supremacy, they are transformed. Free of the will to dominate on the basis of race, they can bond with people of color in beloved community living the truth of our essential humanness" (bell hooks, 2003:66).

To this goal, I consider myself a work in progress and my thesis aims to contribute to the theory and practice of this endeavour. For further in-depth reflections on this process see section, 'Whiteness, knowing and self-vigilance' towards the end of this chapter.

Relevance to educational practice

While the above section highlights the relevance of my thesis to developing theory, the findings from this thesis could also be of interest to trainee teachers, higher education lecturers, teachers, head teachers, community projects and community arts programmes. My thesis draws attention to undercurrents of racist hostility in areas where many believe it does not exist and explains why present approaches to reduce racism in schools might feel challenging and may not be working. This research offers hope through presenting new ways of thinking about and engaging with anti-racist education for White teachers, educators and practitioners working in predominantly White areas.

My research took place in the predominantly White area of Devon in South West England and sought to explore White teachers and students experiences and perspectives and racism and anti-racist education; my aim is to offer insight for White teachers working in such contexts. This topic is of great importance given the undercurrent of racial hostility in England, which has been made more visible recently following the European Union (EU) Referendum. The anti-immigration narratives, presented by the 'leave' campaign, appear to have legitimised open

expressions of racism, leading to a sharp rise in the reporting of racist attacks following the referendum results (BBC World News, 2016). While the undercurrent of hostility has long been written about by critical race theorists, this increased visibility highlights the crucial role of anti-racist education in contemporary England. My research is timely in that it offers insight into how White educators and students conceptualise racism and offers hope through presenting new ways of thinking about and engaging with anti-racist education for White teachers working in predominantly White areas.

I anticipate a growing need for work of this kind over the coming years. This is due to the uncertainties facing the UK in terms of political and economic negotiations to establish new relationships in Europe and around the world, following the EU referendum. The rise in explicit racist acts and political manipulation of racist positions are likely to extend into school contexts since students will also be affected by the discourses being propagated. This is likely to pose a challenge for teachers who have been schooled in the ways of colour-blindness and not developed the language, the conceptual framework or the necessary strategies for dealing with the new racisms that are likely to emerge. Therefore, I anticipate that new creative ways to work through issues of race in schools will be much needed.

This research also has implications for policy in that it highlights the dangers of ignoring the prevalence of racism or silencing conversations about racism and ethnicity or focusing on simply addressing racist language. The recent rise in reporting hate crimes is a testament to the levels of racism festering beneath the surface that has been exposed through the EU referendum 'leave' campaigns

that legitimised xenophobia. This also highlights the urgent need for policies and political campaigns to address racism.

Recommendations and implications for practice

1) **Addressing the conceptual gap:** Due to a gap in understanding regarding what racism is methods to stop racism may be exacerbating the problem. A paradox exists in some schools that I studied, whereby the actions that are taken are often reinforcing White dominance rather than eradicating racism. Therefore, conceptual education, which explores the meanings and manifestations of racism, needs to take place as a prerequisite to tackling racism. These include understanding such ideas as White primacy, the 'linguistic-race ravine', and why the 'equal-meanness narrative' can be counterproductive.

2) **Reconceptualising racism in schools:** The idea that racism does not exist in predominantly White areas is flawed and dangerous in that it ignores collective racist intolerance festering beneath the surface. My findings highlight the importance of recognising and reconceptualising the 'howl beneath the silence' as an aspect of racism. It explains why tackling racism needs to go beyond silencing race talk and the 'equal-niceness narrative' approach. Silencing racist talk can be necessary, in the moment, to protect individuals and groups from harm. However, it is important to recognise the difference between prohibiting harmful talk and prohibiting exploratory conversations that can be imperative for student's critical development. Adopting a blanket silencing approach results in missed opportunities to work through troublesome issues and bind communities

together such as, by fostering discussion, voicing disturbances and working through feelings rather than suppressing them.

3) **Considering who is best placed to deliver anti-racist education:** My data exposes the difficulties many participants have with speaking about issues, including fears about what is permissible to be said and also difficulties with constructing sentences, articulating thoughts and potentially even the ability to have clear thoughts about issues of race. Teachers are expected to know what to do, yet many lack the training, do not possess the language of anti-racism and do not have an adequate framework for conceptualising racism beyond its linguistic components. Lander (2015) argues that silencing and language change, such as colour-blind strategies that remove language relating to specific ethnicities can take away the reference points, which deny trainee teachers the ability to access the language of anti-racist education. Thus, strategies are not put in place and dealing with racism once again is marginalised in schools. Therefore, new approaches are urgently needed. This involves rethinking how anti-racist education is delivered in schools and by whom. This suggests that a transition period is needed whereby expert practitioners and programmes are recruited into schools to deliver anti-racist education. This needs to be coupled with supporting teachers to develop the necessary skills and conceptual framework for building future anti-racist school environments.

4) **Understanding where the learning lies in Critical art pedagogies:** Critical art pedagogy utilises knowledge of art and aesthetics to analyse power, privilege and notions of truth, for the purpose of bringing about a

more democratic and equal society (Cary, 2011). Using arts to tackle racism does not necessarily make a project anti-racist or a form of critical art pedagogy, even if motivated by a desire to reduce racism. Some arts approaches may work to deliver messages or control behaviour rather than promote critical reflection. From a critical pedagogy perspective, the role of educators is not to curb behaviour but to expand understanding. From this perspective, attitude change cannot be forced upon people but rather achieved through developing a critical consciousness, which may involve permitting dialogue about race, allowing unsavoury behaviours and assumptions to be 'let out' and explored through the arts. Also, working through the gritty disturbances and being willing to risk 'getting it wrong' and being called 'racist' in the pursuit of personal and structural change.

5) **Pedagogies that engage with trauma and disturbance need not be seen as negative:** Transforming racism needs to take place at the embodied level as well as the cognitive and therefore, teachers and students need to be aware that the process can release troublesome thoughts and feelings. Exploring trauma and disturbance be challenging yet can also be enjoyable, educative and necessary. However, this is not to say that students should be put through trauma in the pursuit of anti-racist education. Considering the background experiences that some children may have experienced, disturbing pedagogies may require the expertise of trained practitioners to avoid exacerbating the issues or provoking disturbances without putting supporting structures in place. This

is especially important for programmes that are presented as one-off sessions rather than embedded into a process of developmental learning.

Research evaluation

In the first part of this section, I reflect on my chosen methodology, explore the effectiveness of my epistemological stance and question whether my theoretical framework was the right approach to take. Following this, I examine my own role as a White researcher, exploring racism. Finally, I discuss gaps that remain, raise further questions and make suggestions for future research.

Epistemological, methodological and theoretical reflections

I consider my research paradigm to be more useful than I could have anticipated. Although I began by selecting constructionism as a preferred epistemological orientation, it was during the process of writing up my findings that I came to appreciate its fundamental role in shaping how I understood and interpreted my data. In chapter two, I argued that my constructionist approach focused not on whether race was based on actual or imagined differences, but on the value that is assigned to both real or imaginary difference (Memmi 1971, in Harris, 1999:281) and the relationship to students' learning about issues of race. By combining critical theory with an Interpretative research paradigm, I was able to explore the values assigned to issues of race and education. I found that constructions of race and assumptions about what education is, to be influential in terms of shaping how teachers and students engage with or resist anti-racist practice and with art project methods. So much so, that my first data chapter, chapter four, was dedicated to the topic of conceptualisations. When certain conceptualisations are combined, such as assumptions about race with

assumptions about how to deliver race education the collective force can be powerful. According to Mazzei (2013), people's thoughts and opinions are not independent or autonomous but rather part of a collective entanglement. This collective entanglement makes assumptions of White superiority so prevailing and dismantling it such an arduous process. Had I taken an objectivist paradigm, it is unlikely that I would have reached the above conclusions. The role of conceptualisations in the formation of racialised knowledge would likely have been lost in the pursuit of seeking to discover and categorise the ways teachers and students think about race as a form of objective and fixed reality.

