UNIVERSITY COLLEGE CHICHESTER

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL STUDIES

'RACE' AND CITIZENSHIP AFTER 2000: EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND PRACTICE

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ABSTRACT

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Doctor of Philosophy

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PRACTICE

by Pam Carroll

**This thesis has been completed as a requirement for a higher degree of the University
of Southampton.**

In 1998 the Final report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship, Education for citizenship
and the teaching of democracy in schools (also known as the Crick Report) was published
under the chairmanship of Sir Bernard Crick (QCA, 1998). Following this, in 1999, the
Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report was published as a specific response to the mishandled
investigation into the murder of the black teenager, Stephen Lawrence. This document
contained particular directives for the development of a National Curriculum that
addressed citizenship in terms of 'valuing cultural diversity and preventing racism, in order
better to reflect the needs of a diverse society.' (Macpherson, 1999, Ch.47,
recommendation 69). With these two seminal documents in mind therefore, this research
project has taken on the role of considering the extent to which issues of 'race' and
diversity are being addressed in educational policy and practice in the largely white
schools of a particular rural county, where attitudes, according to recent historical research
(Gaine, 1987, 1995), have tended to be somewhat backward and complacent.

The thesis develops from the introduction and analysis of an heuristic methodology, to a
dedicated chapter that considers the issues raised in respect of minority ethnic citizenship,
particularly in relation to identity. This chapter includes questions of semiotics, discourse,
and the development of a dynamic model of change incorporating these related concepts.
A critical perspective on the Crick Report follows, and examines whether the report does
in fact give 'due regard' (CRE, 2001, p7) to issues of anti-racism and minority ethnic
citizenship. The data chapters then present the results of field study both from within the
Local Education Authority (LEA) as an institution, and from various schools throughout
the county. Both contain comprehensive case studies; the LEA chapter introducing a
'typology of engagement' in relation to the issues raised by minority ethnic citizenship,
whilst the pupil data returns to further analysis of identity related issues. The concluding
chapter endeavours to pull the research findings together, considering the implications for
both policy and practice, with attention given to further research that might follow from the
findings. At the same time consideration is given to various texts and contexts presented
throughout the thesis in order that these may be considered in overview from a more
holistic perspective.

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PREFACE AND RESEARCH CHRONOLOGY

The purpose of this preface is to provide a chronological overview of the main research events in order to gain an holistic perspective. This will enable these events to be considered in sequence, and will provide some guidance to the way in which this study has unfolded.

This brief account also offers some indication of the main literature sources that have guided and informed this research, reference to which permeates the text itself.

Without too much introduction therefore, since the sequence is self-explanatory, a brief chronology of the research process of this study is as follows:

- As an adult, I moved to live in a majority white area where my own children were being educated in an environment largely devoid of cultural/ethnic/faith diversity.

- I developed a growing awareness of the negligence towards promoting anti-racism and racial equality more generally through contact with a local school. This was supported by evidence of situations that had arisen in the school in which minority ethnic children had been subjected to experiences of exclusion and harassment.

- I approached the school on the issue of this negligence, and was given no assurance that anti-racist principles were being promoted, or that the majority white children in the school were being educated for participation in the diverse society they might meet in later life.

- I developed an increasing awareness of these issues of social justice through my own reading and research, and subsequently began a three year MPhil/PhD considering this phenomenon in relation to the new requirements for citizenship to be taught in schools.

- At some point I recognised an underlying awareness of 'comparable or equivalent experience' (Moustakas, 1990, p14) from my own childhood in relation to the phenomenon of exclusion.

- My first initiative over the period of the initial twelve months was to read extensively from the work of others who have researched and considered similar fields. The following key texts were included in this process:

Ball, S. *Education Reform* (1994)

Connolly P. & Troyna, B. *Researching Racism in Education* (1998)

Epstein, D. *Changing Classroom Cultures* (1993)

Gaine, C. *No Problem Here* (1987)

Gaine, C. *Still No Problem Here* (1995)

Gill, D., Mayor, B., & Blair, M. (Eds.) *Racism and Education* (1992)

Jones, R. *Teaching Racism – Or Tackling It?* (1999)

Lee, R. M. *Doing Research on Sensitive Topics* (1993)

Macpherson, W. *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report* (1999)

Moustakas, C. *Heuristic Research* (1990)

Parekh, B. *Rethinking Multicuturalism* (2000)

Tomlinson, S. *Multicultural Education in White Schools* (1990)

This reading, together with wider research into the available literature of books, published and unpublished papers and dissertations, legislative treatises, and a comprehensive survey of media sources, provided much of the background material which is either referred to directly in the chapters, or provides the more general underlying knowledge base upon which the critical analysis of this thesis rests. As stated above, this process took place during the first twelve months of the research period prior to going out into the field, and formed a clearly defined and recognisable part of the methodological structure.

This 'immersion' strategy is clearly explicated in chapter one, and describes how this process was particularly fitting from the perspective of an heuristic research enquiry. Furthermore, this method of procedure subsequently enabled me to

comprehensively embed the fruits of this literary immersion within the chapters of the thesis itself, both informing theoretically, and providing a critical backdrop against which to test my own findings and reflections, and those of the authors who had assisted and informed my research findings in the light of theirs.

In respect of the literature and this process of 'embedding' therefore, I have engaged with the preferred approach of Wolcott, who has commented on the positive gains of avoiding a standard literature review chapter. Wolcott has stated that:

> I expect my students to know the relevant literature, but I do not want them to lump (dump) it all into a chapter that remains unconnected to the rest of the study. I want them to draw upon the literature selectively and appropriately as needed in the telling of their story.
> (Wolcott, 1990, p17, quoted in Silverman, 2000, p230).

Silverman has further commented that this approach, '... means that you can bring in appropriate literature as you need it, not in a separate chapter but in the course of your data analysis' and in this way 'connect your ... research topic to the directly relevant concerns of the broader research community.' (Silverman, 2000, p231). Favouring such an approach myself as part of Moustakas' process of 'immersion', I felt that the breadth of my reading would be more accurately reflected in the process of permeation provided by this methodological approach. In addition to this permeation however, an overview of literature, both existing at the time the research began, and published subsequently, has been included in the final chapter.

- A period followed during which I attempted to contact some schools individually, eventually deciding that particularly for reasons of access, it would be more expedient to contact the Local Education Authority (LEA) directly.

- A period of working with the LEA followed, during which (through the variety of research methods detailed in Appendix [B1]), I was able to collect data both from the LEA, and from schools in the county. This process continued throughout much of the second and the third years of the research period.

- Towards the end of the second year I began the process of writing up my research. A chapter containing additional background information on the History of Citizenship was written first, and is included in Appendix (B2). Chapters two, three, four and five then followed in direct chronological order, chapters four and five being the significant data chapters. The penultimate chapter to be written was chapter one, which covers methodological approaches, and finally, the concluding chapter, chapter six, was completed.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCING AN HEURISTIC METHODOLOGY: REFLECTIONS OF A WHITE RESEARCHER

Abstract

This chapter considers the over-arching methodology of a specifically heuristic approach to this project, whilst at the same time referring to diverse sub-methodologies (detailed more fully in Appendix [B1]) which were appropriate at different stages of the research as it progressed. It considers the role of the self in relation to the research, and the ways in which this connection has both driven, and assisted in informing the issues. The chapter looks at the characteristics of an heuristic methodology, and considers why they were particularly appropriate in relation to the qualitative nature of the research development. It considers issues of validity, and the ways in which an heuristic methodology is focused around meaning, and validated largely as a result of the researcher's and respondents' verification and co-verification. Finally the ethics of the research are considered, together with some discussion of the definition of terms used in the thesis, and with reference given to issues of inclusivity within the framework of the research.

> I begin the heuristic journey with something that has called to me from within my life experience, something to which I have associations and fleeting awareness but whose nature is largely unknown. In such an odyssey, I know little of the territory through which I must travel. But one thing is certain, the mystery summons me and lures me 'to let go of the known and swim in an unknown current'. (Moustakas, 1990, p13).

Taking advantage of the opportunity that poststructuralism offers for 'destabiliz[ing] received conceptions of science, order, society, and the self' (di Leonardo, 1991, p24, quoted in Schwandt, 1997, p122), this introduction to an heuristic methodology, despite appearing first, has been written as the penultimate chapter in this thesis. The reason for this order of events has become increasingly clear as the writing has progressed, and as personal investment has become more obvious, and the methodology itself has unfolded.

Now that the main body of the data has been completed and committed to script, the realisation of the personal has emerged in the sense of a growing awareness of a need to place the self within the research context (Simons, 2001; Coffey, 1999). This awareness has not developed from the perspective of methodological justification, but as is now apparent, because of a degree of identification with the subject matter that is personally disturbing in the recollection. However, it has also become increasingly clear that the placing of the self within the framework of the research is the grounding that prevents the work from dangling freely in mid-air, turning wildly as the subject of changed perspective with every breeze of interpretation from whatever direction that may come. Again from a post modernist perspective, no truth is absolute, but each interpretation does require some anchor in time that we may examine a particular perspective. This research therefore, aligns itself with a nonfoundational epistemological approach on the basis that all findings of research are subject to revision and reinterpretation, since that is the nature of knowledge itself (Schwandt, 1997, p102).

The research is placed within the framework of a specifically heuristic approach, of which Moustakas has said that 'There must [be] actual autobiographical connections' (Moustakas, 1990, p14). However, Moustakas then extends and qualifies this statement by the additional observation that if the researcher has not undergone the experience *as such*, then 'a comparable or equivalent experience' (ibid. p14) can still provide validity. In this respect Moustakas gives the example of Bernthal (1990), who studied the experience of first time parenthood with an adopted minority ethnic child, whilst basing the heuristic methodology on her own experience as a 'natural birth' mother. Similarly, Gaine, (1996, p4), gives the example of a member of his immediate family marrying a black woman, thus creating a personal connection to the extensive research he has conducted on the experiences of minority ethnic children in UK schools. The 'comparable or equivalent experience' I will use within the context of this research is one which has led to a feeling of connectedness with some aspects of the experience of minority ethnic people in the UK, and which, it now seems apparent, is the seed from which this research has grown. In this respect Moustakas has also commented that through heuristic research, 'The process of discovery leads investigators to new images and meanings regarding human phenomena, *but also to realizations relevant to their own experiences and lives.*' (Moustakas, 1990, p9, emphasis added), a thread which will be picked up and expanded upon in the concluding chapter.

The use of an heuristic approach by a white British researcher towards issues of the marginalisation and exclusion of minority ethnic children in the UK may initially seem to provide a tenuous connection. However, it is worth commenting here that as Troyna has pointed out regarding the academic debate surrounding symmetry in research that has surfaced at various times during the last thirty years or so, 'Whatever the context, it is important to point out that these doubts [regarding the issues raised by the question of symmetry] are based on a positivist conception of the status of research 'evidence' and of who is best placed to produce such knowledge' (Troyna, 1998, p98). Supporting this point of view, Gabriel has also stated that 'there is no single authentic perspective that goes with being black or, for that matter, with being a woman, lesbian or gay, or indeed being white...' (Gabriel, 1994, p4, quoted in Troyna, 1998, p101). These observations are supportive of my own position within this particular research context therefore, and of the heuristic methodology within which this research is placed, and a brief description of the personal element at this point will help to validate the heuristic connection in terms of placing myself within this context.

As a child certain experiences within my own family led to feelings of withdrawal, solitude and isolation within the context of my peer group, particularly within the educational setting. These are the basic elements of a situation that was, at the time, beyond both my own and my family's control, and no blame is attributed to any particular individual for the circumstances that arose. What is more important is the effects that these circumstances were to have upon my experience of the world, and the ways in which this withdrawal and isolation, which was eventually to disrupt my education for a period of time, led to a degree of identification with others who were isolated and marginalised because of circumstances that were beyond their ability to influence.

At the primary school I attended, there were three children who were 'different' in certain respects from the majority white school population. One of these was an Asian child who had come to England with her family from Pakistan; another whose mother was English and who had met her father when working in Africa. As an educated black man, her father had been unable to find work in the UK commensurate with his qualifications, and the

family were supported considerably by her mother's employment in shift work as a nurse. Another child was a Jehovah's Witness by faith, and together with the Pakistani girl, did not take part in the Christian aspects of education. My observations of these children were that they were marginalised and excluded in some respects by their peer group, and being withdrawn and feeling isolated in certain respects myself, I identified in some ways with their exclusion. A brief example of the treatment of these children by their peers will illustrate their experience.

Sabirah, the Pakistani girl, was complemented by her peers on the beautiful glass bracelets she wore, and asked to bring some in for the other girls. When she did this and one of them broke and scratched a girl, this same group turned against Sabirah, blaming her and saying that it was her fault that the girl had cut her arm. Mandy, the Jehova's Witness child, was asked by children to buy sweets from the shop on her way back to school after lunch. When she had done this for a while, she was unjustly accused of stealing other children's money in the change she brought them back. Sabirah and Mandy had been quite openly reduced to tears by these experiences at the time. Victoria, the dual heritage child, spent many of her lunch and break times alone in the school playground. She did not thrive academically in the school environment, and eventually failed the eleven-plus examination, leaving primary school to continue her education at what was then the 'secondary modern' school, Burnage High; the school at which, some years after she had left, the young Asian boy, Ahmed Iqbal Ullah was stabbed to death in the playground by a white pupil (Macdonald, 1989). Her experience at school and within her peer group was one of racial exclusion and isolation, and whether or not these experiences were directly attributable, she became pregnant at the age of twelve, and was a mother by the time she was thirteen; a circumstance we might speculate would not alleviate her experience of being ostracised.

At various times I was close friends with each of these three children, visiting their homes, meeting their families, and occasionally sharing mealtimes and other aspects of family life with them. Feeling myself to be isolated because of my preoccupation with parts of my life that disturbed me at the time, I felt somehow drawn to friendships with others who were experiencing exclusion in some form, albeit in different ways and for different reasons. These feelings of exclusion, and the empathy I felt at the time with the experiences of my friends is something that has returned to me vividly over the years, and

was drawn to my attention more particularly once I had my own children (both white) who were, as it happened, attending majority white schools in a majority white area.

During the time my own children were at secondary school, I became particularly aware that there were few minority ethnic children at the school they attended. I became more concerned when a draft home-school agreement was sent to me for comment, and contained no mention of racial equality, despite the fact that new legislation to bring these issues to the attention of schools (in majority white areas, just as much as in areas with greater ethnic diversity) had just been launched following the publication of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report (Macpherson, 1999). I knew from past experience with the school that there had been reported incidents of racism, some of them quite serious, and yet still they seemed unwilling to grasp the issues in terms of their stated ethos, attitudes and environment. My response to the draft pointed out what I considered to be a fairly important omission, and yet when the agreement was published in its final form, no mention had been made of any ideals that the school might hold, either in terms of making it clear that racism had no place in the school, or that the school's majority white children needed to be prepared for the experience of a diverse world. The attitude of the school in fact, seemed to be one of ignoring the issues in the hope and belief that they would therefore not need to be addressed, or as Gaine has more succinctly put it, their approach was one of there being 'no problem here' (Gaine, 1987, 1995).

Making the connections

It is therefore as a result of the personal encounters related above that I place this research in the context of an heuristic methodology, both in terms of my own first hand experience of peer group isolation, and through my close connection with children who were themselves experiencing racial exclusion. In addition to these encounters can be added observations from later in life of a developing awareness that seemingly little had changed for minority ethnic children within a majority white context since the days of my own childhood, and that what some of these children's parents may have experienced in similar environments was in fact, what their own children were now experiencing themselves.

Moustakas describes the heuristic experience as a 'personal encounter with the phenomenon being investigated' (Moustakas, 1990, p14), and it seems evident that this

personal encounter is not a situation that, at least initially, the researcher has any control over, but rather, as quoted above, that it is something that has called to the individual 'from within [their] life experience, something to which [the researcher has] associations and fleeting awarenesses but whose nature is largely unknown' (ibid. p13). It is therefore, the *nature* of this phenomenon that this research seeks to uncover, investigating aspects of the lives of my respondents through,

> …qualitative depictions that are at the heart and depths of a person's experience – depictions of situations, events, conversations, relationships, feelings, thoughts, values and beliefs. A heuristic quest enables the investigator to collect 'excerpts or entire passages from documents, correspondence, records and case histories' (Patton, 1986, p. 187). The researcher gathers detailed descriptions, direct quotations, and case documentations. Such qualitative methods enable the researcher to derive the raw material of knowledge and experience from the empirical world.
> (Moustakas, 1990, p38).

It has been said that the ethnographer is a methodological omnivore (Cohen et al. 2000, p146), and it can also be seen from the Moustakas quote above that this description could equally well apply to the heuristic researcher in that a wide variety of data collection methods may be employed. This heuristic approach therefore, stands as an over-arching methodology that has utilised an integral series of steps in the process and progress of this research. These are referred to in chapter four as a sequential development through the stages of:

- a casual agreement allowing me peripheral interviewing access
- participant observation which facilitated my attendance at certain education meetings as an observer
- unpaid action researcher, where I became involved both in visiting schools in response to the more affective and emotional aspects of minority ethnic children's experience, and in delivering training to teachers, heads and governors
- with extremely limited funding (no central funding having been made available for the support of racial equality), I was asked if I would continue to respond to occasional school and training needs.

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At an early stage my research became focused on the Local Education Authority, and more particularly on the Ethnic Minority Achievement Service and the access that they could provide to the county's schools. My sample therefore, should be considered under the category of 'non-probability' with a purposive nature (Cohen et al. 2000, p102), in that a particular organisation, service, and groups have been targeted. The findings of this research therefore, do not intend to generalise, but can be seen to support the findings of earlier research in similar fields, (Gaine, 1987, 1995; Mac an Ghaill, 1989; Tomlinson, 1990; Naidoo, 1992; Wright, 1992; Epstein, 1993; Ball, 1994), reference to which is made throughout the text.

The logistics and practicalities of the research arrangements are integral to the data chapters (chapters four and five; see also Appendix [B3]), and an analysis of the more detailed approaches used within the context of the overarching heuristic methodological approach are described in Appendix (B1). At this point however, it will be useful to expand upon the particular appropriateness of an heuristic approach to this research project.

Why a specifically heuristic methodology?

Kleining and Witt have stated that,

> Qualitative heuristics are applicable to all topics within psychology and the human and social sciences which are open to empirical research. Qualitative data are specially suitable to discover qualitative relations such as structure or patterns and structural changes.
> (Kleining and Witt, 2000).

From the outset it was clear to me that my research would take a qualitative pathway, and further, that extensive empirical research would be necessary to discover 'structure or patterns and structural changes'. I would be considering individuals, organisations, and the ways in which new legislation would affect existing practice and organisational structures. However, what was less clear was the way in which the research would proceed, and this was largely the product of a strong commitment to maintain the flexibility that would not exclude the unexpected. Coupled with these factors was an underlying 'itch', best described as a conviction that the personal was somehow connected to the research question, and although unsure at the outset of exactly what the implications of this

connection would be, a deep feeling that it was this that would provide (in relation to the research topic) what Moustakas has described as the,

> …passionate commitment of the researcher [which] is the essential opening of the heuristic process. The [research] question as such (and the researcher's relationship to it) will determine whether or not an authentic and compelling path has opened, one that will sustain the researcher's curiosity, involvement, and participation, with full energy and resourcefulness over a lengthy period of time.
> (Moustakas, 1990, p40).

'Passionate commitment' was something I strongly sensed would develop as the research question began to unfold, and would, I felt, be needed in order to sustain my enquiry. The more pressing question however, was the development of a methodological framework which would accommodate the intended emergent and non-positivist qualities of the research, and it is in this particular respect that the qualitative heuristic approach of Kleining and Witt was particularly appropriate.

Kleining and Witt have developed what they describe as the 'Four Basic Rules to Optimize the Chance for Discovery' within the heuristic framework. These are,

- That the research person should be open to new concepts and change his/her preconceptions if the data is not in agreement with them.
- That the topic of research is preliminary and may change during the research process. [i.e. 'It is only fully known after being successfully explored.'].
- Data should be collected under the paradigm of maximum structural variation of perspectives.
- The analysis is directed toward discovery of similarities. [i.e. 'It locates
  ' similarities, accordance, analogies or homologies…']
  (Kleining & Witt, 2000).

The first and second points relate particularly to the process Moustakas has quoted from Roads as 'let[ting] go of the known and swim[ming] in an unknown current' (Roads, 1987, p26, in Moustakas, 1990, p13), and certainly my experience came to be one of allowing the research findings to reveal themselves to me as I progressed through the 'construction of methods and procedures to guide a collection of data that [would]

illuminate an answer to the [research] question' (ibid. 1990, p43). The first point in particular relates to the shifting of my original concept that the research would be based around the locus of schools, rather than the broader and more authoritative structures of the LEA. In fact, the unexpected wealth of data eventually gathered from the LEA had a considerable impact upon the creation of new perceptions in relation to the often institutionally racist practice of those delivering policy.

That the topic of the research might be subject to some degree of change similarly proved to be the case, as the focus of the research question was originally intended to be directed more particularly on the responses of children to the use of a newly-developed anti-racist resource in the classroom. In fact my findings were that schools in general were still struggling with the concept that issues of racism and anti-racism had any meaning at all for a majority white area, and the focus of the research therefore shifted to the wider experiences of racism itself, and the responses of the local authority towards new anti-racist legislation. Appropriately in fact, Kleining and Witt use the analogy of 'the discovery of America instead of the sea route to India' (Kleining & Witt, 2000).

The third 'rule' outlined by Kleining and Witt, that 'data should be collected under the paradigm of maximum structural variation of perspectives' is chronicled in Appendix (B1) under the title of 'Sub-methodologies of an Over-arching Heuristic Approach', and details the wide variety of approaches used towards the collection of data, allowing 'each research process [to] unfold[s] in its own way...facilitat[ing] the flow of the investigation and aim[ing] towards yielding rich, accurate, and complete depictions of the qualities or constituents of the experience.' (Moustakas, 1990, pp43-44). Kleining and Witt have further defined this process when they state that,

> Structural variations mean sampling of positions in reference to the topic, i.e. ... the collection of data past and present, before and after its occurrence, in different situations, from different respondents, if possible from different times and cultures, by different methods etc. The kind of variation will always depend on the theme under study.
> (Kleining & Witt, 2000).

Details of the particular sub-methodologies of this research chronicled in Appendix (B1) therefore consist of:

- The Interview Guide approach
- Informal conversational interview
- Participant Observation
- Action Research
- 'Associative' Action Research
- Focus Groups
- Case Study
- Focused Interview

Kleining and Witt's final rule that 'The analysis is directed toward discovery of similarities' formed a strong and binding part of the research structure as I looked for common themes of attitude, opinion, experience, practice and procedure, and grouped these together in the form of discrete chapters, and from these concrete parts, gathered the wider network of information which formed a 'more and more abstract general whole [in this case, the influence and experience of racism] which nonetheless keeps concrete details' (Kleining & Witt, 2000). Bronowski has similarly described this process as 'a search for unity in hidden likenesses' (Bronowski, 1965, p13, quoted in Moustakas, 1990, p16), 'hidden' being a particularly appropriate word in the context of this research due to the often covert and 'refined' nature (Obare, 2001) of the attitudes and experience of racism. Similarities were found to exist therefore, between the findings of this research and that of other writers and researchers, (detailed earlier in this chapter); between the findings of these writers and researchers and the attitudes and experiences of my own respondents; and finally *between* the various attitudes and experiences of my own respondents, depending upon whether they were at the receiving end of racism, or a part of the processes of implementing institutional policy and practice (and in the case of one respondent, both at the same time).

Echoes' of the past and tacit connections

Having discovered a methodology that could offer the flexibility of a wholly emergent approach, together with prescribed structural variation leading to a final analysis and

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triangulation[1] of data (through comparison of *similarities*, as described above), the other specifically heuristic orientation was to determine exactly where the personal stood in connection to the research topic. As stated above, this 'underlying "itch", best described as a conviction that the personal was somehow connected to the research question' has in fact, been easier to explicate retrospectively (similar in experience to a journey made by the process of following one's nose, and then re-tracing the route on a map after the journey has been made).

Of the personal connection within the heuristic framework, Moustakas has said that,

> Heuristic inquiry is a process that begins with a question or problem which the researcher seeks to illuminate or answer. The question is one that has been a personal challenge and puzzlement in the search to understand one's self and the world in which one lives. The heuristic process is autobiographic, yet with virtually every question that matters personally there is also a social – and perhaps universal – significance.
> (Moustakas, 1990, p15).

In the event, the experience of social exclusion was to provide the starting point for the research inquiry, and as described above, because of personal connections and involvement with others going through the experience of exclusion, together with the opportunistic encounters provided by living in a majority white environment, the focus of the research question became that of the exclusion experienced by minority ethnic children (and one adult) in particular. From a personal perspective, I had considered that my own experiences of exclusion had been left behind many years ago. However, what became clear was that at a certain time, and under specific circumstances, this experience of exclusion began to resonate in me again as a response to the environment in which I found myself, and the issues to which I had become drawn. Briefly stated, I was living in a majority white environment, and becoming aware of the exclusion experiences of minority ethnic children within that environment. This served as a powerful reminder of my childhood friends and their experiences of exclusion that had resonated with my own, and had drawn us together as friends in the first place. In this way therefore, the personal had taken its place within the research context.

The 'tacit knowing' (Moustakas, 1990, p20) that these circumstances afforded in relation to the research enquiry was considerable therefore, as the experience that '...knowledge is

possible through a tacit capacity that allows one to sense the unity or wholeness of something from an understanding of the individual qualities or parts' became clearer (ibid. p21). This tacit capacity was in fact particularly relevant because of the recognition of similarities and connections between past encounters with the phenomenon of exclusion, and those of the present. There was also the additional understanding that sometimes, 'we can know more than we can tell' (Polanyi, 1983, p4, quoted in Moustakas, 1990, p20), most importantly in relation to the fact that prior knowledge had been submerged in time, and almost forgotten, before being magnetised into awareness by the surrounding circumstances.

Initially therefore, before memory crystallized, the experience was more of a knowing and a feeling, rather than a reference to specific information (memory of which emerged as a gradual process). Understanding began to crystallize most particularly as I heard the tales of isolation and exclusion related to me by my respondents, and from this position I began to make connections in the context of an analytical perspective in relation to wider research and the findings of others. Triangulation, as mentioned above, was frequently the result of the observation of similarities within and between these information fields, (contemporary, but guided and informed by the past) and corroborated through literature; the wide variety of methods of data collection detailed in Appendix (B1); and the analytical observation of what was and was not being delivered in terms of national and LEA policy and practice, and what was and was not working in response to these processes of change.

Corroborating the tacit

Having therefore located the structural foundations and the personal connections with the research, I was able to begin to make *practical* inroads into the considerable opportunities that the research question opened; namely the exclusion experiences of young minority ethnic people in relation to citizenship in a majority white rural environment.

Moustakas has stated that despite the fact that 'Methods of heuristic research are open-ended ... [they nevertheless]... point to a process of accomplishing something in a thoughtful and orderly way that guides the researcher' (Moustakas, 1990, p43). Moustakas has further illuminated the heuristic process in stating that,

There is no exclusive list that would be appropriate for every heuristic investigation, but rather each process unfolds in its own way. Initially, methods are envisioned and constructed that will guide the research through the preparation phase and facilitate the collection and analysis of data. They facilitate the flow of the investigation and aim toward yielding rich, accurate and complete descriptions of the qualities or constituents of the experience.
(ibid. 1990, p43-4).

As listed earlier, (see 'sub-methodologies' listed above), supporting information details the particular methods and techniques involved under the umbrella of an heuristic approach in relation to this research (Appendix [B1]), together with commentary on their appropriateness, and their relative strengths and weaknesses. In relation to such methods and techniques, Keen has further commented that,

The goal of every technique is to help the phenomenon *reveal itself more completely* than it does in ordinary experience. This goal may be stated as to uncover as many meanings as possible and their relations to one another as the phenomenon presents itself in experience.
(Keen, 1975, p41, quoted in Moustakas, 1990, p44, original emphasis).

The practical application of these methods and techniques are a feature of the fieldwork described in data chapters four and five, and in the data transcribed and chronicled in Appendix (B3). However, before these processes of data collection were mobilised, a period of what Moustakas has described as 'immersion in the topic or question' took place; a 'going wide open to discover meanings in everyday observations, conversations, and published works' (Moustakas, 1990, p44) which served as a precursor to going out into the field.

The Immersion/Emersion Stage

The key word to describe what took place in the early stages of my research therefore would be 'immersion' (the word that Moustakas himself uses), and I choose the word here to describe a process which included speaking to as many people as possible about the subject of my research, whether somehow professionally connected/ involved or not; becoming tuned in to all media sources of information on the topic, both current and historic; and finally, conducting a deep and thorough trawl of literature connected to the subject, even to the point of 'going to ground' (where my research supervisor may have felt that to all intents and purposes, I had completely disappeared from view).

This process enabled me to sink deeply into the issues at many levels in a way which subsequently informed, guided and assisted in the triangulation of much of the data gathered in the field. A prime example of this process was in fact, an early reading of two books, 'No Problem Here', and 'Still No Problem Here' (Gaine, 1987, 1995). Before going into the field this phrase (the verbal expression of a commonly held attitude that because there were few minority ethnic people in the majority white area in which my fieldwork was conducted, their presence therefore did not pose a 'problem' to educators) was one that I was not familiar with in terms of its significance in relation to the focus of my research enquiry. However, from the time that I entered the field, and throughout the period of my data collection I was to hear this phrase repeated spontaneously by educators on many occasions. A critical and reflective faculty was of course, necessary throughout in order not to simply 'find what one expected to find', and in fact in relation to this example, I began to observe that towards the end of my time in the field, new legislation was beginning to have an effect on overturning some of the attitudes reflected by this phrase, and therefore on the phrase itself.

Following this period of immersion, which resulted in the explication of certain core themes and issues developed in Appendix (B2), and in chapter two; there followed a subsequent mobilisation of the 'sub-methodological' processes of data collection (listed in the framework above), and finally, what Moustakas has described as,

> ...a comprehensive explication of the core themes developed into an *individual depiction* of each research participant's experience. The individual depiction may include descriptive narrative, examples, and verbatim exemplary material...
> Through immersion and analysis of the individual data, two or three *exemplary portraits* are developed; profiles that are unique to the individuals yet characterize the group as a whole.
> (Moustakas, 1990, p50, original emphasis).

These 'exemplary portraits' take their place in the interview data transcribed in Appendix (B3), together with the profiles presented in chapters four and five, and in particular,

- The data gathered from the respondent featured in Appendix (B3) came to personify many of the backward and complacent attitudes towards the subject of 'race' and racism that I encountered in the mainly white areas of my research. And

further, as this interviewee held a key position in mobilising the new citizenship
initiatives and in promoting the effect that they would have upon practice, it was
illuminating to observe how a 'low-key' approach to tackling the thorny issue of
racism in schools taken by the team of which this individual was a part, proved to
be one which educators in mainly white areas found little to take to task over (see
Gaine, 1987, 1985; Jones, 1999).

- Data gathered from the Palestinian school inspector presented in chapter four tells
  his own particular story of being subjected to institutionalised forms of racism,
  however, the attitudes that he encountered support well documented evidence of the
  more general nature of this phenomenon (Macpherson, 1999; Macdonald, 1989).

- Finally, the four case studies in chapter five really selected themselves in standing
  forward as discrete examples of the wider experiences of racism amongst minority
  ethnic children that I encountered during my research. They do in fact, fit
  Moustakas' criteria of 'profiles that are unique to the individuals yet characterize
  the group as a whole' (Moustakas, 1990, p50). This point is made most particularly
  in a final section of chapter five where I present, '… as a general summary of the
  experiences of black and minority ethnic children … a set of original transcripts
  from a focus group conducted at St Peter's secondary school.' The transcribed data
  '…details the experiences of this group, and highlights their perceptions and
  observations of what it is like to be a young minority ethnic citizen in a largely
  white environment.'; this section focusing on the more general experiences of
  racism and exclusion encountered by various members of the group.

It is in fact, through the exploration of these 'exemplary portraits', and the explication of
the respondents' attitudes and experiences in relation to their own understanding; together
with a critical analysis of wider literary, media and other sources of interpretation focusing
upon the issues at stake, and ultimately, the researcher's own synthesis of these elements
through the process of 'immersion'; that the essence or *meaning* of the research emerges
(similar to the reveal that takes place as a result of completing a jigsaw). Inevitably, this
aspect also raises questions of the *validity* of the researcher's interpretation.

19

In relation to qualitative research, Alston and Bowles (1998) have defined *validity* as the 'genuine' or the 'credible', and further define *reliability* as a measure of 'consistency'. Of validity, they ask two questions:

- has there been triangulation of the meaning of the findings?
- have respondents confirmed the meaning of the findings?

In relation to this particular research project, both points are specifically addressed in this chapter (the first in Endnote 1; the second in the following pages of this section).

In terms of reliability, Alston and Bowles further ask:

- have findings been examined to saturation point?
- have negative cases been sought and examined?
- has another researcher examined the field notes and analysis?
- have slightly differently worded questions generated the same results?
- have detailed records been kept to enable replication?

Again, with reference to these points in relation to this research, reliability has been addressed in that:

- findings have been examined over an extended period of time, and have been exposed and cross-referenced to each other as they have emerged chronologically. Findings have further been exposed to the work of other researchers and investigators in the field, both in terms of work that pre-dated this research, and of parallel inquiries taking place during the same period.
- the use of focus groups with a broad base of participant invitation has provided the opportunity for cases to arise that challenge or oppose the experiences of an emerging status quo.
- the chance has been available for the sharing and examination of findings and ideas throughout the research period: in respect of the availability of research

supervisors, colleagues involved in similar research, and the opportunity to present the findings as papers for critical discussion at various conferences.

- the research has proceeded following a protocol of the maximum variation of methodological approaches, which has inevitably resulted in a variety of questions and inquiries being posed to both groups, and individual respondents.
- detailed records of focus groups; the questions asked and the responses elicited, have been kept in the form of transcripts. This is also the case with one individual respondent. All other detail with regard to research questions and data received, including information gained through opportunistic encounter, has been kept in the form of field notes - ultimately recorded in the final research document.

However, in addition to this measure of validity and reliability provided by Alston and Bowles, in relation to the specifically heuristic approach of this research project, the heuristic model of validity and reliability has inevitably and necessarily provided an authoritative frame of reference.

Moustakas, Bridgman and Polanyi are in agreement regarding the nature of the validity of heuristic research. Thus,

> Since heuristic inquiry utilizes qualitative methodology in arriving at themes and essences of experience, validity in heuristics is not a quantitative measurement that can be determined by correlations or statistics. The question of validity is one of *meaning*
> (Moustakas, 1990, p32).
>
> The process that I want to call scientific is a process that involves the continual apprehension of *meaning*
> (Bridgman, 1950, p50).
>
> The synthesis of essences and *meanings* inherent in any human experience is a reflection and outcome of the researcher's pursuit of knowledge.
> (Polanyi, 1969, p120).
>
> (quoted in Moustakas, 1990, pp32-3, emphasis added).

