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# **Ethnicity and the Professional Socialisation of Teachers**

Final Report to the Teacher Training Agency

**Executive Summary and Recommendations** 

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#### **Acknowledgements**

On behalf of the project team, I would like to thank all of those who took part in the research: the trainee and newly qualified teachers and staff in various university departments of education and a SCITT. I would also like to record my thanks to the Teacher Training Agency for funding the research upon which this report is based. I am particularly grateful to Jane Benham, the Agency's former Head of Teacher Supply and Recruitment and Helen Lipieta at the TTA for their advice and practical support.

I would also like to acknowledge the secretarial support provided by Averil Kirton, Lucy Moat, Ann Payne, Jill Steele and Avril Tsitsas.

Bruce Carrington, University of Newcastle, Project Director.

### **Executive Summary and Recommendations**

#### **Executive Summary**

#### Introduction

This report draws together the outcomes of a programme of research that has extended over two years. The project, which was financed by the Teacher Training Agency (TTA), aimed to fill some important gaps in our understanding of issues surrounding the recruitment of people from ethnic minorities into the teaching profession, and their subsequent experiences during training and in their first appointments.

The project was organised under five interlocking strands. The first consisted of a postal questionnaire to all 1998 Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) entrants who had identified themselves in the Graduate Teacher Training Registry's (GTTR) returns as being from an ethnic minority, or who had ticked the category of 'Other'. The questionnaire invited the respondents to comment on a range of issues concerning their motivations for entering teaching and for choosing the particular institution in which they were to train. Two hundred and eighty-nine of the 776 questionnaires sent out were returned, giving a satisfactory response rate for this kind of survey.

The second strand examined a similar set of issues from the perspectives of PGCE staff in sixteen initial teacher training institutions, with above average ethnic minority intakes. This strand, which was based on interviews with course directors, admissions tutors and other key personnel, was conducted in seven pre-1992 universities, eight post-1992 universities and one SCITT (i.e. an institution providing school-centred initial teacher training).

In the third strand of the study, we returned to many of the same institutions and, with their help, set up interviews with a cross-section of respondents to the trainee questionnaire. In all, forty-nine trainees participated.

The fourth strand involved another questionnaire, this time going to newly qualified teachers (NQTs) who had just completed a PGCE course (i.e. the same cohort as had been targeted in the first strand). The main NQT sample comprised 149 respondents. Finally, in the fifth strand, we followed up forty-four of the respondents from the main NQT sample to obtain their personal reflections after nearly one year of teaching.

As well as giving a detailed account of each strand of the research, the report also provides a critical bibliography of related work from recent years, an account of the methodologies used, and a set of conclusions and recommendations. The methodology section highlights the limitations of a study such as this, and should be read carefully before any claims are made on the basis of our work. This executive summary draws attention to the main points in each part of the report.

#### **Background to the Report**

The immediate impetus for the research was as a response to the initiative by the TTA in October 1997 to boost ethnic minority recruitment into teaching. It was clear to the research team that the policies being developed by the TTA in the context of the incoming Government's agenda of social inclusion needed to be underpinned by a more thoroughgoing enquiry than any of those previously undertaken. A number of previous studies - reviewed in Chapter 2 of the report - had addressed issues relating to ethnicity and the professional socialisation of teachers. However, much of this research was found to be limited in scope and based on unrepresentative and self-selected samples. The research team saw the need for an investigation that was national in orientation involving sufficiently large numbers of participants so that extrapolations could be made with greater confidence.

The design of the research was deliberately aimed at accounting for the comparative success of certain training institutions in attracting ethnic minority recruits to the PGCE. In a climate of excessive criticism and intense pressure on Initial Teacher Training (ITT) institutions, the research team did not believe they would win the ready co-operation of staff and students if the work was seen as a potential basis for heaping yet more obloquy on the profession. Instead, the team identified from GTTR data those institutions that were clearly making an important contribution to the goal of widening ethnic minority participation in teacher training. It was our intention to highlight the positive aspects of their practice.

We also tried to ensure that the institutions included in the study represented the diversity of ITT provision and gave a good geographical spread. Our decision to focus on those that were comparatively successful meant that we concentrated on institutions in urban centres in strands 2 and 3. For the questionnaires in strands 1 and 4 and the follow-up interviews in strand 5, we drew on a more widely dispersed national sample. Nevertheless, because most ethnic minority trainee teachers are trained and subsequently work in urban environments, the sample retained a mainly urban character.