In chapter two, I stated that my constructionist approach also included "multi-faceted ways of knowing through exploring artistic interactions, performative embodiment and emotional communication". At the time of writing the chapter, my thinking on this was in its early stages. During my data-collecting phase, the 'truth and pretence' paradox provided me with a moment of enlightenment. It led me to reflect beyond truth and pretence as an arts pedagogy and to consider its epistemological relevance. For pedagogy to be considered effective, it must complement beliefs about how we come to know the social world. That is to say, if I believe that the truth about racism can be known (or accessed) effectively through pretence then it must follow that knowing about the social world, in general, can be formed through truth and pretence. In this case, I define pretence as imagining, presenting or performing ideas that might be true or may be fictional. This involves incorporating embodied and emotional ways of knowing. Critical race theorists regularly use fictional stories and counter-narratives to illuminate new understanding around issues of race (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012). Rollock (2012[b]:524) uses the metaphor of "racial truth serums" in a fictional counter-narrative for "enabling White consciousness" (p.528). In doing so, she states, "I

invite the reader to 'play with' this alternative reality" (Rollock, 2012[b]:528). The reader is taken on a journey that provokes the imagination in ways that are informative as the narrative shifts when the truth serum is activated. The technique offers moments of enlightenment to take place without being fed a direct message. This supports the assertion that knowledge is located between truth and pretence, fantasy and imagination and provides a useful way for thinking about and developing anti-racist pedagogies in the classroom.

The notion of truth and pretence also leads me to analyse my research through considering ways that I might have done things differently. What I feel is missing from this thesis is a deeper exploration of arts pedagogies. For example, further reading of aesthetics, painting philosophy, creative fiction writing or drama theory might have added further depth and strength to my thesis. However, I needed to make decisions about where to place my focus, on arts in education or critical pedagogy. This was an illuminating question that was raised during my transfer viva, which led me to recognise my passion lay first and foremost in developing knowledge of critical pedagogy through which I would explore the impact of the arts. In retrospect, this was the right decision because developing critical theory is crucial to developing effective anti-racist work. Nevertheless, I yearn to engage more with art-based pedagogies and art-based research methods, and I intend to develop this further. An art-based methodology could be used to explore the implicit learning that I feel was beyond the scope of this study. Implicit learning relates to what is implied and taken for granted as "obvious" or "commonsensical" (Shotwell, 2011:30). It can remain embodied and unarticulated yet be influential in shaping our assumptions and behaviours. I could explore my own and others' implicit learning about racism through the arts. For example, Lorde (1984:37) proposes that poetry can help put our hopes and fears into language, giving

"name to the nameless so it can be thought". Spry (2011[b]) offers that through embodying understanding, we come to know it better and therefore knowing can come about through the performative body. Eisner (2008) argues that through art we can often feel what we cannot directly see.

While, I argue that I achieved the first thread of my research, the second thread of my research regarding the learning that takes place for White teachers and students engaging in art projects was more difficult to access. This is because learning is fluid, and can take place over time, which is potentially easier to access with a longitudinal study. I also found this to be difficult to determine due to implicit learning, which students themselves may not consciously recognise as learning. I do not feel this weakened the findings because I addressed my overarching research question, through offering insight to "in what ways do arts programmes support anti-racist education in predominantly White areas in South West England". However, it needs to be borne in mind that my findings reveal more about potential approaches to developing effective anti-racist pedagogies than specific learning that takes place.

I chose three frameworks to examine three overlapping issues: Whiteness, anti-racist education and arts pedagogies. Using a critical race theory framework was inevitable since racism is constructed through oppressive power relations. Discovering critical race theory was an enlightening process for me. It played a fundamental role in developing my thinking about racism, through my coming to understand the power dynamics of race. It explained the systemic nature of racism (Applebaum, 2005), its ordinary embedded nature (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012), why most White people do not see or try to mask the racism that is happening all around (Crenshaw 1988) and resist learning about and dismantling

it (Evans-Winters and Twyman, 2011). Furthermore, how as a White woman I benefit from the privileges of Whiteness (McIntosh, 1992) and how Whiteness influences the way I construct knowledge when doing anti-racist research (Maher and Thompson Tetreault, 1997), including coming to understand how, even as an anti-racist educator, I will be performing acts that serve to maintain my White privilege. As such, critical race theory was undoubtedly the overarching theoretical influence on my thesis and one that had the greatest impact on my academic development in the field of anti-racist studies. However, this is not to say that it was the theory I utilised most. As my thesis progressed, I found my attention drawn to critical pedagogy as I analysed the pedagogical methods teachers used to prohibit racist language and how they conceptualised education about racism. In chapter five, critical pedagogy and critical art pedagogy became more prominent in my analysis. I drew on Freire's (1970) critical pedagogy, to examine approaches to anti-racist school practice, which I critiqued in my theory chapter using bell hooks (1994) and Lorde's (1984) concerns about the limitations of critical pedagogy in patriarchal and racially structured organisations. Freire's critical pedagogy approach is renowned in social justice arenas. It is a tried and tested theory in both social justice education and social justice arts approaches. For example, in Bell and Desai's (2014) edited works, Freire's approach underpins many of the diverse arts methods discussed by different authors. Thus, it seemed like a logical framework to use given the nature of my study. It was not until the end stages of completing my thesis that I recognised that the critical pedagogy approaches had taken more prominence in my writing than I initially anticipated. On reflection, I might have produced a more cogent analysis had I retained the critical race theory framework to analyse the pedagogical approaches in my study. Chadderton (2013:44) argues that White supremacy is

a given when using a critical race theory framework and therefore, "the question is not whether white supremacy can be identified, but how it is manifested". I feel that I absorbed the understanding of White supremacy as a given in education, but perhaps did not make this explicit in my analysis when engaging with the critical pedagogy analysis. To an extent, this renders the critical pedagogy approach least helpful of the three frameworks. Although my intention was to use critical pedagogy to complement critical race theory, it perhaps provided a diversion from it. Looking back, the behaviours that I analysed using critical pedagogy, such as message delivery and resistance to examining students' deep-rooted assumptions and behaviours about race, could also have been explored using critical race theory, by examining their manifestation as acts of White supremacy. Indeed, in chapter six, I utilised critical race theory when discussing resistance to certain arts pedagogies but again found myself drawn to critical pedagogy and critical art pedagogy when analysing benefits of the drama and dialogue methods. I could also have examined these issues using a critical race theory lens, especially since critical race theorists often draw on creative methodologies, such as storytelling. In addition, anti-racist educators have argued for the benefits of drama methods (Richardson and Miles, 2008; Knowles and Ridley, 2005; ALTARF, 1983). Nevertheless, critical race theory alone would not have been sufficient for this thesis. Shotwell (2011:xxi) argues that racial formations are significantly inarticulate and potentially 'inarticulable'. She draws on aesthetics theory to complement critical race theory to explore embodied and affective aspects of racism. Building on this, I believe that critical art pedagogy offers a useful contribution to critical race theory since it can act as a framework for exploring semiotic and aesthetic knowing along with explaining how racialised

meaning is created and attached to signs and symbols, as I discussed in chapter five.

Reflecting on the strengths and weaknesses of my study, I believe the three theoretical frameworks did offer useful contributions to the conceptualisation of issues in my study. However, in hindsight using three frameworks perhaps overcomplicated my thesis and potentially fractured my analysis. Strauss and Corbin (1994) argue that theory consists of plausible relationships produced amongst sets of concepts. The three frameworks that I used certainly have plausible relationships through their focus on issues of power and the quest for transformation. However, Silverman (2010:110) argues that theories "instruct us to look at phenomena in particular ways". Therefore, although my frameworks were plausible, my focus was perhaps scattered by using three theories. It seems inconceivable not to use critical race theory due to its major impact on my thinking. However, were I to start over, I might consider enlarging my focus on critical race theory and using this as my main framework, while shrinking back the use of critical pedagogy. I would also delve deeper into critical art pedagogy since I feel this framework has influenced my analysis but could benefit from deeper engagement to bring out further the aesthetic potential of anti-racist art pedagogies. Furthermore, since critical race theory is in its infancy in the UK (Chakrabarty, Roberts and Preston, 2012), it would be a worthwhile pursuit to contribute to this body of work by developing ways that it can frame art-based anti-racist school practice.