These three writers have further stated that,

...judgement [of validity] is made by the primary researcher, who is the only person in the investigation who has undergone the heuristic inquiry from the beginning formulation of the question through phases of incubation, illumination, explication, and creative synthesis...
(Moustakas, 1990, p32).

... the constant appraisal of significance, accompanied by a running act of checking to be sure that I am doing what I want to do, and of judging correctness or incorrectness. This checking and judging and accepting that together constitute understanding are done by me and can be done for me by no one else. They are as private as my toothache, and without them science is dead.
(Bridgman, 1950, p50).

...certain visions of the truth, having made their appearance, continue to gain strength both by further reflection and additional evidence. These are the claims which may be accepted as final by the investigator and for which he [sic] may assume responsibility by communicating them in print.
(Polanyi, 1969, p30).

It can be seen therefore, that these three writers not only place supreme importance on the *meaning* that emerges from the researcher's investigations (taking a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach); they also place the primary justification for the *validity* of the interpretation of that meaning upon the researcher, and upon no one else. Their approach is one of taking the stance that no one else has immersed themselves in the subject of the research as the researcher has, and therefore, no one else may assume ultimate responsibility for the resulting representation, analysis, and interpretation of the findings.

However, this ultimate freedom to ascribe meaning and validity is not a gift easily or freely bestowed and accepted. All three writers emphasise the unavoidable necessity of earning this freedom through dedication to the subject, and through hard labour. While Moustakas speaks of 'rigorous, exhaustive self-searching' (Moustakas, 1990, p32), Bridgman describes a process of 'constant appraisal of significance', and 'checking and judging' (Bridgman, 1950, p50, quoted in Moustakas, 1990, p33); while Polanyi refers to these processes as 'the researcher's pursuit of knowledge.' (Polanyi, 1969, p120, quoted in Moustakas, 1990, p33).

Moustakas also refers to the practice of enhancing verification by seeking confirmation of the researcher's interpretation through the research participants, and in the case of the minority ethnic interviewees in this research project, the verification was carried out

wherever possible (during and after the interview process) by co-reflection on the picture that seemed to be emerging from the respondents in order to seek their comments and clarification. In circumstances where it was only possible to meet with the respondent on one occasion, (as with the respondent who features in the interview transcripts in Appendix [B3]), I employed a method of 'mirroring' the respondent's comments back to them in order to seek additional clarification and confirmation, a technique which engaged certain aspects of the focused interview technique (Cohen et al. 2000, p290; also, see below under *Ethics*). In other circumstances, such as participant observation or action research, this process took the form of more general conversation through which I sought confirmation or denial of the picture that I felt was emerging from the data.

Epistemologically speaking therefore, the approach of this research in terms of adherence to an *heuristic* interpretation of validity does, as stated earlier in this chapter, align itself with a nonfoundational epistemological approach, which recognises that 'no truth is absolute, but each interpretation does require some anchor in time that we may examine a particular perspective.', and further that 'all findings of research are subject to revision and reinterpretation, since that is the nature of knowledge itself.'. Schwandt has also stated that,

> A nonfoundationalist epistemology is one that endorses the view that it is possible and legitimate to say one 'knows' something without being absolutely certain or without recourse to ultimate proof or foundations for that knowing. Nonfoundationalists argue that all knowledge claims are fallible and subject to revision not because we have yet to find foundations but simply because that is what knowledge *is*.
> (Schwandt, 1997, p102).

In taking this approach of a validity gained through a particular interpretative perspective in time, Kleining and Witt offer additional endorsement when they state that 'All research findings as all phenomena in the Humanities are historical which means they are subject to change, whether referring to individuals, groups or societal organizations.' (Kleining & Witt, 2000). It would seem therefore, that a temporal anchoring, together with, from the heuristic point of view, the researcher's own personal connection to, and investment in the research, are key factors in taking the nonfoundationalist approach one step back from epistemological nihilism. As stated earlier in this chapter, it is this approach that provides 'the grounding that prevents the work from dangling freely in mid-air, turning wildly as the

subject of changed perspective with every breeze of interpretation from whatever direction that may come'. What we witness therefore, as with the course of history, will never be quite the same picture again.

...and of Ethics...

In relation to the more formal ethical elements of this research, it was initially necessary to obtain police clearance before commencing work in schools, and the LEA and employees who took part were made fully aware that my primary role, besides that of providing assistance (as this offer was extended by the LEA: see Appendix [A1/1]), was that of researcher, who would be both researching and writing up a PhD thesis. This was similarly the case in schools, where all my contacts were prefaced with an introduction from the LEA explaining my role as researcher. This is not to say that in all these circumstances it was possible to constantly remind those I was in contact with that even when working with them, I was still researching, and it was inevitable that at times, especially once a good rapport had been established, this primary role would not always be remembered by my respondents. In relation to this particular project however, I frequently experienced attitudes of exasperation from my respondents with regard to what was happening within their department or institution, and they often seemed to welcome the opportunity to talk, either as catharsis, or in the hope that what they experienced as wrong or misguided could be chronicled in some way and used in order to effect change. Nevertheless, as a general guide, and particularly in relation to the action research phase of the project, I attempted as closely as possible to follow the recommendations adapted from Kemmis and McTaggart (1981), of the 'Ethical principles for the guidance of action researchers', which emphasise the following points to:

- *Observe protocol* - Permission to proceed with the research was granted by the (CEO) Chief Education Officer in writing (see Appendix [A1/2]), whilst the practicalities were dealt with at the various levels of line management.
- *Involve participants* - Various degrees of co-operation and resistance were encountered in relation to the focus of the research, and these were a constant subject of discussion and negotiation throughout the research period.

- *Negotiate with those affected by the work* - Sensitivity was afforded to all who were, or might potentially be affected by the research developments, whether adults or children.

- *Report progress* - Progress reports were given informally to the head of the department, and to other departmental workers in the course of conversation and in response to particular enquiries. More formal verbal reports were given on a regular basis at the departmental team meetings held every fortnight.

- *Obtain explicit authorizations* - Permission was obtained for all observations of professional practice, and in order to gain access to relevant documentation.

- *Negotiate descriptions of people's work* - Where possible role descriptions were negotiated with the individual in relation to both their tasks, and their levels of expertise, and in most cases agreement was reached, even in some cases where a lack of expertise was acknowledged at some level. In some cases however, the more reflective and critical opinions of others in relation to these perceived roles have been included in order to obtain a more holistic perception of the way in which these roles related to the implementation of policy and practice.

- *Negotiate accounts of others' points of view* - Points brought up in discussion and answers to specific questions were reflected back to the participants at the time to make sure that what they had said was what they wanted to say. However, Gaine has described attitudes towards issues of racism in a majority white area as frequently 'backward and complacent' (personal communication, 2000), and in some cases therefore, despite cross-checking with the respondent for 'meaning', the resulting data often confirmed Gaine's description of unwitting and unintentional attitudes towards the subject matter.

- *Obtain explicit authorization before using quotations* - Verbal permission was obtained from adult participants on the understanding that my presence in relation to their environment was in the context of producing a research document, and in some cases their contributions were tape recorded (see Appendix [B3]). In the case of the children's interviews and focus groups, written permission to the effect that data would be recorded and used as part of a research project was obtained from parents and carers (see Appendix [A1/3]).

- *Negotiate reports for various levels of release* - A report was published on the research findings following the focus group data-collection process. This was

initially given to the CEO, and was subsequently (with anonymity maintained) published in an educational journal. Additionally, short reports were presented regularly at team meetings and in staff bulletins.

- *Accept responsibility for maintaining confidentiality* - This was assured to all parties from the outset of the research. It was further made clear that pseudonyms would be substituted in the case of *all* names that would appear in the text, including extracts from any correspondence, and the names of schools.

- *Retain the right to report your work* - From the outset it was made clear to all parties involved that the culmination of the research would be an academic document to be kept in a university library. If at any stage the work was to be made available to a wider audience, further permission would need to be negotiated.

- *Make your principles of procedure binding and known* - The way in which the research was to proceed was discussed and agreed at the outset from the level of the line manager with whom I would liaise, through to the ultimate agreement of the CEO.

(principles [in italics] from Cohen et al. 2000, p68).

In relation to the children who took part in my research, Cohen et al. have pointed out that 'While seeking children's permission and co-operation is an automatic part of quantitative research ... the importance of informed consent in qualitative research is not always recognised.' (2000, p52). From the perspective of my own research I have tended to agree with the advice of Fine and Sandstrom who, in speaking of participant observation for instance, recommend that the researcher 'provide a credible and meaningful explanation of their research intentions ... and that children must be given a real and legitimate opportunity to say that they do not want to take part.' (Cohen et al. 2000, p52). When interviewing children, either as members of the focus groups, or by themselves, I have always given them the opportunity to choose not to participate, and have also made sure that parental permission has been obtained. As the children who have taken part in this research have all been between the ages of ten and seventeen years, it has always been possible for them to make a reasonably informed decision about their involvement, although in the course of the fieldwork particular care has had to be taken with regard to

the often sensitive nature of the personal data being disclosed (Lee, 1993). However, throughout the research it was always made clear to the children involved and to their parents that the data being collated would contribute towards a formal research project, with the assurance given that complete anonymity would be maintained through the use of pseudonyms.

Similarly, in the case of all other respondents, the understanding was always given that data was being collated as a contribution towards a written research project, and this was the case even in situations where the data proved to be of a contentious nature (for example, the individual profile detailed in Appendix [B3] which was tape recorded with the full consent of the respondent). However, as with the child participants, it was also made clear that the use of pseudonyms would be employed throughout in relation to both places and people.

Throughout the research therefore, the primary role in which I presented myself was as researcher working towards a higher degree at a recognised University College, and it is this role to which my interviewees have responded throughout the research. Often it has felt, my presence has been used both as a channel for their grievances, and as a sounding board for their opinions and feelings. Frequently it seemed, through the medium of 'researcher as confessional', this facilitated a situation that allowed the respondents to have these opinions and feelings reflected back to them in order that they might see more clearly where these attitudes placed them in relation to the subject matter, or more personally, in relation to their own experiences.

In this respect the *focused interview* technique (detailed in Appendix [B1]) became particularly appropriate in terms of its similarities to the *non-directive* interview. This technique allows the researcher to provide an environment in which interviewer guidance is minimal, thus allowing the 'Respondents' definitions of the situation [to] find full and specific expression' (Cohen et al. 2000, p290), and therefore offering the research participants the opportunity to explore their own feelings and experiences.

It will now be useful to define some of the terms of reference that are more conceptually specialised in relation to the research enquiry.

Defining Terms...

Six final notes are included here on particular defining aspects of this research study.

Minority Ethnic/'Black'/Dual Heritage

The project set out to look at the citizenship experience of minority ethnic children in a majority white county. In the event, the research became facilitated through the county's Ethnic Minority Achievement Service (EMAS), and the access that they could offer to both schools and individuals. Throughout the study, reference has been made to 'minority ethnic' people, and this term has been employed in the generic sense used by EMAS of including *all* minority ethnic groups in the county, visible or non-visible (in terms of skin colour). Dadzie has described the use of this term effectively when she says that,

> Ethnic Minority or Minority Ethnic are terms of convenience. Both are used to refer to people who are identifiably different to the ethnic majority because of their parent's or grandparent's origins. Sometimes these differences are barely apparent. Sometimes they are obvious because of language, accent, dress or religion. (Dadzie, 2000, p90).

It should be noted however, that the county's largest minority ethnic group is Gypsy Traveller, children of whom are monitored and supported by the Traveller Education Service.[2] It has not been possible within the scope of this study to look at the particular issues raised by the presence of this minority ethnic group, and they are therefore included under the more general definition employed by EMAS (the primary facilitators of my own research), without in any way diminishing their significance as the largest specific minority ethnic group within the county.

Returning to Dadzie's definitions, she further refers to the term 'black', and has commented that,

> Originally used to refer exclusively to people of African descent, it now serves as a 'catch-all' and may include people from a much wider range of cultural, social, linguistic or religious backgrounds. For example, as well as second generation Africans and African-Caribbeans, it may include Asians, people of dual heritage, as well as non-white refugees from countries like Vietnam or the Philippines. (Dadzie, 2000, p89).

It is in this sense that the term has been employed throughout this thesis.

In respect of the term *dual heritage* however (also used throughout this research document), Dadzie prefers to use the heading *Mixed Parentage*, but goes on to explain that this term,

> ...is the term usually preferred by people whose parents come from more than one racial, national or ethnic group. They may also refer to their mixed or 'DUAL HERITAGE'... . Many people of mixed heritage also choose to identify themselves as 'black' arguing that having one white parent makes little difference in a society where racism is so entrenched. However, this view is contested by some white mothers in America and Britain, who argue that it denies their children's white heritage to call them 'black'.
> (ibid. p91, original emphasis).

This study however, has utilised the term *dual heritage* since this was the preferred term within the environment in which the inquiry took place; most particularly within the county's Ethnic Minority Achievement Service where much of the fieldwork was conducted. (See *Leon's Story* in chapter five for a particular discussion of the issues raised in relation to the identity of dual-heritage children).

'Minority Ethnic', or 'Ethnic Minority'...

To the above, one further explanation is necessary. The term 'minority ethnic' has been used throughout this thesis, and the use of this term may appear to be inconsistent with the official title of the body through which this research has been facilitated, namely, the *Ethnic Minority* Achievement Service. The reason why 'minority ethnic' has been favoured over 'ethnic minority' deserves some explanation, and is perhaps best illustrated by an email I sent to a colleague researching in a similar field early on in the research. The email read,

> I have been having a good think about 'ethnic minority' v. 'minority ethnic'. I had a conversation with Jo at EMAS about this, and it seems that any quoted source you will notice (Henderson and Kaur, the DES - even OFSTED) all now prefer 'minority ethnic'. Jo now uses this on all official county documents, and the reasons she told me, are that 'ethnic minority' implies a kind of marginalisation of ethnicity - whilst 'minority ethnic' leaves 'ethnic' as a descriptive term in its own right, and just illustrates by the word 'minority' that there are fewer minority citizens than the white majority population. I think this is why I prefer it - mostly because it seems to be a fairer descriptive term, and not least because many official sources now seem to use 'minority ethnic'. ...

(personal email to colleague, 14.08.01).

It is for these reasons therefore, that the term minority ethnic has been used throughout.

The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report...

Additionally, by way of defining terms, a note is here included in explanation of a reference widely cited throughout this research document. The reference is to the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report*, which is frequently referred to by various sources as the *Macpherson Report*. In this document however, the former full title is used (as it is by many organisations supporting the promotion of racial equality) in recognition of the source from which legislative change has arisen, and, as stated to me by an employee of the county's Racial Equality Council, as a means by which to '*keep the significance of the name of Stephen Lawrence in people's minds*' (personal interview, 2001).

Majority White/Mainly White...

Throughout this thesis the terms 'majority white', and additionally and interchangeably, 'mainly white' have been used to describe the population of the research environment. These terms are variously referred to by several different sources as, 'mainly white' (Cline et al. 2002, title page), 'predominantly white' (Hamilton et al. 1999, p1; Allen, 1990, p12), 'almost entirely white' (Gaine, 1987, p1; 1995, p1), 'majority white' (Jay, 1992, p5; Carroll, 2002, p33), and 'all-white schools or those with very few minority ethnic pupils', (Tomlinson, 1990, p54). Similarly, Dhalech has referred to areas where there are 'small numbers of ethnic minorities' (Dhalech, 1999, p12), and Collins and Begum to 'small numbers of minority ethnic individuals living in rural areas' (Collins and Begum, 2002, p3). With more sinister overtones, the British National Party refers to their aspirations to create a 'multicultural free zone' in areas where few minority ethnic individuals reside (Rural Race Equality Project Broadsheet, 2002).

With the exception of the British National Party's ambition, which in the opinion of the Rural Race Equality Project is 'akin to a veiled policy of ethnic cleansing' (ibid. 2002), all these descriptive terms can be related back to what Gaine has referred to as the 'white highlands' (personal communication, 2000). This term, (which originates from an association with the White Highlands of Northern Kenya, once inhabited by European

settlers and ranchers), is a reference Gaine uses to describe those areas of the UK inhabited by mainly white people, with little minority ethnic representation. The county in which my research took place is in fact, a prime example of the white highlands, with the latest census data (2001) confirming that,

> Non-white ethnic groups comprise a very small proportion of the total population in both [county] (1.6%) and the South West (2.3%) compared with 9.1% in England as a whole.
> (County Council Staff Bulletin, 2003).

The census data further shows that,

> Almost half (0.7%) of the non-white population in [county] is in the Mixed ethnic group; this was not a category in 1991 which can make comparisons potentially misleading.
> (ibid. 2003).

A fact that is further illuminated by Carvel when he states that,

> John Pullinger, director of economic and social statistics, said the minority ethnic population in England rose from 6% in 1991 to 9% in 2001. But part of this increase may have been due to a new classification that allowed people to record themselves as mixed race. He said that some of these 823,000 people might have described themselves as white in 1991.
> (Carvel, 2003).

Whatever the reason for these apparently 'increased' figures, the latest census data clearly shows that this county can still *factually* rather than just *descriptively* be referred to as 'mainly white', 'majority white', or 'predominantly white'. Drawing further on the national census data, demographic information such as 'Berwick-upon-Tweed and Alnwick in Northumberland where the black and Asian minority was 0.4%.', and 'Sedgefield, Co Durham … [where] it was 0.7%.' (ibid. February 2003), clearly indicates that there are other areas that could more accurately be described as 'almost entirely white', with their education systems presumably comprising 'all-white schools or those with very few minority ethnic pupils.'

It is such statistics therefore, and particularly those in relation to the specific county in which my research has been conducted, that have led me to share with others the terms

'mainly white' and 'majority white', and these terms are used to describe both the county as a whole, and proportionately, the numbers of minority ethnic children attending the county's schools. Furthermore, these terms are also used in relation to the *teachers* in the schools of this county, exemplifying the fact that not one of the teachers I have encountered during the course of my research has themselves been a visible minority ethnic person.

My research experience has shown however, that there is some discrepancy between concepts of what constitutes a mainly white environment. At a recent conference convened by the DfES (Department for Education and Skills) entitled *Aiming high: Raising the Achievement of Minority Ethnic Pupils* (Birmingham, 25th March 2003b), I queried a speaker's definition of what she referred to as a 'mainly white' environment. In answer the speaker described a school where '*about twenty percent of the children are from Asian backgrounds and another twenty percent of African, or African-Caribbean descent'*. This left a majority white school population of some sixty percent, which I personally felt was pushing the descriptive aspect of the term somewhat (as did a teacher from the Ethnic Minority Achievement Service in a neighbouring county to my own, who commented that it was '*no wonder that the DfES have no idea about the particular needs of minority ethnic pupils in a majority white county if that's what they define as 'majority white'*).

Perhaps closer to my own use of the term therefore, is that of Cline et al. (from research itself commissioned by the DfES), which defines a mainly white school as one 'in which only 4-6% of pupils were from minority ethnic backgrounds' (Cline et al. 2002, introduction), although from my own research, in some schools the numbers were considerably less than this (one of the schools from which a case study was taken recently producing a figure of zero minority ethnic children out of seven hundred pupils in response to an OFSTED [Office for Standards in Education] inspection – technically making this what Tomlinson has described as an 'all-white' school [Tomlinson, 1990, p54]).

In the end, an over-arching descriptive term had to be used, and on the basis of this necessity, the terms 'majority white' or 'mainly white' have been utilised. The central point to note in this discussion however, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, is the marginalising attitude of educators in these areas, of minority ethnic people being 'No Problem Here' (Gaine 1987, 1995); an attitude which both problematises and diminishes

the significance of the minority ethnic presence in white areas. Furthermore, this attitude renders invisible the requirement for majority white pupils to be prepared for life in the multi-ethnic environment in which they may well find themselves once they leave school and travel further afield than their own mono-ethnic/cultural enclave.

Further discussion of the terms and definitions used in relation to a mainly white environment may be found in chapter four of this thesis in Gaine's discussion of the demographic patterns that constitute a 'white' area. A final brief note here on the subject in terms of the effect that these low numbers of minority ethnic children have had on the research methodology of this thesis, given that essentially, these children are the subject of the research, is appropriate here.

Cline et al. have stated that 'The fact that there are so few minority ethnic pupils on roll presents major challenges in conducting research in this field' (Cline et al. 2002, introduction). They further point out the obstacles encountered in exercising any form of *quantitative* analysis in this area, since the numbers of minority ethnic pupils are so low as to render any genuine forms of statistical analysis numerically difficult (ibid.). PLASC (Pupil Level Annual School Census) data can help to draw attention to particular children who may not be performing as well as others for their Key Stage, and this data will be of use to schools who must now, under the requirements of the RRAA (Race Relations Amendment Act) 2000, monitor the performance and achievement of pupils from all ethnic groups. However, it is clear that low numbers of minority ethnic pupils render quantitative analysis less suitable for research in majority white areas, and in terms of government and local authority policy and practice therefore, this dearth of statistical information has been a contributing factor in maintaining a culture of there being 'No Problem Here' (Gaine, 1987, 1995).

This particular research enquiry therefore (quite apart from the researcher's own interest in and inclination towards the more data rich, qualitative and heuristic aspects of research methodology) would have been hard-pressed to utilise any specific or exclusive forms of quantitative analysis, (a situation that has caused not inconsiderable concern to the county's Ethnic Minority Achievement Service in that much of their funding may, in the future, be based on statistical data [DfES, 2003a, pp37-39]). What *has* been included however, in a form that was considered could provide an informative backdrop to this

work, is some basic statistical information on the attitudes of majority white pupils towards issues of diversity, and this information is referred to below, and may be found in Appendix (B4).

Multicultural or Anti-racist ...

Throughout this document reference is made to the ideas of 'multicultural' and 'anti-racist' approaches to education, and it should be noted that these are not now considered to be mutually exclusive, but have a history of tending to be regarded as such. Gaine has given a comprehensive chronological overview of the changing perspectives of education towards issues of 'race' (Gaine, 1995, pp33-59), and accurately locates the inception of the *practice* of these two approaches as the late 1970s until the mid 1980s' (the multicultural), and from the early until the late 1980s' (anti-racist) (personal communication, 2003).

There is not the space here to enter into detail regarding the history of these two initiatives, and further reference is made in chapters two and three to the ways in which the multicultural has been favoured (to the exclusion of anti-racist approaches) in mainly white areas. The main point to be garnered here however, is that anti-racist initiatives in education have a history of being considered overly contentious in majority white areas (see references to this perspective in chapter four), and multiculturalism therefore, is often the approach adopted by default. As a model of good practice, it is possible that a combination of introducing the richness of diversity, together with an understanding both of the ways in which racism works, and the ways in which it can be challenged, would now provide the ideal for a more comprehensive and well-rounded approach to the issues.

In order to make some kind of a distinction between the two concepts at this point, the definitions given by Dadzie (2000, pp92-3) are helpful. Dadzie defines anti-racism as the 'conscious effort people make to challenge and combat racism in all its behavioural and institutional forms.', and anti-racist education therefore, would necessarily engage an understanding and promotion of these ideals. Dadzie further describes multiculturalism as,

> ...a situation where there are many different cultures in a society, and when the available services and facilities (for example, health, education, the arts etc.) recognise this fact in a positive way. The term describes both an approach (e.g. multicultural education) and a vision (e.g. a multicultural society).

(ibid. 2000, p93).

An additional note needs to be included here however, in that the difficulty in mainly white areas has historically tended to be that the cultural diversity in wider society has not been recognised, and the more local perspective has often rendered the issues (both of multiculturalism *and* of anti-racism) invisible, and in any case, considered unnecessary.

'Race'...

A final note here addresses the way in which the term 'race' has been enclosed in quotation marks in many places throughout the thesis. Rattansi and Donald have commented,

> What ...do we mean by 'race'? [The] quotation marks around the term may ...have alerted you to its problematic status. Some people have argued that, because there is no biological basis for distinguishing between human groups on supposed racial criteria – because there is no such thing as 'race' – the term should not be used at all.
> (Rattansi and Donald, 1992, p6).

and further that,

> How is it that a largely metaphorical category like 'race' can play such a decisive role in shaping people's perceptions, beliefs and destinies? How has the category come to have this extraordinary and oppressive power? To pose such questions not in the abstract but in the context of contemporary British society adds further levels of complexity.
> (ibid. p6).

The first quotation proposes the argument that there is 'no biological basis for distinguishing between human groups on supposed racial criteria'. The second quotation opens up the discussion somewhat, and it is some of the implications that are raised in this second paragraph regarding the *power of a term of reference* that are unpacked and discussed within the context of the thesis.

In the light of this brief discussion, it becomes clear that the term 'race' has been delegated the uncertain status of bearing a descriptive burden, which at the same time belies the fact that it is a term without real justification in the sense of what it sets out to describe. This reason is given therefore for the use of quotation marks, and within the context of this

study, these have been used most particularly when the term 'race' is used as a stand-alone description, rather than when it is used in the semantic context of 'race equality' as employed by various organisations (and in the titles of various documents) working within this particular field of social justice. A final observation here is that the uncertain status of these quotation marks is also evidenced by the fact that this study contains text where other authors choose not use this convention, and in these cases of course, the quotations remain as the authors intended.

In concluding this section on the definition of terms, it should be noted that the interpretations given above relate to some of the over-arching themes permeating this thesis. Other definitions that permeate less, and are of a more specialised and particular nature may be found referred to in context throughout the text.

Research Inclusion Issues...

Finally, due to the focus of this project on local responses to national legislation and imperatives regarding citizenship and educating for diversity, together with the particular attention given to the experiences of minority ethnic groups and individuals themselves, limitations of space and time have not allowed for the inclusion of in-depth analysis of the attitudes of either individual, or groups of majority white children. I would hope that an analysis of such data could be the subject of a separate study at some stage, particularly in the light of a previously held and developing interest in Lacanian analysis (see chapters five and six of this thesis).

Issues of access have played a major role in the focus of this research, and the attention of gatekeepers throughout the field study period was particularly directed towards the gathering of data in relation to the experiences of the minority ethnic population in order to assist and inform practice. Furthermore, the specific focus of schools as a result of new legislation (when approached, and therefore in response to having issues relating to diversity education specifically pointed out to them) was on obtaining legislative-orientated information concerning what would constitute a fair and equitable approach to the educational experience of their young minority ethnic citizens. As a result of this imperative therefore, it was only towards the end of the data collection period that certain

schools involved in the study began to consider the potential needs of their majority white pupils in relation to educating for diversity.

However, this aspect has not been entirely neglected, and at an early stage of my research I was invited to attend a citizenship conference held at a nearby grammar school with a joint sixth form roll of 99 girls and 83 boys, of whom only ten children in total were from visible minority ethnic backgrounds. Couching my request to conduct a brief questionnaire more in terms of citizenship than as a canvas of attitudes towards diversity (due both to the nature of the conference, and not least to the 'no problem here' response towards minority ethnic issues that I was beginning to recognise from contacts I had made with other institutions), the school granted me permission to collect the information which is presented in the tables to be found in Appendix (B4). These questionnaires were completed about a week after the conference, and briefly addressed the sixth formers' attitudes towards aspects of citizenship, and towards issues of diversity in a mainly white environment. The data represented in the charts is not intended to generalise the attitudes of children in this rural county, since the context was quite specific, and was essentially an opportunistic non-probability sample. However, they do provide some evidence of positive attitudes towards issues of diversity by majority white young people, providing we bear in mind the fact that another school not five miles away (recently coming out of special measures and with an intake of children from generally much poorer socio-economic backgrounds, a large percentage of whom were from lower ranking military families) might not have showed either such positive or liberal responses. In fact this school had experienced generally negative attitudes from the children towards minority ethnic people; most particularly in the wake of the terrorist attacks on America of September 11th (see *Leon's Story* in chapter five, *Pupil Experience: School Response*).

A Final Note on Which to Open...

The questionnaires referred to above were answered using the Likert scale in order to 'combine the opportunity for a flexible response with the ability to determine frequencies, [and] correlations ... afford[ing] the researcher the freedom to fuse measurement with opinion, quantity and quality.' (Cohen et al. 2000, p253). However, Cohen et al. go on to state that,

> Though rating scales are powerful and useful in research, the researcher, nevertheless, needs to be aware of their limitations. For example, the researcher may not be able to infer a degree of sensitivity and subtlety from the data that they cannot bear.
> (ibid. p253).

One respondent out of the 182 who completed the questionnaires clearly felt the effects of these limitations.

In response to the question 'How important do you think learning about different peoples, cultures and ethnicities is to school students who live in areas populated by mainly white British/English people?' this female respondent had indicated the strongest response position of 'Very Important'. However, underneath this response, where no space was given for further comment, a short line of very small writing had been included, and it is this line that I use here to introduce the argument and evidence that follow in the form of this thesis.

Despite the fact that the charts show, as stated above, quite positive and liberal responses from this girl's peer group on issues of diversity, her comment clearly came from her *own experience* of living as a visible minority ethnic person in a majority white community. Her addendum read quite simply, '*...speaking as a Pakistani – people should be more broad minded...*'

It is the implications of this statement that I will now seek to uncover within the context of new legislation, both for citizenship education, and for racial equality.

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[1] By 'triangulation', reference is implicit to the original meaning of the term, described by Cohen, Manion and Morrison as,

> ... a technique of physical measurement: maritime navigators, military strategists and surveyors, for example, use (or used to use) several locational markers in their endeavours to pinpoint a single place or objective.
> (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000, p112).

From the original use of the term, it is clear to see the way in which it has been adapted in relation to the research environment. Thus, it has been described in this role as,

> ... a means of checking the integrity of the inferences one draws. It can involve the use of multiple data sources, multiple investigators, multiple theoretical perspectives, multiple methods, or all of these.
> (Schwandt, 1997, p163).

The link between these two definitions is provided by use of the words 'several locational markers', which in the research context becomes translated from physical measurement into the idea of the use of 'multiple data sources, multiple investigators, multiple theoretical perspectives, multiple methods, or all of these.'

This research investigation has used this approach, specifically employing data from a variety of sources; deep immersion in, and wide reference to, the work of other researchers and 'investigators'; several contrasting theoretical perspectives, and finally, a wide variety of research methods, as detailed in Appendix (B1).

Within the context of this research therefore, as defined by Cohen, Manion and Morrison, it can be said that triangulation is 'characterized by a multi-method approach to a problem in contrast to a single-method approach.' (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000, p113).

[2] The Traveller Education Service are currently monitoring and supporting 180 children in the county who are aged between four and sixteen years. This figure however, accounts for only those whom assistance has been requested for by schools, and who are considered to have been 'housed' for less than two years. The actual figure is therefore considered by the Traveller Education Service to be somewhat higher than this.

A Recipe

THE BRITISH
Serves 60 million

Take some Picts, Celts and Silures
And let them settle
Then overrun them with Roman conquerors.

Remove the Romans after approximately four hundred years
Add lots of Norman French to some
Angles, Saxons, Jutes and Vikings, then stir vigorously.

Mix some hot Chileans, cool Jamaicans, Dominicans,
Trinidadians and Bajans with some Ethiopians,
Chinese, Vietnamese and Sudanese.

Then take a blend of Somalians, Sri Lankans, Nigerians
And Pakistanis,
Combine with some Guyanese
And turn up the heat.

Sprinkle some fresh Indians, Malaysians, Bosnians,
Iraqis and Bangladeshis together with some
Afghans, Spanish, Turkish, Kurdish, Japanese
And Palestinians
Then add to the melting pot.

Leave the ingredients to simmer.

As they mix and blend allow their languages to flourish
Binding them together with English.

Allow time to be cool.

Add some unity, understanding and respect for the future
Serve with justice
And enjoy

*Note: All the ingredients are equally important. Treating one
ingredient better than another will leave a bitter, unpleasant taste.*

Warning: An unequal spread of justice will damage the people and cause pain..

Give justice and equality to all.

Benjamin Zephaniah

Chapter 2

IDENTITIES IN DISPUTE: THE CITIZENSHIP EXPERIENCES OF MINORITY ETHNIC INDIVIDUALS

Abstract

This chapter discusses the need to find an inclusive model of citizenship, especially in relation to the new citizenship education initiatives that are currently taking place in the UK. The concepts of 'othering' and 'belonging' regarding this inclusivity are discussed in relation to the theoretical systems of semiology, myth and discourse developed by Saussure, Barthes and Foucault. The political, social and economic situating of minorities in the UK is then analysed in relation to both the patterns of British immigration and nationality law over the years, and the impact of post-colonial discourse on the minority ethnic presence. The chapter concludes with a brief analysis of the work of Homi Bhabha, and the possibilities that his theoretical notions of *hybridity* and the *third space* offer in locating a place where a new definition of citizenship education might be situated in order to avoid the simplistic polarising of binary extremes in relation to identity definitions.

Figueroa has stated that,

> For Marshall (1964) citizenship has been achieved through struggles and encompasses civil, political and social *rights and duties*: the rights to liberty of the person, justice, *political participation*, economic welfare and security, and to sharing in the social heritage. Citizenship is 'a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community', so that they are equal with respect to their rights and duties vis-à-vis each other, and have material and meaningful relations with others in the community to which they belong (1964:84). Citizenship requires a bond involving 'a direct sense of *community membership* based on loyalty to a civilization which is a common possession' (ibid.:92).
> (Figueroa, 2000, p49, emphasis added).

The model of citizenship provided by the Crick Report (QCA, 1998) certainly echoes these principles in its references to *rights and duties* (QCA, p20, para. 3.20), *political participation* (ibid. p41, para. 6.7.3), and *community membership*, (ibid. p19, para. 3.19). However, despite Crick's references to 'cultural diversity', 'common citizenship' and

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'plurality' (ibid. p17, paras. 3.13,14,15), Figueroa further states that in the report, 'Antiracism is hardly mentioned, and there is no sharp focus on the meaning of citizenship, on values or on developing commitment.' (Figueroa, 2000, p47).

It is this position that Osler supports, both with Starkey (Osler and Starkey, 2000a, p3ff), and in her paper *The Crick Report: difference, equality and racial justice* (Osler, 2000, p25-37) when considering whether the Crick Report adequately deals with issues of difference, equality and justice, or indeed, whether the report itself may not unwittingly reflect racist attitudes (Osler, 2000, p25). In other words, the question being asked is how *can* people have a sense of 'community membership' if they are being discriminated against, either at the level of unwittingly racist attitudes in policy that impacts on their opportunities, or at levels of institutionalised and individual racism which is not tackled directly?

This 'unwitting racism' can be detected in the Crick Report when, although the report undoubtedly emphasises in several places the need to cater for plurality and find a 'common citizenship', the statement is also made that in order to achieve this goal,

> Majorities must respect, understand and tolerate minorities and minorities must learn and respect the laws, codes and conventions as much as the majority – not merely because it is useful to do so, but because this process helps foster common citizenship.
> (QCA, 1988, pp17-18, para. 3.16).

Apart from the fact that 'understand and tolerate' appear to translate in tones of paternalistic racism (Halstead, 1988; see Appendix [A2]) - as does the rest of the quotation, there lie a series of highly questionable assumptions in these directives. As Osler has pointed out (Osler, 2000, p7), unsupported by evidence, we are left to wonder what the implications of this statement are. Do we assume that the values and the cultures of minorities are somehow in conflict with law and convention, or that minorities are not socialised into these laws? Or are we to assume that the writers of the report consider that minority ethnic individuals are more likely to be instrumental in breaking these laws and conventions than the white majority? In any case, as Osler further observes, there is the worrying implication that all minorities are to be 'lumped together' as an homogeneous group - presumably under the banner of a 'common citizenship'.