#### **Strand 1 – Questionnaire to PGCE Entrants (Autumn 1998)**

An immediate problem presented itself. The 'official' data on ethnicity used categories taken from the 1991 Census, and increasingly, teacher trainees were refusing to identify themselves in those terms. The numbers opting to describe themselves as 'Other' had increased dramatically suggesting that the official classification was no longer thought to be appropriate. In the first questionnaire survey (strand 1), we asked whether respondents would prefer to use an alternative descriptor, and 48% replied affirmatively. Of those who had used the 'Other' category, 91% offered a preferred alternative. The TTA was already examining this issue and since we started our research a new classification system has been proposed. Clearly, monitoring the implementation of a major policy initiative requires good quality data, and the reform of the ways in which ethnicity is recorded in official statistics was a vital step.

Throughout the research we were struck by the relatively high average age of our participants, 28 years, with some ethnic groups considerably older. Our initial sample included a higher than average proportion of trainees offering science and other 'shortage' subjects, suggesting that measures to increase ethnic minority recruitment could also help achieve other policy goals. Many of these older entrants had pursued previous careers and had local ties and commitments that would restrict their mobility. The implications of this form an important dimension of the report.

Another consistent feature throughout the research was the importance placed by respondents on the intrinsic satisfactions of a teaching career. When we asked the new students about their images of teaching, a sense of achievement/job satisfaction was overwhelmingly the most important positive factor in their responses. On the negative side, concerns about pay, conditions and status were paramount. This also formed a recurring theme throughout the research.

#### Strand 2 Interviews with PGCE Staff (Summer and Autumn 1998)

Our interviews with PGCE staff confirmed that proximity to centres of ethnic minority population was a critical factor in their ability to attract ethnic minority trainees. A number of institutions were running 'taster' courses and providing other opportunities for potential trainees to gain experience of schools. Such initiatives are important because subsequent interviews with trainees revealed that their decisions to enter teaching had often been directly influenced by recent contacts with schools. PGCE staff also provided examples of efforts to build partnerships with local minority communities, including advertising in ethnic minority media.

The selection process is clearly of central importance. Trainees had told us of the weight they placed on the impressions created by PGCE staff during interview. For the staff, the most difficult issue was how to balance a desire to increase ethnic minority numbers with an impartial application of selection criteria. This was a sensitive issue for all concerned. Trainees told us repeatedly that they would resent the implication that would arise from any overt relaxation of entry conditions, namely that they were not of the same standard as their majority colleagues. All concerned agreed that public campaigns would have to avoid any implication of affirmative action or positive discrimination. Although several institutions operated their own ethnic monitoring procedures, hardly any use was made of the data supplied by the GTTR which was felt to be of little practical value.

PGCE staff were in broad agreement with trainees on the barriers to recruitment, citing low status, low pay and financial hardship while training as the principal constraints. They also reported administrative difficulties when considering candidates with overseas or other non-standard qualifications. This situation had been exacerbated by the publication of the TTA's Performance Profiles putting pressure on departments to recruit high achievers in terms of conventional qualifications rather than adequately qualified applicants whom they judged would develop into competent teachers. The perceived link between outcomes in such performance indicators and future funding increases the pressure still further.

Staff also took cognisance of the fact that ethnic minority trainees may encounter racism during school placement. During the course of the research we came across relatively few examples of overt racism, but throughout it was a cause of anxiety. In some institutions, placements were geared towards schools felt to be suitable because of the ethnic diversity of the communities they served. A number of trainees expressed similar views, being apprehensive of going into unfamiliar situations. In the event, the problem was found to be one of anticipation and not one of substance. We received a number of accounts of trainees who had been surprised and delighted by placements and, subsequently, initial appointments in predominantly all-white schools. Our conclusion, therefore, is that institutions should encourage their ethnic minority trainees to experience as wide a spectrum of situations as possible. Furthermore, the institutions should involve the trainees as much as possible in the choice of placement school. However, the essential corollary to such a policy is the existence of systems for close monitoring and support of ethnic minority trainees on placement, so that if problems do occur they can be dealt with quickly and effectively. In this respect, the

number of difficulties reported to us was small, but all institutions need to review and formalise their arrangements so that the small number of trainees who face difficulties because of racial harassment can be given immediate support.