I explored alternative theoretical approaches, including Bourdieu's (1977) use of cultural capital and habitus, which offered a useful way to understand issues of race along with doxa, which explains racialised silences and White people's

struggle to understand racism due to the absence of an available discourse. Likewise, Bourdieu's theory of hysteresis offers a way to explain White people's discomfort with growing multiculturalism, feelings of loss of culture and teachers feeling troubled and ill-equipped to work with new diverse cohorts of students. The notion of a shifting habitus gives rise to discomfort due to lack of the cultural capital necessary to deal with the new situation. In many ways, Bourdieu's work provides a plausible framework for analysing White people's relationship to anti-racist education, despite Reay's (2004) remarks on the over-use of Bourdieu's habitus in educational research. However, while, I found Bourdieu's work useful, during my analysis phase I found I barely drew on Bourdieu and was more inclined to utilise authors such as Shotwell and Boler to explain discomfort and Mazzei, Ladson-Billings and Picower to describe silence, avoidance and the notion of schools as 'nice'. I found that these authors were more suited to the power analysis that was crucial to my theoretical stance; their works offered more specialist insight, useful for theorising about racism from a critical race theory perspective. Beyond this, these authors inspired me and feeling inspired has methodological implications. Theories can move us deeply to think in new ways, to understand new perspectives and to develop and expand our horizons. I revisited and reworked my theoretical chapter, shrinking or magnifying my engagement with authors that inspired me most and better supported the ideas developed in my findings. I took heed from Bryman and Burgess (1994:217), who argue that research design, data collection and analysis are not linear processes but rather "simultaneous and continuous". This allowed me to keep a flexible attitude to my research and view the process as educative for myself as a researcher, as much as being a producer of knowledge.

To assess the value of my research, it is important to recognise alternative methods that might have given different results. Due to the quantity of students and teachers who take part in art-based projects in the Southwest of England, there will inevitably be a greater range of perspectives and experiences, which I could report on, yet lie outside the scope of this study. Adjustments to my research design may have provided a wider exploration of these. For example, I could have taken a grounded theory approach that attempts to generate categories through a process of collecting new data until all categories are saturated, and no new examples occur (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). However, in doing so, I may have sacrificed the conceptual richness gained through my approach. I could have also commented on individual methods and components of my study. For example, the size of my focus groups and the potential impact on participants expressing their opinions, or argued that more observations of more schools and art projects could offer greater significance or enhanced generalisability and proposed that a longitudinal study could give insight into learning that takes place over time. All of these could have had an impact on the data that I collected. They are aspects that I would take into consideration if I were to repeat this research. Regardless, I believe the test of the cogency of my research lies in the strength of my theoretical arguments and propositions made through the concept creation process that developed.

Trafford and Leshem (2008) highlight the importance of distinguishing between inductive research that seeks to develop theory and deductive research that seeks generalisable conclusions. My inductive approach is successful in that it led to the generating of new theoretical concepts. Trafford and Leshem (2008:144) argue that inductive research that generates theory can be "high in validity but low in reliability" and thus is not generalisable, whereas deductive research that

tests a hypothesis can be high in reliability and hence generalisable. However, although generalisability is not at the root of my work, this does not mean that my findings lack relevance outside of the context in which they were produced. Indeed, Mason (2002ᵃ) suggests that theoretical generalization may be more relevant and productive. Furthermore, Larsson (2009:32) proposes that the aim of qualitative research is to provide thick descriptions that can transmit to other contexts through related patterns. Related patterns can be found in research that is being produced in other contexts in the UK. For example, my work on disturbing pedagogies links to Davis' (2015) ideas about tacking racism as opening a can of worms. Perhaps rather than thinking about generalisability, we could be considering whether findings are 'illuminisable'. That is to say, do they have the ability to shed light on an issue of general importance in ways that are plausible? Mason (2002) suggests that findings should have resonance with the reader and speak to their experiences and interests rather than be seen as generalisable facts or correct versions of events. In this way, findings can contribute to the general understanding of a phenomenon (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). I believe my research has achieved this.

Whiteness, knowing and self-vigilance: Reflections on research identity, positioning and the research process

Writing autobiographically about anti-racist research can be challenging for White researchers since it involves reflecting on one's own complicity with maintaining racial hierarchies. Gabriel (2000:168) describes the process of being reflexive about research into racism and ethnicity as hazardous for himself as a White

male academic, yet argues that not doing this is more, not less, perilous since this would mean taking for granted and legitimising the powers and privileges of Whiteness. He argues that the emotional costs of problematising one's own research are worth it to address the political dangers that would otherwise result. Feminist researchers have advocated for researchers to become more conscious of power relationships and arguments about who creates knowledge and how this is done (Sampson, Bloor and Fincham, 2008). Letherby and Bywaters' (2007) book, *Extending Social Research,* proposes a model that argues for taking an ethical approach that extends beyond traditional research procedures. For example, highlighting both the process and product of the research, researchers taking responsibility for what happens with their findings, and researchers engaging with a process of change that extends their skills. "Locating oneself within the politics of research production is not only inevitable, it is required" (Letherby and Bywaters, 2007:9). In this section, I develop my own understanding by examining my research as a form of extended social research. As a White female academic, being reflexive about my own research has been transforming in terms of understanding my own Whiteness yet the process has been emotionally challenging, as has carrying out the fieldwork, analysing and writing up my findings. Letherby and Bywaters (2007:5) argue, "Social research unavoidably changes the human condition". Firstly, I examine the process of coming to understand ways that my White identity affects my research. Secondly, I discuss the impact of my researcher identity on my data collection, analysis and findings. Thirdly, I explore my experiences of emotional danger in the research process. I conclude by drawing these threads together to discuss how my research identity has developed and been extended through the research process.

Becoming White: Resistance to revelation of my White researcher identity

Black feminists have highlighted the need for White researchers to consider how the power dynamics of race shape their research. For example, Rollock (2013:506) argues, "Whiteness is usually evidenced in white people", and therefore White researchers doing race research have a responsibility to demonstrate awareness of the dynamics of race and how this influences their work. She states, "To do otherwise, to remain silent about these processes even while researching race is to enact and endorse a paradigm interred in racial division and hierarchy" (Rollock, 2013:507). However, Preston (2009) argues that White writers can never be fully comfortable writing about Whiteness. This involves implicating oneself as a guilty party as part of understanding the political positioning of Whiteness. Guilt in itself is not useful since displaying guilt does not reduce White privilege (Preston, 2009). Nevertheless, emotions play a part in shaping research, since feelings such as fear, excitement or emotional burden can motivate, illuminate or hinder the research process and shape the aspects of reflection about which researchers choose to write.

Letherby (2000:96) argues, "It is not easy to present oneself in a critical light". She maintains that autobiographical components of research require self-scrutiny and can thus expose the researcher to emotional threat. She discusses the time a colleague asked whether it was easy to include herself as an innocent party in her research about involuntary childlessness, when she might feel differently if researching an issue that made her feel guilty, such as a woman who had given up her children for adoption researching adoption. When considering my own research, at first I positioned myself as the innocent party, as someone who had been wronged by other White people. Thus, my research did not feel like a threat

or risk to myself. However, this was to change. Learning to examine myself in a critical light was indeed not easy, and I could not have anticipated my resistance to this nor the grief that would emerge as I carried out my fieldwork. I found myself shifting between feeling anger and despair at White people who are seemingly unable to recognise their complicity with racist assumptions, while recognising that as a White person I will inevitably have blind spots that lead to forms of personal complicity with racism, of which I am not aware. However, Alcoff (1994) argues that it is important for White people to engage in cultural interrogation about how their own autobiographies are relevant to the work being represented, but not just as a disclaimer of one's own ignorance and errors. Thus, I offer my story as a way to explore and bring to light my wrestling with and coming to understand Whiteness and the impact of Whiteness on my research.