It is this conflict between the authors of the Crick Report and the observations of Osler, Starkey and Figueroa that situate the circumstances surrounding the position of minority ethnic children in majority white schools most particularly, as the situation in which these children find themselves is often one in which assumptions are made about how they should 'fit in' or 'be tolerated' by the majority white community (Cline et al. 2002, p165). Certainly the report offers recommendations for informing all pupils about issues of diversity (QCA, 1988, p44), but as Osler, Starkey and Figueroa point out, an approach which educates for diversity whilst failing to address the issues surrounding the exclusion and racism experienced by minority ethnic children will fail to address the citizenship needs of a plural society.

A defining feature of citizenship throughout the ages has been that it is *not* a humanistic concept in terms of offering equal access to its benefits for all. Citizenship, both in theory and in practice, has historically been shown to be exclusive and exclusionary (see Appendix [B2]), and in fact, any humanism claimed by the ideals of citizenship is likely to be more closely aligned to hegemonic definitions of humanism being promoted by the protagonists of a particular model of citizenship (Young, 1992, pp243-251). Furthermore, it is evident that throughout the history of citizenship, certain groups have been systematically excluded from membership; women, the helots, religious groups, 'foreigners', the young, the elderly, the uneducated, the poor and landless, the enslaved, the illegitimate, immigrants – the list is long, if not inexhaustible (see Appendix [B2]). Marshall incorporated these features of hegemonic conceptions of humanism in relation to exclusionary practices quite clearly when he described the mechanics of the Poor Law of 1834, and stated that,

> The Poor Law treated the claims of the poor, not as an integral part of the rights of the citizen, but as an alternative to them – as claims which could be met only if the claimants ceased to be citizens in any true sense of the word. For paupers forfeited in practice the civil right of personal liberty, by internment in the workhouse, and they forfeited by law any political rights they might possess. …those who accepted relief must cross the road that separated the community of citizens from the outcast company of the destitute.
> (Marshall, 1964, p88).

Although legislation has certainly progressed issues of social rights considerably since that time, it would be fair to say that the stigma attached to the status of many of the categories listed above; women, certain religious groups, the elderly, immigrants etc, still remains. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that social status and identity have in fact, been used as a systematic tool of exclusion throughout history, and once we begin to look at issues raised by the exclusion experienced by minority ethnic children in majority white environments, issues surrounding the power to create and maintain marginalized status in relation to identity are clearly pertinent. Whether these issues manifest as the experience of direct, indirect, or institutionalised racism; as the experience of not 'fitting in' with the rest of the community; as the development of minority ethnic sub-cultures in order to foster strength and resilience; or as failing grades and lack of equal opportunity; the question must be asked, from where do these experiences arise, how have they developed, and finally, why do they persist?

In relation to the status of minority ethnic citizens, there is little doubt that the intentions of the Crick Report were those of introducing a model of citizenship that was more inclusive, and yet, as Osler has pointed out; how are we to interpret a text, parts of which appear to be at best misguided, or at worst, to promote a form of paternalistic racism? Further evidence presents itself when the report refers, with what Osler terms a 'somewhat colonial flavour', to 'due regard being given to the homelands of *our* minority communities and to the main countries of British emigration' (QCA, 18, para. 3.16, emphasis added). Tomlinson has explored the role that this 'colonial flavour' plays in the curriculum in her book *Multicultural Education in White Schools*, (Tomlinson, 1990, pp42-86), and this theme is returned to below, together with a brief overview of the patterns of UK immigration. However, before considering the educational impact of colonialist attitudes and issues surrounding UK immigration, it will be useful to briefly consider the issues that 'identity' raises for minority ethnic people in relation to ideas of 'othering' and 'belonging'.

Semiotics, Signs, Myths and the Discourse of Difference and Belonging

When Linford Christie won the men's 100 metres Olympic gold medal in Barcelona in 1992, his picture appeared across pages of the national newspapers in the UK – a black

man on his lap of honour, proudly waving the Union Jack. Writing in 1997 Stuart Hall made the following observations about representation, identity and images when he wrote,

> ...discussing his forthcoming retirement from international sport, Christie commented on the question of his cultural identity – where he feels he 'belongs' (*The Sunday Independent, 11 November 1995*). He has very fond memories of Jamaica, he said, where he was born and lived until the age of 7. But 'I've lived here [in the UK] for 28 [years]. I can't be anything other than British' (p. 18). Of course, it isn't as simple as that. Christie is perfectly well aware that most definitions of 'Britishness' assume that the person who belongs is 'white'. It is much harder for black people, wherever they were born, to be accepted as 'British'. In 1995 the cricket magazine, *Wisden*, had to pay libel damages to black athletes for saying that they couldn't be expected to display the same loyalty and commitment to winning for England because they are black. So Christie knows that every image is *also* being 'read' in these terms of this broader question of cultural belongingness and difference.
> (Hall, 1997a, p 230).

In *The Spectacle of the 'Other'* (Hall, 1997a, p229), Hall speaks of the 'binary forms of representation' that people who are 'in any way significantly different from the majority – 'them' rather than 'us' – are frequently exposed to' (ibid. p229). Hall expresses this phenomenon in his description of Christie, and the dichotomy of both 'belonging' and 'not belonging' as a British citizen. He also gives further examples of,

> ...sharply opposed, polarised, binary extremes – good/bad, civilized/primitive, ugly/excessively attractive, repelling-because-different/compelling because-strange-and-exotic. And they [people who are 'in any way significantly different from the majority'] are often required to be *both things at the same time!*
> (ibid. p229).

The contributions of both Saussure to the development of semiotics, and Barthes to the extension of this concept towards the workings of denotation, connotation and myth, will help to illuminate the argument I shall develop from Hall's observations.

I would like to extend Hall's comments to include not only images, but also the exposure to binary and mythologically based forms of interpretation that minority ethnic people experience in their day-to-day contact with a majority white environment. This can be demonstrated most clearly by deconstructing both the first-order (Saussure's) and second-order (Barthes') semiological systems in relation to the minority ethnic experience of possible interpretations of their identities by white majority individuals.

Saussure's tripartite system of the representational process by which meaning is constructed consists of the *signifier*, the *signified*, and the *sign*, and in fact, it is the combination of the signifier and the signified which *produces* the sign. So, for example, in relation to the visible minority ethnic individual, the visual presence of the individual will provide the *signifier*. The *mental concept* associated with that particular signifier by the observer will depend upon the information held by the observing individual about the observed, and this mental concept will provide the *signified*. In relation to a minority ethnic individual in a majority white environment therefore, this mental concept may consist of such ideas as the 'black-ness', 'African-ness', 'Asian-ness' 'non-British-ness' or 'other-ness' of the person being observed. The combination of these two, the signifier and the signified, result in what Saussure called the *sign*, the sum total of which has been illustrated by Barthes in the simple diagram below.

1. Signifier	2. Signified
3. Sign	

(Barthes, 1972, pp 114-115, in Hall, 1997b, p68).

Most importantly, it should be remembered that this semiotic interpretation is being read, and to some extent *imposed* upon the observed from an external vantage point, and in this way, although the signifier acts as a kind of basic code which is simply 'presented' to the observer, the signified is more nebulous, and indeed, as Hall comments 'only some cultures would 'read' the signifier in this way, or indeed possess [that particular] concept...' (Hall, 1997b, p38). As an example of this fluidity, a black African in a majority white environment in the UK would be fairly likely to prompt the signifieds' of 'other-ness' and 'non-British-ness', which would be at variance with the signified responses her presence would create in black Africa. The diagram above therefore, encompasses what Barthes termed the *first-order*, or *descriptive* level of the sign, which he also referred to as the level of *denotation*, and for a minority ethnic person in the UK this denotation is fairly straightforward. It could be expressed in the apparently simple statement 'here is a minority ethnic person in a majority white environment', as it is this that their presence would *denote*.

However, the story does not end here. Barthes took the semiological system developed by Saussure one step further, and it is this step which provides particular insights into the interpretation of the minority ethnic identity in a majority white environment, where to a greater extent, the ideas of the white majority in relation to the identities of minority ethnic individuals are largely formed through secondary sources - media representation, hearsay, stereotyped assumptions - rather than through actual contact and first-hand experience. Hall most clearly and succinctly describes the development of Barthes' extension to Saussure's theory when he states that, '*Denotation* is the simple, basic, descriptive level, where consensus is wide and most people would agree on the meaning...' (an example being the statement 'here is a minority ethnic person in a majority white environment'). Hall then goes on describe the next stage of the process of interpretation when he says,

> At the second level – *connotation* – these signifiers which we have been able to 'decode' at a simple level by using our conventional conceptual classifications...enter a wider, second kind of code...which connects them to broader themes and meanings, linking them with what we may call the *semantic fields* of our culture... This second, wider meaning is no longer a descriptive level of obvious interpretation. Here we are beginning to interpret the completed signs in terms of the wider realms of social ideology – the general beliefs, conceptual frameworks and value systems of society. This second level of signification, Barthes suggests, is more 'general, global and diffuse...'. It deals with 'fragments of an ideology... These signifieds have a very close communication with culture, knowledge, history and it is through them, so to speak, that the environmental world [of the culture] invades the system [of representation]' (Barthes, 1967, pp 91-2).
> (Hall, 1997b, pp 38-9). .

Before applying this description to the particular example of the identity interpretations of minority ethnic groups and individuals in a majority white environment, I would like to make a small modification to Hall's final quote from Barthes. Barthes speaks of 'culture, knowledge, history' as the informants of this second level of interpretation. I would argue that in the particular circumstances we are here referring to, '*assumed* knowledge' would be a more appropriate term, since often, the 'knowledge' that the majority white community hold about minority ethnic people is not necessarily based upon fact, and indeed, is often centred around the 'learned misinformation' that Gaine speaks of (Gaine, 2000a, p90).

We can most clearly see how these first and second levels, from the simple *denotative* to the more complex *connotative* fit together by referring to the diagram below developed by Barthes.

1 Signifier	2 Signified	
3 Sign I SIGNIFIER		II SIGNIFIED
III SIGN		
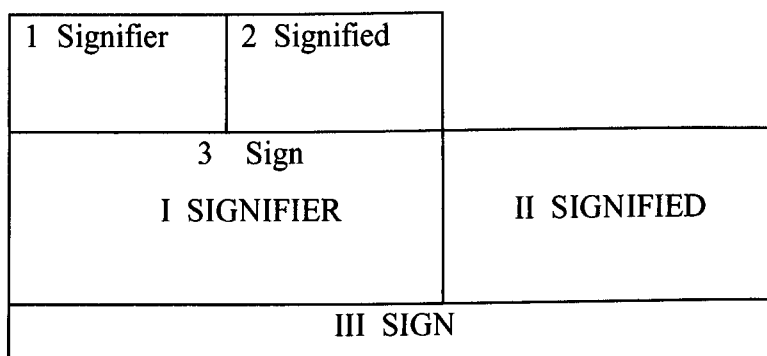
(Barthes, 1972, pp114-5, in Hall, 1997b, p68).

The top-left of the diagram (1, 2 & 3) is recognisable as the earlier illustration above, and represents the sum associative total of a presenting image (the signifier), and a concept (the signified), culminating in 'the sign'. As was demonstrated above, Barthes relates this triad (the first-order semiological system) to the simplicity of a straightforward denotative linguistic statement.

The second-order, or connotative level however, is more complex. In this advanced system, the sign (3 above), becomes the *signifier* (I) at the second-level, and so the linguistic statement, 'here is a minority ethnic person in a majority white environment', becomes the prompt for the signified (II), i.e. the ideas that the white person/persons hold about minority ethnic individuals/groups. The sum total of these two culminates in a *new* sign (III) which, at the second-order level of the connotative (as Hall describes above) '...is no longer a descriptive level of obvious interpretation. Here we are beginning to interpret the completed signs in terms of the wider realms of social ideology – the general beliefs, conceptual frameworks and value systems of society.' (Hall, 1997b, pp38-9). It is this level that Barthes has termed 'myth', and the language of myth, a 'metalanguage'. Having arrived at this point, we can now begin to apply this level of myth as a metalanguage to the experiences of minority ethnic people.

The idea of *connotation*, and what the minority ethnic person is perceived to represent beyond the simple denotation of their presence within a white majority environment is of

prime importance here. As mentioned above, Gaine has pointed out the phenomenon of 'learned misinformation' regarding people who have little direct contact experience with minority ethnic individuals, and with particular reference to this phenomenon states that,

> It is not that [the white majority] ...know nothing about ethnic minorities (though some...know very little) but that they may *think* they know a great deal (Gaine, 1995). Everyone is prey to a greater or lesser extent to a host of images, messages and mythologies about, say, Islamic fundamentalism or Caribbean criminality. (Gaine, 2000a, p90).

Here Gaine specifically mentions 'images, messages and *mythologies'* (emphasis added), illuminating the mechanisms of connotation that contribute to the processes of stereotyping. Stereotyping, as Hall has pointed out, 'reduces people to a few, simple, essential characteristics' and thus 'reduces, essentializes, naturalizes and fixes "difference"'. (Hall, 1997a, p257-8). How then, does this interpretation of 'difference' operate at the second-order level of 'myth' and 'connotation'?

For the white individual with little contact experience of minority ethnic people, this level of 'myth' is informed by Gaine's concept of 'learned misinformation' described above, and manifests in such ideas and assumptions as, 'all Chinese people work in take-aways'; 'all African Caribbean boys have discipline and behaviour problems'; 'education is not important to young Asian women since they are all destined for early arranged marriages'; 'all asylum seekers are poor, uneducated and just want the benefits of our welfare system'. These are just a few examples from a list which is in a state of constant evolution in response to changing ideas relating to issues of culture, media and identities. In addition to such myths, and as Hall pointed out above, minority ethnic people are also subjected to 'sharply opposed, polarised, binary extremes' (Hall, 1997a, p229), which make no attempt to apologise for their 'rather crude and reductionist way of establishing meaning' (ibid. p235).

This tendency is clearly illustrated by the research of Russell Jones in describing the captured responses of teachers when referring to their minority ethnic pupils, a selection of his data containing the comments that,

> The child is not black because he or she has professional parents. ...*Black professional parents were spoken of as 'very special people', and 'not stupid at all'*...

> I know he is being abused by the other children but this is not because he is black. It is because he is a 'right little swine'.

> He is black but he's gorgeous, all bright eyed and bushy tailed.

> (Jones, 1999, pp139-142, original emphasis).

The implications of these comments lead us to the polarised observations that minority ethnic people are either 'very special' or 'stupid', well behaved or 'right little swine[s]', gorgeous *despite* being black; and it is easy to see from these, and the examples given in the previous paragraph, how such culturally influenced attitudes provide the perfect breeding ground for the insidious mechanics of institutionally racist practice, no matter how unwitting or unintended.

Keeping our attention focused on the concept of 'difference' regarding the phenomena of myth and binary opposition, Hall relates these ideas to issues of stereotyping when he says that,

> Stereotyping...sets up a frontier between the 'normal' and the 'deviant', the 'normal' and the 'pathological', the 'acceptable' and the 'unacceptable', what belongs and what does not or is 'Other', between 'insiders' and 'outsiders', Us and Them. It facilitates the 'binding' or bonding together of all of Us who are 'normal' into one 'imagined community'; and it sends into symbolic exile all of Them – 'the Others' – who are in some way different – beyond the pale'.
> (Hall, 1997a, p258).

We may now consider the ways in which these phenomena relate to the broader spectra of discourse and ideology.

Foucault and the Workings of Discourse

From the quotation above it is clear to see how the workings of myth contribute to the development of racialised discourse and ideology, and further, how this process operates around issues of the power to create meaning. It is here that the semiotics of Saussure, the myth of Barthes, and the discourse of Foucault overlap. Foucault was less concerned with the mechanics of linguistic models, although as the work of Saussure and Barthes has

shown, this was clearly important in relation to the formation of concepts (however erroneous) with which to 'speak about the world'. Foucault however, was more focused upon the way in which a *group of statements* could provide a language for talking about a particular subject at a particular moment in history, and was therefore interested in the way in which *all* social practices entail meaning, and thus, upon how 'meanings shape and influence what we do – our conduct...' (Hall, 1992, p291, quoted in Hall, 1997b, p44). As Hall further comments,

> It is important to note that the concept of *discourse*...is not purely a 'linguistic' concept. It is about language *and* practice. It attempts to overcome the traditional distinction between what one *says* (language) and what one *does* (practice). ...It...influences how ideas are put into practice and used to regulate the conduct of others. Just as discourse 'rules in' certain ways of talking about a topic...it 'rules out', limits and restricts other ways of talking, of conducting ourselves in relation to the topic or constructing knowledge about it.
> (Hall, 1997b, p44).

The similarity between semiotics and discourse exists in the fact that they both adhere to *constructionist* theory, supporting the idea that physical things and actions exist, but only take on meaning within systems of interpretation. In the case of semiotics, where the first-order sign (denotative) is crucial to the generation of subsequent meaning and interpretation at the second-order stage (connotation), it is possible to contest this meaning at the first-order level of the signifier, which can impact upon the signified, and ultimately at the second-order level of 'myth'. An example of this might be images that were readily available in England during the World Cup football tournament of 2002.

During this period, English football supporters appropriated the English flag in a wholesale fashion across the country, a symbol that for many years had been a signifier of the far right, Neo-Nazi and British National Party members in England. In a newspaper article reporting the (then) home secretary's (David Blunkett's) support for this appropriation, Alan Travis commented that,

> The widespread use of the flag of St George and the union flag across England in recent weeks, particularly to back a multicultural England team in the World Cup, [has] helped end the far right's monopoly of the flag.
> (Travis, 2002a).

Of particular interest in terms of semiotic interpretation were the news bulletins showing many Sikh and minority ethnic communities with these flags flying from the windows of their homes; attached to the aerials of their cars; emblazoned across the T-shirts they wore; and it is clear to see here the politics of representation at work.

At the first-order level we have the signifiers of the flag and the minority ethnic individuals, the observation of which yields the simple denotative sign of 'minority ethnic individuals flying the English flag'. However, once this sign has become the signifier at the second-order level of *connotation*, how does it relate to Barthes resulting idea of 'myth'? It is here that the politics of *contesting* representation come into play in several different ways. First of all, here are minority ethnic people clearly displaying a distinct element of their identity as English Sikhs, English Muslims etc. They are supporting England, English football, and using the flag as a vehicle for this representation. At the second-order level of the signified, this clearly generates a new 'sign' contesting many of the 'myths' which support ideas concerning the marginalisation of the minority ethnic identity; not-belonging; and 'otherness'. Not only does it challenge the association of the English flag with far-right ideas of 'Englishness' and 'exclusivity', the reclamation of this symbol also *affirms* ideas of unity, inclusion and belonging of minority ethnic people; not as a status that is bestowed upon them by others, but as a primary action of their own agency. This example demonstrates that a presenting image or signifier can be manipulated; juxtaposed with other images; and can carry the ability to challenge and contest at the second-order level of 'myth'. This challenge to prevailing or commonly held beliefs is undoubtedly a useful tool in the politics of representation, but the extent to which this process carries the power to change over-arching discourse must also be considered.

Agency, Subjectivity, and the Intractability of Discourse

The analysis above considered the way in which individuals can conduct contesting actions of their *own agency*, thus making the role of the *subject* in this action of prime importance. In relation to Foucault's development of the ideas of discourse, the traditional concept of 'the subject' was a notion towards which he was deeply antipathetic, and the reasons behind this antipathy can shed light upon the possibilities of change that exist within the prescribed fields of discursive formations.

In his early work, Foucault discounted any notion of the 'power' or the 'agency' of the subject within a field of discourse, and instead considered that individuals and groups were *subjected to* the formations of discourse. Hall expressed this idea when he stated that,

> ...the discourse itself produces 'subjects' – figures who personify the particular forms of knowledge which the discourse produces. These subjects have the attributes we would expect as these are defined by the discourse: the madman, the hysterical woman, the homosexual, the individualized criminal, and so on. These figures are specific to specific discursive regimes and historical periods.
> (Hall, 1997b, p56).

To the brief list supplied by Hall above, we may also add the discourses of 'the immigrant', 'the asylum seeker', 'the colonial subject', or indeed, simply 'the minority ethnic individual'. At this point however, we follow Hall as he goes on to describe the workings of discourse in relation to the 'viewer' or 'reader' of the discursive formation, who is by no means 'free' from the confines of the discourse since,

> ...they – we - must locate themselves/ourselves in the *position* from which the discourse makes most sense, and thus become its 'subjects' by 'subjecting' ourselves to its meanings, power and regulation. All discourses, then, construct **subject positions**, from which alone they make sense.
> (ibid. p56).

Foucault therefore, as Hall describes, located the source of power *within the discourse itself*, and removed all agency from either those who were *subjected* to the dominant discourse, or those who were forced into the *subject positions* from which the discourse made sense. What Foucault made clear however, was that discourse is an historicized concept, and that whatever we think we 'know' at a particular point in history about, for example, minority ethnic people in the UK, *directly influences* how we engage with the minority ethnic presence. This led Foucault to speak of a 'regime of truth', which, (echoing Gaine's concept of 'learned misinformation', [Gaine, 2000a, p90]), may or may not be true, but if everyone believes in it, the consequences for minority ethnic people in terms of justice, equality and fairness, (or lack of it), will be real and will support the power of the dominant discourse.

This historical perspective also has some bearing upon the intractability of discourse, despite the fact that Foucault did believe that it was relevant only to specific historical

contexts which tended to give way in the face of other dominant discourses over a period of time. Nevertheless, the dissolution of a dominant discourse could be a lengthy process, and Hall cites the example of Foucault describing a timescale of 'less than half a century' to transform a particular medical discourse. Hall further refers to such time-scales of change occurring during the extended period of the nineteenth century, and during the 'late nineteenth century' (Hall, 1997b, p46), clearly demonstrating that once a discourse has established itself (to use Foucault's notion of the locus of power existing *within* the discourse), there is a certain inertia operating which prevents change from happening quickly or easily.

A clue to discovering why this is the case may be found in an examination of the power relations ascribed by Foucault to the processes of discourse. Power is often conceptualised as a force which radiates in a specific direction from a specific source, (usually from 'top' to 'bottom'), and if this were the case in practice, it is easy to see how such power structures might provide a more direct route for effecting change. Foucault however, did not see the functioning of power in terms of a linear hierarchy, and saw it functioning more as a circulating force, never monopolized by one particular source. His description of power is of something 'deployed and exercised through a net-like organization' (Foucault, 1980, p98) in which we are all caught up - oppressors and oppressed.

Of great importance here, as I shall discuss more fully below, are the implications of these power structures in the case of the intractability of the discourses of colonialist origin and social exclusion experienced by minority ethnic individuals, groups, and communities over the years. These have endured and developed in various hybrid forms, and especially in the post-war period. To some extent the continuation of these discourses has been legislated *for*, in terms of the racist and exclusionary policy of British immigration and nationality law, such as the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act of 1914, which imposed restrictions on citizenship by descent. To some extent the continuation of these discourses has been legislated *against*, with such initiatives as the Race Relations Act of 1976, and the Human Rights Act of 1998. What is clear however, is that these discourses persist, and although this may be partly attributable to the fact that clear and unequivocal *anti-discriminatory* legislation has only come into force over more recent years, the ideas of Foucault may shed some light on the variation that exists between such legislative statement and the continuing experience of everyday racism by minority ethnic people.

Hall expressed Foucault's position most clearly when he stated that,

> Without denying that the state, the law, the sovereign or the dominant class may
> have positions of dominance, Foucault shifts our attention away from the grand,
> overall strategies of power, towards the many localized circuits, tactics,
> mechanisms and effects through which power circulates... These power relations
> 'go right down to the depth of society' (Foucault, 1977a, p. 27). They connect the
> way power is actually working on the ground to the great pyramids of power by
> what he calls a capillary movement... Not because power at these lower levels
> merely reflects or 'reproduces, at the level of individuals, bodies, gestures and
> behaviour, the general form of the law or government' (Foucault, 1977a, p. 27) but,
> on the contrary, because such an approach 'roots [power] in forms of behaviour,
> bodies and local relations of power which should not at all be seen as a simple
> projection of the central power' (Foucault, 1980, p.201).
> (Hall, 1997b, p50).

Although Foucault does not deny a 'top to bottom' approach in analysing the power

relations of discourse, he nevertheless allows this approach to occupy a less central role.

Instead, he gives primacy to a model of 'capillary action' power which he emphasises does

not simply occur through the reproductive or 'knock-on' effect of legislation, but is

actually *rooted* in the physical and social relationships of society. Foucault's interpretation

therefore, may offer a possible solution to the question of why, despite legislation of the

past thirty or forty years, attitudes of both blatant and subversive opposition still persist

towards pro-racial equality initiatives. This particular structural approach to the

permeation of power may also go some way towards explaining the intractability of racist

discourse, pointed out by Gaine when he stated that, 'Racist assumptions and ideas are not

linear, they are buttressed by a matrix of complementary ideas which together produce a

complex frame of reference.'(Gaine, 1999).

Foucault places 'the body' at the centre of the struggle for the dominant discourse. Not

simply the physical body, but the body as a symbol which is *produced* in relation to the

different formations of discourse; 'a sort of surface on which different regimes of

power/knowledge write their meanings and effects' (Hall, 1997b, p51). In relation to the

competing discourses of acceptance/rejection of the minority ethnic presence in the UK

therefore, we might focus the site of this struggle around themes of 'difference' between

the minority ethnic body, the majority white body, and in Foucault's terms, the micro

politics of society that surround these issues. From this position it is also possible to see how Foucault's analysis might illuminate elements of the processes of institutional racism, particularly since these attitudes appear to stubbornly persist despite fairly widespread promotion over recent years of the idea that they are unacceptable.

Institutional Racism and Issues of Reflexivity

It is first of all necessary to make the point that discourse, taking a constructionist approach to the theory of representation, was not considered by Foucault to be a *reflective* or *reflexive* process. In a quote by Hall referred to above, it was pointed out that individuals identified as the 'oppressors' must also take up 'subject positions' in terms of being subjected to the meanings, power and regulation of particular discourses (Hall, 1997b, p56). This lack of reflexivity is well illustrated in the following quotation taken from the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report*, which defined the concept of institutional racism agreed upon for the purposes of the Inquiry. The report stated that institutional racism was defined by,

> The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through *unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.*
> (Macpherson, 1999, 6.34, emphasis added).

Hall says of Foucault's discourse that it 'includes many...elements of ...institutional regulation' (Hall, 1997b, p51), and the last two lines of the quotation above, from '*unwitting prejudice...*' emphasise the non-reflexive subject position of the 'oppressors' within institutional settings, highlighting the '*unwitting...thoughtless...stereotyping*' that characterises this lack of reflexivity within the structures of racist discourse. With regard to where these attitudes arise from, we can refer back to the role of Gaine's 'learned misinformation' and the resulting stereotyping of minority ethnic people (Gaine, 2000a, p90). This stereotyping then becomes available in the form of the 'signified' at Barthe's second-order level of *connotation* and *myth*, and the completed process of signification, in turn, feeds the discourse that provides the non-reflexive environment needed to fuel our starting point of 'learned misinformation'. This is perhaps more clearly set out in Diagram I below.

1 Signifier	2 Signified	
3 Sign		
I SIGNIFIER		II SIGNIFIED
III SIGN		

Language
MYTH

Learned Misinformation

Discourse

Stereotyping

Myth
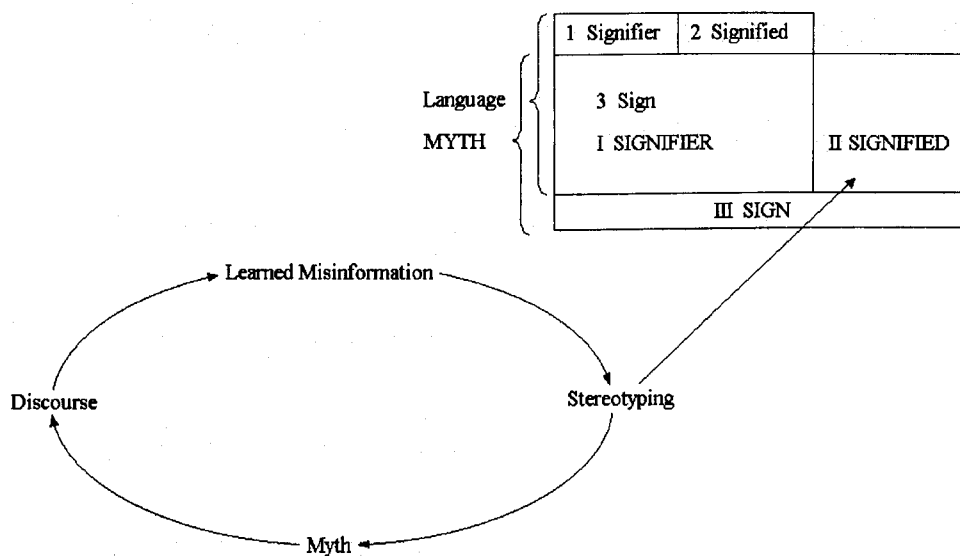
Diagram I

(Carroll, 2002; Adapted from Barthes, 1972)

We can in fact, relate this diagram back to our earlier quote from Hall, which although lengthy, is repeated at this point since the diagram above is particularly illustrative of the process Hall describes when he states that,

> At the second level – *connotation* – these signifiers which we have been able to 'decode' at a simple level by using our conventional conceptual classifications...enter a wider, second kind of code...which connects them to broader themes and meanings, linking them with what we may call the *semantic fields* of our culture... This second, wider meaning is no longer a descriptive level of obvious interpretation. Here we are beginning to interpret the completed signs in terms of the wider realms of social ideology – the general beliefs, conceptual frameworks and value systems of society. This second level of signification, Barthes suggests, is more 'general, global and diffuse...'. It deals with 'fragments of an ideology... These signifieds have a very close communication with culture, knowledge, history and it is through them, so to speak, that the environmental world [of the culture] invades the system [of representation]' (Barthes, 1967, pp.91-2).
> (Hall, 1997b, pp 38-9).

As discussed earlier, Foucault did not place the subject as the *author* of meaning in his analysis as a more intentional approach to theories of representation might do, although he did *include* the subject rather than maintain an exclusive focus on language as semiotics

had done. As Foucault's work developed however, he did place increasing importance on the role of the subject, and in his later and unfinished work he 'even went so far as to give the subject a certain reflexive awareness of his or her own conduct' (Hall, 1997b, p55). It is perhaps, this 'reflexive awareness' that anti-racist initiatives attempt to awaken in respect of the practices of individual and institutional racism. Certainly the RAT (Racism Awareness Training) of the 1980s was particularly focused on white people who, following Foucault's model, could be labelled as the 'oppressors'.

Writing in 1987, Gaine stated that RAT,

> ...aims to produce an active awareness of racism in its personal and institutional forms. ...[and] focuses on how a whole battery of white assumptions and practices ...produce racism, on the structure of white attitudes...the distortion produced by racism... RAT tends to take the form of...(...analytic group work, self-reflexive group work...) with the aim of providing insight into personal and institutional racism.
> (Gaine, 1987, p102).

Gaine explores several strands of criticism that were levelled at RAT, not the least of which claim that it was too 'psychologistic', or too 'authoritarian' (ibid. p103), and perhaps one observation that could be made about these criticisms is that they both imply an intended impact of RAT *upon the beliefs and attitudes of the subject or individual involved*, rather than, if we take Foucault's model, *upon cultivating an awareness of the discourse to which they are being subjected*. Perhaps an alternative therefore, and one which might produce less response in terms of personal defensiveness in the face of perceived accusation, would be to concentrate more particularly *on raising awareness of the discourse to which both the 'oppressors' and the 'oppressed' were enmeshed in*, (to use Foucault's earlier analogy of the power relations of discourse as a 'net').

Certainly the training initiatives of the CRE (Commission for Racial Equality – the 'long arm' of the Home Office in respect of 'race' relations) in their *Statutory code of practice on the duty to promote race equality* (CRE, 2002a), have responded to the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, by steering clear of the more self-reflexive or 'personal' approaches in their training materials (CRE, 2002b). They have instead concentrated on a more 'institutional' approach, and then most specifically, in terms of the evolution of legislation – into policy – into practice. This can be interpreted as a reasoned assault on

the forces of institutional racism in an attempt to alter the structures upon which this discourse is based by focusing on the 'positive duty' to promote racial equality. This is not to say, however, that more individual and self-reflexive responses have been excluded, and certainly from my experience of CRE training at county level, the Racial Equality Council (REC) appear to recognise very clearly that the subject positions of the 'oppressors' need to be addressed in relation to prevailing discourse.

In the particular circumstances I have encountered, the REC training officer has insisted that the training he offers must be conducted in small groups of no more than twenty people, and that the training specifically encourages self-reflection in respect of the less visible aspects of racist discourse that have been imbibed at both a personal and an institutional level. One of the key diagrams in this training is reproduced below, and clearly outlines the model of the *Cycle of Oppression* used in the REC training format.

Cycle of Oppression

Monitoring Review → Training / Positive images / Challenging

STEREOTYPE / Messages

OPPRESSION / System

PREJUDICE / Thoughts

DISCRIMINATION / Practice

Sharing Power / Representation / Consultation

Policies / Procedures / Guidelines
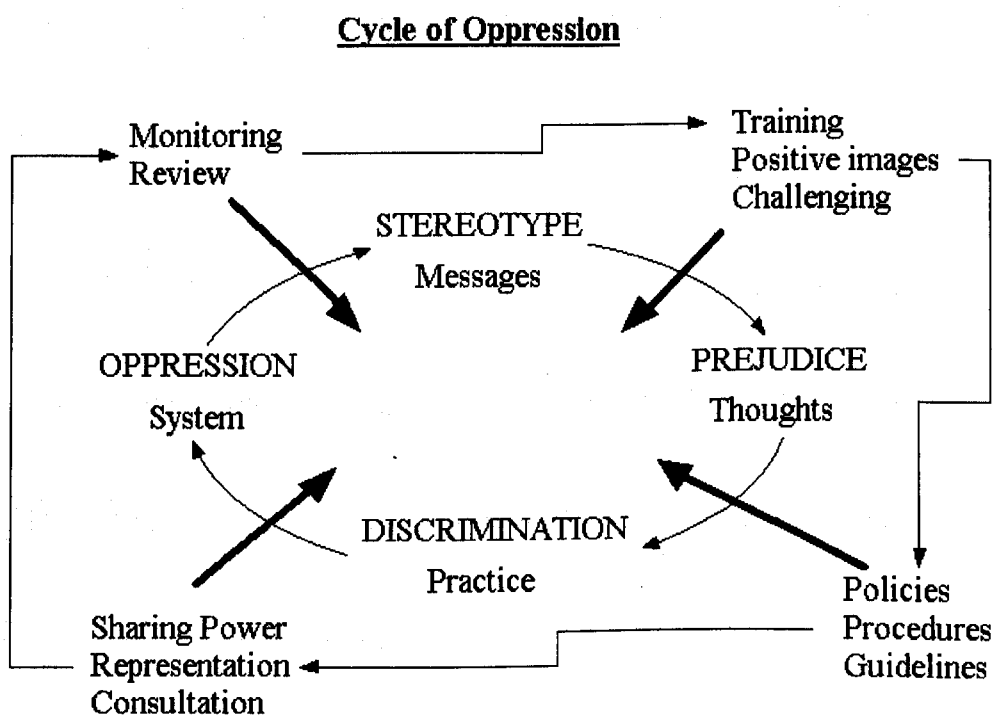
Diagram II

(Reproduced courtesy of REC training officer, 2002)

In *Diagram I* we saw how the self-sustaining cycle of *Learned Misinformation >
Stereotyping > Myth > Discourse > Learned Misinformation* was a *non-reflexive cycle,*

and therefore how change, as indicated by both Foucault and Hall above, would take place slowly and over an extended period of time. The protracted nature of this process of change is very much a result of the silencing and marginalisation of the voice of the 'oppressed' subjects by the power of the prevailing discourse, and of the lack of reflexivity of the 'oppressors'. This process is most clearly demonstrated by the example of Charcot in the development of the discourse of hysteria in women of the nineteenth century. Hall says of Charcot that he 'did not pay much attention to what the patients said (though he observed their actions and gestures meticulously).' (Hall, 1997b, p53), demonstrating here both the silencing of the voice of the 'oppressed', together with the 'oppressors' total focus of attention on observed icons of behavioural representation. (This *absorbing* of the oppressors' attention rather than their *reflection* upon what they observe is a characteristic that might be ascribed more broadly to any situation where those with the power to uphold discourse tend to concentrate on their observations of the oppressed, rather than seek to be informed by the underlying causes of what is observed. This would apply in circumstances where the observed manifestations are the result of struggle against prevailing discourse, or where they are simply the expression of a 'different way of being').