#### Strand 3 - Interviews with trainees (Spring and Summer 1999)

In this strand we pursued some of the issues already identified above through extended interviews with a sample of trainees during the latter part of their PGCE. It was here that the evidence for the intrinsic motivation of trainee teachers came through very strongly. A number of those we interviewed had given up successful and often lucrative careers to undertake teacher training, preferring to do a job that they considered useful and which offered the particular satisfactions of teaching. This same emphasis came through with even greater force in our subsequent interviews with newly qualified teachers.

Some trainees were clearly motivated by their belief that ethnic minority pupils would benefit from the presence of black and Asian teachers as role models in the classroom. Despite this, some indicated that being seen as a role model for ethnic minority pupils had added to the stresses of school placement; having the same or a similar background to the pupils was not a sufficient condition for winning their respect. It seemed that more could have been done to prepare ethnic minority trainees to anticipate and deal with such situations that are particular to them.

The interviews with the trainees corroborated the findings of the earlier survey regarding choice of institution. However, the predominant sense from these interviews was of the intensity of the course, the stress that many trainees felt themselves to be under, and the financial hardship that many of them were experiencing.

## **Strand 4 – Questionnaire Survey of Newly Qualified Teachers (Spring 2000)**

A year later, with the former trainees now in their second or third term of teaching, we invited them to reflect on their early experiences in the profession. We also asked them to comment on the quality of their training. In relation to the latter, the most positive abiding impression of the PGCE was the support they had received from their peers. This finding suggests that institutions should do more to encourage the development of peer group networks and other mutual support arrangements during initial training. Only a handful of the institutions visited during the course of the investigation were proactive in fostering the development of such networks.

During the PGCE stress was a problem for many of the former trainees. They reported difficulties in coping with the course, with reconciling its demands with their other commitments, and above all with making ends meet financially. Nearly half admitted to having taken on part-time jobs to supplement their income, which would have added considerably to the problems they faced in meeting the formal requirements of the course itself. The support of families in such a situation can be critically important. However, for some trainees, securing this support had not been easy because of the low esteem in which teaching continues to be held. This negative attitude towards the profession seemed to be particularly pronounced within some Asian communities.

The overwhelming majority of respondents to the NQT survey said they were enjoying their work in schools. Many paid tribute to the positive support provided by their

colleagues. Having said this, one in six complained that they had experienced some form of racial harassment in their first posts. In almost every case, the perpetrators were pupils, and the abuse was verbal in nature. Throughout the research, we were cautious in interpreting uncorroborated accounts of such incidents as being racially motivated.

Although generally complimentary about the support provided by their colleagues, one in three of the NQTs had misgivings about the quality of their formal induction training. Some complained that it repeated work already covered on the PGCE, while others voiced criticisms about its organisation, frequency and delivery.

In this strand of the research, as in others, we attempted to gauge respondents' views about a number of issues relating to current policy on ethnic minorities and teaching. There was overwhelming support (95%) for the proposition that having an ethnically-mixed staff is important, regardless of the ethnic composition of the school. This finding suggests that an appeal to potential ethnic minority teachers should stress the distinctive contribution they could make in all kinds of schools.

#### Strand 5 - Interviews with newly qualified teachers (Summer 2000)

In the final strand of the research, we conducted follow up interviews with a cross-section of respondents to the NQT survey. On this occasion, due to the wide geographical spread of the sample, we were obliged to conduct the interviews by telephone. The findings confirmed the results of the questionnaire survey with the majority of the interviewees saying that they were broadly satisfied with their choice of career. Nearly all said they had received good support from colleagues in their induction year. A high value was placed on the importance of positive feedback in this early stage of their careers.

Although the interviewees were critical of some aspects of their induction to teaching, only one in nine indicated that they had immediate plans to leave the profession. Many regarded the pressure of work as being excessive complaining that it dominated all other aspects of their lives.

#### **Interpretation of the findings**

This work was built around the views and experiences of people who - despite the problems and barriers identified during the course of the research - had made the commitment to become teachers, often at considerable personal cost. We did not engage with those who had failed to gain entry to the PGCE or who had never applied in the first place. Moreover, we only examined the experiences of ethnic minority trainees in ITT institutions with relatively buoyant levels of ethnic minority recruitment. Our results must be viewed in this light and any conclusions drawn from the research treated with a degree of circumspection. In addition, it must be emphasised that many of the concerns voiced by the participants in our study – whether trainees or newly qualified teachers - would have been felt equally strongly by their white peers.