The seeds for this research were sown years before it came to fruition. The desire to engage in anti-racist work grew from the devastation caused by acts of racism against my family, following moving from a multicultural city to a predominantly White area in Devon, over a decade ago. I came to experience how racism can lead to feelings of isolation, weakness, despair, fear, frustration and depression. The despair was magnified by White friends, relatives and peers proclaiming how lucky I was to have moved to an area where racism no longer exists! I began to recognise the White privilege that was afforded to those who had little chance of being able to conceptualise the weight of racism. However, it was not until the latter stages of writing this thesis that I began to position myself within this category of White privilege. For much of my thesis writing up, I positioned myself as a 'good' White person. Teel (2014:9) argues that claiming good intentions protects the image of the self as a good person, yet although the heart might be willing, good intentions alone accomplish little. I came to recognise that my lack

of criticality about my Whiteness was a form of complicity with it. Rollock (2012[b]:518) argues, even those with a commitment to race equality can be affected by unconscious "resistance and protection" due to the "power of Whiteness".

The idea that I was implicated in the wider picture of structural racialisation took time, for me to accept. At first, I felt angry and hurt. I recall sharing my concerns with a doctoral colleague explaining that some White researchers tell a story about their shifting understanding from thinking they were part of the solution to recognising they were part of the problem (for example Pearce, 2005). I argued that this story was not *my* story since my story was about my family's experiences of racism. However, I reflected further and began to question whether my resistant feelings were similar to other White people's resistance to accepting their compliance with racism. I decided it *was* similar since White people tend to construct racism as something that happens elsewhere and that others do (Leonardo, 2009; Bonilla-Silva, 2003). This recognition proved to be a humbling experience that expanded my understanding of how White complicity can be blocked by deep emotional resistance. Gabriel (2000:179) argues that the ultimate aim of research about race should be to "marginalize and disempower Whiteness". Recognising how personal complicity and resistance operate is a step towards this (Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs, 2017).

One of my first insights into White privilege arose during a conversation with a Black anti-racist practitioner. I was seeking support from a racial equality organisation, for persistent racial bullying in my son's school. The practitioner told me that because I was White and sounded middle-class that other White people would listen to me. She suggested that my White skin could be utilised in the

pursuit of anti-racism. This prompted me to reflect that engaging in anti-racist practice would be more than a way to protect my children but was also my duty as a White person. Ignatiev (1997:607) postulates, "Treason to whiteness is loyalty to humanity", thus, White people need to become "race traitors" by working towards abolishing the power of Whiteness. I felt compelled to do something and thus embarked on my higher education journey as a mature student; studying issues of equality and inclusion with a strong leaning towards understanding and theorising racism and working up towards this doctoral level research.

I began my doctorate by believing my experiences of racism gave me an insight that many White people lacked, although this was to change. Harman (2010) argues that for lone White mothers of mixed-parentage children, racial injustice can become more visible through racism towards their children and social disapproval towards themselves. Thus, such White women can "have a closer interaction with the consequences of racism than many white people" (Harman, 2010:177). I felt that I could utilise this insight to educate other White people. However, this construction of myself as a White anti-racist proved to be two-pronged. I came to realise that I was positioning myself as a righteous White person trying to educate others whom I considered in deficit. I had assumed my White privilege could be utilised to help the cause, but not considered ways that this thinking was an act of superiority that potentially thwarted it. Rollock (2013) argues:

> White researchers… are not neutral enquirers in conversations about race. They sit within and are part of a wider system of race inequity characterised by performances of privilege, power and entitlement (Rollock, 2013:500).

This suggests that my research could not be separated from the social system in which it sits and therefore my research design, data collection and findings are

inevitably affected by racialised acts and assumptions, which needed to be examined and made visible. An example of a 'performance of privilege' can be displaying emotional hurt when asked to reflect on this privilege. I came to realise that having experienced the emotional ordeal of witnessing racism against people I care about does not exclude the need to reflect on my own complicity with White power and privilege. A Black art practitioner once explained to me, during my fieldwork, that when White people say they do not experience racism, they do; they experience it from the vantage point of being White. At the time, I found this enlightening but did not connect it to myself, since I was not denying the experiences of racism. However, I now understand this in a new light, assuming she was not simply referring to whether White people had witnessed acts of racism but that their experiences of racism are shaped by a viewpoint of power and privilege.

Applebaum (2013:17) argues for vigilance as a means to counteract the ignorance, denial and complicity of Whiteness. She suggests, "Staying in the anxiety of critique and vulnerability". This position is offered as a process of continuous interrogation of the White self and the assumption of being good. I interpret this notion of critical vigilance through the recognition that being an effective anti-racist practitioner is not a goal that can be achieved but rather an endless process that we need to 'climb' into, question, pull apart, mull over and assess for our complicity. When collusion is found, it is the duty of White anti-racist practitioners not to deny complicity or defend against it or resist feelings of guilt, but rather to take heed from Shotwell (2012) and lean into the sharp points; using them as moments of recognition to reassess and make changes. The use of humility can act as a form of vulnerability that can be useful. The recognition that as a White anti-racist practitioner, I will likely get some things wrong, hold

unwitting perceptions that are not helpful to the anti-racist cause and may experience deep resistance to critique, helps to guard against a tendency of resistance when the emotions of guilt and foolishness arise if I do so. However, Gabriel (2000:179) argues that when White researchers seek to "disempower Whiteness" this "will be the most hazardous task". He argues that is because White skinned people still monopolize institutional positions. Disempowering Whiteness involves working to reduce one's own White researcher advantage, yet at the same time when White people write about Whiteness, this may reinforce White people's academic status.

The impact of my White identity on my data collection, analysis and findings

This section considers how my own political positioning was relevant to my data collection and analysis. This includes thinking about how research identities influence data collection and analysis and how researchers should represent members of groups to whom they do not belong (Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996). Black feminists have criticised White feminists for failing to consider issues of race by arguing that patriarchal privilege does not extend to Black men and White feminist practices can be exclusionary to Black women (Moraga and Anzadua, 1981). Black feminist academics are increasingly "speaking back from the margins" to disrupt the power and privileges of Whiteness in order to bring about a more equal environment (Rollock, 2013:492). Rollock (2013:492) argues that when White researchers do race research, they need to name and analyse "race moments" since according to critical race theory the racialised nature of research is significant, not minor. Thus, knowledge is not neutral but can be racialised knowledge presenting simply as knowledge. In the following

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two sections, I explore ways that my racial identity and perceived social class, affected my research in terms of gaining access and how this affected how participants and myself constructed and understood research conversations, during the data collection phase.

Gaining access and doing fieldwork

The impacts of my ethnicity and social class were evident from the early stages of trying to gain access to art projects. One organisation that I perceived as a working-class grassroots organisation seemed initially suspicious and resistant to supporting my access to a race equality arts programme. This was due to both the idea that as a White person I would have a limited understanding of racism and that as an academic I would be elitist and exclusionary in my language and approach. Ahmed (2010) discusses issues with insider-outsider identities. As a South Asian woman, she interviewed South Asian woman and thus had an insider identity. Yet she withheld information about her academic identity, to reduce the impact of this and her social class being a barrier, which could reposition her as an outsider. Being positioned as an insider helped create trust and led to the greater chance of access and participants sharing difficult stories during interviews. When I approached an arts organisation that I perceived as middle-class, my academic identity and Whiteness seemed advantageous; I felt welcomed in without suspicion. In this context, I experienced theoretical dialogue as an asset, a form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977) that provided an insider identity that eased the access process. However, insider-outsider identity was a shifting process that did not just relate to access to the organisation itself but also conversations with members of each organisation. At one point, a Black art practitioner asked me why I was doing this work and whether I was asked this

question a lot. Perhaps she was doing what Rollock (2013:502) refers to as "'sussing out' Whites to determine where they have reached in their journey of race consciousness". I responded that no I was not asked it much and that when I tell people about my research, a common response is simply "that is interesting". People tend not to delve deeper to consider why I might be interested in this work. In retrospect, I realised I was thinking about conversations with White people since White people are the majority in the academic circles that I inhabit. Conversely, the arts practitioner was perhaps referring to Black people who might have good reason to be cautious of a White researcher doing race work and thus sussing out their motivation becomes part of a survival strategy (Rollock, 2013).