In *Diagram II* however, we see a more self-reflective model, and one that includes the *external input* necessary to encourage reflexivity and challenge prevailing discourse. It is important to point out here in relation to *Diagrams I* and *II* that the first provides a *purely theoretical model*, whilst the second includes the *practical manifestations* of oppression (*Messages, Thoughts, Practice, System*), together with the *practical challenges* that interject the *Cycle of Oppression* at various points. We can, in fact, combine *Diagrams I* and *II*, and it is useful to do this in order to illustrate the point that *reflexivity is the key to regulating discourse.*

(Work on stereotypes before
they are transformed into myth)

Monitoring
Review

Training
Positive images
Challenging

of *(Learned
Misinformation)*

(Stereotyping)
STEREOTYPE
Messages

OPPRESSION
(Discourse)
System

PREJUDICE
Thoughts *(Myth)*

DISCRIMINATION
Practice

Sharing Power
Representation
Consultation

*(Feeds discourse at a
practical level)*

Policies
Procedures
Guidelines

*(Intervenes in the process of
discriminatory practice which
would enforce discourse)*

*(Intervenes between myth and the
translation of myth into
discriminatory practice)*

Diagram III

(Carroll, 2002)

From *Diagram III* we can see that the theoretical model comprising *Learned Misinformation > Stereotyping > Myth > Discourse > Learned Misinformation* is still featured, as are the *practical manifestations* of oppression, and the interjecting *practical challenges* referred to above (which particularly contribute to the process of encouraging reflexivity). If we compare *Diagram I* with *II* and *III* therefore, we can make the observation that *Diagram I* shows a theoretical model of what we might call a 'self-sustaining' ellipse, where change would come more by accident than by deliberate design. In this model, the discourse of oppression is allowed to run unchecked, supported by the other stages of this self-sustaining cycle, and without the force of a challenging and educating external input, this closed system would be structurally resistant to any form of dynamic change.

We can in fact, see the tendency for the non-reflective enforcement of a dominant discourse in this self-sustaining ellipse. If, for example, we take Marx's dominant discourse of capitalism, we find that he describes the 'state of the slave' (i.e., the worker

subjected to the practical elements of this dominant discourse), as 'cut off from…one's natural life, the life of the body, which connects us to the rest of the world and …actualizes us as human…', and that this happens under 'the force of the master's oppression via the self-replicating and self-sustaining system of oppression…' (Macomber, 2002). We can relate Marx's references to 'the body' as the site of both struggle and isolation within systems of oppression, to the ideas of Foucault referred to above, and his placing of the body at the centre of the contestation between different formations of power and knowledge, (Hall, 1997b, p50). Marx saw this process of subjugation, in opposition to Hegel's 'upwardly mobile' triadic spiral of *thesis > antithesis > synthesis*, as an *inwardly* spiralling structure, which focused the attention of the oppressors ever more heavily on the oppressed, and we can see this demonstrated clearly in two particular examples.

In the case of Charcot and the nineteenth century discourse of the 'hysterical female' mentioned earlier, we saw how he concentrated most particularly on the exhibited 'symptoms' of hysteria, whilst at the same time failing to take into account any verbal information that the patients themselves might have offered. It is also the case that Charcot progressed from this study to develop a therapeutic model of hypnosis, which in turn informed Freud's development of his theories of the unconscious. All this activity took place *with intense concentration on the subject*, but at the same time, *in the absence of any notion or recognition of agency on the part of the subject* who, to use Marx's description quoted by Macomber above, is 'cut off from…[their] natural life…under the force of the master's oppression via the self-replicating and self-sustaining system of oppression…' (Macomber, 2002). The complete absence of reflexivity on the part of the 'oppressors' regarding the *validity* of the discourse is also worthy of note here.

The second example is perhaps more relevant to discourses of racial segregation and 'othering', and concerns conditions whereby 'In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries popular representations of daily life under slavery, ownership and servitude are shown as so 'natural' that they require *no comment*' (Hall, 1997a, p245). It was under these circumstances that the 'scientific discovery' of phrenology, and of physiology in relation to, for example, 'The Hottentot Venus'[1] demonstrated a similar blind concentration on the subject of the discourse at the expense of any reflexive consideration of its underlying validity.

If we look at *Diagram II* however, or perhaps more particularly the combination *Diagram III*, it is clear that the practical input enables this system to take on change as a more dynamic and interactive activity. Far from resembling the inwardly spiralling and oppressive system recognised by Marx, the model demonstrated in *Diagram III* provides the opportunity for change to take place as a product of external input designed to encourage the processes of reflexivity. From this model it is possible to see how the external input would provide the reflective opportunities to advance attitudes and ideas towards a more racially egalitarian perspective. However, it must be noted that the power of the existing discourse of racial inequality exists within '...a whole battery of white assumptions and practices...combined with numerical and economic power...' (Gaine, 1987, p102), and is therefore substantially embedded in structures of resistance. This model of reflective external input should not, therefore, be assumed to function smoothly or without contradiction, but rather to encourage dialectical struggle in a similar form to the Hegelian model of an 'upwardly mobile' spiral of meaning. We might follow this spiral as it transforms the ellipse, moving both vertically and horizontally (Macomber, 2002), and effecting possible changes as it advances, of *stereotypes* to a knowledge of diversity issues; *prejudicial thought* to an awareness of fairness and justice; *practices of discrimination* to equal opportunities; *systems of oppression* to a new self-reflexive discourse; and *learned misinformation* to real understanding.

One final observation needs to be made regarding any type of 'race' awareness training taking place in specifically white educational areas. As we observed above, racist discourse is powerfully embedded in structures of resistance, and we have also noted that the model of RAT used in the 1980s concentrated specifically *upon the beliefs and attitudes of the subject or individual*, rather than upon *cultivating an awareness of the discourse to which they* (oppressors *and* oppressed) *are being subjected*. Bearing these points in mind therefore, we also commented that any training should, (in terms of the personal defensiveness in the face of perceived accusation that is often the response in areas with little experience of diversity issues) be concentrated *on raising awareness of the discourse to which both the 'oppressors' and the 'oppressed' are enmeshed in.*
In the course of my research this is a point which has proved to be of particular significance, and is an issue that was clearly demonstrated at a joint meeting held by the county REC and representatives of the Local Education Authority (LEA). During the meeting, the training officer from the REC discussed a programme that he was planning to

deliver to heads, teachers and governors at local schools. He mentioned the words 'reflexivity' and 'self-reflective' several times during the discussion, and explained this in terms of exploring the teachers' and governors' personal and individual attitudes and ideas regarding issues of 'race' and diversity. After the meeting (when the REC training officer had left), the LEA representatives expressed the reservation that this approach might be 'too much' or 'too strong' for a white area where attitudes towards racial diversity are still considered to be somewhat backward and complacent (corresponding with the 'No Problem Here' mindset described by Gaine, [1987, 1995]. See section entitled *RAT* in chapter four for further discussion of these issues).

One of the LEA representatives made the observation that from earlier training that had taken place, it had been recognised that using a more directly personal approach with teachers had '*got their backs up*', and the LEA were reluctant to make the same mistake again, since they felt that it had made it even more difficult to cultivate an atmosphere and environment where awareness of diversity issues might be productively explored. The preferred model, it was agreed, was one that had been used in other more recent training, and which favoured the approach of cultivating an awareness of the overarching discourse of 'race' and racism, but might begin with a placatory statement such as '*I know that we're preaching to the converted, otherwise you wouldn't be here*'. It was felt that this approach would not necessarily eliminate personal recognition in models of individual and institutional racism, but would at least help the delegates to feel less exposed, threatened or intimidated, and would enable them to assimilate the ideas in a more general sense, whilst being able to go away and possibly recognise certain examples in their own attitudes, behaviour and practices. The research of Jones (1999) has particularly demonstrated that there are many personal and individual ideas that need to be countered in respect of attitudes towards 'race' and racism in mainly white areas. The approach favoured by the LEA representatives however, was one which would introduce the issues, whilst at the same time circumventing the possibility of provoking hostile and defensive responses. The conversation of these LEA representatives therefore, had certainly highlighted the point that educating for racial equality in mainly white areas is still an extremely sensitive subject, and one in which attitudes of negativity, defensiveness, and even hostility are often encountered.

Before considering both majority white attitudes towards immigration into the UK over recent years, and the impact that the 'legacy of colonialism' has had upon feeding the discourse that has led to the reduced educational and life opportunities of minority ethnic people (Modood et al. 1997), a brief overview of some of the criticism that has been levelled at Foucault's concepts of discourse will be useful.

The reason why *representation* is such a critical issue for black and minority ethnic people is, at least initially, fairly straightforward. In the eyes of the majority white British population, minority ethnic people 'look different', or, in the case of non-visible minorities, language or dialect may be seized upon as icons of difference. As we saw above, this 'difference' becomes embellished and transformed, assisted by the availability of *learned misinformation* from various sources, to create the referential frames of *stereotype* and *myth*. We also saw how myth feeds into what we might call the *discourse of racial disadvantage*. Semiotics and discourse are therefore linked in certain ways, as Hall says,

> Foucault does indeed analyse particular...representations as the semioticians did. But he is more inclined to analyse the whole *discursive formation* to which a...practice belongs. His concern is with knowledge provided by the human and social sciences, which organises conduct, understanding, practice and belief, the regulation of bodies as well as whole populations. ...his work...includes many... elements of practice and institutional regulation... Foucault is always...historically specific, seeing forms of power/knowledge as always rooted in particular contexts and histories.
> (Hall, 1997b, p51, original emphasis).

We can see therefore, and with particular relevance to the circumstances surrounding the presence of minority ethnic people in the UK, that Foucault's focus on 'the regulation of...whole populations', 'institutional regulation', and more especially, the fact that his work is 'historically specific, seeing forms of power/knowledge as always rooted in particular contexts and histories' provides an appropriate hermeneutic tool with which to analyse certain aspects of the patterns of racial oppression and disadvantage that minority ethnic people in a majority white area of the UK might experience.

Probably the major criticism of Foucault's approach has been that he fails to take the influence of material, economic and structural factors into account, and instead concentrates particularly on 'the human and social sciences' and their impact upon individuals, groups, and whole populations. His approach therefore does not really enter into the debate concerning the efficacy of various remedial measures against discourses of oppression, he simply provides a vantage point based upon culturally and historically significant criteria from which to view them. As we discussed above, Foucault was originally very much convinced of the complete absence of reflexivity which existed within the confines of discourse, although he later began to consider that self-reflective positions could be considered, and it was these positions that we reviewed in discussing the possibility of applying remedial input to the discourse of racial oppression.

Both Marxist and radical anti-racist positions have concerned themselves with the impact of economic and class factors upon the practices and attitudes of racial discrimination and oppression, whereas ERE (Education for Racial Equality) did not consider class structuring as a part of its model of society (Gaine, 1987, p35ff). In this respect ERE would seem to concur, at least on this position, with Foucault's broader perspectives on the workings of society. It is, however, a quotation from Rushdie that holistically ties together issues of racism, economic factors, society, and in particular, the concept of culture - so central to discourse, when he says, (leading us at an appropriate point into issues of the colonial legacy of racism),

> ...racism is not a side issue in contemporary Britain, not a peripheral or a minority affair, I believe that Britain is undergoing a critical phase of its post colonial period, and this crisis isn't simply economic or political, it's a crisis of the whole culture, of the society's whole sense of itself, and racism is only the most clearly visible part of the crisis.
> (Rushdie, quoted in Gaine, 1987, p35).

We might speculate here that the growing influence of 'the Global' has somehow impacted on this 'critical phase of [Britain's] post colonial period'. Britain is, for example, no longer an isolated entity in terms of the broader social and cultural influences that both its European and international connections have forged through ease of information, communication, mobility and political dialogue. An environment in which newcomers could be 'directed and encouraged' into the acceptance of a dominant social and cultural hegemony by dint of the lack of recourse to external influence is receding, and the effect of

this external exposure has been both to throw such imperialist attitudes into stark relief, and to also open a Pandora's box of diversity issues that can no longer be subjected to sovereign solutions. Vijay Prashad comments that this process has been assisted by,

> ...the development of *transnational studies* in Euro-America as an institutional location to undermine the nationalism of the disciplines...which cut across national and geo-political lines. The study of the marginal diaspora facilitates anthropologists who are rightly anxious about the relevance of...a means to critique the resilient idea of the nation in Euro-America.
> (Prashad, 2002, original emphasis).

From particular evidence in the UK we would not perhaps, take this global influence quite so far as Castells, when he comments (with reference to his belief that the global perspective is so all-embracing) that we have moved along to the point whereby 'Race matters, but it hardly constructs meaning any longer', (Castells, 1997, p59). In this respect, perhaps the internationally wide-ranging perspective of Castells' research does not give him the more situated perspective of particularly ingrained national responses to issues of 'race' and racism. Therefore, when he invites us to consider ethnicity as something which is integrated, reconstructed and morphed as it moves through a world of 'flows and networks, of recombination of images, and reassignment of meaning.' (ibid. p59), he is perhaps reifying an holistic solution to issues of diversity at the expense of ignoring the impact that racist attitudes continue to impose upon minority ethnic people.

Returning to Rushdie therefore, it could be argued that 'the society's whole sense of itself' might be interpreted as the effects of an over-arching discourse experienced by British society during the post-colonial period, and at this point it is useful to look particularly at the racial element of this discourse, and to consider from where it came, and how it has developed.

The Story of UK Immigration and the Legacy of Colonialist Discourse and 'Othering'

Father, Mother and Me
Sister and Auntie say
All the people like us are We,
And every one else is They.
And They live over the sea,
While we live over the way,
But – would you believe it? –
They look upon We
As only a sort of They?

(Kipling, quoted in CRE, 1996, p35).

UK Immigration: Fact, Fallacy and Feelings

In a recent article Stuart Hall commented that,

> The start of the postwar Caribbean diaspora is usually associated with the arrival of the rather dilapidated troop-ship, the SS Empire Windrush, which docked at Tilbury in June 1948. The ship had been sent to scour the Caribbean and bring back second world war volunteers who had been given temporary home leave to visit their families before returning to Britain to be demobbed. Three hundred servicemen and women from throughout the islands gathered in Jamaica for the return trip, and since the ship's capacity was 600, the extra berths were offered to anyone who could stump up the fare of £28. No papers or visas were required since these were the innocent days when all West Indians had right of entry as legitimate British passport holders.
> (Hall, 2002, *The Guardian Review*, p2).

Somewhat earlier than the post-war years however, from *The Gentleman's Magazine* of 1764, we find an article stating that,

> The practice of importing Negroe [*sic*] servants into these kingdoms is said to be already a grievance that requires a remedy, and yet it is everyday encouraged, insomuch that the number in this metropolis [London] only, is supposed to be near 20,000; the main objections to their importation is, that they cease to consider themselves as slaves in this free country, nor will they put up with an inequality of treatment, nor more willingly perform the laborious offices of servitude...
> (quoted in File and Power, 1981, p1).

Similarly, in *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes*, Visram chronicles the experiences of Indians arriving in Britain between the years 1700-1947 (Visram, 1986). The quotations above however, highlight two specific aspects of the issues that UK immigration has raised over

the years. The first quotation deals more specifically with the issue of the *legal freedom* to emigrate to the UK, whilst the second deals with particular attitudes towards the presence of immigrants in the UK in earlier years, the legacy of which can be recognised as contributing to the discourses of 'othering' and oppression surrounding minority ethnic people in Britain today.

As Benjamin Zephaniah points out in his poem at the beginning of this chapter, the history of British immigration is much more varied and diverse than these two examples demonstrate, and in fact, to take immigration back to the earliest recorded information, we are presented with a history of the British population that spans some 40,000 years (CRE, 1996, p6). These are facts that the majority white population are not generally aware of in the sense of this diversity having *contributed* to the constitution of what is regarded as 'British' today. Any consideration of a diverse British heritage in fact, often stems from the belief in a purity that either has been, is being, or may in the future be sullied by 'extra British' influence, and it is concepts and ideas such as these that are frequently reflected in attitudes towards the presence of minority ethnic people in the UK today .

The time-line below demonstrates the patterns of immigration into Britain since Bronze Age, Neolithic and earlier migrations first entered into north-west Europe:

Before 1000 BC	Bronze Age, Neolithic and earlier migrations into NW Europe
1000-150 BC	Celts
43-410 AD	Romans
400-600 AD	Frisians, Saxons, Angles, Jutes
800-1000 AD	Danes
800-1000 AD	Norwegians
1066	Normans
1560-1900	**Emigration to North America, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand**
1066-1290 (and after 1656)	Jews
1250-1598	Lombards, Hansa, and other merchants
1337-1550	Weavers from the Low Countries
c. 1500	Gypsies
1560-1720	Huguenot and other Protestant refugees
1555-1833	Slaves from West Africa and West Indies
1700-1900	Servants and Seafarers from India & China
1789-1900	Political Refugees
1830-1860	Main wave of immigration from Ireland
1900-	From Ireland

1914-1918	Belgian Refugees
1933-1945	Refugees from the Third Reich
1945-1968	Displaced Persons and Cold War refugees
1950-1971	Greek and Turkish Cypriots
1900-	**To and from old Commonwealth**
1972-	**To and from EU (EEC)**
1948-1971	From the Caribbean
1950-1971	From Hong Kong and SE Asia
1950-1971	From West Africa
1950-1971	From Indian subcontinent
1968-1976	From East Africa (British Asians)

(CRE, 1996, p6).

From this evidence of a long history of diverse heritage in the UK therefore, we can see that in addition to the 'myths' about, and the 'othering' of, the nature and characteristics of minority ethnic people discussed earlier in this chapter, we may now also include myths about the 'innate British identity' being in some way 'pure', 'unsullied', 'distinctive', and characterised by a particular set of inherited cultural and social characteristics (or even genetic as has been asserted by doctrines of scientific racism, [Rattansi & Donald, 1992, p65]), that are cast in stone and exist in the separated upper echelons of a rigid hierarchy.

This conceptual 'othering' has been reflected over the years in British immigration and nationality law that has made it considerably more difficult for minority ethnic people to enter and reside in the UK, and in more recent years these immigration issues have been increasingly centred upon refugees and asylum seekers. Gary Younge succinctly situates both the circumstances of refugees and asylum seekers, and the governmental response to their presence when he comments that,

> The asylum seekers...are condemned for possibly seeking work that clearly exists, and reviled for putting an unbearable strain on the finances of a country which can patently afford it.
> (Younge, 2001).

The negativity both experienced by and directed towards these people from the authorities is often stark, and in the words of one asylum seeker, Younge quotes,

'... [the government office] is a very fierce, frightening building...Most of the officers there are so angry.'(ibid.), demonstrating that there is little *empathy* from those in authority for the circumstances of asylum seekers. Such attitudes, which ignore the potential

contribution that new arrivals to the UK can offer, contrast particularly (together with the evidence of the time-line above) with comments made by the CRE (Commission for Racial Equality) in their book, *Roots of the Future*, when they state that,

> Ethnic diversity in Britain is not new. People with different cultures, beliefs and languages have been coming here through the centuries. *Everyone who lives in Britain today is either an immigrant or descended from immigrants.* ...Britain's ethnic minorities are integral to what it means to live in Britain today; to speak of 'us' and 'them' is to deny our history, and to turn our backs on the roots of our future.
> (CRE, 1996, publisher's information, emphasis added).

As discussed above, there has been little recognition of these facts by the majority white population of Britain over the years, and despite the diverse origins of the British population, there are still clearly held demarcations between 'us' and 'them', or, as Kipling describes it 'We' and 'They'. These attitudes are most certainly reflected in the history of British immigration and nationality law, and in particular, it is the barely concealed attitudes of *ambivalence* reflected in immigration policy that are most disturbing.

This ambivalence was identified earlier in this chapter in the commentary of Stuart Hall concerning the *binary* nature of attitudes towards the minority ethnic population. This binary nature of something being 'good' and 'bad' at one and the same time is a feature that has characterised British immigration policy for many years. The 'good' aspect was seen as the availability of minority ethnic people to provide cheap unskilled labour when needed (in the post-second world war years for example), and the 'bad' as the need to control the extent to which these people came to regard Britain as their home, and the consequent considerations this brought in terms of being joined by their dependents (Skellington, 1992, p79). Immigration policy has therefore, been characterised by the constantly opposing forces of *need* and *rebuttal* which are centred upon minority ethnic people, and it is hardly surprising that minority ethnic people themselves have experienced this ambivalence in terms of the politics and attitudes of both exploitation and rejection. It is also hardly surprising that this experience has been a formative influence on their presence in Britain, and has contributed to a psychology of both defence and challenge in the face of oppressive practices and mixed messages, (although, as we will consider later in this chapter, and in chapter six, the work of Homi Bhabha has contributed to the opening

up of a 'third space' in which minority ethnic people may find confident locations, releasing them from the discomfort of bi-polar positions in response to racial hostilities).

The over-riding discourse of the British majority white population towards minority ethnic people therefore, has been the non-reflexive position of 'masters' and 'slaves', 'servants', or 'providers of cheap labour'. This is the legacy that has been passed down from 'the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries [when] popular representations of daily life under slavery, ownership and servitude [were] shown as so 'natural' that they require[d] *no comment*' (Hall, 1997a, p245, original emphasis). We discussed earlier the intractability of discourse, and it is this combination therefore, of the legacy of servitude together with the structural slowness of change in both attitudes and practices, that continues to contribute to the oppressive discourse of racial inequality experienced by minority ethnic people. Minority ethnic people have had to choose 'between a rock and a hard place' in that no 'space' has been provided for their presence in Britain, apart from that which has been proscribed by the powerful discourse of inequality. The struggle of these minorities therefore, is to claim the agency which will release them from the position of oppressed subjects of this discourse, and in so doing, potentially contribute to the awakening of reflexivity in the oppressors who are subjected to the same discourse, and who, of course, have less to gain from this reflexive awareness due to the relative lack of discomfort within their subject positions.

The growing body of literature and recorded information on diversity issues produced over recent years has illustrated the need for the encouragement of this reflexivity, and it is worth quoting two examples here; one that directly challenged the discourse of myths of 'Britishness' from the early post-second world war years; and the other, more recently from 1996, of commentary from the CRE on the need for the contribution of minority ethnic people to 'British life' to be spelled out and recognised. In the first example, Stuart Hall describes the year in which the West Indian cricket team 'had taken on the colonisers at their sacred game and mastered it sufficiently to defeat them at home in open play'. This happened in 1950, and Hall continues,

> It is difficult to believe reports that there were only 30 or 40 West Indians present at the ground, but however many there were, they made their presence felt by exuberant shouting, singing and the rattling of tin cans throughout the game, in ways that astonished the natives and transformed for ever the ethos of test cricket.

> "Unnecessary" was the snotty opinion of the MCC diarist. ...Kitchener (Aldwyn 'Lord Kitchener' Roberts – the Trinidadian calypso musician) himself led the march round the field and down into Piccadilly. People stared at this extraordinary sight out of windows – "I think it was the first time they'd ever seen such a thing in England," Kitchener observed. ...The Caribbean ethos and style of celebration was the most commented upon aspect of the game and marks the moment when a distinctively new Caribbean spirit and rhythm first announced itself as an emerging element in the rapidly changing national culture.
> (Hall, 2002, *The Guardian Review*, p3).

It would seem from the response of the MCC diarist that tin cans weren't the only things that were rattled on that occasion, and yet the challenge to the assumed cultural monopoly over the game of cricket had been made, if not through tactical deployment, then through the sheer exuberance merited by the occasion. (Fifty two years later it is still noticeable that Henry Blofeld, the old-Etonian cricket commentator with the very 'English' enunciation, is still moved to comment in derisory tones on the 'unnecessary' amount of noise made by certain factions during matches).

The second example simply describes the great contribution of minority ethnic people to the development of the social, cultural, material and economic richness and diversity of life in Britain over the years that has largely gone unrecognised. The commentary is provided by the CRE in describing their publication of a book that,

> Shows how Britain has benefited from immigration and ethnic diversity throughout its history. Far from impoverishing the country, immigrants have brought fresh ideas, new skills, labour, capital, resourcefulness and a diversity of culture that make all our lives richer and more varied. The aim of this book is to highlight the contributions made by Britain's ethnic minorities to its economic and social development.
> (CRE, 1996, publisher's information).

The publication of this book by the CRE responds to the need for an historical archive of this information, whilst at the same time challenging many commonly held pejorative beliefs and assumptions in relation to the minority ethnic contribution to the nature of Britain and 'Britishness' over the years. What is particularly positive about this publication is that it undermines demotic discourse, which tends to simplify and vulgarise the contributions of minority ethnic people in terms of stereotypical assumptions about 'what "they" can do' or 'what "they" are good at'. As Vijay Prashad comments, 'This is the way in which an outdated anthropology studied tribes – a Maasai acts in a particular

way because s/he is a Maasai.' (Prashad, 2002). The book instead is based on a non-linear format, cutting across 'race', ethnicity and culture to provide a polymathic vision of creative and academic talent and ability that subverts stereotypes through the employment of factual accuracy. Such a challenge to the dominant discourse illustrates and supports Prashad's observations of Baumann's perspective when he comments that,

> Baumann argues that multi-racist states like the UK produce a dominant discourse which reifies cultures and then yokes a culture to a reified community which is judged according to its adherence to its own norms. ...The dominant discourse, he argues, "is based upon, and reinforces, a denial of the cross-cutting social cleavages that characterize plural societies".
> (Prashad, 2002).

The stereotyping that minority ethnic people frequently experience in terms of prescriptive or limited assumptions regarding their talents, abilities, and the contribution that they can make to society, has an extreme version in the case of refugees and asylum seekers, where it is often accepted as fact, as we saw in the quotation from Younge above, that these people are simply 'an unbearable strain on the finances of [Britain]'. These attitudes are possibly a legacy of colonialist discourse that sees people who appeal to Britain's potential for benevolence as both 'needy' and 'primitive', when in fact they have skills, talents and abilities to offer like anyone else. Refugees and asylum seekers therefore, have been subjected to factors of polemic rejection regarding their presence in Britain, (in contrast to the more ambivalent attitudes experienced by other immigrants), since being 'uninvited' they are not 'needed' and are therefore inevitably subject to rebuttal. In respect of the economic discourse surrounding immigration, we spoke earlier of the 'pull and push' (need and rebuttal) nature of British immigration and nationality law over the years, and the state of ambivalence on which much of this policy has been developed, and in order to illustrate the insecurity on which the minority ethnic presence in Britain has been founded in this respect it is useful to take a brief historical overview of the relevant legislation.

British Immigration and Nationality Law: a Brief History of Policy

From before 1914 and until 1982, everyone born within the dominions of the British Crown were regarded as British subjects, and had the right of abode in Britain under the common law rule of *ius soli*. Until 1914, for descendants born *outside* of the dominions, entry was restricted to the first and second generations of the legitimate male line. After

1914 the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act imposed restrictions on descent, allowing only the first generation to be eligible for citizenship, and following this the Aliens Order of 1920 meant that people had to demonstrate that they could support both themselves and their families.

The British Nationality Act of 1948 introduced distinctions based upon nationality and gender, which favoured Commonwealth citizens over aliens, and men over women. Registration was introduced which gave the citizens of independent Commonwealth countries the right to be registered as citizens after a registration period of twelve months. (In 1973 this period was increased to five years). Colonial subjects were given citizenship under the title of 'UK and the Colonies', and while the *ius soli* principle was maintained officially, the 1948 Act was implemented in a racist way with regard to the citizenship status of Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Pakistanis living in India and Pakistan. Their registration as 'UK and Colonies' citizens (validated under clause 12(6) of the Act on the grounds of 'close connection' with Britain by descent through the male line) was subject to the illegal checking of the maternal line to make sure that only those with more than '75 per cent European blood' could register and migrate to the UK. Called 'racial classification' by a Government official, it effectively stopped first generation Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Pakistanis from entering Britain, despite the legal rule of paternal descent.

From 1962 the Commonwealth Immigrants Act removed the freedom to enter and to live in the UK, and for the first time immigration controls were introduced that ran contrary to common law, or *ius soli*. The real issue was not immigration *per se*, but black, or minority ethnic immigration. William Deedes who was a Conservative Minister without Portfolio commented on the rationale behind the Act some years later, when he recalled that,

> The Bill's real purpose was to restrict the influx of coloured immigrants. We were reluctant to say as much openly. So the restrictions were applied to coloured and white citizens in all Commonwealth countries – though everybody recognised that immigration from Canada, Australia and New Zealand formed no part of the problem.
> (Deedes, 1968, p10, quoted in Solomos, 1989, p14).

The immigration Acts of 1968 and 1971 further extended these controls, and in particular, the 1971 Act removed the right of abode from people who could not establish a 'close

connection' with Britain. This meant that right of abode could now only be claimed by those called 'patrials', meaning those who could prove 'close connections' with Britain, or those who were born, adopted, registered and naturalized in the UK. Women could also acquire this right through marriage, and the right of abode status was now clearly separated from issues of nationality. Very recently in a national broadsheet newspaper it was reported that some 35,000 overseas British citizens who were left stateless following the legislation of 1968 were, 34 years later, to be given the opportunity to take up full British citizenship. Fiona Mactaggart, a Labour MP commented that this rectified one of the biggest injustices in British post-war immigration policy, saying that the situation,

> ...created a lot of bitterness because the divide in citizenship was specifically racial. British overseas citizenship was created to give second class status to those whose heritage was Asian while those whose heritage was white were allowed to settle in Britain. As a result, that racial division has been inherent in British immigration and nationality laws for 30 years.
> (Mactaggart, quoted in Travis, *The Guardian*, 2002b, p2).

In 1981 the British Nationality Act named those with the right of abode 'British citizens', and those without the right became 'British dependent territories citizens'. The 1988 Immigration Act further tightened the restrictions, making sure that dependants of people who had settled before 1973 could only enter the country if they could prove financial independence.

To bring this picture up to date, the Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act of 1993 meant that an increasing number of people were refused entry into the UK under this Act, and also that detention measures were both escalated and increasingly severe. The Immigration and Asylum Act of 1999 similarly introduced measures that made it even more difficult for Asylum Seekers to enter the UK, and new European legislation has recently been strongly criticised by UNHCR (United Nations High Commission on Refugees) on the grounds that despite the fact that the number of people seeking asylum has fallen considerably in the last decade, even countries such as Denmark, once applauded for its liberal and accepting stance, are now seeking much tougher measures against these displaced people – 'the world's unwanted'.

In his article *The Politics of Migration since 1945*, Solomos analyses both the *racializing* and the *institutionalising* of these immigration controls, detailing their effect upon the

minority ethnic population of Britain (Solomos, 1992, p7ff). He gives an overview of the insecurity and the disadvantage that this legislation has inflicted upon both them, and on their children, and concludes his article with the thought that, 'immigration and the state [have] produced a situation whereby racist immigration controls have become institutionalized' (ibid. p27).

One of the ways in which these immigration controls have contributed to a '...racialized construction of "Britishness"' (ibid, p12) within institutions is through the education system. With regard to the effects of the state educational institutions on minority ethnic people, we find Prashad commenting that 'Given the context of racial discrimination and of the crisis of social life in Euro-America, overseas subcontinentals are nervous to allow state educational channels...to manage the instruction of children' (Prashad, 2002). There are clear parallels here between 'racial discrimination' and the 'crisis of social life in Euro-America' and Rushdie's earlier observation above that, 'Britain is undergoing a critical phase of its post colonial period, and this crisis isn't simply economic or political, *it's a crisis of the whole culture, of the society's whole sense of itself, and racism is only the most clearly visible part of the crisis*'(Rushdie, quoted in Gaine, 1987, p35, emphasis added). It is therefore, to Prashad's observation of the educational dimension, and Rushdie's reference to the post-colonial period that we will now turn in order to briefly examine the racialised nature of the provision of state education over the years; an education that has both indoctrinated white pupils, sometimes directly; sometimes by default, and led to the disadvantaging of minority ethnic children.

The Impact of Colonialism on British Education

As we saw in the time-line above, since the end of the second world war the UK has received a number of settlers from its former colonies – principally India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the Caribbean. These settlers and their descendants now make up about 5% of the population, the distribution of these minorities being uneven, with the greatest concentrations tending to be in the largest cities. London, for example, accounts for approximately 45% of the entire minority ethnic population; therefore there is great geographical variation in the degree of first hand contact experience that white majority citizens experience in relation to minorities (Green 1998; Gaine 1995). However, as Henderson and Kaur (1999), and Modood et al. (1997) have shown, negative attitudes and

perceptions towards minority ethnic people are not confined to areas with the greatest concentrations of minorities, and such attitudes are widespread in much of the British Isles.

In 1952, following the 1948 United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, an organisation was formed in Britain called 'Racial Unity', which aimed to address issues of equality and justice for racial and ethnic groups in the UK. Education was seen to be instrumental in achieving these goals, particularly with the recognition that existing curricula tended to reinforce attitudes of white superiority, such attitudes taking their flavour from the legacy of colonial imperialism (Tomlinson 1990). The organisation appears to have made little impact, however, and until well into the 1970s, when black and South Asian pupils were increasingly appearing in British schools, the main drive in education was towards assimilation (Gaine 1987), whereby, as quoted in Appendix (B2), '"coloured" immigrants role was to "fit in" to an (assumed) monocultural Britain, to aspire to be "just like us"', (Gaine, 1987, p22).