Nevertheless, our initial survey encompassed a substantial proportion of ethnic minority entrants to the PGCE in England and Wales, including those categorised by the GTTR as 'Other' (i.e. ethnic origins unknown) and the evidence from the successive strands of the research was remarkably consistent. At the very least, the report provides a detailed picture of the experiences, motivations and perceptions of recent ethnic minority entrants to the teaching profession. It indicates how the appeal of the profession to ethnic minorities can be enhanced, and barriers to entry reduced.

#### **Conclusions**

The study provides considerable evidence to show that ethnic minority recruits to teaching have misgivings about the perceived low status and rewards of the profession. Our participants had nevertheless embarked on a teaching career. We can only speculate on the numbers of potential teachers who reject teaching because of its negative image. At the point of entry to the PGCE course, many of our participants expressed concern about the daunting workloads being carried by teachers. These anxieties were fully borne out by their subsequent experience as NQTs. As a result many were unsure whether they would recommend a career in teaching to others. This can only exacerbate problems of initial recruitment.

Nevertheless, the great majority were highly motivated and committed to teaching careers. Many, being somewhat older than average, were already established in other careers before entering the PGCE. Of these, many had made considerable financial sacrifices in order to become teachers. Invariably, they accounted for their decisions by stressing the intrinsic rewards of teaching. In seeking to attract new recruits it is evident that the challenges and satisfactions of being in the classroom should continue to be promoted. For some, there was also an element of altruism. They stressed the importance of their potential contribution as role models within their own communities. For others, the potential offered by teaching for offering positive role models to ethnic minority pupils was another motivating factor. Among those who had recently qualified, there was in addition a recognition of the important part ethnic minority teachers can play in all-white schools. These are additional features that could usefully be stressed in future marketing campaigns.

Being generally older, ethnic minority trainees often face severe financial pressures and are obliged to hold down part-time jobs during the PGCE. While questions of status may present a 'soft' barrier to recruitment, we would speculate that the prospect of hardship while training must be a major deterrent to otherwise well-qualified entrants. The introduction of training salaries will have gone some way to ameliorating this problem; research is needed to establish whether it has gone far enough. However, the combination of family commitments and financial hardship leads most ethnic minority recruits to seek a training place near home. Efforts to expand recruitment would therefore have to take account of these demographic and geographical factors.

Throughout the research we encountered reservations about any measure that could be viewed as conferring a comparative advantage on ethnic minority recruits. Some ITT staff were concerned about possible legal challenges, while many of the trainees and NQTs felt that their achievements and standing in the profession would be diminished by such measures. In devising and presenting new initiatives to increase recruitment, great care will be needed to avoid any imputation of 'reverse discrimination'.

Ethnic minority entrants to teaching can bring with them experiences, both direct and vicarious, of racial harassment. This may account for the finding that many are anxious about the possible reception they may receive in predominantly white schools. However, our findings suggest that the difficulties actually encountered by those who worked in such settings were little different from those teaching in multi-ethnic schools. This suggests that the problem lies more in the expectation than in the reality and that more effort is needed to deal with these concerns.

The findings also pointed to a number of administrative obstacles to the recruitment of ethnic minority trainees. For example, difficulties were reported in handling applications from candidates from overseas, especially from outside the EU. In developing policy initiatives to encourage recruitment, it will be important to re-

examine all aspects of the selection and admissions process and remove any other essentially bureaucratic barriers.

#### Recommendations

The research provides various pointers to policy. A number of these were presented as recommendations in our interim reports to the TTA<sup>1</sup> covering the first year of the project. We reiterate below some of our earlier recommendations, and add further ones arising from the second year of the study.

#### **Promoting Ethnic Minority Recruitment**

Although more marked in some localities than others, the present crisis in teacher recruitment extends across all parts of the profession. However, our data show that a continued policy focus on appealing to members of the ethnic minorities to enter teaching would bring several benefits. Most obviously, it would help redress an existing imbalance within the profession. But additionally, it would attract a group of new teachers who are generally older, more experienced, often with a previous career to enrich their work, and more likely to be qualified in shortage subjects.