Rollock (2013) reasons that consideration needs to be given to ways in which identity impacts on participants' responses and also on the types of questions and ways that questions are framed since there will likely be a qualitative difference in the detail. "The inequalities and regulations of race that govern society also come to bear in the context of the interview, shaping its richness and direction" (Rollock, 2013:501). Song and Parker (1995) argue that qualitative researchers from different ethnic backgrounds will be likely to receive different responses from the same research participants who are asked the same questions. I wondered whether my White research participants would give different responses if a Black researcher interviewed them. At times, comments from my participants seemed explicitly racist, such as describing Black people as scary, devious or a threat. I questioned whether White participants felt emboldened to make such statements, face to face in the research context, assuming that as a White person I might agree or wrongly assume as a White person that I would not be 'offended'. Conversely, my dual heritage daughter once wisely said that White people should be just as insulted as Black people

by racist comments and behaviour. If interviewed by a Black researcher, would the same participants attempt to hide these racist thoughts by performing what Rollock (2012a:76) refers to as "faux niceness" disguised as "polite collegiality"? What did become clear was that Black researchers and practitioners might be more likely to notice implicit forms of racism or microaggressions. This became apparent during my observations of the Fatima's Tent storytelling activity. A Black facilitator pointed out to me the subtleties of the language used by White children who mentioned that if Fatima came to their school, she 'would get bullied'. Not that she 'might' but 'would'. At the time, I missed the detail and significance of this implicit knowledge, although we were observing the same activity.

As a White researcher, exploring issues of race with White participants there are certain assumptions that may not surface because they are not in the realm of thought of White researchers or participants (Duster, 1999). Thus, certain assumptions might be missed, and a particular kind of meaning applied according to the meaning constructed between the participants and researchers, which can differ according to prior experiences and understandings. Furthermore, Hurd and McIntyre (1996) argue that having similar identities as the research participants can lead to colluding with stereotypical assumptions. McIntyre recalls an incident where, in interviews, she colluded with a stereotypical macro-narrative about Black children's interaction with White women. She found herself sharing a story where she had encountered a similar experience, rather than prompting participants to challenge their constructions of Whiteness, which was part of the remit of her transformatory action research approach. She argues, "The affective pull of sameness blurred my vision" (Hurd and McIntyre, 1996:79). By aligning herself

with her participants, McIntyre risked reinforcing these experiences rather than prompting them to be critically examined. The authors questioned whether by critically examining difference they had privileged their similarity rather than acknowledge there would be complexity in all forms of research representations.

When researchers have an underlying desire to produce research that is transformational, the problem of voice becomes a concern. Sampson, Bloor and Fincham (2008:294) argue that for many researchers carrying out qualitative studies, motivation is driven by the notion of "giving voice to the voiceless". However, representing others is problematic. When researchers tell other people's stories, these then become the researcher's stories; their version and they remain the authority having colonised the stories (bell hooks, 1990:151-2). Although the aim of my research is to explore White constructions of racism and anti-racist school practice, there is arguably still colonisation occurring through the way I represent and tell stories of White power, privilege and primacy. The stories I have told through my findings are my selection and interpretation of events. Some researchers argue that they can speak only for themselves and must let others represent themselves (Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996). Wilkinson and Kitzinger (1996) argue that this involves working to help to create the political and social conditions in which others can speak and be heard. However, speaking only for the self, involves defining who we are, which risks reductionism (Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996). Women are not a homogenous group, nor are White people. One voice cannot claim to speak for all in that group since intersectional identity-traits can lead to diverse experiences. Hurd and McIntyre (1996) discuss representations of sameness in research and argue that White women have different life histories and will, therefore, bring

different assumptions to similar experiences. They may situate their research differently according to areas such as their social class, political orientation or research paradigm preference. Wilkinson and Kitzinger (1996:12) question can an author speak on behalf of all women or "all white middle-class childless lesbian British women" for example. Furthermore, speaking only for ourselves leads to an over-representation of White middle-class western voices being represented, which replicates the problem of silencing the voices of marginalised groups (Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996).

Wilkinson and Kitzinger (1996) explore the idea of interrupting conventional processes of representation of looking at and writing about others:

> To look instead at the Others looking at 'us' to relativize and problematize 'our' own perspective: it can be uncomfortable, unsettling or painful, but it is an essential beginning if the process of othering is to be interrupted (Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996:17).

In this and the previous section, I have endeavoured to look at myself in a new light by taking on board the criticisms from Black researchers, writing about White researchers writing about race. It has certainly been a useful and enlightening process, albeit an uncomfortable experience, which has led to a deeper understanding of my researcher identity and the influence of identity on my work. "No process of knowledge production can be free from ideological influence: research is unavoidably political" (Letherby and Bywaters, 2007:8). The next section explores further some of the disturbing and emotional impacts encountered during the research process.

Autobiographical reflections on emotional danger and the research process

The emotional pressures that can arise when doing fieldwork have begun to be recognised (Lee-Treweek, and Linkogle, 2000). The role of emotions in social research was traditionally avoided because they were considered a threat to the idea of objective research (Kleinman and Copp 1993). Feminist researchers reconstructed this paradigm by arguing that there is no such thing as objectivity and that much insight can be gained by bringing personal and emotional reflections into social research (Stanley, 1992). Sampson, Bloor and Fincham (2008) explored researchers' opinions about risk and wellbeing in the qualitative research process. They found that emotional harm was more prevalent than physical harm and postulated that this might be associated with the reflexive nature of feminist-influenced research and methods, such as research that engages with personal stories. Women who engaged in research that explored sensitive topics considered the risks and welfare of participants yet often overlooked the emotional costs for themselves (Sampson, Bloor and Fincham, 2008). Emotional danger can arise when the research area relates to the biography of the researcher (Sampson, Bloor and Fincham, 2008; Lee-Treweek, and Linkogle, 2000):

> The effect of being involved in, and in a sense, sharing the private world of people in despair, can be a 'psychologically and emotionally wrenching' experience (Burr, 1996:176).

My research topic relates to my own biography, although my participants were not selected for their shared experiences but rather to understand their assumptions about race. The danger for me was not in sharing the 'world of people in despair' but the risk of provoking my own troubled memories. The

motivation for doing research often stems from one's own painful biography or from supporting a family member, which can leave the researcher exposed to painful memories (Sampson, Bloor and Fincham, 2008).

In the early stages of my research, theorising around racism using the critical race theory framework was liberating and empowering. It offered a theoretical lens that explained the power dynamics of race and its embedded nature as the norm. This helped me to make sense of my thoughts and experiences, such as racist incidents being widespread and frequent. It explained why my White friends, relatives and peers belittled and dismissed my concerns and explanations about its prevalence. My peers may not have believed it but the theorists did, and this gave me encouragement and a sense of not being alone. However, as I embarked on the empirical stage of my research, the memories of difficult times were reawakened. Repeatedly observing the pervasive and deeply embedded attitudes and behaviours of students and some staff was disturbing when considering that my children went to school in similar types of unsafe environments. I also found that carrying out interviews involved emotional risk when listening to teachers and pupils repeatedly make racist statements and assumptions. For example, teachers and teaching assistants linking Black people with scariness or deviance and pupils revealing an awareness of the prevalence of racial bullying in their schools, while teachers dismissed it. Over time my fieldwork, analysis and writing up took its toll and caused me to feel a sense of deep grief. In my final year of writing up, this grief was exacerbated by the burden of my workload, stress arising from wider concerns in my personal life, and emerging physical health issues. The burden became so deep that I felt I could not continue since the risk to my mental and emotional health was too great. I began to question whether I had the emotional strength to continue researching

in the field of anti-racism. Letherby (2000) describes reaching a point of physical, mental and emotional exhaustion during her doctoral research. Letherby (2000:103) writes, "The research presented a real threat to my sense of self". Yet it was not until around six months after completing the fieldwork that she began to feel less emotionally confused and able to locate herself in the experience. Reading about Letherby's experience provided a turning point for me. It enabled me to understand that my own sense of physical, mental and emotional exhaustion and confusion would pass and it gave me permission to take time out, to grieve and to heal. It gave me hope that over time I could come back to doing race work.