From the 1970s' until the mid-1980s' there followed a period when the emphasis shifted towards a multicultural approach to education, the central theme being that of a plural social order (Gaine 1995). However, overlapping with this development until the late 1980s' was the perspective generally referred to as 'anti-racist' education. What was distinctive about this approach was its concern with a curriculum and pedagogy which were directed towards the *challenging* of racist ideologies and attitudes, rather than simply analysing personal prejudice and celebrating cultural difference as would more multicultural initiatives. This approach was therefore polarised in opposition to the discrimination that minority ethnic people in Britain were experiencing, rather than taking the attitude that simply celebrating cultural diversity would somehow make everything 'all right'.

However, while the anti-racist approach gained strength during the 1980s, so did a reaction, particularly from the political right who were in government under Margaret Thatcher. They saw such educational responses to diversity as threatening to Britain's 'sense of itself', and to more traditional forms of education (Tomlinson, 1990; King and Reiss 1993; Gaine, 2000b), and this kind of political opposition made it difficult to gain endorsement for the implementation of a more egalitarian educational agenda. Away from

the cities, where diversity was less apparent, the centrally unsupported attempts of those who wished to do good often foundered in hostile seas, and Tomlinson observed:

> ...there has been remarkably little change in the beliefs that white pupils, parents and some teachers hold, about non-white former colonial settlers in Britain, and about former colonies and the Third World. The limited multicultural and anti-racist initiatives for white pupils implemented since the 1970s so far appear to have made little impact in white areas.
> (Tomlinson, 1990, p44).

Tomlinson's observations regarding the intractability of colonialist attitudes in education are astute, and she focuses these ideas in two particular chapters of her book *Multicultural Education in White Schools* (ibid.). In the first, *Education for White Superiority*, she presents evidence that the views of white pupils towards minority ethnic children are still largely formed as a result of attitudes of 'white superiority', (particularly deplored by the organisation *Racial Unity* in the 1950s). She further states that there is a 'reluctance to abandon hostile beliefs' and that 'antagonism towards those regarded as racially or culturally different is still the norm, and white parents continue to influence their children to hold negative views of minorities and to condone or ignore racist behaviour' (ibid. p68). It is relevant to mention here that from interviews conducted with minority ethnic groups of students in twelve rural secondary schools in the course of my own research, there was a high incidence of opinion that racial attitudes '*come from home, it's what the parents set for them*'. A particular incident was also related to me by a teacher, where a white parent had been overheard saying to a lone black child (in the presence of other white adults and children on their way home from school), '*get off the wall you orang-utan*'. This comment went unchallenged at the time it was made, and it was only later, when the child had reported the incident to their parent that the school became aware of what had been said (Carroll, 2002, field notes).

In Tomlinson's second chapter, *The Imperial Curriculum*, she describes the way in which,

> The strength of imperial beliefs... incorporated into the curriculum, provide at least part of an explanation for continuing racial antagonisms and the perpetuation of beliefs of white superiority.
> (Tomlinson, 1990, p68).

In Appendix (B2) of this thesis consideration was given to what has been termed the 'drum and trumpet' approach of an imperial curriculum, and Tomlinson's observations echo some aspects of this idea, particularly the citizenship issues that this type of curriculum raises regarding ideas about the status and 'belonging' of minority ethnic children. Tomlinson shows how the development of mass education (between 1870-1920), and particularly the 'filtering of ideas and values from public to state schools', combined with the effects of an intense and popular imperialism to promote ethnocentric beliefs and the glorification of the Empire, white superiority, and patriotic militarism. She further comments on the unreflective nature of a curriculum and pedagogy that uncritically promoted 'simplification of complex moral issues, and unthinking acceptance of value-laden curriculum content' (ibid. p84). Tomlinson concludes that, although rationalized or changed in certain ways, these attitudes are still in evidence in British schools, and we need only refer to what many have described as an 'ethnocentric and nationalistic' National Curriculum for evidence supporting this perspective (see Ball, 1994, ch3).

In addition to Tomlinson's evidence, we might also consider a recent example from my own research, related to me by several children at a focus group meeting, where a school teacher had played a video which detailed, described and illustrated the oppressive practices surrounding issues of slavery. This video was presented to a majority white class with only two minority ethnic children, one of whom was African-Caribbean. The class were not given the opportunity to engage in any critical and reflective discussion before viewing the video, (I was told that this was because the usual class teacher was not present for that lesson), and it seems that the sensitivities of the African-Caribbean child were therefore not anticipated. During the showing of the video, three or four white male pupils began to turn to this child who was sitting at the back of the class, making derisory remarks, laughing, and asking the child if she was 'all right'. The incident culminated in the child leaving the class in a distressed state before the video tape had finished.

After this focus group I had the opportunity to talk to the head teacher about what had happened, and found that rather than discuss the apparent lack of preparation for introducing the video (especially considering its sensitive content), or discuss the child's obvious distress, the head simply referred to the child as 'a bit of a trouble maker and an attention seeker', possibly wishing to justify the events. Although undoubtedly the video content had been intended to raise an historical and critical awareness of these issues, the

unreflective way in which the material was presented together with an all-round insensitivity had combined to make this a humiliating experience for a minority ethnic child.

Tomlinson concludes these two chapters by stating that as curriculum and pedagogy stand at the moment, not only do they influence the present generation of school children, but they have also,

> Undoubtedly influenced the grandparents and parents of children currently in schools...[and that] the task of changing the curriculum has to take account of the past influences which now form part of the 'British heritage'.
> (Tomlinson, 1990, p84).

Tomlinson's reference here to the historical context of what is proving to be the intractable discourse of 'British heritage' concurs with the comments of Crick who, despite the criticism he has received for his somewhat narrow and often nationalistic contributions to the new citizenship initiatives within the National Curriculum (Osler and Starkey, 2000a; Osler, 2000) has made the comment regarding 'British Nationalism' that, 'No assertion of such superiority, whether strident, covert or accidental, is acceptable.'(QCA, 1991, p96).

Although Tomlinson's book was published in 1990, her findings are well supported more recently by writers such as Epstein (1993), Gaine (1995), Jones (1999), and as will be discussed particularly in data chapters four and five of this thesis, from my own fieldwork conducted between 2000-2002.

If You Ain't White... Creating Confident Locations

We said earlier that 'Minority ethnic people have had to choose "between a rock and a hard place" in that no "space" has been provided for their presence in Britain, apart from that which has been proscribed by the powerful discourse of inequality'. We have discussed Stuart Hall's concept of *binary extremes* in relation to minorities, and also, the covert ambivalence contained within British immigration and nationality law; needing minorities when labour shortage dictates; rejecting or 'playing the numbers game' when the crisis is over. It is not difficult therefore to recognise within these practices and their effects the

dualist and essentialist nature of most of the interaction that has taken place in relation to minorities in Britain over the years. In simple terms we have the reactive responses to the minority ethnic presence of, 'good/bad, black/white, be here/go away', and additionally, as Stuart Hall details, the use of polarised descriptors such as 'civilized/primitive, ugly/excessively attractive, repelling-because-different/compelling-because-strange-and-exotic.' (Hall, 1997a, p229). In fact, Lord Kitchener put this duality much more succinctly in the lyrics of a song from the fifties when he said 'You can't get away from the fact/If you ain't white you considered black' (quoted in Hall, 2002, p2).

What I would like to consider in conclusion here, is exactly *what space minority ethnic people can occupy in relation to this dualism* in order to claim their place in British society. My own research findings detailed in data chapters four and five leave a strong impression that the legacy of the essentialist dualism outlined above reflects an inability on the part of the majority white population to cope with plural forms of identity, and that a *perceived lack of a white primary location in relation to identity* leads to attitudes of dualism, essentialism, 'othering', and ultimately, rejection. It is also the case that the effects of these attitudes are compounded when minority ethnic children, whose identity formations may be fragile, experience such treatment, in that it can lead to ambivalent self-perception and a lack of confidence in the child's interpretation of its own identity, (although as Cross has shown, these perceptions can later be replaced with a re-affirmation of the identity that circumstance has induced them to deny [Cross, 1991, from Funge & Williams, 2002]). Furthermore, even when a minority ethnic child has strong cultural or faith traditions in the home, this ambivalence may still be felt as a result of the lack of information and understanding that the white majority have about these traditions, and the fear of being 'othered' because of perceived difference.

With regard to the subject positions of both the white majority, and minority ethnic people in relation to racist and post-colonialist discourse therefore, (or to the 'oppressors' and the 'oppressed' as we have earlier referred to them), I will here consider the ideas of Homi Bhabha on the notions of *hybridity* and the *third space*, most particularly with reference to the paper delivered by Paul Meredith to *Te Oru Rangahau Maori Research and Development Conference* in 1998. These ideas are offered in order to provide an alternative perspective and possible relief from the bifurcated systems referred to above, Meredith describing these inclusionary possibilities when he states that,

The concepts of hybridity and the third space contribute to an approach that avoids the perpetuation of antagonistic binarisms and develops inclusionary, not exclusionary, and multi-faceted, not dualistic, patterns of cultural exchange and maturation.
(Meredith, 1998).

The use of the word *hybridity* here however, is not unproblematic, as Meredith explains,

In colonial discourse, hybridity is a term of abuse for those who are products of miscegenation, mixed-breeds. It is imbued in nineteenth century eugenicist and scientific racist thought (Young 1995). Despite this loaded historical past, Papastergiadis reminds us of the emancipative potential of negative terms. He poses the question "should we use only words with a pure and inoffensive history, or should we challenge essentialist models of identity by taking on and then subverting their own vocabulary." (Papastergiadis 1997: 258).
(ibid. 1998).

Meredith goes on to point out that Bhabha's *own* use of the term *hybridity* has a somewhat different meaning, and explains, with relevance for our analysis regarding racist and post-colonial discourse, that,

Bhabha has developed his concept of hybridity from literary and cultural theory to describe the construction of culture and identity within conditions of colonial antagonism and inequity. (Bhabha 1994: Bhabha 1996) ...Bhabha contends that a new hybrid identity or subject-position emerges from the interweaving of elements of the coloniser and colonised challenging the validity and authenticity of any essentialist cultural identity. Hybridity is positioned as antidote to essentialism, or "the belief in invariable and fixed properties which define 'whatness' of a given entity." (Fuss, 1991: xi). In postcolonial discourse, the notion that any culture or identity is pure or essential is disputable. (Ashcroft et al. 1995) Bhabha himself is aware of the dangers of fixity and fetishism of identities within binary colonial thinking arguing that "all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity." (Rutherford 1990: 211).
(ibid. 1998).

Bhabha therefore, sees this hybridity situated in terms of what he identifies as the *third space*, and locates this as the place in which 'the disruption and displacement of hegemonic colonial narratives of cultural structures and practices' takes place (Meredith, 1998). Meredith describes this space as a place in which new positions can be productively articulated, not merely reflected upon, and that, in Bhabha's words, these new positions can be 'interruptive, interrogative and enunciative' (Bhabha, 1994, in Meredith,

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1998), working to subvert dualistic categories and progress 'beyond the realm of colonial binary thinking and oppositional positioning.' (Law, 1997, ibid.). In this way, by nature of the fact that two points in opposition must have a space in between, Bhabha's concept is best understood in terms of *taking possession of* and claiming that space, rather than allowing it by default to be a no-mans-land that identity passes through on its way from one extreme to the other. In this way, Meredith argues, Bhabha creates a *spatial politics of inclusion*, allowing this hybrid strategy to open up a third space for the rearticulation and negotiation of meaning. (Meredith, ibid.).

Bhabha's theory has been criticised for 'neglecting to adequately conceptualise the historical and material conditions that would emerge within a colonial discourse analysis framework.' (Parry, 1996: Mitchell, 1997, ibid.), and Meredith himself comments that positing a conceptual perspective 'within a political and cultural vacuum' can lead to a 'false sense of liberation from the continued influence of the historical colonial encounter.' (Meredith, ibid.). Being aware of these reservations, I would like to introduce the practical and empirical connections here that are enlightened by Bhabha's theoretical conceptualising with reference to the issues raised regarding the teaching of citizenship and the subject positions of minority ethnic children in Britain. These ideas are introduced briefly here for the purpose of explicating Bhabha's propositions, since later dedicated chapters deal with the issues raised by the teaching of citizenship in greater depth.

Inclusive Initiatives: Black Responses/White Responses

Despite the fact that a measure of its impetus was generated by the aftermath of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry and the subsequent report into the racist murder of this black teenager, the new citizenship agenda that is in the process of being introduced into the National Curriculum in the UK is often proving to be, in terms of policy implementation, a white British response. Aspects of Osler's criticisms of the Crick Report and its recommendations for citizenship education, both in terms of ethnocentricity, and the lack of any real address with regard to human rights and anti-racist initiatives (Osler, 2000, p15) have been referred to earlier in this chapter, and are further considered in Appendix (B2), and in chapter three. However, we can examine this idea in a little more detail by considering Gaine's commentary with regard to 'black' and 'white' responses to dealing

with issues of racism, and therefore, with the status of minority ethnic citizens, when he states that,

> [To Mullard], one of the distinctive features of anti-racist education (ARE) is not the classroom practices it recommends but its roots and origins in black people's struggles. It is not solely a set of ideas developing out of older ones, but a force, a black response to white racism. It is actually located structurally, whereas multicultural education was, he argues, a cultural phenomenon. (Others have argued multicultural education had a different genesis, it was a white response to black demands, a way of not facing up to the real issues).
> (Gaine, 1987, p36).

Although there was undoubtedly a black response to the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry and the resulting report in terms of activity from minority ethnic individuals and organisations, the subsequent initiatives developed in terms of the new citizenship curriculum could not be described as 'a black response to white racism'. This is not only because the response has been generated from government level, (a majority white institution), but also because many of the relevant issues in terms of human rights and anti-racism appear to have been marginalized by other imperatives. Briefly stated, these imperatives have been to provide a non-prescriptive 'space' where many of the more 'affective' educational issues that were not being effectively implemented through the National Curriculum, (largely due to the limitations of an overly-prescriptive timetable [Ball, 1994, ch3]), could be addressed. An example of this marginalisation would be the agenda of a citizenship education conference I attended in the early days of the new policy initiatives (British Educational Research Association [BERA], Roehampton, 2000), where the programme concentrated on such topics as health education, bullying, moral/values education, spiritual education, emotional education, careers education; with no mention at all throughout the day or in the programme of the subject of diversity in relation to 'race' and citizenship education.

A further example of the particularly 'white' response is reflected in the actual dominant representation of white British facilitators from the DfES (Department for Education and Skills) who delivered a series of citizenship conferences for teachers in 2001, and also presented a lengthy symposium at the BERA conference in the same year (a panel of five white British facilitators). I include this example because the conference programme was composed of the citizenship initiatives set out by Crick and his committee (Crick was in fact, a member of the conference team), to whom we have already referred in terms of the

ethnocentric approach of the citizenship material (Osler, 2000, p15). These circumstances raise critical issues regarding ethnocentricity, in that at this national level of initiative, *no* minority ethnic individuals or communities were involved, or apparently invited to take part in the conference facilitation.

It is these issues that support the idea of a 'white response' in relation to the new citizenship initiatives, and to this evidence we can also add the example of the revival of a multiculturalist approach to diversity in schools recently, as a result of new anti-racist policy legislation scheduled to be in operation by 31st May, 2002. Although the intention of this legislation was to tackle the issue of inequality of opportunity through institutionally racist practice, the main response, apart from making sure that there is now a policy 'on the shelf', has been a proliferation of 'multicultural' days, weeks, fortnights and projects, often, it has been covertly stated, to show OFSTED (Office for Standards in Education) that 'we are doing something'. This might possibly be interpreted, as Gaine comments above, as a 'white response' and/or 'a way of not facing up to the real issues'.

What can be garnered from all these examples of a 'white response' to issues of inclusion however, is the *maintenance of a polarised position in relation to issues of diversity.*

Citizenship: A Space to Reconcile the Politics of Polarity

As stated above, the issues raised by the teaching of citizenship are dealt with at length in later chapters. For our purposes here however, they are introduced in order to consider the application of Bhabha's theories of *hybridity* and the *third space.* We have mentioned racism/anti-racism; black responses/white responses, and here again, in these categories what is most evident is the *polarity* of the positions. I would like to consider here the idea that the new space that has been created to facilitate the citizenship curriculum could provide the *third space* for what Meredith has described as the 'hybridity dynamic' of 'race' relations to take place. Rather than this space being appropriated by variations on a white hegemonic discourse, or as Osler states regarding the Crick Report, ' [assuming] that visible ethnic minorities...need to change in order to realise [a] common citizenship' (Osler, 2000, p15), this space could be used to provide,

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An alternative ambivalent site, a third space, where there is *ongoing* [re]vision, negotiation, and if necessary, renewal of those cultural practices, norms, values and identities inscripted and enunciated through the production of bicultural 'meaning and representation'.
(Meredith, 1998).

For Meredith's use of the word 'bicultural', I would substitute 'multi-cultural'; hyphenated in this way to distinguish the word from its more popular usage as the 'catch-all' of racial, ethnic and cultural diversity. (Meredith uses 'bicultural' since his particular adaptation of the ideas of Bhabha were based on a study of Maori/Pakeha relations in New Zealand).

The quotation above therefore, describes the way *ambiguity is grasped* as a position of confidence and negotiation, rather than experienced as a void of insecurity between polarised responses, and in the educational context, can be a place where *all* young people 'are enabled to develop confident identities; and are equipped with the skills to challenge and confront inequality and effect change.' (Osler, 2000, p15). The 'space' could be located in citizenship curriculum time, and supported by a pedagogy of inclusive practice. In terms of resources, the use of computer technology could be one valuable source of material inspiration, and a particular example of a resource that is already available and very much reflects the processes of 'ongoing [re]vision, negotiation, and ...renewal of ...cultural practices, norms, values and identities' are the *Britkid* and *Eurokid* projects (www.britkid.org ; www.eurokid.org). These websites explore multiple forms of identity in ways that are 'engaging, challenging ... and yet [seek] to guide, inform and stimulate rather than preach' (Gaine, 1998, p29). Further reference is made to this available resource in chapters four, five and six, but it is worth noting here that these sites further support the ethos of a *third space* in that they acknowledge the unhelpful structure of polarised responses to issues of 'race' and diversity. With reference to the idea of imposing the 'right' answers onto 'wrong' information, the author has said of the development of the *Britkid* site that,

It was...hoped that another feature of computer based material could be utilised, its potential for non-linearity. Racist assumptions and ideas are not linear, they are buttressed by a matrix of complementary ideas which together produce a complex frame of reference. In theory at least, computer based material allows an engagement with this framework via sequences and connections which primarily make sense to the user rather than to the 'educator' or 'persuader'.
(Gaine, 1999).

This comment demonstrates the author's intention to bypass the polarised pedagogical extremes of 'educator' and 'learner' in relation to what is potentially sensitive learning material, often itself approached through bifurcated forms of representation.

A final comment from Meredith here however, draws together the implications of the ideas of *hybridity* and the *third space* for the generation and development of new concepts of citizenship and 'belonging' when he says that,

> The concepts of hybridity and the third space have considerable implications for any reconstructed sense of nationhood and identity. They offer the possibility of a cultural politics that avoids a 'politics of polarity' (Bhabha 1994)... Instead, they are centred on the adaptation and transformation of culture and identity predicated within a new inclusive postcolonial... community that seeks to reconcile and overcome the embeddedness of past antagonisms.
> (Meredith, 1998).

Progress, as Meredith notes, must acknowledge and negotiate not only issues of difference, but also affinity.

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[1] Hall comments that 'Gilman refers to the "case" of the African woman, Saartje (or Sarah) Baartman, known as 'The Hottentot Venus', who was brought to England in 1819 by a Boer farmer from the Cape region of South Africa and a doctor on an African ship, and regularly exhibited over five years in London and Paris. ...In her early "performances", she was produced on a raised stage like a wild beast, came and went from her cage when ordered, "more like a bear in a chain than a human being" (quoted from *The Times*, 26 November 1810, in Lindfors, unpublished paper).' (Hall, 1997a, p264).

Chapter 3

STUDYING DIVERSITY OR TEACHING ANTI-RACISM? A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE CRICK REPORT

Abstract

This chapter considers the Crick Report and its shortcomings in relation to the development of an anti-racist agenda as part of the new citizenship curriculum for secondary schools. It examines the way in which anti-racism has been excluded from the concerns of developing a curriculum for democratic citizenship, whilst at the same time including the more general initiatives of diversity issues and multiculturalism. The way in which schools have responded to these initiatives is considered, together with examples of racist attitudes that clearly point to the need for the introduction of an anti-racist agenda. The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report is referred to, together with the new directives of the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000), and the way in which these texts have clearly highlighted the existence of institutional racism, and signposted the need for anti-racist initiatives in education. The chapter therefore gives an overview of the failure of the Crick Report to tackle an issue which poses a possible threat to the development of a democratic polity, namely, racism.

By the time Bernard Crick came to chair the Advisory Group on Citizenship on the 19th of November 1997, he had already been actively involved in promoting ideas of citizenship education for some three decades. As early as 1969, Crick had made the impassioned plea that it was 'important that all teenagers should learn to read newspapers critically for their political content' (Crick, 1969, quoted in Garratt, 2000, p324-5). In 1978 Crick and Porter introduced and developed the concept of 'political literacy' in their book, *Political Education and Political Literacy*, a volume which had been produced as a result of their work for the Hansard Society's *Programme for Political Education*. Landrum has described 'political literacy' as a concept that is,

> Seen as a compound of knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for the
> development of people who are politically literate, and able to apply that literacy,

the concept transcends conventional notions of political education by advocating preparation for political activity.
(Landrum, 2001).

In response to this promotion of a more 'active' form of engagement with the political by students, some commentators were quick to point out that such an agenda might, by the reflective nature of the involvement required, undermine the very foundations of political cohesion that lay behind such promotion (Garratt, 2000, p325); and in 1978 Crick and Porter stated that, '...if we want citizens we have to tolerate some of the unpredictable inconveniences of action and participation' (Crick and Porter, 1978). Unfortunately, this sentiment carries the somewhat negative overtones of 'tolerating inconveniences'. However, Maitles, taking a somewhat more liberal point-of-view, has pointed out that 'We should not see these [actions] as problems but as natural developments in understanding society' (Maitles, 2000).

During these early years of Crick's involvement in the promotion of education for citizenship, the idea of political literacy followed two fairly distinct strands of commitment in the field of education. As mentioned in Appendix (B2), citizenship was very much under the bailiwick of the History curriculum at this time, and in state schools, this tended to be interpreted as an area in which the less able could take part in order to equip them with some of the basic skills needed to make their way into adult life (Garratt, 2000, p325). Running parallel to this tendency was the teaching of the British Constitution as a formal academic subject in public schools and in the realms of the more highly achieving pupils. The emphasis here was more particularly focused on equipping these students, who, it was assumed, would at some stage of their adult lives be taking up positions of responsibility, with the necessary political awareness to maintain the status quo. As Selbourne has pointed out, the more traditional conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education have been directed towards the need to maintain and promote a set of values which are distinctive, and to which the majority would give assent (Selbourne, 1994).

What is particularly important to note concerning any form of citizenship education at this time is the *separation* from the main academic curriculum, and the 'bolted on' nature of this subject that was somehow felt to relate to 'sometime in the future' rather than the present time, when the students would be mature enough to take their place as citizens in the notably Marshallian civil, political and social aspects of adult life. What this meant in

effect was that citizenship was always accorded an ambiguous status with nebulous content and pedagogy, and this situation was to continue even after the formal introduction of the subject as an appendage to the new National Curriculum for England and Wales in 1990. Introduced along with four other cross-curricular themes, it is alleged that these all failed to make an impact on the curriculum due to the twin constraints of time and space. However, the key issue that allowed this marginalisation to take place was the fact that these cross-curricular themes were all non-statutory, and could thus be easily sidelined in deference to the needs of the statutory subjects of the National Curriculum. This situation was of course remedied with the inception of the new legal requirement in 2000 to introduce citizenship education into the National Curriculum (although this requirement remains a non-statutory framework at Key Stages one and two).

Legislation for Citizenship and the Absence of an Anti-Racist Agenda

The final report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship published in 1998 (hereafter referred to as the *Crick Report*) was to lay the foundations for the subsequently published key stage schemes of work on citizenship education, and both this report and the published schemes of work reflect the emphasis that has been placed over the years by Crick, upon political literacy as a central concept in relation to the subject of education for citizenship (Osler and Starkey, 2000a; Landrum, 2001). The impact that this emphasis has placed upon the nature and content of the recommendations of the Crick Report does in fact, highlight certain non-reflexive assumptions relating to the focus of this prior agenda. Most particularly the effect has been to emphasise the failure of the report to tackle racism as a central impediment to the functioning of a just and democratic polity, and to assume that a highly structured and rational approach to educating for a practical and functional approach to political literacy (Landrum, 2001) will satisfy the requirements for the workings of democratic citizenship. As Osler and Starkey (2000a, p8) and Landrum (2001) have pointed out, it is not only racism that is notably absent from the report, it is also curiously silent on issues of gender, social class, and material inequality, all serious impedimentary absences from any analysis of the development of real democratic values. Osler and Starkey have commented particularly on the omission of addressing racism as an issue when they state that,

Although the Government sees Citizenship education as a key means of promoting racial equality through schooling, the concept of racism is absent from the Crick Report.
(Osler and Starkey, 2000a, p15).

They do, however, qualify this with the following statement that,

Yet, with its emphasis on political literacy, the report does provide a key tool by which citizenship education programmes might be transformed to enable young people to confront and challenge racism.
(ibid. p15).

What is of particular interest here, is the way in which the recommendations for citizenship education promoted in the Crick Report have focused more particularly upon the need for an appreciation of cultural diversity and plurality, rather than explicitly acknowledging that racism exists, is damaging to democracy, and therefore needs to be directly addressed in any formulation of a new citizenship curriculum. Osler and Starkey comment that the focus of the Crick Report upon political literacy *might* be transformed into a force for tackling racism, but there are no guarantees that this will happen, or practical guidance in the Crick Report as to how it might. Osler has further commented that,

Racism is…now officially recognised …as one of the forces which operates to restrict the citizenship rights of minorities and undermines the principles of democracy. An understanding of racism, the ways in which it serves to undermine democracy, and skills to challenge this anti-democratic force are therefore essential features of any education programme which seeks to promote the political literacy of citizens.
(Osler, 2000, p25).

We cannot assume therefore, that an awareness of the damaging nature of racism will be an automatic by-product of a citizenship education that simply promotes political literacy and an awareness of diversity, and ignores the effects of both obvious and refined racist attitudes and actions. As Gaine (1987, 1995) has demonstrated, the multicultural approach of educating for and celebrating cultural diversity (for issues of 'culture' and a plural social order are the focus of this approach) simply does not work in terms of the effect that this strategy has upon the incidence of racism.

Despite the anticipated ameliorating effects of the 'good intentions' approach of multicultural education in the late 1970s and 1980s, familiarity did little to relieve attitudes of an already-bred contempt. As Gaine has commented, this approach was one that was promoted by the Schools Council at this time, and critically comments that such multiculturalism 'has been both summed up and mocked by Gerry Davis's memorable phrase, "the steel band and Diwali" approach: import some "ethnic" musicians and have some assemblies for the festivals of non-Christian faiths' (Gaine, 1987, p31). The Swann Report of 1985 shared the Schools Council perspective in some respects, although it recognised that in white areas there needed to be a more specific focus on dealing with racism. Its downfall in making these recommendations however, was that there was no *statutory* obligation for schools to specifically introduce anti-racism into the curriculum, and therefore many efforts begun by individuals with the best of intentions foundered in the often-hostile seas of attitudes of perceived irrelevance from somewhat less-aware professionals (Gaine, 1987, 1995, Jones, 1999).

It is possible to speculate that legislative intervention was not introduced at this time both because of the political sensitivities that might have been provoked amongst certain factions of the white majority population, and because of the above-mentioned 'perceived irrelevance' of such a focus in the curriculum. In a majority-white nation still struggling to come to terms with its multiracial identity, and still heavily influenced by the legacy of colonialist attitudes, Tomlinson has said of the 1970s that projects such as 'Education for a Multiracial Society' met with considerable resistance from educators, and that the general view in white areas was that the 'wider multi-ethnic society [had] little relevance in their schools' (Tomlinson, 1990, p47).

Returning to more recent initiatives, Landrum has commented that the Crick Report 'Included and accentuated...issues and themes that were considered politically 'safe' and uncontroversial such as active citizenship and personal responsibility, [with] vague references to 'Britishness' and cultural diversity' (Landrum, 2001). Picking up on this theme, the Reality of Rural Racism Conference (Exeter, July 2002) made it clear that in a society where the real issue is that racism is not a black or minority ethnic problem, but a problem of white attitudes towards black and minority ethnic people, it is obviously much

more soothing to have the attention taken away from this fact, and focused instead upon some vague sentiments directed towards 'all getting along together', with the added ingredient of white benevolence and 'toleration'.

As Osler, Starkey and Landrum have observed therefore, the Crick Report can be seen to promote an ethnic discourse rather than specifically challenge racism, and to reduce any serious engagement with these issues to vague and ambiguous descriptions of a utopian nationalism to be created by some nebulous and idealistic fusion of the relationship between minority ethnic people and the white majority. Furthermore, although Crick himself specifically and firmly emphasised the very *practical* nature of the content of the report in that he did not consider it to be just a policy text, (personal interview, 2000), it is possible that Crick is mistaking the undoubtedly rigorous structural framework of the recommendations for the reality of an empirically workable and practical model.

What appears to have happened is that the Crick Report has fallen between two stools, and has not utilised this 'third space' created by legislative opportunity (Bhabha, 1996, in Meredith, 1998; see chapter two of this thesis), to voice positive commitment and practical guidance for change in respect of racial equality and the broader issues of gender, social class, and material equity indicated by Osler, Starkey and Landrum. Instead, it has opted for an approach which imports an earlier agenda of promoting ill-defined ideals of political literacy, together with the desire not to upset the political applecart. The recommendations of the Crick Report seem to have succeeded in developing a curriculum of appeasement; one which in nationalist terms appears to offer a certain flavour of cultural restorationism so that the white majority will not be overly threatened, whilst at the same time maintaining and promoting a discourse of multiculturalism (Landrum, 2002, p8). This approach is illustrated by a quotation from the Crick Report which states that,

> A main aim for the whole community should be to find or restore a sense of common citizenship, including a national identity that is secure enough to find a place for the plurality of nations, cultures, ethnic identities and religions long found in the United Kingdom. Citizenship education creates common ground between different ethnic and religious identities.
> (QCA, 1998, p17, 3.14).

The fact that the specific inequalities of 'race', gender, class and material deprivation are not addressed in the report as practical issues to be tackled by the newly formulated agenda

for citizenship education renders the above statement both nebulous and ineffectual, and results in a failure to address the issues that underlie any effective strategy for a 'common citizenship'.

Reviewing this state of affairs, and in order to bring them briefly up-to-date, the haunting phrase from a David Lynch production springs to mind. *'It is happening ...again...'*. The resonance comes from my findings in a mainly white educational area on the impact of new legislation for the teaching of citizenship in relation to issues of 'race' and racism; the findings indicating that the evident reluctance of the Crick Report (and of the subsequently published schemes of work) to specifically address issues of racism, has prompted a range of school responses that can only be described as 'multicultural' by any other name.

In what is probably one of its most explicit references to the circumstances of minority ethnic people, guidance in the Crick Report recommends 'A more plural approach to racial disadvantage [requiring] forms of citizenship which are sensitive to ethnic diversity' (QCA, 1998. p17, 3.15). Considering that this is one of the most distinctive statements in the whole report in relation to the disadvantaging of minorities, it is nevertheless both vague, and not easily translatable into practical action. This further becomes evident in the related schemes of work, which at Key Stage Three for example, simply contain ambiguous references to conflict resolution and celebrating diversity. One small reference is made to 'understand[ing] the importance of ground rules in challenging stereotypes and racism', although exactly what these mysterious 'ground rules' are is not revealed (QCA, 2001). Given these uncertain directives therefore, it is hardly surprising that in a mainly white area with little contact experience of minority ethnic children, or knowledge of what their presence implies for an inclusive and anti-racist curriculum, these rather obscure guidelines and suggestions become interpreted as the 'steel bands and Diwali' approach to addressing issues of diversity.

Anti-Racist Legislation, Policy Imperatives, Multicultural Responses

An important point to note here is that these school responses are not simply related to legislation for citizenship education (which did not formally come into effect until September 2002), but have also been implemented through the impetus of the Race Relations Amendment Act (RRAA) 2000, which resulted in the publication of statutory

codes of practice on the duty to promote racial equality (CRE, 2002a). Apart from the race equality policy that all schools and public authorities were compelled to produce by the 31st May 2002 as a result of this legislation, new ethnic monitoring guidelines were introduced, and schools are now also required to keep and maintain a racist incident log-book. It is also the case that OFSTED (Office for Standards in Education) will inspect the progress and initiatives that schools are making in the field of race equality on a regular basis (QCA, 2001, p34). This new legislation following the RRAA 2000 has therefore, in certain respects, galvanised schools into action. Firstly in order to make sure that their race equality policy was in place by the due date, and secondly in order to ensure that they satisfied the ethnic monitoring guidelines, and were able to show OFSTED that their school was cultivating an ethos of racial equality. However, under the circumstances that have been described above, it is quite possible that once the school racial equality policy has been formulated and approved; despite the need to monitor attainment by ethnic group and to monitor and record the incidence of racism in the school, multiculturalism in the curriculum could easily take the place of a more active and positive whole school anti-racist ethos (the need for which is specifically referred to in *Learning for All*, CRE, 2000, p39).

In terms of guidance on policy, ethnic monitoring, and the maintenance of a racist incident logbook, schools in my research area have relied particularly on the lead of the Local Education Authority (LEA) to provide templates and information (see Appendix [A3]). In terms of guidance on curriculum and a whole-school approach to cultivating a positive ethos on diversity issues however, schools have experienced a lack of confidence in implementing these initiatives, especially since the Crick Report has failed to provide guidelines detailing a specifically anti-racist approach to education, (this being of course, the particular focus of legislation following the RRAA 2000). Recent school initiatives towards racial equality in my research area therefore, have been characterised by uncertainty. Partly through a lack of experience; partly because of an avoidance of the issues that the subject of racial equality in a majority white area raises (the attitude that there is 'No Problem Here' [Gaine, 1987, 1995]); and partly as a result of the 'light touch' approach to citizenship education (Crick, 2000a) promoted by David Blunkett, Education Secretary at the time the Crick Report was written. As Landrum has stated, it was this 'light touch' approach that made it clear that the Advisory Group on Citizenship wished to confer a certain amount of autonomy upon the professional judgement of teachers

(Landrum, 2001). This proposed strategy however, despite providing an opportunity for teachers to respond to the curriculum from a slightly less prescriptive position, nevertheless harnessed assumptions that the teachers themselves would possess the knowledge, training and experience to effectively deal with these issues in the classroom.

Out in the Field

As Jones has pointed out, many teachers in mainly white areas have little, if any experience, of teaching a curriculum of diversity to majority white and minority ethnic pupils, with all the information and sensitivity this requires. Jones has commented that,

> Until there is national commitment, the current nature of ... ITE [Initial Teacher Education] and the persistent problems associated with the 'white highlands' will conspire to limit the understandings of future teachers. Their resulting lack of knowledge, confidence and commitment in this area means that little will continue to be done to address an issue that affects us all.
> (Jones, 1999, p136).