We therefore recommend that the TTA should increase the resources it devotes to recruitment campaigns targeted at ethnic minorities.

#### **Meeting the Needs of Mature Entrants to the PGCE**

The profession needs to attract more mature entrants from all sections of society. However, our research shows that initiatives to meet the needs of mature entrants would have a disproportionately large impact on the recruitment of ethnic minorities.

We therefore recommend that urgent attention should be given to developing measures to offset the financial hardship experienced by mature entrants, and to offer appropriate help to those making the transition from a previous career. Other needs of mature entrants should also be considered, for example, the provision of adequate child-care facilities. The introduction of training salaries is a welcome step for recruitment overall, but its impact in relation to prospective mature entrants will need to be closely monitored.

#### **Initiatives to Extend Access in Multi-ethnic Localities**

As well as targeting mature entrants, strategies to boost ethnic minority recruitment will need to give particular attention to local and regional factors. Our research shows that the proximity of a training institution to home is a crucial factor for many ethnic minority trainees. In view of this, initiatives to increase recruitment of ethnic minorities should be targeted on multi-ethnic localities in preference to across-the-board measures.

We therefore recommend an expansion of PGCE provision in ITT institutions with good track records in attracting ethnic minority trainees. As a corollary to this, the institutions would be encouraged to take a more proactive stance in local recruitment.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Being and Becoming a Teacher: the Perceptions and Experiences of Ethnic Minority PGCE Students, Interim Report #3 to the Teacher Training Agency, 1999.

Ethnic Diversity and Teaching: Policy and Practice in Sixteen English Initial Teacher Training Institutions, Interim Report #2 to the Teacher Training Agency, 1999.

Ethnic Minorities and Teaching: a Survey of Postgraduate Certificate in Education Students in England and Wales (1998/9), Interim Report #1 to the Teacher Training Agency, 1998.

#### **Taster Courses**

Many of our interviewees told us their recent experiences in schools, as observers or helpers, had been a powerful influence on their decision to teach. Although none of them had participated in a formal 'taster' course, their enthusiasm about these direct experiences of schools demonstrated the value of such courses, suggesting that 'taster' courses and similar initiatives may offer a valuable complement to other recruitment strategies.

We therefore recommend that, as part of the enhanced support for recruitment, specific attention should be given to the development of 'taster' courses and other opportunities for prospective entrants to gain experience of schools. In view of the age profile already highlighted above, these opportunities should be conveniently accessible to those already in work or with domestic responsibilities.

#### **Support for Ethnic Minority Trainees**

Our research revealed the anxiety experienced by many ethnic minority trainees that they may be exposed to racial harassment during their training. Although we were glad to note that the number of actual incidents reported to us was relatively small, and that most of those were dealt with effectively, trainees need to feel confident they will receive prompt and effective support.

We therefore recommend that training institutions should review their existing policies and practice for dealing with reported instances of racial harassment. Priority ought to be given to the development of joint procedures with their partnership schools for supporting ethnic minority trainees during placement. Reference should also be made to these procedures in prospectuses and other promotional materials. The issue of racial harassment needs to be addressed directly during staff development and mentor training sessions.

#### **Recruitment of International Students**

Our research shows that international students (especially from outside the European Union) provide an important potential source of new recruits to the profession. Reducing barriers to the recruitment of international students will enlarge the pool of teachers overall, but will particularly enhance the numbers of ethnic minority recruits.

We therefore recommend that the TTA should provide authoritative guidance on the assessment and comparability of overseas qualifications for admission to the PGCE.

#### **Ethnic Monitoring**

It is widely recognised that an overhaul of the existing system of ethnic monitoring in initial teacher training (and higher education as a whole) is long overdue. We are aware that this review is already in hand. During the course of our research, we found widespread dissatisfaction among trainees with the official categories currently used to describe ethnic origins. The criticisms of PGCE staff were qualitatively different in that they focused on the GTTR's policy of withholding details of applicants' ethnic origins. If ITT institutions are to be encouraged to recruit more ethnic minority trainees, then the withholding of such information from admissions tutors is no longer appropriate. Our research also indicates a need for clear guidelines relating to positive discrimination and particularly their legal position in this respect.

We therefore recommend that the proposed changes in ethnic monitoring should be implemented as soon as possible and that the GTTR revises its current policy in respect of ethnic minority applicants to the PGCE.