Further emotionally troubling experiences happened in relation to disclosures from Black, minority ethnic, and duel heritage students who heard about my research. Following dissemination of my work through discussions, lectures and conference presentations, Black people would often disclose experiences of racism. When this happened in public contexts, where the audiences were mainly White, I generally saw this as a positive outcome, given my own experiences of the difficulties of being believed when disclosing racism amongst other White people. I felt it was important for White people to hear those stories. However, Sampson, Bloor and Fincham (2008:924) argue that researchers are not always able to provide outcomes that help their participants or wider society, which can lead to feelings of distress and sense of having failed their research participants. For me this sense of failure came when Black people approached and confided in me privately, asking for help with traumatic experiences of institutional racism. Feelings of powerlessness ensued, following recognition of the seeming hopelessness of being able to change institutional racism in predominantly White areas, due to resistance, lack of understanding and deliberate racist

reinforcement of White power. This led me to question the worthiness of my work, including whether my research was helpful or not due to the potential of providing a false sense of hope. Rollock (2013:501) argues, that for a Black person, "Discussing race with a white person is fraught with risk". She suggests that due to the "regulations and rules of race" it is not possible to act independently from the constraints of Whiteness that shape the social world. I draw on this understanding to question whether public and private disclosures are also fraught with risk, since those that do so, risk public rejection by White peers and audience members who hear their stories. Ahmed (2009) argues that White members of organisations can feel that speaking about racism introduces bad feeling to the organisation and can lead to White people feeling both the organisation and themselves have been bruised or hurt. Thus, the disclosures themselves can be risky but can also result in disappointment due to rejection, disbelief and an absence of supporting strategies to help challenge or change the situations being disclosed. Nevertheless, these stories do need to be continuously told, because White people have been taught not to notice racism and to remain silent when they do; the silence needs to be shattered (Mazzei, 2008).

Reflecting on the impact of my findings and what happens when I disseminated my findings are important questions for extending social research (Letherby and Bywaters, 2007:5). Letherby and Bywaters (2007) argue that researchers must take responsibility for the consequences of research findings. They maintain that there tends to be little sense of ethical responsibility for how findings are read, interpreted and applied as well as how, and to whom, they are disseminated. When considering presenting my own findings as discussed above, this cautions me that there are perhaps ethical dangers in sharing findings through presentations or in conferences without giving space for meaningful dialogue to

emerge amongst audience members. For example, Colombo *et al.* (2007) discuss disseminating a project on hate crime, where rather than a conventional presentation, interactive methods were used, including turning the findings into a play, performed by a local drama group. Conference attendees were invited to engage by responding on post-it notes, which were displayed on the wall, in order to generate a more engaging atmosphere. As a White researcher, it is important to consider how best to disseminate my findings responsibly and meaningfully rather than in tokenistic ways that do not extend the research or seek social change through the process of dissemination. Without this, dissemination of race research risks reinforcing Whiteness by furthering the careers of White researchers (Gabriel, 2000) rather than addressing racism.

Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs (2017) argue that strategies for transforming racism tend to be missing from research papers on anti-racist education. When considering my own approach, I contemplate whether my thesis provides a negative insight into Whiteness without offering sufficient solutions. Critical race theory had been accused of being too pessimistic (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012) in that portrays a negative picture of race that is so deeply embedded that it can seem non-transformable. During much of my research, through my pain and anger, I felt negative about White teachers but had not really considered how things might be improved in schools. My ability to recognise the successful work that had been developed in and for schools had been clouded. I began to realise that part of building solidarity across raced lines was offering hope in what can seem like a bleak landscape, for students and educators as well as for myself. By changing myself, I started to reflect differently on White teachers. When examining my journey through Lynch, Swartz and Isaacs' (2017:1) three goals of anti-racist education, I begun to understand my own positioning and feelings of

resistance and denial (visibilising), and identified personal complicity in and Whiteness (recognising) in the process of seeking social transformation by developing ways to dismantle structural inequalities (strategising). Going forward, I feel more of a sense of humility as I recognise the need to change myself, in order that I can shift my focus from blaming others, to working collaboratively with Black and White educators to build strategies for change. This could involve co-working with teachers on action research projects to develop context-specific anti-racist school practices, or work with Black and White colleagues to develop ways to engage the public in dialogue about racism, drawing on ideas emerging from my research findings. Through my reflections on my own political and researcher identity, I have developed my epistemological understanding by gaining a deeper appreciation of positionality, including how my White identity and experiences have led to a particular view of the social world. It has been a tough journey, and no doubt will continue to be so. As Lee-Treweek, and Linkogle (2000:919) argue, emotional danger can destabilise personal identity but at the same time provide greater insight, and this can make it a "price worth paying".

Thinking forwards: Disseminating the research and developing new lines of enquiry

1. Frame narrative: Missing stories within stories

My thesis follows a traditional format in the ways it is written and structured. Taking a traditional approach to designing and structuring my research and writing up my thesis was a logical approach, despite my desire to engage in more creative methodologies, such as arts-based research (Leavy, 2008). This

has enabled me to develop a firm foundation in qualitative research skills, methods and methodologies. Nevertheless, as I approached the final stages of my doctoral journey, I became aware of the alternatives that might have been had I had the conceptual tools that I have now at the beginning. At a recent creative writing conference, I learnt about 'frame narrative'; a literary technique whereby stories exist within stories. A bigger story frames smaller stories within, which echo the same theme. This led me to ponder on the potential for creating future works that weave my story in with the bigger story of my findings. This could be developed in forthcoming writing by exploring more deeply how my evolving story as a White anti-racist researcher, tangles with the story of racism that I am writing about. This would connect with Mazzei's (2013) ideas about data as collective entanglement. Nevertheless, I did much soul-searching and reflecting throughout my fieldwork phase and have included autoethnographic elements in places. When considering whose stories are told and how narratives are framed this reminds me of the importance of continual reflection on how things could be done differently in the pursuit of academic growth, research excellence and effective anti-racist education.

2. Exploring silences, fears and hidden narratives

A further area for development includes an exploration of the fears experienced by White teachers when delivering anti-racist education. My findings reveal that conceptualisations of race and racism are steeped in fear, leading to silences and avoidances, including, evading race issues, avoiding conversations about ethnicity and even resisting building meaningful relationships across perceived racialised boundaries. During my doctoral journey, I presented my findings at conferences and lectures. Following these, I received many disclosures from

White and Black teachers and Education Studies students from different ethnic backgrounds, revealing that an undercurrent of 'hidden' narratives exist relating to areas that people find troublesome about racism and ethnicity. Although much work of this kind already exists, this suggests further need to collect and analyse these silenced narratives. I suggest the following questions:

- What do silences and hidden narratives about race reveal about teachers' experiences and perceptions of ethnic diversity practice?
- In what ways does implicit understanding of racial diversity impact on teaching practice and how can the revealing of such knowledge inform and contribute to an effective anti-racist practice?
- How can trainee teachers be adequately prepared to develop analytical and professional skills and understanding to engage confidently with effective anti-racist practice?

3. Dissemination through lectures and student discussions

Throughout my doctoral journey, I have developed theoretical knowledge, empirical research skills and research confidence. Running alongside this, I have put my research into practice through writing and delivering lectures on an Education studies degree at Plymouth University. One of the key challenges has been how to develop students' learning about racism and Whiteness in ways that ignite their interest and desire to engage in critical reflection about issues of racism, power and privilege rather than resist learning. Davis (2015) argues that due to the increased importance placed on student satisfaction surveys, anti-racist education is at risk if students disengage due to finding learning disturbing. I have tried to counteract this by beginning my recent lectures with an exercise that draws attention to the discomfort and negativity associated with issues of race. This includes fear of looking racist (Leonardo, 2009), pointing out that all

students are experiencing diversity education negatively (Maylor, 2010) and incorporating Shotwell's (2011) theory of negative affect to explain how implicit aspects of racism operate and can lead to racist feelings even amongst those that desire equality. The aim is to draw attention to the troublesome nature of anti-racist education and suggest that it is all right to engage with discomfort as part of the critical learning process.