Additionally, since none of the teachers I encountered in my sample had been trained in citizenship issues as either ITE or PGCE (Post Graduate Certificate in Education) students (since the subject had only been formally introduced onto these courses in 2001), it was unlikely that teachers would approach these curriculum issues with anything less than trepidation and uncertainty. These pressures were further exacerbated by the constraints of time due to the demands of the National Curriculum and the need to fulfil standards of performativity (Ball, 2001) in respect of looming OFSTED inspections. As one teacher I interviewed said, '*I haven't got the time to deal with all this really, just show me what boxes I have to tick for OFSTED*'.

The response to this pressure and uncertainty therefore, has been that of locating any port in a storm, and that of multiculturalism and celebrating diversity appears to have been the most accessible. In an extract from my field notes taken during a period of visiting schools, I made the observation that,

> My impression at the schools I have visited throughout the county has been that teachers have been unwilling to recognise the marginalisation experienced by their minority ethnic pupils, and the implications that this has for their experience of being young citizens in a majority white environment. Time and time again

teachers have described to me projects relating to themes of multicultural or global citizenship and human rights, while somehow remaining unaware of the isolating experiences that their minority ethnic pupils face every day...giving the opportunity for the real everyday experience of racism in the majority white environment to be left unaddressed.
(Carroll, 2001, field notes).

And further that,

What seems to be happening in this mainly white county is that legislation for the teaching of citizenship alone has not produced the more specific response of increasing awareness of the feelings and experiences of the minority ethnic school population. This initial legislation has instead initiated more general multicultural responses which have failed to take into account the feelings, needs and experiences of these students. The impetus necessary for drawing attention to their needs as young minority ethnic citizens has instead been provided by specific legislation on the commitment from each school to produce an effective and dedicated anti-racist policy. It can only be hoped that perhaps this specific directive will provide the catalyst for greater awareness of the citizenship needs of this county's minority ethnic pupils in time...
(ibid.).

As an example of one of these responses that reflects not only the emphasis on multicultural initiatives, but also illuminates particular attitudes of white teachers teaching in mainly white areas, it was decided at a cluster meeting of several primary heads that a 'multicultural week' should be organised to introduce and celebrate various aspects of a selection of cultures and religions. An extract from a conversation with a member of the senior management from one of the schools on the evening of the final day describes the circumstances of the event:

This week – it's been a farce really... Our head, she's lived in South Africa; she has plenty of experience with African and other minorities. We discussed this [multicultural] *week at a cluster meeting, and she particularly wanted to have people who came from the African and the Indian communities here themselves to do their dancing, play music or whatever... The other heads in the cluster – they've got no idea, no experience other than teaching white kids in white schools... They all objected to this anyway; they thought it would be too challenging for the children to see people from all these communities in their schools. So what we ended up with was white people coming in and showing us Indian dancing, drumming and other things. It's unbelievable really... Anyway, the one concession, and only because they couldn't get anyone else to do it I think, was that this morning I went to pick up an African poet from the station – I didn't exactly have to ask him to wear a red carnation or anything – you can imagine on* [name] *station! He was great, really great, and we had such a good conversation*

in the car on the way over to the school... I'm not sure that they [teachers and children at the school] *could tell what he was saying though...*

(the impression here was of some excitement at being in the car with a black African; an indication of the 'novelty' factor of the situation, and also a great desire to emphasise that they had been able to have a good conversation - that the teacher had been able to talk to him 'just like anyone else' [together with some implications of oral unintelligibility]. Therefore, although critical of the approach taken by the cluster towards diversity, this teacher's attitude also betrays elements of an 'unwitting' approach to the experience of difference.)

In 1982 Matthews and Fallon produced significant evidence that contributed to the Swann Report of 1985. Their research was based in several mainly white schools, and it is instructive to note that their findings, when compared to the attitudes expressed in the above extract, appear to have remained substantially unchanged over the past twenty years. The DES published these findings, and as Tomlinson has commented, they reflected the attitude that,

> The concept of being part of a multi-ethnic society was generally not acceptable to schools, who saw multicultural education as remote or irrelevant to their own localized needs, and any curriculum changes towards recognition of diversity or challenges to racism were regarded as 'too controversial and too inflammatory to contemplate' (p.236). Teachers were generally found to reflect the attitudes of their local areas and felt they lacked knowledge and confidence to raise multicultural issues...
> (Tomlinson, 1990, p55).

Tomlinson has further commented that,

> The Swann Committee concluded that pupils, lacking direct contact with minorities, appeared to be influenced by parents and the local community, who often rejected 'outsiders' *per se*...and the school curriculum was singled out as still contributing to an education for white superiority.
> (ibid. p55).

It is hard to contemplate the messages that these 'multicultural' performances would send out to children, since the double bind involved in the representation of minorities' culturally specific displays being demonstrated by white performers can only be interpreted as a white appropriation in order to somehow 'protect' local sensitivities. In

this situation it is highly likely that local sensitivities were involved, and that it was not only a matter of the minority ethnic presence being too 'challenging' for children at the school. The particular area of the cluster schools has been described to me as 'racist' by several local parents/teachers on various occasions; often in response to being told the nature of my research project. There is a small representation of the British National Party, and a member of this organisation has children at one of the local primary schools that were involved in the multicultural celebrations. This parent had already lodged a complaint within the previous twelve months about multicultural literature being introduced into the school, and had threatened to withdraw his children if its use was continued.

Further evidence of racist practice in the community more generally has been observed in the recruitment of black African employees at a local village care home for the elderly. Three black African women were recruited who were all fully trained nurses, and had been successfully managing intensive care units in Africa. Somewhat earlier, three white South African nurses had been employed. The white South African nurses had been collected from the airport on arrival, and had been found suitable accommodation within the village. The black African nurses had been left to find their own way by train in unfamiliar surroundings, and had then been required to share a room in the nursing home which had no bathing facilities, forcing them to share a single sink. It has since been discovered that these three black women had been put on half-pay for the first six months, being given the reason that they were 'on probation'. Only concern by a new acquaintance at the village church has since resulted in union involvement.

These circumstances were related to me through several conversations with the wife of the vicar at the village church who was concerned for the women's welfare. She further told me that these women had described their feelings of being very conspicuous, or 'overly visible', and were frequently stared at (echoing Mulvey's 'looked-at-ness' [1992, p4]). This response to their presence, although not necessarily hostile, had nevertheless made them acutely aware of their 'difference' from the majority white community. As we noted above, it was this particular response to 'difference' that the teacher indicated regarding the black African poet when she stated that 'I didn't exactly have to ask him to wear a red carnation or anything', referring to the fact that his presence on the station platform was distinctive in comparison to the majority white commuters. We also noted that this teacher

placed particular emphasis on the fact that the poet, not just as a poet, but also as a person, was '*great*, really great'. As Hall has pointed out, white majority opinions of minority ethnic people are often polarised in this way, a practice that actually reflects the way in which they are perceived to be significantly *different* from others around them (Hall, 1997a, p229). Attitudes such as these therefore, although not intentionally pejorative, can have the effect of *reinforcing difference.*

Returning to the example of the cluster schools, we have a situation whereby staff are clearly not yet in a position to reflectively consider their own unwitting attitudes towards 'race' and ethnicity, and yet find themselves in circumstances whereby legislation requires them to provide education for a diversity that they are not willing to acknowledge even exists. They have no training, no experience, no clear guidance from any source (although the role of the LEA in relation to guidance will be considered in chapter four), and the sword of Damocles (their interpretation of the situation in relation to OFSTED inspection) hanging over their heads. In addition to all of these factors, their own unwittingly racist behaviour often goes unrecognised in the context of their inurement to such attitudes in the local context.

Further examples of such attitudes in this geographical area can briefly be mentioned; one being a school that specifically invited a male Muslim visitor to talk to pupils in the aftermath of the events of September 11th. A teacher from the school later confided in me that several female members of staff had been upset and offended that the visitor had been unable to shake hands with them because of his religious beliefs, or as they rather emotively interpreted his actions, he had '*refused*'. Having met this individual on several occasions I can only offer what is inevitably a personal observation as a woman myself; that he had emphasised the value that his faith placed on women, and would have been unlikely to have wished to offend by his actions. Another incident involved a local secondary school that has links with a group of dancers and musicians from India, and encourages this multicultural connection through which the troupe was recently able to visit the school. At the same school two children, one Indian and the other Indian/Irish, have been forced to leave as a result of persistent racial harassment, one incidence of which involved dangling the dual heritage child over a first floor stairwell (see *Praveer's Story* in chapter five). At other schools I have visited, teachers have described multicultural initiatives in the curriculum, whilst being unable to deal with incidences of

racism against pupils. One of these examples involved a child whose black African identity was ignored and marginalized as teachers did not know how to approach the issues that this raised (see Joseph's case study in chapter five), whilst in another school a dual heritage child was said to be experiencing an 'identity crisis' when he became disturbed; an assessment that had the effect of marginalising the fact that he was experiencing racist abuse (see Leon's case study in chapter five). Jones has encapsulated this situation quite succinctly when he says that his own research,

> ...suggests that not only has racist behaviour...been systematically ignored but also that institutional practices have effectively managed to spawn an entire generation of teachers who have no understanding of the situation or needs of ethnic minority children, [and] who have no strategies to deal with racist behaviour in the classroom and playground...
> (Jones, 1999, p142).

I would also add to this statement that this racist behaviour is not only located 'in the classroom and the playground', but also takes place on the school bus, in the dining hall queue, on stairwells and in corridors. In fact, these 'peripheral' or 'grey' areas of school life are often considered to be 'safer' by the perpetrators of racism, as they are more likely to be out of sight and sound to staff members, and therefore offer locations that are less public in which to engage in racist behaviour.

Crick and the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report

In previous sections of this chapter, some of the ways in which the Crick Report has chosen to concentrate on an approach which celebrates diversity rather than tackles racism have been considered, together with examples of how a concentration upon the multicultural can be seen to fail schools as an approach to addressing these issues. Whether the Crick Report has chosen this path by default to a 'house-style' in response to the bureaucratic 'flattening out' of different opinions held by members of the Advisory Group on Citizenship (Landrum, 2001), or whether this is due in part to Crick's earlier focus upon the notion of 'political literacy' (ibid. 2001; Osler and Starkey, 2000a, p12), or whether it is due to political caution (Landrum, 2001) is unclear. However, the effect remains the same; the production of a document which fails to grasp the nettle on an issue that seriously affects the functioning of a just and democratic polity (Figueroa, 2000, p47; Osler and Starkey, 2000a, p15), namely, racism.

Before considering ways in which the approach of the Advisory Group is at variance with certain aspects of the ethos and intent of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report and its recommendations for education, it is appropriate here to quote a statement from the Runnymede Trust document, *Racism, Anti-Racism and Schools: a summary of the Burnage Report*, in order to further clarify this issue of the importance of a curriculum which specifically addresses anti-racism. This document considers *Murder in the playground – The Report of the Inquiry into racism and violence in Manchester Schools* (Macdonald, 1989), published following the murder of the Asian schoolboy Ahmed Iqbal Ullah on September 17th, 1986. In considering the issues raised for education by the murder, and by the Report of the Inquiry, the Runnymede Trust document states quite specifically that,

> ...whilst it is important to make space in the school curriculum for various forms of cultural expression and experience, this will not be adequate as anti-racism. As the Institute of Race Relations has said: Just to learn about other people's cultures... is not to learn about the racism of one's own. To learn about the racism of one's own culture, on the other hand, is to approach other culture objectively.
> (Runnymede, 1989, p31).

A statement which clearly emphasises the need for the primacy of anti-racism in the curriculum.

Institutional Racism ...

We have seen how Crick, in a sense, had been 'waiting in the wings' when the opportunity arrived to take up a prominent position as the Chair of the Advisory Group on Citizenship in 1997. His writings on the subject go back many years (Crick, 1972, 1978, 1987, 1991, 2000), and the opportunity to take part in an initiative that he obviously considered to be so important, and which now had the full weight of legislative imperative behind it, has been described as 'a chance for involvement that he could not turn down, despite the fact that he was so close to the end of a full-time active career' (personal interview with researcher who had worked with the Advisory Group on Citizenship, 2001). My own interview with Crick was in fact conducted on the day that he left his formal post relating to the citizenship curriculum with the DfEE, on the 5th April 2001. As Chair of the Advisory Group on Citizenship, Crick had been ultimately responsible for both the content and the tenor of the report in its final published form, and the possibility is referred to later in this

chapter (and given factual weight most specifically in Appendix [B3]) that certain personal pre-dispositions of the advisory group may in part, be responsible for the general purport of the document and its recommendations.

The possibility was considered above that the *concentration* of the Crick Report upon multiculturalism, and upon an approach of 'celebrating diversity' could be the result of three possible factors: a 'flattening out' by default to a 'house style', a prior agenda that was focused on 'political literacy', or through political caution. Osler has looked at the mirror image of this explanation, and has commented that the *absence* of any reference in the report to either racism, or anti-racism,

> ...would seem to suggest that the writers of the report either consider the subject too controversial to include in the school curriculum, or that they themselves are victims of a culture in which institutional racism is so powerful, and so ingrained, that it is invisible to those who do not experience it directly.
> (Osler, 2000, p31).

The issue of educational controversy is certainly a possibility, and is similar to that of political caution raised above. The idea of institutional racism introduced here however, takes us forward in time from the publication of the Crick Report to the production of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report under the chairmanship of Sir William Macpherson, published some twelve months later in 1999. It would be fair to say that at the time the Crick Report was produced, the concept of institutional racism had not been both formally and powerfully introduced into the national consciousness with the force that these issues were given in the publication of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report. The impact of this document, and its implications for all the public institutions of the United Kingdom are expressed by Osler when she states that,

> The publication of the Macpherson Report of the Stephen Lawrence inquiry in 1999 led senior politicians to acknowledge institutional racism in British society and to pledge themselves to a programme to eradicate racism. Racism is therefore now officially recognised by those in government as one of the forces which operates to restrict the citizenship rights of minorities and undermines the principles of democracy. *An understanding of racism, the ways in which it serves to undermine democracy, and skills to challenge this anti-democratic force are therefore essential features of any education programme which seeks to promote the political literacy of citizens.*
> (Osler, 2000, p25, emphasis added).

Osler here reiterates an earlier comment quoted above (Osler and Starkey, 2000a, p15) that any emphasis on political literacy potentially provides a key tool with which to tackle racism in the classroom. However, she also specifically identifies the concept of *institutional racism*; already a familiar idea (see Gaine, 1987, p33), but which is seminally defined (in relation to recent developments) in the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report. This report, which contains forty-seven chapters and includes seventy recommendations, was produced, as has been well documented, following the mishandling of the investigation into the murder of the black teenager, Stephen Lawrence. The report particularly highlighted the institutional racism that existed in the Metropolitan Police force, but the implications were far wider, and contained specific recommendations under the heading, *Prevention and the Role of Education*, (Macpherson, 1999, Ch.47, recommendations 67-9). It was directly as a result of this report that the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000 was implemented, together with the legal requirement for schools to adhere to specific measures aimed at promoting racial equality in their institutions (CRE, 2002a).

Acknowledging the link between the findings of the report and their relevance for racism in education, Osler and Starkey have stated that,

> Schools are a key means by which we can promote racial equality, yet they are also part of an education system in which institutional and inter-personal racism continues to flourish. ...the Stephen Lawrence inquiry defined institutional racism as:
>
> > The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people (Macpherson, 1999:28).
>
> (Osler and Starkey, 2000b, p4).

Osler and Starkey go on to mention specific ways in which institutional racism may be recognised in education, such as the over-representation of black and minority ethnic children in school exclusions (Osler, 1997a); the differentials in their educational achievement (Gillborn and Mirza, 2000); the reduced career opportunities for black and minority ethnic teachers (Osler, 1997b); and the failure of OFSTED inspections to address racial equality issues (Osler and Morrison, 2000). It should be noted here however, as

already referred to above, that as a direct result of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry and the subsequent report, the RRAA 2000 has been the legislative catalyst for a number of new initiatives in education (and all public institutions) in 2002, although at the time of writing it is too early to assess the possible long-term effects of these. The CRE (Commission for Racial Equality) for example, have produced specific guidelines addressing both policy and practice in education (CRE, 2002a), and OFSTED have stated in their Race Equality Scheme that,

> New requirements on public authorities aim to make race equality a central part of the way we work, by putting it at the centre of policymaking, service delivery, regulation and enforcement and employment practice. OFSTED applauds this aim and we believe we have an important role to play as an inspection body in looking at the way schools and other institutions we inspect approach these matters. (OFSTED, 2002).

Besides the institutional however, there are individual perspectives that need to be taken into account.

Individual Responsibility...

In 1981 Lord Scarman's report on the Brixton disorders made an earlier reference to institutional racism. In response to the suggestion that 'Britain is an institutionally racist society' Scarman commented,

> If, by (institutionally racist) it is meant that (Britain) is a society which knowingly, as a matter of policy, discriminates against black people, I reject that allegation. If, however, the suggestion being made is that practices may be adopted by public bodies as well as private individuals which are unwittingly discriminatory against black people, then this is an allegation which deserves serious consideration, and, where proved, swift remedy.
> (Scarman, 1981, Para 2.22, p11, quoted in Macpherson, 1999, ch 6.7, original bracketing).

The second sentence of Scarman's statement is in agreement with the ethos of the Stephen Lawrence inquiry definition; although Scarman does explicitly reject the notion that Britain would knowingly condone discriminatory policy. At the time however, Scarman called for both 'serious consideration' and 'swift remedy' should *unwitting* discrimination be recognised, and yet it is a fact that some eighteen years later the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report has described almost exactly the same contemporary circumstances. It may

however, be a mitigating factor to observe that during much of the intervening time-frame the neo-liberalist political climate was not particularly conducive to changes directed at any unit larger than that of the individual. Landrum's opinion is that unfortunately this situation is currently being upheld by the ethos of the Crick Report, and has commented that,

> The Crick Report places the onus for social citizenship upon the individual or non-state group. As a consequence, effective participation in public life through the development of knowledge, skills and values, and political literacy is premised upon a conservative discourse of citizenship...
> (Landrum, 2001).

If this is the case, it would make the individualist ethos of the Crick Report seriously at odds with the whole concept of institutionalised racism, and particularly the remedial measures that are required to combat its existence, since the primary locus of power would remain between the individual and the state. The difficulties that this situation presents in respect of discriminatory practice are well illustrated by the experiences of the parents of Stephen Lawrence, who, acting as individuals as 'the Lawrences versus the Metropolitan Police' struggled for many years to obtain justice and the recognition of inter and intra-agency forms of discrimination. As a result of their struggle the concept of institutionalised racism came into public recognition, only to be met, if Landrum is correct, by the promotion of a form of citizenship that 'places the onus for social citizenship upon the individual', and omits any reference 'to a common basis from which to make moral judgements' (ibid. 2001). These comments are supported by the observations of Osler and Starkey when they state that, 'citizenship education must ultimately be judged by the society it produces. On the one hand the society needs to be inclusive of all its citizens, *and on the other the citizens need to equip themselves with the competencies to participate in a democracy*' (Osler and Starkey, 2000b, p2, emphasis added). With its Marshallian concentration on *rights* and *duties*, and sometimes almost tokenistic references to communitarianism through individual commitment to *active participation*, the Crick Report often seems to fall short of a model well grounded in democratic values. This situation contrasts particularly with a suggested aim of the report, which is to introduce citizenship education as an urgent response to 'a general atmosphere of political apathy' in order to 'sustain a flagging democracy.' (Osler, 2003). However, commenting on the difference between promoting knowledge and generating action, Osler and Starkey have

astutely observed, 'Knowledge of rights will not in itself achieve rights' (Osler & Starkey, 2000b, p2).

It is possible therefore, to contemplate that not only is the concept of *racism* omitted from the Crick Report almost entirely, but also that more particularly the concept of *institutional racism* is not recognised, and at least in part, because of the report's commitment to an individualist doctrine. Osler has made the observation that at Key Stages 3 and 4, the schemes of work that were produced as a result of the Crick Report contain no reference to institutionalised racism as a specific barrier to the achievement of a democratic society. There are references to the understanding of diverse identities, and of the need for mutual respect, but no real engagement with the concept of institutional racism which, as Osler (2000, p33) points out, has been around for a long time, and was originally developed almost forty years ago in the United States by Carmichael and Hamilton (1968).

Any discussion of these concepts inevitably raises the issue of the relationship between *personal and subjective racism* and the specific idea of *institutional racism*, and whether these two are mutually exclusive, or whether they are interrelated in some respects. Ginsberg and Blair have expressed contrasting opinions on this subject, Ginsberg taking the position that institutional racism is,

> ...identified by two principal features: first, the production of racial inequalities by normal bureaucratic and professional administrative processes, and secondly, *the irrelevance of the subjective consciousness of the individual officials, professionals and politicians involved.*
> (Ginsberg, 1992, p111, emphasis added).

Here Ginsberg makes a point of negating any connection between the individual subjective, and the institutional experience of racism. However, Maud Blair tends to disagree, stating that,

> The distinction is often made between *unintentional* and *intentional* racism, with the former more likely to be associated with norms and procedures of an institution and the latter with deliberate and vindictive actions by individuals. *Individual racism and institutional racism are not, however, mutually exclusive. It is through individuals that the routine processes and procedures of institutions are carried out.*
> (Blair, 1992, p18, emphasis added).

What may bind the institutional and the individual together however, is what we might refer to as the *cultural* influences that both generate and maintain racist discourse, and these are considered below.

Cultures of Ignorance

A connection between the diverging opinions of Ginsberg and Blair discussed above could be formed by the observation that although the practices of institutional racism may be unwitting, (Macpherson, 1999, 6:28), they are to some degree supported by the racist cultures created by groups of individuals and their ideas and opinions. Several examples of these attitudes spring from my own research: the primary teacher who casually referred to the Chinese children in her school as 'the take-away children'; the school governor who, at an all-white governors meeting, openly referred to Asian families in the school catchment area by saying that, 'more of them will be swamping us before we know where we are'; the Muslim school inspector who was told by a white colleague that if he did not vacate the photocopier, a fatwa would be declared on his head; and the parent of a white child who wrote irately to the school complaining that his child should not be exposed to multicultural literature.

It is clear to see that without specifically addressing such racist attitudes and beliefs, these ideas and opinions (expressed within the context of a majority white culture), in combination with the directly personal 'pre-reflective gut racism' (Halstead, 1988) and with the more general practices of institutional racism, would remain largely unchallenged apart from the ad-hoc intervention of more concerned, aware and enlightened individuals. In fact, as pointed out above, the co-existence of a 'muticultural' curriculum together with ingrained racist attitudes has been an observation recorded at various stages of my research. To re-state my findings,

> Time and time again teachers have described to me projects relating to themes of multicultural or global citizenship and human rights, while somehow remaining unaware of the isolating experiences that their minority ethnic pupils face every day...giving the opportunity for the real everyday experience of racism in the majority white environment to be left unaddressed.

In its avoidance of these issues therefore, it is clear that as Osler comments, the Crick Report has singularly failed to 'consider how citizenship education might support anti-

racism in education' (Osler, 2000, p34), and it is in the recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report and the subsequent legislation of the RRAA 2000 that we find this support is pledged.

Chapter forty-seven of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report consists of seventy recommendations resulting from the report's findings. Towards the end, in a section specifically headed *Prevention and the Role of Education*, three recommendations for addressing anti-racism and the need to educate for diversity are stated. These are,

67) That consideration be given to amendment of the National Curriculum aimed at valuing cultural diversity and preventing racism, in order better to reflect the needs of a diverse society.

68) That Local Education Authorities and school governors have the duty to create and implement strategies in their schools to prevent and address racism. Such strategies to include:

- That schools record all racist incidents

- That all recorded incidents are reported to the pupils' parents/guardians, school Governors and LEAs

- That the numbers of racist incidents are published annually, on a school by school basis

- That the numbers and self defined ethnicity of excluded pupils are published annually on a school by school basis.

69) That OFSTED inspections include examination of the implementation of such strategies.

(Macpherson, 1999, Ch.47).

The space of three consecutive years has seen the publication of three comprehensive (although as detailed above, in some cases substantially flawed) pieces of documentation regarding issues of citizenship in an inclusively functioning democracy. The Crick Report was published in 1998, followed by the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report in 1999; and in 2000 the Race Relations Amendment Act responded beyond the scope of recommendation eleven of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, by extending the coverage of the Race Relations Act 1976 to the functions of public authorities in general, and not just the police as the report had recommended. In some respects the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report provided a 'bridge' between the other two documents. This link is certainly strong and

well constructed from the RRAA side, although the scaffolding held out by the Crick Report is somewhat flimsy.

The Crick Report, as discussed above, entirely failed to mention racism as one of the barriers preventing an inclusive society, and Osler has commented that,

> If, as the Crick Report asserts, political literacy is an essential outcome of education for citizenship and democracy, then we need to expand the definition of political literacy to ensure that politically literate citizens are able to recognise and challenge racism as an anti-democratic force. In order to do so they will need to have an understanding of racism, how it has operated in the past, and its current and changing forms, together with examples of how individuals and groups have successfully struggled to overcome it.
> (Osler, 2000, p35).

The Crick Report as discussed above however, preferred to concentrate upon issues of a more multicultural nature, and in effect it could be said that this concentration does in fact *partially* satisfy the requirements of recommendation sixty-seven; this recommendation referring to 'valuing cultural diversity', and 'reflect[ing] the needs of a diverse society'. The extent to which the Crick Report succeeds in conveying this message has been subjected to serious doubts however, with Osler in particular commenting upon the 'assumptions, stereotypes and generalizations', together with the report's unwitting 'example of institutionalised racism [,] in its characterization of minorities' (Osler, 2000, p33), and further noting that the 'curriculum proposals themselves appear to contain examples of unwitting racism and reflect institutionalised racism within society.' (Osler, 2000, p34). These observations lead to the possible conclusion that whereas the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report specifically highlighted the issue of institutional racism, the Crick Report, in some respects, became its victim.

The seriousness of the omission in respect of promoting anti-racism is demonstrated particularly by the fact that many international organisations have emphasised that racism is one of the forces both globally, and more specifically in Europe, that serves to undermine democratic values. In 1999 Coomans and Batelaan produced a seminal review containing articles from documents adopted by governments of member states of the United Nations, UNESCO, the Organisation on Security and Co-operation in Europe, and the Council of Europe, entitled *The International Basis for Intercultural Education*

including Anti-Racist and Human Rights Education (1999). This text contains a recommendation made by the Council of Europe in 1985 stating that it was necessary to be 'conscious of the need to reaffirm democratic values in the face of…the re-emergence of the public expression of racist and xenophobic attitudes.' (quoted in Coomans and Batelaan, 1999). Recent European research (Gaine et al. 2003; Hallgren and Weiner, 2001) has also demonstrated the presence of racism, including extreme right-wing activity, in both Spain and in Sweden.

In a recent article, a British newspaper published an account of exclusion in the social relationships of refugees and asylum seekers entering Sweden, stating that a specific social situation 'works the same way as it does in the country as a whole. If you are a refugee and you don't know the language and the culture – well, you're not in the group. You're different' (Addley, 2002, *The Guardian*). A recent article by Abebe Gellaw further commented that a medical specialist dealing with refugees and asylum seekers in the UK had made the statement that 'the prevailing campaign of vilification, hostility and exclusion of refugees and asylum seekers has made things worse for many who have fled to Britain in the hope of finding a safe haven.' (Gellaw, 2002). There is little doubt that certain media factions are instrumental in encouraging such campaigns (Refugees, Asylum-seekers and the Media Project, 2003), however, the failure of the Crick Report to *directly* address issues of racism and exclusion would appear to correspond to a similar failure of government policy to take positive action on inclusion in this instance.

It is also a fact in relation to the Crick Report that the first draft was not only notable for the absence of any mention of anti-racism; it also failed to include any notion of the importance of human rights in citizenship education. The document produced by Coomans and Batelaan in 1999 (referred to above) contains references to some seventeen European and international treaties, recommendations and declarations relating to anti-racism and human rights education, and clearly the subject is considered both relevant and important. However, it was only as a result of 'intensive lobbying by the Education in Human Rights Network and other organisations concerned with human rights and human rights education' (Osler, 2000, p29), that the final publication included these issues. In a personal interview with a researcher who had worked quite closely with some members of the Advisory Group on Citizenship, I was told that,

Crick really didn't seem to realise how important these issues were for citizenship. He was very much focused on this idea of 'political literacy', and his attitude seemed to be that, well, that all these people had somehow come along and 'hi-jacked' his subject, trying to turn it into something else...
(personal interview, 2001).

It is also the case that the references that were eventually made to human rights issues give no consideration to the equal rights of minorities, or of the way in which internationally agreed standards might help to formulate the shared values needed to create inclusive policy. If therefore, the Crick Report is compatible, in part, with recommendation sixty-seven of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, it would seem that the 'valuing [of]cultural diversity' and 'reflect[ing] the needs of a diverse society' (Macpherson, 1999, Ch.47) has been subjected to a somewhat narrow and ethnocentric interpretation. This tenuous link therefore, of the Crick Report with the more inclusive recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report (and thus with the new legal requirements of the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000), would appear to be more by accident than design, and most particularly since the Crick Report can certainly claim no parity with these later publications in respect of anti-racist intent. The fuel that had fired both the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report and the RRAA 2000 - the racist murder of a young black citizen - had been equally available to Crick; however, the Advisory Committee had apparently chosen to sideline the key issues that it raised.

Failing to Make the Connections

The effect of this disjuncture between legislation for the teaching of citizenship, which includes somewhat vague reference to diversity issues, and that of specifically challenging racism in public organisations detailed in the subsequently published CRE *Statutory Code of Practice on the Duty to Promote Race Equality* (2002a) therefore, has impacted significantly on the understanding of the teachers who have been required to deliver curriculum and uphold policy. A void seems to exist in the knowledge of many heads, teachers, and governors between the recommendations of the Crick Report, and any possible connection with issues of diversity and anti-racism, and this situation bears some testimony against the lack of clarity and importance that the report has placed upon these matters.

In chapter two I referred to my experience of attending a conference specifically directed towards the emerging citizenship curriculum in the early days following the publication of the Crick Report. I recounted my observations that amongst the many speakers at the conference, and the many subjects that they addressed, issues of anti-racism, diversity, and inclusion did not feature among them *at all*. I remember my feelings of disbelief at the time, based upon the fact that my research was specifically directed towards considering the impact of the Crick Report upon the teaching of these issues in the classroom in relation to the new citizenship curriculum; and the thought crossing my mind that this might indeed be a very short thesis. I fared no better in my early approaches to schools, since heads and senior management seemed to be fixated by the full glare of the headlights of citizenship legislation that had been generated by the Crick Report, and were feeling pressure that they had to be able 'tick the correct boxes' for OFSTED by 2002.

As mentioned earlier, it seemed as if in these initial stages, schools were turning by default to a range of affective areas of education that they felt they had been unable to address previously due to the time restraints of a highly prescriptive National Curriculum. Certainly at this point in time, the concept of minority ethnic citizenship and the issues that this raised for education appeared to be low down on their list of priorities. During this period however, another situation appeared to take schools somewhat by surprise. In December 2001, the date on which the RRAA 2000 was formally passed, the CRE's publication of the draft *Statutory Code of Practice on the duty to promote race equality* appeared, and schools became aware that by May 31st 2002, they would be required to produce individual and well-defined race equality policies, either as discrete statements, or as a separate section of their more general equal opportunities policy. I describe schools' reaction as being taken 'somewhat by surprise', since this was the impression I received during my participation as one of a team of four facilitators conducting a series of eight county-wide race equality training days for the LEA. These training days were organised for heads, senior management and governor representatives of primary and secondary schools following the publication of the *Code of Practice*, and it is useful here to refer to particular attitudes towards both the requirements and the relevance of this legislation expressed by many who attended these conferences.

The CRE's *Code of Practice* had been produced as a result of the recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report and the subsequent publication of the RRAA 2000. The implications for education therefore, had been initiated directly as a result of the specific reference to 'preventing racism' in recommendation sixty seven of the Stephen Lawrence document, together with recommendation sixty eight, detailed above, almost in its entirety. The only section of recommendation sixty eight that the government did not finally endorse was that of publishing the numbers of racist incidents annually on a school by school basis, since it was felt that this approach might risk 'discouraging the reporting of racist incidents to the detriment of minority ethnic children, effectively penalising those schools which sought to address the problems by acting in an open and honest manner.' (CRE, 2000, p81). All other requirements however, including recommendation sixty-nine in relation to OFSTED inspection, now became a part of formal legislation, and it would appear from published guidance that OFSTED are taking this duty with some seriousness (OFSTED, 2002).

Following the publication of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, and in the same year that the RRAA 2000 was formulated, the CRE produced key guidance entitled *Learning for All: Standards for Race Equality in Schools* (CRE, 2000). This document contained comprehensive details of how schools should approach issues of racial equality with reference to a seven-point standard. At the time of the conferences mentioned above, schools were specifically asked to bring their copy of this document with them to the training, since the sessions had been designed around the detailed guidance therein. It was assumed at the time that each school had been sent a copy at the expense of the LEA. At the conferences it was discovered that schools appeared to have received this document on a very *ad hoc* basis, and few schools had been able to locate a copy to bring with them. One of the facilitators who was from the Race Equality Council said quite categorically that the CRE would not have distributed this document free of charge, since the cost would have been prohibitive (although more recently it had been available to download from the internet). It seemed therefore, that the LEA had distributed *some* copies to schools at the time of publication, although the system through which they had been allocated, and the person who had been responsible for their circulation could not be specified by the LEA. It is possible that more schools than those who claimed to have received it, actually *did*

receive it, since the comment was made by several delegates that because of the limitations of time, schools are '*sent so much stuff, things often get buried and eventually binned if they are not considered to be that important at first glance*'. To receive such a document in a majority white area would in any case, quite possibly prompt the response that it is 'not relevant to us' (Jones, 1999, Gaine, 1987, 1995). One head even admitted that he recognised the document, remembering that he had thrown it away just the week before receiving the conference invitation, as it had lay untouched in his office for over twelve months. In the end, the only possible deduction that could be made by the conference team was that someone at the LEA had possibly seen fit to find the financial resources to distribute the document to schools on a cluster basis, although this was an hypothesis that could not be confirmed. The financial capability of the LEA, as will be discussed later, was often a substantial stumbling block between what it considered *needed* to be done ideally, and what was *actually* done in practice, and particularly in relation to prioritising issues of racial equality.

The main point to be made here however, is that both conference delegates, and also many of the schools that I visited personally around the county, were for the most part unaware of the connection between the function of citizenship in relation to issues of anti-racism (a connection with which the CRE guidance document would have certainly helped); the impact of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report upon the recognition of institutional racism; and the requirements that this recognition had placed in terms of new anti-racist legislation. In the minds of many heads, teachers and governors, the Crick Report and its impact upon the teaching of citizenship existed as a separate entity and under a distinct heading from the new anti-racist policy legislation, and it turned out that much of the work entailed at the conferences, and subsequently in schools, was to emphasise the connection between these two. The link being emphasised in fact, was one that has been stated time and time again by the CRE; that of the prime importance of *whole school ethos* (CRE, 2000, p39) in relation to issues of 'race' and citizenship. Again, as stated above, this situation could have been caused by a combination of factors; not least perhaps, the absence of any reference to anti-racism in the Crick Report, together with the fact that the attitude in mainly white areas has tended to be that issues of anti-racism and diversity are not relevant since there is 'no problem here' anyway (Gaine, 1987, 1995).