#### **Advertising**

Our research sheds light on the motivations and attitudes of ethnic minority entrants that should be taken into account in the design of any future advertising campaigns. We found that the intrinsic satisfactions of teaching are the primary motivation for most recruits, and that they are willing to accept the realities of high work-loads and comparatively low financial rewards. For ethnic minority teachers, the opportunity to 'give back' to their communities is also important, as is the special part an ethnic minority teacher can play as a role model.

Effective advertising must relate to people's current perceptions. It is therefore important that the prevalent negative images of teaching are acknowledged and addressed. In some aspects, this will require coordination with the local recruitment efforts of institutions, for example in responding to the anxieties about racial harassment discussed above.

We therefore recommend that these issues should be carefully examined in the design of future advertising campaigns directed towards the ethnic minority communities, and that the TTA should ensure coordination between national advertising and local recruitment efforts.

#### **Concerns regarding Racism and Social Isolation**

In addition to the specific problem of anxiety over possible racial harassment mentioned above, we found that trainees experienced a range of other more general concerns about the response they may receive as a consequence of their ethnicity.

There were two main foci for this. The initial impression of the ITT institution was an important factor for many, and the attitudes projected at interview were crucial. The poor representation of ethnic minorities among ITT staff sends out a potentially negative message. It is therefore crucial to the attraction of ethnic minority trainees onto PGCE courses that ITT institutions should give clear signals of their commitment. This can take many forms.

We therefore recommend that ITT institutions should review the way they represent themselves to prospective ethnic minority students. This should encompass appropriate representation of ethnic minority trainees in publicity materials, an active presence in minority community settings including ethnic minority media, provision of facilities for religious and cultural observance etc.

The other anxiety centres on teaching placements. We found that students were understandably cautious about undertaking placements in all-white schools or other settings where they anticipated they could encounter problems because of their ethnicity. Yet we also found that many placements in such settings had been very successful and had been important developmental experiences for both the trainee and the school.

We believe that it is important that placement decisions should be careful and sensitive, but not excessively cautious. Trainees should be encouraged to reflect on their own assumptions and prejudices, and be given opportunities to express their anxieties so that staff can respond directly to them on an individual basis. The experience of staff, and of former trainees, should be used as part of a process to build the confidence of trainees to deal with new and challenging situations. The impact of this will be felt not only during the PGCE but through the teacher's subsequent career.

We therefore recommend that ITT institutions should pay particular attention to preparing and supporting their ethnic minority trainees through this important stage of the course. The TTA should promote this by providing guidance and examples of good practice. The TTA should also address the resource implications for ITT institutions of providing this support.

#### **Staff Training**

A number of the above recommendations have drawn attention to the need for staff, both in ITT institutions and in partnership schools, to be aware of special factors that can affect ethnic minority trainees. This points to a general need for a continuing programme of staff training and development.

We therefore recommend that ITT institutions review their arrangements for staff training and development to ensure that matters relating to equity, social justice and citizenship are sufficiently well covered. The TTA's recently published guidelines<sup>2</sup> are likely to provide a useful resource for such sessions.

#### **Induction Training**

Our research revealed that induction training programmes were perceived as being variable in quality and, on occasions, as merely replicating work already undertaken during the PGCE. Induction training should provide a structured and systematic extension to initial training.

We therefore recommend that the TTA conducts a review of induction training provision.

#### **Presentation of Policy**

In our work we often encountered an implicit assumption that the reason for widening ethnic minority participation in teaching was to ensure that the ethnic composition of the staff in any school mirrored that of its student body. While that is, in itself, a reasonable and laudable aim, it may obscure a wider issue for the development of our society. We live in a highly diverse society yet, for reasons of where people choose to live, children may come into contact with only a restricted range of the wider society of which they are a part. The experiences related to us by ethnic minority trainees who had been placed in mainly white schools were a striking testimony to the important part minority teachers can play in such settings.

We therefore recommend that the rhetoric employed in promoting an increase in the number of ethnic minority teachers should acknowledge the importance of schools reflecting not just the local community, but the wider pattern of diversity in our society. To extend Swann's (DES, 1985) famous dictum, we suggest that the aim should be 'education for all' - by all.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Teacher Training Agency (2000) Raising the Attainment of Minority Ethnic Pupils: Guidance and Resource Materials for Providers of Initial Teacher Training, (London: TTA).