Although it is early days, I am encouraged by the personal reflections of some students who have written about racism and White privilege in their assignments. For example, a White male student submitted a highly reflective piece of writing about growing up in a predominantly White area, where race talk was silenced. He discussed how this shaped him as a White educator and affected his ability to work effectively with issues of race: thus, dispelling the idea that White children growing up in White areas do not need to learn about racism. A White female student confided that she would like to write about racism but feared to get things wrong. I suggested that she should not let that stop her. Indeed, a piece of reflective writing that expresses itself as a learning journey and theorises and wrestles with the disturbing issues cannot be wrong. The student explained in her essay that she found it extremely challenging to write about White privilege. This may be the first tricky step of a journey towards becoming an anti-racist educator. The dissemination of my research findings through my own teaching practice offers a building block for further work. A next step could be to keep a reflective diary about my developing practice and the impact on students learning. For example, reflecting on what works and what does not work, including ways that I am developing and adapting my lectures accordingly. This could form the basis of practitioner research or active research with students. Suggested research questions could include:

- What are students' experiences of participating in lectures on racism, critical race theory and critical Whiteness theory?
- In what ways do teaching methods promote critical engagement and encourage critical reflection about racism and White primacy and what inhibits this?
- What kinds of learning and support do trainee teachers need to become effective anti-racist educators?

4. Exploring arts-based learning through a longitudinal study

As a result of my study, further work for consideration would be to explore issues of racism and Whiteness through arts-based research methodologies. Given my epistemological reflections regarding issues of truth and pretence, it is logical to suggest carrying out research that blurs fact and fiction, such as creative writing methods, poetry, performance or using visual arts. In addition, varieties of art-based projects exist in Devon, which seeks to challenge racism and promote positive attitudes towards racial equality. These include street-dance, calendar making, multicultural processions and festivals; all of these include working with schools. Further exploration of a range of art approaches could add to the work I have begun along with carrying out a longitudinal study of learning that takes place over time. Suggested research questions include:

- What kinds of learning takes place over-time for students and teachers who engage in anti-racist education through arts programmes?
- What impacts do a variety of arts programmes have on teachers and students learning about racism?

This research journey has been rewarding and enlightening. Despite the turbulence and times when transforming racism feels like an impossibility, I am encouraged by the passionate and creative anti-racist practitioners that I have had the good fortune to meet along the way. I end my thesis using poetry to

capture the essence of some thorny moments and highlight the optimism that carries us forward in pursuit of social justice.

Final Thoughts in a Haiku

Calm like unblown wind

Silence fills the foggy field

Veiling the deafening beast

Pure white shining light

Falls down on the snow below

White innocence dashed

Cold like ice shivers

Shaken by shattered white roads

Breaking silenced worlds

The bleached canvas page

Added colour reveals stains

In monochrome minds

Through art and silence

We tread this troubled terrain

Bringing hope and connection

Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethics: Information sheet for parents/caregivers of child participants

Dear Parent/Caregiver,

I am seeking your permission for your child to take part in my research study. Please read this leaflet carefully for information about what would be involved in taking part. If you would like further information, before you make your decision, please contact one of the people at the end of this sheet.

What is the research about?
I am a research student at Plymouth University. I am carrying out research about the role of the arts for learning about diversity and resolving conflict between people from different cultural and ethnic groups. By arts, I mean things like images, textiles, sculpture, music, dance, drama and literature. This research is exploring children's responses to such art projects. I am particularly interested in finding out what locally born and raised White children think about such projects because the views and experiences of this group are less well documented.

How will my child be involved in the research?
The research will take place on the days that the [insert name] project comes into your child's school. If you consent for them to take part, they will join in a focus discussion group with around 6-8 children. This will last about an hour. As a group, they will be asked questions about the art project that they took part in and their learning. As a researcher, I will be interviewing the children and will be at the project workshops and will be writing notes about children's interaction with the art project. For data collection purposes the focus groups will be recorded with a tape recorder. Tapes, transcripts and written data will be kept on a password protected laptop or stored in a locked filing cabinet. These will be kept for 10 years, after which they will be destroyed.

Risks and benefits of being in the study
The study will give children and teachers an opportunity to share their views about diversity and learning. It may contribute to the development of creative ways to teach and learn about diversity in the future. The information provided will contribute to my university PhD thesis. The findings may also be written up as journal articles, books or reports and be presented at conferences and community events in the future. Diversity and multiculturalism can be very sensitive topics. There is a possibility that some children may have strong feelings about these topics or may not like to engage in discussions due to fear of offending others. I will aim to create a trusting and supportive atmosphere where participants feel comfortable about expressing their ideas and feelings,

without judgement. If your child is affected by any of the issues raised in the research or you would like to find out more about where people can get further information or support with issues of equality, diversity or discrimination, details will be made available at the focus group or on request.

Will my child remain anonymous?
Yes. Children's names and schools will not be included in any written reports, articles or presentations. The research will comply with the data protection act (1998) and the university's research ethics policy.

If I agree for my child to take part can I change my mind?
Yes, you can change your mind before or after the focus groups, and art workshops have taken place without giving a reason. If you withdraw your child, you can ask for their opinions given not to be used in the research and this will be honoured.

What if I have further questions or concerns about the research?
If you have further questions, please contact Heather Knight: PhD Student, Institute of Education. Plymouth University. Email:
heather.knight@plymouth.ac.uk

I have a current CRB Enhanced Disclosure, and the Faculty of Education Research Ethics Committee has approved this research. However, in the event that you have any concerns, please contact one of the following,

Researcher: Heather Knight heather.knight@plymouth.ac.uk
Director of Studies: Professor Jocey Quinn jocey.quinn@plymouth.ac.uk
Research Supervisor Dr Joanna Haynes Joanna.haynes@plymouth.ac.uk

Appendix 2: Ethics: Informed consent for parents/caregivers of child participants

<u>**Research into the role of the arts for learning about diversity**</u>

I have seen and understood the information sheet or had the purpose of the research fully explained to me.

I understand that taking part in the research is voluntary and that I can withdraw my child at any time before, during or after the focus groups and art workshops without giving a reason and without any consequences to myself or to my child. I understand that if I withdraw, I can ask for my child's focus group contributions not to be used in the research.

I agree that the focus groups will be recorded and information used for a PhD thesis and may be used for journal articles, books or reports and be presented at conferences and community events in the future. My child's name will remain anonymous.

In these circumstances, I agree that my child can take part in the research.

Name of child ....……………………………………………....................

Gender...

Age..

Ethnicity..

Name of parent or carer..

Signature of parent or carer...**Date**……………

Researcher and person taking consent:
Heather Knight (PhD Student, Plymouth University)

Signature ………………………………………………………………….

Date ………………………………………………………….………...

Appendix 3: Example of primary school focus group schedule (1)

Activity	Task
Intro: (10 mins)	• Hello, explain who I am. That I am doing a project about differences in people. Interested in what children think. • Children introduce themselves. • Explain what will happen in the session. Ask children if they want to take part. • Discuss and set ground rules with children.
Activity 1: (10 mins)	**Draw what you think of as a Plymouth Family** *Prompts: What makes a Plymouth family? How they look, dress, what they do, hobbies, what they eat...* • Explain what you have drawn and discuss as a group. *(explore children's perceptions of families, local identities, diversity, etc.)*
Activity 2: (25 mins)	**Show pictures of families from diverse ethnic backgrounds** • Where do you think these families come from? • Discuss or write down in your books what you think or know about the people in the pictures (African, Chinese, Indian, Malaysian, Polish, Saudi Arabian, American) - *Prompts: What kinds of thoughts/questions come to your mind?* - *What have you heard others say about different kinds of people? What do you think about that?*
Activity 3: (10 mins)	**Discussion: similarities and differences** • How many of you like watching television? What are your favourite programmes? What kinds of different families or people do you see on television? • What about in school. What kinds of children do you see at school? • What about if you go into the city centre? Has anyone been to other cities in England? What kinds of similarities and differences did you see there? *(Explore thoughts, feelings, perceptions)*
Conclude (5 mins)	• Ask children if they are happy for me to keep their drawings and books for my project (or make copies). • Mention that I would like to talk to them again about the art project that is coming into the school. • Thank children for taking part.