A further consideration should be mentioned here however. We have related how Crick's concentration upon a particular notion of citizenship education (i.e. political literacy) invited the possibility of conceptual isolation in relation to the broader issues, therefore effectively marginalising an anti-racist approach to citizenship. However, Landrum has additionally commented that 'Central control was a dominant factor in the construction of the citizenship curriculum, ...teachers and educational experts being excluded from the important phases of the policy process' (Landrum, 2001), which could account for the feeling expressed by teachers I have spoken to, that the citizenship curriculum was being imposed upon them from the 'outside' and that they were somehow expected to know what to do with it. In fact Crick himself has stated 'I'm not a professor of Education, so I'm not familiar with Educational theory' (personal interview, 2001). Whatever the reason for the lack of conceptual connection between issues of citizenship, diversity, and anti-racism at this time however, these considerations did not appear to have been uppermost in the minds of educators in this particular county.

In reviewing the content of the Crick Report therefore, it can be seen not only to have assiduously avoided all mention of anti-racism, but also to have referred to issues of diversity in somewhat ethnocentric, and even imperialist tones. Furthermore, in their final format, the recommendations for education of the Advisory Group on Citizenship have effectively *obscured* the link between anti-racism and the functioning of a just democracy, and as a result, as Osler and Starkey have commented, 'a number of commentators have questioned whether the new citizenship curriculum...can really support initiatives for racial equality' (Osler and Starkey, 2000a, p5). However, it should be noted that despite fairly rigorous criticism of the report from individuals and outside agencies on various accounts, the DfEE (Department for Education and Employment, now the Department for Education and Skills) were almost entirely uncritical of the Crick Report; a fact which may speak for itself in terms of the Department's own reflexive awareness of the broader issues raised by citizenship education. As Crick himself stated,

> Only one thing is worse than to chair a public committee whose conclusions are kicked into touch or never even get on the field, and that is to chair one where almost all are accepted: *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools...*
> (Crick, 2000b).

Perhaps an appropriate response to this statement, given the evidence we have considered in relation to the failure of the Crick Report to adequately address the concept of inclusive forms of citizenship based on an anti-racist agenda, is to quote Peter Senge who has commented on the qualities of dialogue that produce new understandings based on communitarian values. Senge places three requirements on this process; these being,

- Going beyond one person's understanding to a larger pool of meaning
- Exploring complex issues from multiple points of view
- Inquiring in a way that people become observers of their own thinking
  (http://www.wisedemocracy.org/papers/wisdom.html)

It is possible that reference to these points might have provided a remedy for what some critics (Osler and Starkey, 2000a; Landrum, 2001) have considered a myopic view of citizenship education. Furthermore, in relation to this need for greater discernment, an interview conducted with a key member of the Advisory Group for Citizenship in the early stages of my research revealed unwitting and unintentional attitudes and perceptions that many would consider to undermine the principles of anti-racism[1]. This factual information of transcribed data and relevant academic references may be found in Appendix (B3).

In Conclusion

This chapter has endeavoured to show that the Crick Report, upon which so much emphasis has been placed in terms of regenerating the principles of democracy among young people, is in certain respects, a seriously flawed document. This premise is supported in particular by Osler, Starkey, Landrum and Figueroa, amongst others. The impact of this situation, as will be demonstrated in subsequent chapters, is of particular importance for the education and citizenship experience of minority ethnic young people, and in addition, for the majority white pupils in rural areas who have little contact experience with ethnic, faith, or cultural diversity. In these areas, already unused to addressing the issues that are raised by diversity on a daily basis, an important and influential document such as the Crick Report can deliver the unwritten implication, both to educators and students alike, that dealing specifically with racial inequality is *un*important. Furthermore, the often ethnocentric purport of the document, together with its concentration upon such issues as 'political literacy' and 'active citizenship' contribute

to effectively obscuring these issues from view altogether. It is a fact that from my research to date in a mainly white rural area, many educators were unaware of the connection between the promotion of a democratic citizenship, and the practices and importance of anti-racism.

It is to these issues in respect of Local Authority responses that I now turn.

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[1] See reference to a *Typology of Engagement* in chapter four, (also, ch 4, endnote 1).

Chapter 4

LOCAL AUTHORITY RESPONSES TO ISSUES OF ANTI-RACISM AND EDUCATING FOR DIVERSITY IN A MAJORITY WHITE AREA

Abstract

This chapter looks at the particular issues raised for the local education authority (LEA) in a majority white area in response to the recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, and the subsequent directives of the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000 (RRAA 2000). The chapter considers these responses in relation to the context of new legislation for the teaching of citizenship in secondary schools from September 2002, and also covers a short account of legislation in recent history, including the issues that are raised in educating for diversity in a majority white rural area. It addresses matters that have arisen for the local authority in recognising (or sometimes not recognising) the needs of black and minority ethnic individuals in relation to inclusive forms of citizenship, and concentrates on the perception of these needs and the practical responses in terms of policy directives by a variety of actors in the LEA. The chapter considers both the conflicting and co-operative responses of an hierarchical structure of local authority employees, and illustrates a variety of attitudes which demonstrate that the perceived importance of these issues bears some relationship to the degree of direct contact that employees have with the often-negative circumstances of black and minority ethnic people. This situation inevitably has implications for 'understanding as a potential motivator for action' with regard to policy implementation (and the exercise of empathy) in relation to the frequently less than inclusive experiences of school and community citizenship of minority ethnic people.

Racism: The Rural/Urban Comparison

Studying the citizenship experiences of black and minority ethnic pupils in a rural British county is a significantly different experience from studying the same experiences in a metropolitan borough. Little, if anything, can be taken for granted in terms of the degree of awareness that is held in relation to black and minority ethnic pupils and the issues that are raised by their presence, not only by the majority white community, but by the majority

white institutional hierarchies that follow and implement policy directives. This connection between awareness and understanding, and the formulation and implementation of policy directives is clearly of great importance since the effects impact directly on the quality of the social and educational experience of these children.

In relation to these rural/urban differences, Neal, in her paper, *Rural landscapes, representations and racism: examining multicultural citizenship and policy-making in the English countryside* (Neal, 2002), takes issue with a quotation from Dhalech's *Challenging Racism in the Rural Idyll: Final Report of the Rural Race Equality Project* (Dhalech, 1999).

Neal quotes Dhalech, stating that, '...racism, wherever it is, be it in a parish, village, town, city, country or in Europe is the same. It comes down to the same widely quoted formula: Power + Prejudice = Racism. Racism is the same in Birmingham as it is in Cornwall.' (Dhalech, 1999, p28, quoted in Neal, 2002, p456). Neal then critically comments that,

> Such a position, which emphasizes the existence of a single monolithic racism operating in the same unchanging way regardless of differing local, geographic, social, economic contexts, is problematic. It is clear...that racism is context specific. In other words differences do exist in the ways in which racism manifests itself in metropolitan areas compared to the ways in which racism manifests itself in rural areas. The social and discursive processes through which racism operates in St. Ives or Chipping Norton will not be the same as those in Handsworth or Hackney. Perhaps the most immediate indicator of this difference is the articulation of the countryside mantra of 'no problem here' as a response to the issues of race. The denial of racism, while not, of course, confined to rural contexts, is given its *potency* in these contexts because of their (apparent) whiteness.
> (Neal, 2002, p456).

Neal's commentary on Dhalech's position raises several valid points. However, if we examine Dhalech's statement in full, it appears that his words are taken out of context by Neal, since Dhalech immediately goes on to complete and qualify his initial statement along similar ideas to those that Neal identifies. The full quotation of Dhalech's does in fact read,

> Racism, wherever it is, be it in a parish, village, town, city, country or in Europe is the same. It comes down to the same widely quoted formula: Power + Prejudice = Racism. Racism is the same in Birmingham as it is in Cornwall. It can take the

form of institutional racism or personal attack. The difference between urban and rural racism lies in the way it is expressed, the effect it has on the people it is directed towards and in the way that it is addressed or, more generally, not addressed. As noted elsewhere in this report, the predominant 'no problem here' approach to issues relevant to race equality is in itself a major problem in rural areas.

(Dhalech, 1999, p28).

It would seem unjust to accuse Dhalech of holding the potentially polemic position that 'Racism is the same in Birmingham as it is in Cornwall.' by de-contextualising this sentence from the rest of the paragraph. When taken in context, Dhalech is simply pointing out that underpinned by the basic formula; the commonality in both rural and urban areas exists in the phenomena of institutional and personal racisms. Dhalech immediately goes on to identify that the way in which racism is delivered, experienced and dealt with will be qualitatively different depending upon whether the context is rural and majority white, or urban and more ethnically diverse.

Dhalech therefore, takes the position of critically contrasting the similarities and differences between incidences of rural and urban racism. He identifies the *similarities* as being that in either location, racism might manifest as the institutional or the personal (although in fact, as Blair has pointed out, a combination of the two is entirely possible, since 'It is through individuals that the routine processes and procedures of institutions are carried out' [Blair, 1992, p18]). Within this framework of the institutional and the personal Dhalech then describes the *differences* between rural and urban, and identifies three categories. These are, ·

- the way racism is *expressed*
- the *effects* that it has upon black and minority ethnic people
- the way in which it is *addressed* (or, as Dhalech states, 'more generally, not addressed').

Neal takes a similar set of criteria when she outlines her three main concerns in examining the issue of racism in a majority white rural area. She states that her intention is to 'connect the seemingly dis-connected rural/race relationship…' (Neal, 2002, p458), and identifies three central themes in her discussion that are similar to Dhalech's three categories. Neal too recognises the issue of how racism is *expressed*, or as she describes it,

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how racism in rural areas 'operate[s] through different discourses and social mechanisms to those in metropolitan England' (ibid. p459). Neal also highlights Dhalech's point concerning the *effects* of racism on people in rural areas when she states that 'the rural/race relationship has historically tended to have been marginalized, ignored or denied by policy makers and service providers' over the years (ibid. p459). Finally Neal's position coincides with Dhalech's third point concerning the way in which rural racism is *addressed* when she describes her focus on 'the variations in the type of concerns about race and racism in different rural areas and the uneven level of political and policy responses developed...'(ibid. p459). These three considerations of the way in which racism in majority white rural areas is *expressed*, the way its *effects* are experienced, and the way in which it is *addressed* (or not) will be returned to in relation to data described below concerning the attitudes of a rural LEA as an institution, and of individuals *within* that LEA towards issues of diversity. At this point however, aspects relating particularly to the *location* of the LEA are considered a little more closely.

Challenging Racism in Majority White Areas: A Brief History of Legislation

Neal has commented that,

> ...while there has been some qualitative examination of equal opportunity policy-making in organisations ... this body of literature tends to focus on the effectiveness and limitations of such policies in terms of a specific delivery service *within* institutions rather than focusing on the impact of the spatial and geographical location of those institutions.
> (Neal, 2002, p450).

In the Swann Report published in 1985, the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Minority Groups pointed out the importance of an *Education for All* (DES, 1985), and therefore, although recognised more in terms of the concentration or lack of concentration of minority ethnic people in certain areas, introduced the issue of 'spatial and geographical location' onto the political agenda. However, this inclusive agenda which recognised that the needs of minority ethnic children were a concern *not only* in areas where there were high concentrations of ethnic diversity, has been subject to both slippage and neglect over the years since the publication of the Swann Report.

Before the publication of Swann in 1985, a Committee of Enquiry into the education of ethnic minority children had been set up in 1979, and had recognised that schools in majority white areas needed to take a role in informing their pupils about what was to them, at least in terms of first-hand contact experience, a largely invisible multi-ethnic Britain. Indeed, very often the primary source of information about black and minority ethnic people was, and still is, from media journalism (which frequently demonises and distorts the role of minority British citizens), together with the myths and stories that circulate (often with adult involvement) about minorities (Gaine, 2003, personal comment). A recent example of this is the way in which refugees and asylum seekers have been pilloried and scapegoated in the national press (RAM, 2002), or the way in which, in my research area, a local paper used the front page to describe Gypsy Travellers as a 'health hazard' because of the less than satisfactory sanitary conditions of the site that had been allocated to them, (*this report was described to me at a diocese meeting I attended in 2001 to discuss how conditions could be improved for Traveller families*).

In a survey of young people conducted during the fieldwork phase of my research (Carroll, 2001, see Appendix [B4]), media sources were identified as a primary locus of information about other cultures and ethnicities. Further, Gaine has commented that,

> The mass media, especially television, both reinforce and diminish the effect of geography. On the one hand they bring a multiracial society into everyone's living room, on the other they keep it at a distance, potentially exotic, puzzling, or threatening.
> (Gaine, 1996, p49).

However, reinforcing the potential for this information to be misleading, Gaine has further commented that he would,

> ...still argue that the media in all its forms (not just newspapers, but also many children's programmes; such influences as 'rap' lyrics; TV footage of famines etc); continue to feed accumulated 'folk wisdom', which includes cultural assumptions, sayings and clichés about 'race' which generate a life of their own.
> (Gaine, 2003, personal comment).

In an attempt therefore, to address what Gaine has described as this 'mixture of ignorance and learned misinformation' (Gaine, 2000a, p90) an interim report was produced in 1981 by the Committee of Enquiry into the education of ethnic minority children, advising the

government of the need to attend to these issues. Of this period Gaine has commented that, 'What was missing in the early 1980s was legitimation at national level...', and has described the 1981 report as a 'low-key intervention[s]' (Gaine, 1996, p239). The Swann Committee itself commented critically that,

> It seems as though central government, having decided to shift the emphasis of multicultural education to embrace all schools, feels that by constant reiteration and exhortation to this effect, the message will somehow permeate all-white schools with no further effort or resources.
> (DES, 1985, p228).

It was clear therefore, that rhetoric would not suffice, and that practical solutions were needed, and in fact, immediately following the publication of the Swann Report in 1985, there were 'several significant outcomes ... in largely white LEAs' (Gaine, 1995, p144). The most enabling of these came in the form of the *Education (Grants and Awards) Act*, initiated a year prior to the publication of Swann in 1984, which meant that funding was immediately available in the form of Education Support Grants (ESGs) for LEAs to instigate programmes promoting the 'Educational Needs of a Multi-ethnic Society' (DES, 1987). However, by 1986, and despite HMIs (Her Majesty's Inspectors) encouraging LEAs in majority white areas to make bids for this ESG funding, it was 'apparent that some white LEAs were still reluctant to consider the issue as their concern' (Tomlinson, 1990, p12). In an attempt to remedy this situation, a conference was held in Buxton, Derbyshire to emphasise the significance and relevance of these issues for largely white LEAs. An Education Minister was invited to address the conference on this matter, and Tomlinson has commented that in his address he,

> ...noted that few people now disputed the Swann Committee conclusion that all children in all parts of the country should be prepared for life in an ethnically diverse Britain. He told Chief Education Officers of white counties that 'your task in county LEAs of providing an education appropriate for such a society may be more difficult in some ways than that of your colleagues from the cities, ... you therefore face a particular challenge.' (Patten, 1986).
> (Tomlinson, 1990, p12).

Chris Patten, Conservative minister for the Department of Education and Science between 1985 and 1986, presented these 'challenge[s]' to LEAs as a series of questions at the Buxton conference, asking,

- How in schools which are all-white or nearly all-white can you best reflect this ethnic diversity through the content of the curriculum?
- How can that curriculum be presented without bias or prejudice?
- How can the ethos in your schools promote understanding and respect for different ethnic groups?
(Patten, quoted in Tomlinson, 1990, p12).

Tomlinson notes that in response to these questions raised for majority white areas, several initiatives were in evidence later in that same year. These initiatives included:

- the addressing of diversity issues in initial teacher training courses
- the prioritising and funding of INSET (In-Service Training) courses for senior staff in both primary and secondary schools to consider curriculum issues in a multi-ethnic society
- the necessity for GCSE (General Certificate of Secondary Education) examination boards to take cultural and linguistic diversity into account
- an agreement with the Schools Curriculum Development Committee that ethnic diversity would be taken into consideration in all its projects
- awareness raising for LEAs through advice offered by local advisers and HMIs
- the provision of ESGs for predominantly white areas in order to promote curriculum and other multi-ethnic development projects.
(Tomlinson, 1990, pp12-13).

However, Gaine has also noted that 'By the mid-1980s it was urban LEAs who were producing the most detailed and well resourced responses claiming to address racism...' (Gaine, 1996, p235), whilst 'In white areas meanwhile, the pace of recognition of the issue and adoption of policies was understandably slower.' (ibid. p236). Gaine has further pointed out that in the early days of ESG funding, LEAs were often unclear about the difference between this funding, with its brief to support 'Educational Needs in a Multi-ethnic Society', and Section 11 funding, which at that stage of its evolution (in the mid 1980s) was restricted in the scope of its application to the linguistic needs of 'immigrants from the (New) Commonwealth'.

For majority white areas, it is easy to see how such misunderstandings between the purpose of these two funding sources could perhaps lead LEAs to feel that they were 'less-entitled' or that the funding was 'less-applicable' to them than in the more urban areas with higher concentrations of black and minority ethnic pupils; such misunderstandings inevitably being reinforced by underlying attitudes of there being 'No Problem Here' in any case, (Gaine 1987, 1995). Additionally, it must also be said that although in

comparison to the language specific purpose of Section 11, the ESG funding had a much broader remit directed towards 'Educational Needs in a Multi-ethnic Society', this description again held the possibility of misinterpretation if this title was considered from a local, rather than a national perspective. In other words, many majority white communities would have been hard pressed to identify their locality with a 'Multi-ethnic Society', and may have failed to see the bigger (national) picture. Such attitudes were indicative of a climate in majority white rural areas where the focus remained concentrated on the perceived 'problem' of black and minority ethnic pupils, rather than on the need to provide for these students, and at the same time to educate their majority white pupils for the realities of increasingly diverse national cultures and identities. Furthermore, any such education, had it been made available, would inevitably (although in majority white areas, perhaps not obviously) need to specifically address anti-racism, rather than simply utilise the more general strategies of multiculturalism that had been employed from the late 1970s.

Whatever the interpretation, from late in 1986, HMIs took positive action to encourage majority white LEAs to bid for ESG funding, with the result that by 1988 almost all LEAs were in receipt of an ESG grant, (Gaine, 1995, p144). However, bids for this funding were careful to avoid the language of explicitly anti-racist intent, and instead used the more 'careful' titles of 'emphasising racial harmony, Britain's multicultural society, enhancing awareness, education for all' (Gaine, 1996, p244). Gaine has commented that this type of ambiguous description was similar to that used in LEA policy documents (where they existed, since Tomlinson has commented that as late as 1988 'A number of ... 'white' LEAs [stated] that they had, as yet, no formal policy' [Tomlinson, 1990, p13]). The reasons for this ambiguity however, were both in order to avoid upsetting local sensitivities, and also to defer to the covertly understated preferences of the DES (Gaine, 1996, p244). These sensitivities and preferences had been heightened from the mid-1980s, through the demonising by certain media sources of such local authorities as Brent, Haringey and ILEA (Inner London Education Authority). These bodies had been portrayed as representing an element of the 'loony left' in fictional accounts of their supposed adherence to racial 'political correctness gone mad', (erroneous assertions for example, that one could no longer ask for 'black' coffee; refer to 'black' bin liners; sing baa baa black sheep etc.)

Correspondingly, from my own research in a rural majority white area, one of the first narratives described to me by an EMAS (Ethnic Minority Achievement Service) teacher, was of a colleague, still employed by the county, who had made an isolated attempt to introduce multi-ethnic maths materials into a local school in the mid-1980s. A local councillor had apparently been told of this and had written to inform the (then) prime minister, Margaret Thatcher. The prime minister had subsequently used the incident in her well-known address to the Conservative Party Conference in October 1987, when she had both attacked the initiative and generalised its impact, claiming that 'children who needed to count and multiply were learning anti-racist mathematics – whatever that might be' and further, that 'Children who needed to be able to express themselves in clear English were being taught political slogans' (quoted in Ernest, 1996). In a review of Klumer's *Towards a Philosophy of Critical Mathematics Education* (Klumer, 1994), despite his references to the positive values of an education for democracy, Ernest has deracialised the context of Margaret Thatcher's words by stating that her failure lies in her opposition to, and incomprehension of a critical numeracy and literacy strategy (Ernest, 1996). There are many however, who would detect more sinister intent to her opposition in terms of an over-riding concern with 'sticking to traditional British educational values' (Ball, 1994, p33); an approach which gained full expression by way of the ERA (Education Reform Act) introduced in 1988.

Through the facility of the ESG funding therefore, Tomlinson has stated, that 'It became clear that some action was taking place at both LEA and school level in white areas' (Tomlinson, 1990, p13). Tomlinson has qualified this statement however, saying that, '…in the absence of more research the extent and nature of initiatives was still a matter for conjecture' (ibid. p13). Similarly, Gaine has stated that the evaluation of projects launched under the auspices of ESG funding was problematic, and mentions the failure of the DES to effectively collate and disseminate the outcomes of these initiatives (Gaine, 1996, p245). However, Gaine has also commented that,

> In some authorities the claim is made that the philosophy and the funding have been effectively 'mainstreamed', so that the pump-priming purpose of the grants scheme has been realised. In other authorities… keeping the stock of a resources centre up to date ensures continued material assistance to teachers after the funding for staff ended. Other effects, if there are any, will be more subtle changes in teachers' perceptions and attitudes.
> (Gaine, 1995, p146).

but continues that unfortunately,

> The 'mainstreaming' of the issue and hence the funding… was eroded in 1990 and subsequent years by Poll Tax capping, general cuts, a change in Section 11 regulations…and the attrition of LEA influence through Local management of Schools and other measures.
> (ibid. p146).

Whatever the lasting effects, (and Gaine suggests that these were seriously curtailed after 1990), each ESG award was for the maximum duration of only five years (less in some cases), and therefore the last ones came to an end in 1993 following the Education Reform Act of 1988. Thus the initiatives that had been kick-started by Swann in 1985 lasted for three years only, with the addition of the five year 'shelf life' of some of the final grants awarded in 1988.

In the shires county in which my research has taken place, my field notes record that any real and dynamic energy that has gone into educating for diversity has become, over recent years, 'just a legend in the hands of the few' (Carroll, 2001, field notes). The 'legend' I refer to is the early years following the Swann Report, when funding became more widely available to address issues of 'race' and ethnicity in majority white areas. The 'hands of the few' refers to several of the EMAS employees who have been working in this field for ten years or more, and who remember, frequently with frustration and regret, the days when adequate resources made possible a wider remit than simply addressing the language needs of black and minority ethnic children.

The Education Reform Act and the National Curriculum

The Education Reform Act has been referred to several times above, the particular relevance being that the implementation of this act signalled the end of the possibility of funded education for diversity, particularly, due to the lack of perceived importance, in the mainly white shires counties. Gaine has commented that, 'the issue [of educating for diversity in white areas] was removed from the list of national priorities and replaced by the National Curriculum following the Education Reform Act' (Gaine, 1995, p145), and Gilborn has further stated that,

After the Education Reform Act of 1988 anti-racism was systematically removed from the agenda. The National Curriculum Council worked on it for four years and then it was shredded. It wasn't until the Stephen Lawrence inquiry that anti-racism became in any way legitimised. The education department said it accepted the recommendations of the Lawrence inquiry but little is being done. Some LEAs keep figures on the ethnic mix of their pupils but these aren't yet being collated nationally, a clear sign of how little priority is being given to that area. It's down to individual schools what they do and while some are a long way down the line in making anti-racism work, others are delivering the national curriculum in an extremely narrow, Anglocentric way.
(Gilborn, quoted in Taylor, *Guardian Unlimited*, 2002).

In fact, the Education Reform Act provided the perfect vehicle to deflect attention away from the issues raised by educating for diversity in the shires counties, and in the five years following the 1988 Act there is substantial evidence confirming that as ESG funding lived out its twilight years, a steady programme of government-led cultural restorationism was taking place in education.

There is not the space here to fully address all the issues that this cultural restorationism raises for education generally, although Ball describes these implications with great clarity and insight in *Education Reform*, in his chapter entitled *Education, Majorism and the curriculum of the dead* (Ball, 1994, p28ff). Something however, must be said in terms of illuminating the way in which, by emphasising 'traditional' and monocultural values, not just in education, but as a model of citizenship to be aspired to more generally, the government succeeded in marginalising diversity-related issues, and particularly in the wake and on the strength of the values promoted by the Education Reform Act. In fact, as Gaine has commented, this was a key device by which this marginalisation was achieved (Gaine, 2003, personal comment).

As these reforms got seriously underway, *The Sun* newspaper commented that,

Sweeping reforms will transform the way our children are taught and the way our schools are run. The Sun welcomes them wholeheartedly. For far too long our children have been at the mercy of trendy 'experts', bolshie unions and local councils with a political axe to grind.
(*The Sun*, 1992, quoted in Ball, 1994, p28).

The Sun clearly welcomed a government controlled curriculum, the prescriptive and didactic content and ethos of which would, in turn, affect pedagogical practice, steering it

firmly away from any approach which might be construed in any way as 'child centred'. In 1991, Kenneth Clarke of the (then) Department of Education and Science, mounted 'a critique of "progressive" and "child centred" education' (Ball, 1994, p42), and Ball effectively concludes from this critique that the model being pursued by the (then) Secretary of State was one which advocated 'the fundamentalist approach to knowledge that learning is ritual, an initiation into heritage, a means of preserving and reproducing the canon' (Ball, 1994, p44).

It is clear that such an approach would leave the purpose and intent of the ESG funding for diversity education as a piece of the jig-saw that had been put away in the wrong box once the National Curriculum picture was completed. Ball has critically referred to the changes instigated by the Education Reform Act as 'curricular fundamentalism', whereby 'the attempt to recognise the pluralism and multiculturalism of late twentieth century Britain is derided and replaced by a regressive 'little Englandism' (Ball, 1994, p40). Ball has further commented that,

> It is a curriculum which eschews relevance and the present, concentrating on 'the heritage' and 'the canon', based on 'temporal disengagement'; a curriculum suspicious of the popular and the immediate, made up of echoes of past voices, the voices of the cultural and political elite; a curriculum which ignores the pasts of women and the working class and the colonized – *a curriculum of the dead*. (Ball, 1994, p46).

Given this agenda, and the fact that Jones has commented that this kind of cultural restorationism 'regards cultural cohesion as an essential prop of state authority' (Jones, 1989, quoted in Ball, 1994, p29), it is hardly surprising that in 1990 there was some attempt made to address citizenship, presumably as a cohesive device, as an area of the newly instigated National Curriculum. Giving some perspective on the issues of minority ethnic citizenship from around that time, Heater commented in 1990,

> By 1988, when the National Curriculum was being introduced, unemployment among the black youth of the Toxteth area of Liverpool was 90 per cent; school absenteeism, reflecting the despair of this situation, was probably about 25 per cent. Was the National Curriculum likely to provide a meaningful citizenship education in conditions such as these?

> ...The prejudice of the police, law-courts and the public image at large keep so many Blacks [*sic*] in a second-class citizenship status that the schools have a formidable responsibility of compensation.
> (Heater, 1990, p308).

However, despite Heater's observations of the specific issues relating to the needs and status of young minority ethnic citizens; as stated in Appendix (B2), the National Curriculum was essentially assimilationist in nature, and Griffiths and Hope have commented that following the Education Reform Act of 1988, 'Multicultural educational initiatives had no place within schools that now had to adopt a curriculum based on the concept that everyone was the same.' (Griffiths & Hope, 2000). In fact this attitude is one still reflected, as shown by the results of a recent report commissioned by the DfES (Department for Education and Skills) entitled *Minority Ethnic Pupils in Mainly White Schools*. This report, published in 2002, frequently uses the phrase 'one size fits all', to indicate that attitudes of neglect and indifference continue to dominate the ethos of majority white schools towards the realities of ethnic and cultural diversity some fourteen years after the Education Reform Act was introduced (Cline et al. 2002).

As detailed in Appendix (B2), the brief attempt to formally introduce the subject of citizenship into the curriculum was ultimately betrayed by the fact that it remained non-statutory, and was largely left to be included in areas such as history and PSE (Personal and Social Education), or through chance methods of permeation in other aspects of the curriculum. The Education Reform Act therefore, despite paying ample lip service to citizenship education (Wong, 1997), fell short of committing itself to any serious attempt to address the somewhat thorny issue of what it was to be a British citizen. A return to the call for cohesion through a 'drum and trumpet' approach to national identity would have been too provocative, given that education was just emerging from a period when the recognition of more diverse interpretations of citizenship had been recently promoted following the publication of the Swann Report. On the other hand however, to promote a form of citizenship that recognised and responded to the diversity of British society would have been to go against the assimilationist tendencies of the culturally restorationist grain. In the end, the promotion of an agenda of national cohesion was advanced via the route of the history curriculum, and what Foucault has termed 'the struggle over popular memory' (Foucault, quoted in Ball, 1994, p39). On this subject Ball has stated that '...we have history as a reconstitutive moral force and as a celebration of oppression and violence

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(articulated via the recurring imperial referent)' (Ball, 1994, p39); with Jenkins and Brickley further commenting that '…a government, a working group… acting as our historians, have been busy designing the past so that it might act as the vehicle for the transmission of culture' (Jenkins and Brickley, 1990, p11, quoted in Ball, 1994, p39).

Reinforcing the 'No Problem Here' Mindset in Majority White Areas

One of the most serious consequences of the activity described above following the Education Reform Act of 1988, apart from the implications that it had for the subsequent development of an overbearingly prescriptive centralised curriculum (Ball, 1994, 2000) was to leave the educational needs of black and minority ethnic citizens centrally de-legitimised in a no-mans-land where surrender to an assimilationist mindset was the only available option. This further served to legitimate and enforce attitudes of 'no problem here' in majority white educational areas, and especially since central funding in the form of ESG grants had ended in 1993, when LEAs were thrown back on their own already overstretched resources. In an attempt to keep issues of diversity alive across the curriculum, the *Runnymede Trust* had published their book *Equality Assurance in Schools* in 1993. However, despite the fact that this publication was well received, the needs, and indeed the presence, of minority groups in majority white rural areas progressively became a non-issue to the point where recent research has shown that many of the attitudes that perpetuate this mindset have become natural and ingrained (Carroll, 2002; Cline et al. 2002; Collins and Begum, 2002; Dhalech, 1999; Jones, 1999).

The specific question of how far these attitudes affect the functioning of a majority white rural LEA, both pre- and post-Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report and the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000, will be addressed below. At this point however, some reference to the research of Jones (1999) into the ways in which 'race' was experienced by white NQTs (newly qualified teachers), will illustrate how little attitudes have progressed in relation to the needs of minority ethnic pupils in majority white areas in the regressive atmosphere of the post ERA period. In a chapter aptly entitled *A Typology of Disappearance*, Jones recorded the following collected comments encountered by these teachers,

- We do not have a problem here because we have no black children here. *The classic perception of ethnicity as a 'problem', followed by a disavowal of ethnic minority presence, even when black pupils are visible in the school.*

- I refuse to acknowledge she is black because I treat all children as children.

- I refuse to see this child as black, because if we start to go along that road we will have to start talking about race issues, then we would be writing policy documents, and then there would be a problem where there was none before. [Jones' data was collected before the legislative requirement for a race equality policy].

- I do not have time to start dealing with ethnic identity in my lessons, the National Curriculum gives me enough to think about.

- Issues of race are not in the National Curriculum therefore I don't have to start thinking about them.

- He is not really black but he does have coloured skin.

- I don't think we should be focusing on the needs of ethnic minority children; we should be concentrating on promoting the traditions of a strong host-nation culture. [inference of cultural restorationism].

(Jones, 1999, pp138-142, original emphasis).

During the course of my own research in a majority white rural county between 2000-2, I have independently heard all of these comments repeated, and many more; some directly from teachers in schools, and some at a series of eight conferences held for head teachers and governors that I took part in as facilitator/researcher during May-July 2002. The relevance of these comments here however, is in order to illustrate that from the time of the passing of the Education Reform Act in 1988, until Jones collated these comments in 1999 (and, although recent government legislation has meant that attitudes and behaviour have come under greater scrutiny, even up to the present date), the effects of a regressive and prescriptive approach to the curriculum have done little to enlighten attitudes towards black and minority ethnic pupils in majority white rural areas Again, in the words of Gilborn,

> After the Education Reform Act of 1988 anti-racism was systematically removed from the agenda. The National Curriculum Council worked on it for four years and then it was shredded. It wasn't until the Stephen Lawrence inquiry that anti-racism became in any way legitimised. The education department said it accepted the recommendations of the Lawrence inquiry but little is being done.
> (Gilborn, 2002).

Further, and with particular reference to majority white rural areas, in *Challenging Racism in the Rural Idyll: Final Report of the Rural Race Equality Project* (1999), Dhalech closes the document with the statement that,

> We would like to conclude that there has been a dramatic shift in both attitudes and behaviour across the region and that there is widespread recognition that issues pertinent to rural race equality have been widely accepted and acted upon. **Sadly we cannot.**
> (Dhalech, 1999, p41, original emphasis).

In fact, with regard to the experiences of black and minority ethnic people living in majority white rural areas, a document that '[broke] new ground' (Jay, 1992, p5) was published as early as 1992. In the forward to this report, commissioned by the CRE (Commission for Racial Equality) in 1991, Michael Day stated that,

> Most research, by the CRE and others, has, not surprisingly, concentrated on racism, discrimination and disadvantage where their impact is greatest, that is, in metropolitan areas where most of Britain's ethnic minorities live. But there are significant numbers of people from various ethnic communities scattered in rural areas, and little is known about their experiences.
> (Day, quoted in Jay, 1992, p5).

The report was entitled *Keep Them in Birmingham: Challenging racism in south-west England*, the first section of the title being a direct quote from one of Jay's respondents who was anxious that Devon should remain 'mainly white', and that all black and minority ethnic people should be kept in Birmingham where they belonged (Jay, 1992, p19). The *Jay Report* (as it also came to be known), despite being only a short research study of four counties in the south west of England, has had increasing impact over the years in terms of being a seminal document for issues of racial equality in rural areas. However, during the first four years following the publication of the report, progress was slow, and very little happened in terms of instigating initiatives in the large rural area that the report had concentrated upon. Dhalech has stated that during this time 'there were few organisations devoted to race equality work in existence in the South West, and those that did exist worked largely in isolation'. Eventually however, the *Rural Race Equality Project* was launched in 1996, and Dhalech commented that,

The Project was the first local initiative following the now famous '*Keep Them in Birmingham*' Report by Eric Jay (1992). Jay's report set the agenda for racial equality work in rural areas by highlighting the extent of racial prejudice and discrimination experienced by ethnic minority residents in the South West and by cataloguing the complacency prevalent within the voluntary, statutory and private sectors and within the community in general.
(Dhalech, 1999, p2).