Appendix 4: Example of primary school focus group schedule (2)

Activity	Task
Intro: **(5 mins)**	• Hello, explain who I am. That I am doing a project about differences in people. I am interested in what children think about the recent art project. • Children introduce themselves. • Explain what will happen in the session. Ask children if they want to take part. • Discuss and set ground rules with children.
Activity 1: **(15 mins)**	**Draw something that you remember about the Fatima's Tent day activities. What was memorable about it?** *(good, bad, etc.)* • Children explain their drawings and discuss as a group, what remember doing, seeing, hearing, thinking, etc.?
Activity 2: **(15 mins)**	**Tell me about the activities? Use photos of activities from the day as prompts for discussion(1) Arabic names (2) Mosaics (3) Tent and Story (4) Food** *(explore behaviours, thoughts, feelings, learning, perceptions, etc.)*
Activity 3: **(15 mins)**	**The project is about respecting difference, and Fatima's Tent is about the Middle East. You were told a story about Fatima and asked what it would be like if Fatima came to Plymouth, can you remember some of the things you discussed in the tent?** - What do you think it is like for people with brown skin who come to Plymouth? - Have you ever thought about what it means to have white skin? - Is it an advantage or disadvantage having white skin? Discuss
Conclude **(5 mins)**	- Ask children if they are happy for me to keep their drawings to include in my project (or make copies). Write on back if it is ok for me to show to their teachers, my teachers, make copies to include in my report and presentations. Explain that no names will be used. - Thank children for taking part.

Appendix 5: Example of secondary schools focus group session

Focus group interviews Day of Difference (DoD)

Flexible questions areas to draw on

- Hello, explain who I am. That I am doing research about arts and drama projects that work with issues of diversity and racism.
- I am interested in what it was like to take part in the Day of Difference.
- Students introduce themselves and why taking part in the focus group?
- Explain what will happen in the session. Ask students if they want to take part.
- Discuss and set ground rules with students.

Can you tell me what the school and area are like in terms of racial diversity?
- How much contact have you had with people who are not white British?
- How much racism do you think there is in the school/area?

Tell me about the Day of Difference? Draw moments or write keywords that you remember about the activities *(good, bad, etc.)*
- Explain what you have drawn/written and discuss as a group. Any questions?
- What have you heard other students say about the DoD day?

What was it like creating your own cultures? (Greetings, pride, taboo)
- *Prompts:*
- *How did you feel about the other cultures?*
- *After the ambassador's presentations, what kinds of comments did your culture say about others?*
- *In all cultures most comments about others were negative, why do you think this was?*
- *After you created your cultures what was it like when you heard yellow land refugees were coming to your country? (For yellows - what was it like when you heard you had to become refugees?) How did you respond?*

What did it feel like to be part of the role play activity? What thoughts were going through your minds? (How is it different from other lessons or activities learning about racism/diversity/refugees etc.)

What did your 'culture' do when the 'refugees' arrived? (Many cultures quarantined the refugees, penned them behind tables, shouted at them, tried to make them sing their songs, copy their customs etc.)
- *Prompts:*
- *Why do you think these decisions were made? What influences you?*
- *Did anyone want to do things differently? Could it have been done differently?*
- *How much did you associate the activity with real life? (Or was it fantasy/play?). Would you do it the same or differently if you had to do it again? Why? What did you learn from this activity?*

Show photos of visitors from the day (number 1- 15)
You all had booklets to fill in throughout the day. Many students gave their booklets for me to look at. At the beginning of the day, you were asked to make quick comments about each face.
- *What was it like doing this activity?*
- *What kinds of thoughts came to your mind when you saw these images?*
- *Was there stuff coming into your head that you did not want to write down?*
- *(about 1/3 of the students year group said there was during workshop reflections)*
- *How were people around you reacting to the images?*

- *Do you remember that when some faces were shown there were communal displays of emotion? For example, people groaned or laughed or went 'ugh'. Why might this be?*
- *Were you surprised by anything you thought or wrote?*
What was it like when you then met the visitors in the afternoon?
- *Prompts:*
- *What images or thoughts were popping into your head when you realised they were the same faces from the slides/photos in the morning?*
- *What assumptions did you make about the visitors?*
- *What did you learn from their stories?*
- *Why did the room go silent?*
- *What did you feel, what were you thinking?*
- *What would you have liked to ask that you did not ask or felt you couldn't?*
- *What held you back?*
Have you ever thought about what it means to have white skin?
- *Is it an advantage or disadvantage having white skin? Explain your thoughts.*
What are the key things that you take away from the day?
Ask students if they are happy for me to keep their drawings to include in my project, future reports, presentations, journal articles etc. (or make copies). = Anonymous. No names will be used.
Thank students for taking part.

Appendix 6: Example of interview schedule for arts practitioners

1. Tell me about the project and the project aims?

2. What is art? What do the arts do? What do they add or do differently from other teaching methods about diversity/racism?

3. After interviewing teachers, I've noticed that schools reasons for bringing in the project may be different from art projects reasons for delivering the project…what are your impressions…? What impact does this have?

4. Tell me about the project day. How do students and teachers engage with/respond to the project? Are schools different?   What is different or the same?
     - *Are there any memorable moments?*

5. What kinds of feedback have you had about the project?

     - *From staff and students on the day and from evaluations, from other arts facilitators and visitors*

6. What kinds of learning takes place through the art project? What are you hoping is taking place?

7. From your perspective what can the art project do and what can it not do? (What is left?)

8. Community arts projects have a long history of being used for social gains. However, there is debate in arts in education theory about the idea of the arts being used as an instrument…on the one hand, the arts are said to do things above and beyond the art products yet some say that arts as instrumentalism detract from the idea of 'arts for art's sake' ….and if the arts are asked to improve educational outcomes, and it is difficult to evidence this…the arts risk losing their status in schools… any thoughts?

9. When I am observing and interviewing the children, I see encouraging things and disturbing things. What kinds of things stand out for you all about the ways in which the children engage with the project?
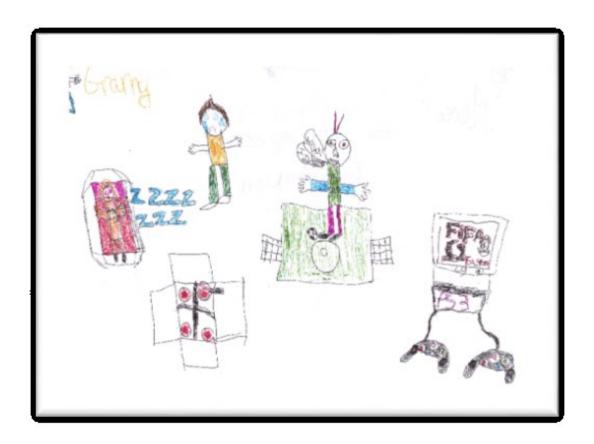
Anything else you would like to add?

Thank you for your time and for the opportunity to research the project

Appendix 7: Example of interview schedule for teachers and support staff

1. Introductions. What is your role at the school?

2. Can you tell me about racial diversity in this local area? And in the school?
- *How ethnically diverse is it?*
- *What are the different attitudes to racial diversity? Staff, parents, children?*

3. Do you know of any issues that exist in terms of race or ethnicity in the school or local community?
- *Can you describe any specific incidents?*
- *If issues are flagged up ask - What in your opinion is the reason for the problem/issue? What have you heard others say?*

4. Tell me about the art project.
- *Are there any specific memorable moments?*
- *How do you think the children responded to the project?*
- *Have the children talked about it since then? What did they say? (good, bad, etc.)*

5. By law schools have to teach about diversity, equality etc. How far do you think art projects like this help teachers address issues such as racism/help children learn about diversity in school?
- *What kinds of learning do you think have taken place?*
- *What have been the positive aspects?*
- *What have been the troublesome aspects?*
- *What doesn't it do? (What is left that arts projects cannot address?).*

6. Have you ever thought about what it means to be White?

7. What issues (if any) exist for (white) teachers and TA's teaching about diversity? What issues (if any) exist for children learning about diversity?

8. Anything else you would like to add?

9. Thank you for your time

Appendix 8: Examples of interview drawings from primary students

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