It is interesting to note that at the time Jay wrote his report in 1992, references made to what we now commonly understand as 'institutional racism' (following the particular emphasis placed upon this concept by the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report of 1999 and its newly coined definition) were frequently referred to by less specific terms such as 'discrimination [by]...local authorities and other organisations' (Jay, 1992, p7). Furthermore, by the time Dhalech's *Final report of the Rural Race Equality Project* was published in July 1999, some five months *after* the publication of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, the term 'institutional racism' was still not being utilised, and instead, as above, more general terms such as 'the complacency prevalent within the voluntary, statutory and private sectors and within the community in general' are found. By the time *The Reality of Rural Racism* conference was held in 2002 however, the term had certainly been recognised and was being used, thus giving the whole issue greater clarity and focus. As Hall has said, 'Meanings can only be shared through our common access to language.' (Hall, 1997c, p1). The clear identification of the concept of 'institutional racism' therefore, facilitated 'shared meaning' (ibid. p1), thus enabling and sustaining dialogue between participants. In particular, the general approach to the concept of institutional racism at this conference was one that would concur with the concerns of Neal stated earlier, when she commented that there is a need in majority white areas, to 'focus[ing] on the impact of the spatial and geographical location of...institutions'. In other words, conference delegates were more concerned that the *impact* of institutions (and individuals), and their frequently racist attitudes on the lives of black and minority ethnic people, was recognised *in the context* of a specifically white rural environment (Reality of Rural Racism Conference, 2002, personal attendance).

Before briefly examining Jay's findings, considering those of Dhalech from the *Final Report of the Rural Race Equality Project*, and presenting my own data collected from a county LEA - all initiatives located in the south west of England, and all within majority

white, and more specifically, *rural* environments, further definition of what is meant by a *majority white rural area* will be useful.

What is a 'White Area'?

Gaine has particularly addressed the question of '*What is a "white area"?*' (Gaine, 2000b), in terms of three categories which he distinguishes as *adjacent, peripheral*, and *isolated*. To briefly outline these categories,

- *adjacent* white areas are those where the population of a largely white area, often within the boundaries of a major town or city, 'are part of a multiracial city in most aspects of their lives, usually including schooling'.
- *peripheral* areas lie outside of the cities, and there is 'more of a distinction to be made between the "whiteness" of people's residential, social and school lives and their contact with black and Asian people in other spheres', such as 'commuting, shopping and entertainment'.
- *isolated* areas are defined as those areas where 'almost all of the population have no first hand contact with Asian and black people at all, in any aspect of life', (this final category being the one that has most closely resembled my own geographical research area.).

An example of this last category would be the rural market town central to the area where my research has been conducted, where there is little evidence of black and minority ethnic people living and working. The few minority ethnic individuals I have contact with personally would include employees of the town's three Indian restaurants; a French teacher from France working at the local comprehensive school; and very recently arrived, three black care-workers at a local care home (referred to in chapter three, who are currently surviving on 'probationary' half-pay, despite being fully qualified nurses in the country they have recently emigrated from). All these employees are perhaps perceived to be 'less visible' *within the context of their work* (despite the fact that the black care workers found themselves particularly conspicuous *outside* of their work in the context of an all-white rural village), because they are in places and positions where white people might 'expect to find them', i.e., stereotypically providing a service that is either suitably

menially paid, or culturally distinct in a way that is more 'acceptable' in relation to their ethnic identity.

Gaine's description of an isolated area therefore, even six years after coining these categories, is by no means exaggerated in relation to the geographical area of my research. Gaine did point out however, that these categories are not completely discrete, and that there are overlaps between the three in response to circumstances such as occupation, social class, family connections, and age. However, by-and-large, and as the geographical distribution of black and minority ethnic people stands at the moment, a tentative equation (based on Gaine's categories), of *rural = isolated* is possible. Within this context, we can now consider the research findings of Jay, and their relevance for education.

Jay

Jay's research was carried out during a six month period in the winter of 1991-92, and under the section entitled *Education*, his report stated that,

> A determined effort to challenge racism is being made by a small group of people working within the education system in the south west. In each county, and extending across county boundaries, there is a network of advisory teachers, lecturers, education officers, inspectors and other specialists assigned to 'multi-cultural education'. ... it is these pioneers who are most conscious of how little has so far been achieved, not least because of the size and difficulty of the task and the lack of adequate resources.
> (Jay, 1992, p32-3).

Jay further describes this work in the words of an academic (Jay does not state who this is) as being a combination of 'exciting pockets of innovation' together with 'a vast extent of indifference and hostility' (ibid. p33), and then broadens this picture, commenting that,

> ...innovative work is done in the name of LEAs and educational institutions, but the extent to which elected members ...recognise its worth and genuinely support it varies from place to place. Some advisers and specialists reported that they encountered resistance not only at the level of the classroom and the parents' meeting, but also from people at the top of the education system who were reluctant to back them fully, on the grounds that 'race is such a sensitive issue'.
> (ibid. p33).

In many cases, such resistance might be traced back to the fact that central government funding in the form of ESG grants was still (just about) operating at the time, and had involved the recruitment of *specific* members of staff (Jay's 'small group'), whose dedicated task was to address the 'educational needs of a multi-ethnic society' (DES, quoted in Jay, 1992, p33). Given the relative impact that 'A determined effort to challenge racism ...by a small group of people' (ibid. p32) would make upon the education system of a majority white county with little, if any experience, in dealing with these issues, it is hardly surprising to find a situation of 'exciting pockets of innovation' together with a 'vast extent of indifference and hostility'; or in other words, the 'resistance' Jay describes above. Jay further commented on the question of whether 'the limited resources that have been devoted to [this work] will continue to be found' following the closure of the ESG funding, stating that 'There is no indication yet that LEAs will earmark funds from their mainstream budgets to ensure that multi-cultural education remains on their agenda and is allowed to develop.' (ibid. p34). As will be shown from data presented below, issues of funding have been of particular relevance in the failure to promote racial equality initiatives in the county LEA in which my own research has taken place.

Jay: A Comparison - Then and Now

Ten years on from the Jay report, my own research involvement with a south west county LEA has developed from peripheral interviewing, to participant observation, and finally, to the stage of complete involvement at many levels of county initiatives in the form of action research (see chapter one and Appendix [B1]). In the work I have become increasingly involved in therefore, there are three distinct areas that are being addressed as a result of the 'non-optional' nature of new RRAA 2000 legislation for racial equality. These three areas can be described as,

- Helping schools to develop their own racial-equality policy, either as a discrete item, or as a distinct section of their equal opportunities policy
- Providing relevant in-service training for teachers
- Appropriate curriculum innovation, in terms of guiding towards, and assisting in the development of a range of resources to enable schools to address issues of racial equality, both in the classroom, and as a part of their whole school ethos.

It is these three areas towards which most of the LEA activity has been directed in terms of addressing post-Stephen Lawrence Inquiry initiatives in recent months, and returning to Jay, if we consider the activities of the 'small group of people' referred to in his report who were working on issues of race equality in 1992, we can observe that he stated,

> Although they have different job titles, and work within different structures, all these workers apparently share the same three priorities:
>
> - Encouraging schools to develop their own equal opportunity and anti-racist policies.
> - Providing relevant in-service training for teachers.
> - Curriculum innovation.

(Jay, 1992, pp33-34).

Reading Jay's words in the report therefore, might not only provoke the strongest feeling of deja-vu in anyone who had been involved in these initiatives ten years ago in a majority white area, but would also provoke the old maxim, 'Plus ca change...' as a comment on immutably negligent attitudes towards issues of racial equality. These attitudes are reflected in the fact that as Gaine stated, the 'mainstreaming' of these issues had been eroded over the years (Gaine, 1995, p146) to the point where the 'new' were not a progression and advancement of the old, but were considered to be both innovative and ground-breaking. Indeed, at a recent corporate meeting to which I had been invited, the discussion on advancing whole county council initiatives with regard to racial equality were listened to in silence by a member of staff who, I later discovered, had only recently joined the county. At the end of the meeting, I stayed behind to ask her what she had thought of the discussion, and she told me that her silence was, in part, due to total disbelief in what she was hearing. She had just moved from employment in a central government office where the initiatives we had been discussing were so much part of policy infrastructure as to be, in *principle* at least, beyond discussion. Her words to me were that she felt as if she had just been '*transported back in time; taken off to another planet...*'

In the end, Jay's conclusions leave no space for doubt about where the south west was in 1992 in terms of attitudes towards racial equality and anti-racism. Jay stated unequivocally that,

...the picture that emerges from the research is clear. Nothing has changed for the better since the Swann Committee (*Education for All*, 1985) reported on its enquiries in 'all-white' areas. What the committee said then of its research in schools is equally true of this wider enquiry in 1992 into the state of race relations in the south-west:

> The project revealed widespread evidence of racism in all the areas covered ranging from unintentional racism and patronising and stereotyped ideas about ethnic minority groups, combined with an appalling ignorance of their cultural background and life-styles and of the facts of race and immigration, to extremes of overt racial hatred and National Front-style attitudes.
> (Jay, 1992, p10).

With reference to the last line of the Swann quotation above regarding the 'extremes of overt racial hatred and National Front-style attitudes' found in 1985, a recent event shows that such attitudes are still in evidence in the south west. As mentioned above, ten years on from Jay, the *Rural Race Equality Project* held a conference in 2002 entitled *The Reality of Rural Racism*. The activities of the project focus on the particularly important aspect of the relationship between racial equality and citizenship, since the project is the initiative of the National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux (NACAB). At the conference, a special statement was issued which contained information echoing Jay's 1992 title of *Keep Them in Birmingham*. The statement read,

> On Thursday 27th June 2002, at a secret location in Newton Abbot, Nick Griffin, the Chairman of the British National Party (BNP) addressed a meeting of around forty members of his organisation. ...The Rural Race Equality Project notes, with grave concern, the BNP's assertion, made during this meeting, *that a line should be drawn stretching from Bristol to Bournemouth and that everywhere South of this line should be regarded as a multi-cultural free zone.* The Project condemns this statement, the making of it and the underlying intent behind it, and recognises a statement such as this as being akin to a veiled policy of ethnic-cleansing.
> (Statement by The Rural Race Equality Project, June, 2002, emphasis added).

This bulletin was received with some disbelief, not least by many of the young people who were delegates to the conference, and who collectively made the decision later in the day to set up their own regional anti-discrimination project; the intended aims being to 'establish[ing] a network of supporters involving schools, youth clubs, youth councils, youth MPs and individuals' in order to counter and address their experiences of isolation and racism within communities in the South West (South West Youth Against Discrimination, 2002).

The Rural Race Equality Project

The Rural Race Equality Project therefore, had been established in 1996, four years after the publication of the Jay Report. Both focused in the south west, these two research projects border onto the area in which my own research has been conducted, and in fact, the findings of both concur with Gaine's concept of 'No Problem Here', first identified in his book of the same name published in 1987.

In the *project objectives* of the Rural Race Equality Project's Final Report, published in 1999, Dhalech commented that,

> ...the reality of promoting a race equality agenda in rural areas is that much of the work involves persuading those people responsible for providing services that race inequality exists and that there is a need to do something about it.
> (Dhalech, 1999, p3).

Dhalech goes on to refer to the 'no problem here' factor, and states that during the period of the research, from 1996-98,

> It became apparent that many local authorities were not taking their duties under the Race Relations Act seriously... many authorities do not have written policies on race equality... many ...cited the small numbers of ethnic minorities as a reason for this lack of commitment. This has involved the Project in lengthy negotiations and lobbying activities to persuade them to support race equality work.
> (ibid. p12).

These quotes from Dhalech provide evidence for the reason why any attempt to mobilise racial equality initiatives in mainly white areas often feels like wading through treacle, especially with regard to institutions and institutionalised attitudes and practices. This was particularly the case before the new legislation resulting from the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report was produced in the form of the RRAA 2000, and the new guidelines produced by the CRE on the Statutory Duty to Promote Race Equality. Prior to this legislation it was easier for institutions to avoid the positive promotion of racial equality, and in majority white areas the default position was often the position of choice. Even following the publication of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, Gilborn has commented that, 'It wasn't until the Stephen Lawrence inquiry that anti-racism became in any way

legitimised. The education department said it accepted the recommendations of the Lawrence inquiry but little is being done.' (Gilborn, 2002). This comment of Gilborn's begs the question, has *anything* been achieved since the publication of the Swann Report in 1985? Jay and Dhalech, as we have seen above, have unequivocally stated that in majority white areas, little, if anything at all had changed at the time of their research, and Gilborn's more recent comment confirms these perceptions.

In 1986, the year after Swann's *Education for All* was published, Chris Patten, as quoted above, had asked the following questions at a conference in Buxton, a majority white educational area,

- How in schools which are all-white or nearly all-white can you best reflect [this] ethnic diversity through the content of the curriculum?
- How can that curriculum be presented without bias or prejudice?
- How can the ethos in your schools promote understanding and respect for different ethnic groups?
  (Patten, quoted in Tomlinson, 1990, p12).

Fourteen years later in 2000, the year after the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report was published, the CRE produced their guide for schools entitled *Learning for All*; a title surely chosen to pick up on the diminished resonance of Swann's *Education for All* before it disappeared altogether.

If we refer back to Patten's three questions above which were prompted by the initiatives of Swann from 1985, we can compare those questions with some of the directives from *Learning for All* produced fourteen years later, (although only really starting to be responded to from 2002 after legislation forced the hand of many educational institutions in white areas). However, we are then led to ask a further question.

If, in the intervening years since Swann, any real change had taken place, then why, in 2000, should *Learning for All* need to address the following issues in such regenerative tones?

Having opened with an introduction which stated that,

Every school has a key role to play in eradicating racism and valuing diversity. The government's acceptance of the recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report, published in 1999, reinforces this responsibility for all schools, including those with few or no ethnic minority pupils. Racism exists in all communities, and racist groups target both urban and rural areas. Every school should take action to challenge and prevent racism.
(CRE, 2000, p11).

Learning for All then continues, echoing Patten's original questions, with the following standards to be achieved,

- Racial equality and ethnic diversity are promoted and racism and discrimination challenged in all areas of the curriculum. (ibid. p28).
- Curriculum planning takes account of the ethnicity, background and language needs of all pupils. (ibid. p25).
- A 'whole school' approach is used to promote racial equality and eliminate racial discrimination. (ibid. p39).

There is clearly little doubt that the same issues as those raised by Patten (a Conservative minister who nevertheless undoubtedly saw the importance of following the line of the Swann recommendations at the time) are here being revisited after a fourteen year interval, and the need to re-address them raises a further query. If there is the need to reintroduce these imperatives country-wide, then it follows that there must still be a need to address particular attitudes and dispositions in majority white areas towards racial equality that might be considered both backward and complacent in many respects. If for example, we refer back to Dhalech, his *Final Report* tends not to comment extensively upon the racist behaviour, either unwitting or intentional, of individual actors within institutions, preferring instead to concentrate upon snapshot experiences of individual *victims* in the context of institutional practices. Jay, in contrast, offers a broad, if brief overview of both institutional and individual racisms, together with comments from victims in response to these forms of racism. Both reports however, take particular account of 'the impact of the spatial and geographical location', (i.e. rural), of those racisms (Neal, 2002, p450).

Therefore, if we return to Dhalech's three categories, echoed by Neal, of the perceived differences between the experience of *urban* and *rural* racism, we are provided with an analytic framework for examining the ways in which racism manifests on both the personal, and on the institutional level. To review Dhalech's categories, the first was that of the way in which racism is *expressed*, or as Neal puts it, how racism 'operate[s] through

different discourses and social mechanisms'. The second was the *effects* of racism, or to use Neal's description of the 'no problem here' effect in majority white rural areas, the ways in which 'the rural/race relationship has historically tended to have been marginalized, ignored or denied by policy makers and service providers'. The final category is that of the way in which racism is *addressed*, or again, from Neal's perspective, 'the variations in the type of concerns about race and racism in different rural areas and the uneven level of political and policy responses developed...'. It is these three categories therefore, that will be seen to interweave the data presented below.

Against the historical and contemporary backdrop of legislation, initiatives, attitudes and behaviours described above therefore, the data that follows relates the responses of a variety of actors within the majority white LEA in which my research has been conducted (together with consideration of the institution itself), to the imperatives of new legislation. Latterly I address the experiences of an individual who plays a central role within this story. A frequently isolated figure, fighting racism both *within* the institution, and the impact of those attitudes *outside of* the institution, he was hounded; eventually out of a job altogether, by the forces he sought to diminish. It is with this individual that the story, from the point of view of my entrance, begins.

Initial Approaches

My first approaches to researching issues of citizenship and racial equality in education had been made directly to schools themselves. However, because (as detailed in the previous chapter) of the lack of connection being made between the new citizenship curriculum and the specific issues of racial equality; together with the sensitive nature (and often, the perceived irrelevance) of issues of 'race' in a majority white area; access, if not impossible, certainly proved to be difficult and slow. I therefore decided that the legitimacy of access that would be conferred through direct contact with the LEA would be invaluable, and it is from this point of contact that I take up my research narrative.

In my initial telephone call to County Hall I requested to be put through to the department or individual that might be dealing with areas of citizenship and racial equality education in the LEA. There was some confusion about who I would need to speak to, (an indication, I later discovered, of the uncertainty surrounding the delegation of

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responsibility for these areas), but eventually I was connected to the Ethnic Minority Achievement Service. I had a brief conversation with Jo, the senior teacher (white female) who heads a small team of six (white female) peripatetic language teachers covering the entire county's EAL (English as an Additional Language) needs (a breakdown of pupil numbers and ethnic origin for which can be found in Appendix [A4]). The only exception to this coverage is a large town to the north of the county which began operating as a unitary authority about twelve months before my research began, and now caters for the most ethnically diverse area. This means that the most rural and dispersed areas of diversity and language needs are covered by Jo and her team.

I explained to Jo that I wanted to find out more about how majority white rural schools were responding to issues of citizenship and racial equality in the climate of the post-Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, and of the new statutory requirement for the teaching of citizenship in secondary schools. Jo was clearly very busy, but also very interested in the focus of my research, and wanted to be as helpful as she could. She suggested that I should contact Hassan, a school inspector who had been asked to chair two committees, the *Macpherson Education Committee Working Group,* and later, the *County Council's Corporate Macpherson Working Group*, both of which had been mobilised to find ways of moving the recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report forward at both LEA and corporate county level.

Hassan

I met with Hassan later that week. He was a Palestinian Muslim in his forties, married to a white head teacher from the area. His official job title was that of school inspector, and he told me that the 'additional' aspects of his job in terms of the Macpherson work, despite taking up some forty percent of his time, had not led to a reduction in any of his other duties. I sensed deep dissatisfaction and frustration in relation to his employment as we spoke, but also sensed that as we had just met, he was cautious about giving too much information concerning personal aspects of his relationship with his employers. However, it did not surprise me, as we continued to talk, when he told me that he would be leaving his job at the end of the month to take up a post in another county. What he did say to me quite clearly, was that he wanted to go to the new job with his role discretely defined, and be given the opportunity to simply 'get on with what he had been hired to do'. He also

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asserted equally clearly that after he left his present job, there would be no-one taking up his particular role in respect of addressing racial equality, and no money budgeted at LEA level for such a post, either to work with schools or with LEA staff. He had therefore, no idea what would happen to the staff training and the school monitoring he had begun to conduct in relation to the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report recommendations.

Hassan had gained his PhD three years earlier, studying narrative forms, and had also written books and articles for well-respected publishers and journals. His writing has often expressed the emphatic, and yet non-partisan nature of his concern for peace, equality and justice. If any commitment to a partisan position could be ascribed to him, it would be his proclivity for openness and dialogue in all situations where religious, ethnic or cultural diversity have the potential to cause friction. Hassan describes himself as a *'Palestinian British Muslim'*, stating that *'I take great pride in my dual heritage. I have always had an abiding and deeply felt love for Britain...I have also maintained my Palestinian culture through its literature, its history and its people'* (*Guardian*, 2002). Regarding his role in activating post-Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report initiatives however, Hassan felt that this was not simply the result of his perceived capabilities, but also because of the fact that in both the corporate context, and more particularly in the context of the LEA, he was one of very few minority ethnic employees, and to an extent, was considered to be more in contact with the issues that racial equality raised in a majority white environment. I was later to find out that this contact was sometimes closer than Hassan would have wished.

During our conversation we discussed the implications of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, and Hassan expressed his frustrations at the difficulties of working in majority white schools where attitudes from both head teachers and staff frequently reflected the often deeply held beliefs that issues of diversity and racial equality were irrelevant, either in school ethos or curriculum. He further reflected that despite the support of both the corporate and LEA working parties of which he was chair, attitudes within the county council often coincided with these beliefs. Hassan further stated that his own personal agenda for equality was wider than simply tackling issues of 'race'. He stated that whilst recognising that there was something quite specific about addressing issues of racism in terms of historical and familial implications, he would have preferred to use the opportunity provided by the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report recommendations to target inequality on a broader scale. He referred to the corporate *Statement of County Council's*

Commitment to Anti-Racist Practices recently produced by one of the working groups, and told me that,

> *It's a statement that clearly indicates where* [county] *is going. I do have one objection with it, although I and my group actually wrote it, we were instrumental, we put it together. The only thing I have, which I'm not happy with, is that it is called a "Statement of County Council Commitment to Anti-Racist practices". I wanted to call it "Anti-Discriminatory practices", full-stop. I was told, quite rightly," look* [name], *you're working on Macpherson, so keep it Macpherson", but it should be...(pause).... So when you read it, you will note that having talked about "we in* [county] *believe that persons' have an inalienable right to be treated with equal dignity, respect, consideration, and without prejudice, and to be given equal access to all our services without regard to" – the list relates to 'race', ethnicity, nationality, language and so on. It should add, gender, age, religion, belief, height, sexuality...*
> (personal interview, 2000).

Hassan expressed a huge commitment to all issues of equality, and yet also to peaceful and civilised negotiation on all such matters. By his own admission, his passion for these issues was born partly out of his own experience of the diaspora of the Palestinian people and the dedication of his views to an equitable settlement in that region. During the course of this conversation, and of several others before he left the LEA, the picture that I built up of Hassan, both from these interactions and from talking to others (particularly those working in EMAS) is reflected in the sentiments expressed in the following extract.

Following the Two State Solution of 1988, the Palestinian National Council, having formally acknowledged Israel's right to exist, issued the following declaration,

> The State of Palestine is the state of Palestinians wherever they may be. The state is for them to enjoy in it their collective national and cultural identity, theirs to pursue in it a complete equality of rights. In it will be safeguarded their political and religious convictions and their human dignity by means of parliamentary democratic system of governance, itself based on freedom of expression and the freedom to form parties. The rights of minorities will duly be respected by the majority, as minorities must abide by decisions of the majority. Governance will be based on principles of social justice, equality and non-discrimination in public rights of men or of women, on grounds of race, religion, color or sex, under the aegis of a constitution which ensures the rule of law and an independent judiciary. Thus shall these principles allow no departure from Palestine's age-old spiritual and civilization heritage of tolerance and religious coexistence.
> (Palestinian National Council 1988, quoted in Stockton, 1993, p6).

This is not to ascribe these sentiments directly to Hassan simply because he happens to be a Palestinian. As Stockton says in his document *Teaching the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* we must bear in mind that,

> ...there are about five million Palestinians. Like Americans, Mexicans, Canadians, and Israelis they disagree on political issues. They also change their minds as new circumstances develop. It is a mistake to think Palestinians have a common view that remains unchanged ...
> (Stockton 1993 p1).

However, the *essence* of Hassan's commitment to issues of equality and the teaching of non-discrimination evidenced both from direct contact experience, and from the opinions of others who knew him well, are largely reflected in the ethos of this declaration; and its purpose here is to illuminate particular aspects of his personality which did indeed 'shine out' in a distinctive way to those who knew him. In many respects the above statement describes the democratic principles that Hassan would consider to be appropriate for *any* people or society abiding anywhere. The experiences of his own and his family's lifetime have encouraged his views to be both expansive and inclusive, and as a part of his employment with the LEA, Hassan has worked tirelessly to involve schools in the work of the Anne Frank Educational Trust and the Holocaust Education Foundation, and was in fact, an adviser on the Anne Frank Moral Courage Award Project.

Hassan described some of the difficulties he had experienced in schools regarding the instigation of post-Stephen Lawrence Inquiry initiatives, particularly in relation to the new requirement for schools to keep and maintain a racist incident log book. The main difficulty with this aspect of the new legislation was the perceived irrelevance of the need to keep a log in majority white schools, along with a common misperception that 'racism doesn't happen in white areas'. With regard to his own experiences of racism, Hassan described two or three incidents that had occurred to him during the time of his employment with the county LEA. These incidents involved fairly crude attempts at humour. In one incident a colleague had told him that if he didn't vacate the photocopier quickly, a fatwa would be put on his head. On another occasion a white head teacher joked with him, attempting an 'Ali-G' style exchange, '*I can talk to you about these things* [racist incidents and ethnic monitoring] *because you is black*'. On a professional level Hassan spoke of dealing with colleagues who were either intentionally or unintentionally racist,

and the dilemma he faced in whether to challenge such attitudes or not. He said that sometimes he *would* challenge and if he did he would '*...not trot off and tell on you. I would actually challenge you as offending me.*' At other times he said that '*...if it's a colleague you have to work with, I try to just avoid that person...*', a course of action which could clearly compromise a professional relationship. However, he did say, somewhat wearily, that often his attitude would be, '*I'm not Mother Theresa, I don't want to challenge everything under the sun. I'm off home.*' At the time, unaware of the details that would later be disclosed to me, I had looked upon these experiences of Hassan's as fairly 'rich' data.

On our way to lunch we met the CEO (Chief Education Officer) in the corridors of county hall, and Hassan briefly introduced me and explained my research project to him. Hassan told the CEO that my interests might be useful to the LEA, and that it would be good to develop a working relationship that both the LEA and I might benefit from. As we left the CEO and walked on to lunch, he confided in me that as there was little knowledge about the issues of race equality stratified throughout the LEA, '*including the top layer*' they would probably be more than pleased to take advantage of any knowledge or expertise I might develop as my research progressed. Hassan, as their resident 'expert' at the present time, would be leaving at the end of the month, and there were no immediate plans to create a post covering the areas he had been working on (unpaid), mainly due to a lack of funding (although Hassan confided in me that the lack of funding very much reflected a lack of commitment.) Triangulation of this information came forward effortlessly.

From Interview to Action Research

As a result of my increasing involvement with the LEA on all issues of post-Stephen Lawrence Inquiry initiatives, I eventually produced a report for the CEO entitled *Fitting In: The Citizenship Experience of Minority Ethnic Individuals in a Majority White Secondary School* (Carroll, 2002, p33). I was subsequently invited to be a volunteer facilitator on a series of eight racial equality 'awareness raising' conferences conducted for head teachers, senior management and school governors in the county. I would be working alongside three other facilitators: Sudhir, a representative from the county's racial equality council; John, the county adviser on citizenship; and Jo, mentioned above, the head teacher

of the county's EMAS team. At several of these conferences the CEO provided the introductory speech, and had stated with honesty and without guile,

> *I must be rather stupid – I didn't realise that these issues were of such serious importance in the kind of area* [referring here to a majority white environment] *in which we live and work, or that these children* [from the minority ethnic focus groups referred to in my report] *were being subjected to this kind of racist experience as young citizens.*
> (Carroll, 2001, field notes).

The CEO had clearly not considered racial equality to be a high priority in the county. However, despite this confessional statement, Jo and other members of the EMAS team referred several times to the fact that whenever they had attempted to bring issues of racial harassment or inequality in the county's schools to the attention of senior managers in the LEA, these issues were frequently marginalised, and it was often indicated that there were no available funds to attempt to formally address the issues anyway. Jo and two other members of the EMAS team independently made comments to me that they felt that they were '*seen as a bunch of middle-aged women whingeing on about nothing*' whenever they attempted to extend their remit away from the mechanics of EAL teaching, and to draw the attention of senior management towards the more emotional and affective aspects of their pupils' experience. Jo made the comment, '*they never listen; we're not taken seriously*'.

The LEA OFSTED report, published in January 2002, particularly highlighted some of the issues referred to above. One of these was praise for the obvious hard work and commitment of the EMAS team. Another however, was the disengagement of the LEA and senior management in its corporate response to issues of 'race' and racism in the county's schools. A further concern of OFSTED was the LEA's reliance on the efforts of one individual, Hassan, as some kind of tokenistic indication that they were responding to issues that were in fact, being attended to wholeheartedly by this individual at the expense of other areas of his work, but treated marginally by the LEA in terms of both funding and policy commitment. Extracts from the OFSTED report illustrate these points.

Under the heading, *Support for pupils of minority ethnic heritage, including travellers*, sections 160-162 of the report contain the comments that,

The small [county] ethnic minority achievement service is charged with supporting the achievement of 278 minority ethnic children spread across a large county. ...Moreover, it has to do this on the basis of inadequate information about its clients [referring here to insufficient data returns collected by ethnic monitoring]. ...The service deploys its small resources to the best effect it can, providing assessment, teaching and monitoring for English as an additional language, advice and training to schools and teachers, fostering positive attitudes to diversity and developing home school links... the ethnic minority achievement service is aware of the isolation of scattered ethnic minority pupils in this large rural county and has formed good links with the [county] race equality council and a PhD student [myself] working on the impact of racism on isolated minority ethnic children. (County OFSTED Report, 2002).

However, under the heading *Measures taken to combat racism*, sections 164-5 of the OFSTED report continue,

Measures taken to combat racism in schools are not adequate. [County's] corporate response to the report of the inquiry into the death of Stephen Lawrence has been the production of a statement of commitment to anti-racist practices and the working draft of an action plan in which the first actions are due to be in place by the end of September 2001. This is too little and too late. The evidence suggests that the council, rather than taking corporate ownership of the issue, has relied too greatly on the work of a single member of staff in the education and libraries dept, who has now left [county]. A proposal to take this work forward subsequently within education through the creation of a new post failed because of lack of applicants. The [county] race equality council has now been contracted to develop work on the Commission for Racial Equality's document *Learning for All* and the response to the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry in conjunction with the ethnic minority achievement service. ...most, but not all, of the schools visited are aware of guidance from the LEA on the requirement to log all racist incidents and are keeping logs but there is little evidence of other support or guidance for schools around issues of diversity or dealing with racism. Yet the education committee commissioned research in July 1999, which indicated that staff in schools needed increased understanding of race and cultural diversity issues and that expectations of minority ethnic pupils needed to be consistently high.
(ibid.).

The section ends with the recommendation to,

Ensure that the LEA as a whole takes the lead on race issues and makes clear that valuing and understanding diversity should be an integral part of education in all schools, not just those with minority ethnic pupils.
(ibid. original emphasis).

There is little doubt, judging by this recommendation, that the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report had raised the imperatives of racial equality in a way that indicated a profound shift

in terms of discourse, policy and recommendations for practice in a way unsurpassed, even by the post-Swann initiatives of the 1980s. However, it would be fair to say that the LEA, some ten months following the publication of the OFSTED report, and over twelve months after the inspection, (when it became clear that obvious weaknesses had been detected), was still far from '[taking] *the lead on race issues*' (ibid.). Rather than the recommended strong corporate response, any initiatives had deferred responsibility onto the shoulders of EMAS, as if the issues were an area that was specifically 'their department'; and it seems evident that this response was due to a combination of factors. The most apparent of these was the perceived low-priority status of race equality issues in a majority white area by senior management. This allocated status served to combine with a lack of knowledge and consequently, a lack of confidence in dealing with these issues. The resulting combination of these two factors has been the non-provision of central funding; leaving the limited EMAS budget to cope with these needs. This extremely limited funding has meant that any initiatives are only able to 'scratch the surface' of action recommended by OFSTED.

My own offer of 'assistance in return for data' was immediately utilised with enthusiasm, both by EMAS, who were struggling to cope with these areas in addition to their remit of language provision, (especially once Hassan had left the county), and also by senior levels of management up to the CEO, who were keen to utilise any (free) cork to plug a leaky ship. Thus my own role evolved rapidly through the following four stages:

- a casual agreement which allowed me peripheral interviewing access
- participant observation which facilitated my attendance at EMAS meetings as an observer
- unpaid action researcher, where I became involved in both visiting schools in response to the more affective and emotional aspects of minority ethnic childrens' experience, and in delivering training to teachers, heads and governors
- with extremely limited funding scraped from the EMAS budget (no central funding having been made available), I was asked if I would continue to respond to occasional school and training needs.

A letter received from the CEO at the 'unpaid action researcher' stage of my involvement read,

I very much appreciate your offer of support for the work we are undertaking in the effects of the McPherson [sic] report and new citizenship requirements, and we would be pleased to accept your offer of help. In the light of this please renew your contact with Jo Perry, but you might also like to contact John Ford, who is our Advisory Teacher for Health Related Education and Citizenship. He is a part of our School Improvement and Support Team and can be contacted at...

I very much hope that the collaboration that you are offering will lead to successful outcomes for the young people of [county] and look forward to hearing progress. (personal correspondence, 2001, see Appendix [A1/2]).

My proposed remit of researching into post-Stephen Lawrence Inquiry initiatives in the light of the new citizenship legislation in the LEA was therefore accepted, extended, and given corporate legitimation. My contact with Jo had in fact remained unbroken since Hassan had proposed to Jo that I might, in the course of gathering my data, be able to assist EMAS with some work in schools. It had been agreed that I could help with some of the more affective needs of the county's minority ethnic pupils by responding to individual requests for support, identified by both schools and the EMAS team; and also by conducting focus groups to find out more about the experiences of these children in their schools. In addition, I might also be able to assist teachers with the introduction of web-based teaching materials directed towards educating children in majority white areas on issues of diversity (fuller reference to which is made in the following chapter). The contact with John was also an introduction that had already been made, again with the help of Hassan. I had visited John in the first month of his appointment as citizenship adviser, although at that time his role in relation to advising schools on diversity education and anti-racism had not been clearly identified as a key area, either by himself or by the LEA as his employers.

John and David

When I first made contact with John he had not met Jo, but once I had described my research, and the particular link I was pursuing between the area of the new citizenship curriculum and race equality issues, a clearer perspective seemed to emerge for him. He asked for more specific details of how he might contact Jo, and seemed to realise that their roles might be mutually supportive in terms of linking citizenship with race equality in schools. If this connection had not been the first priority on his mind, it was in some ways

understandable. As referred to in chapters two and three, I had attended early citizenship conferences where so much attention had been given to other areas of citizenship education that race equality had not even been included on their conference agendas. As John had only been in post for a very short time when I met him, he himself was still in the process of exploring the map of his responsibilities. With the imminent departure of Hassan however, John's involvement in the area of race equality ultimately accelerated far faster than he had anticipated, and shortly after our first meeting he became one of the key facilitators at the series of training conferences for head teachers and governors. Very soon after this, management at county hall decided that rather than simply allow the race equality aspect of John's work to permeate his role as citizenship adviser, he would dedicate a discrete forty percent of his time to addressing these issues through his contact with schools.

The decision to re-allocate John's time in this way came as a combined result of Hassan's departure, and the failure, as mentioned above in the excerpt from the OFSTED feedback, to make a new appointment to cover post-Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report initiatives. The new appointment was to have been funded by EMAS, and was to have been a split post, combining fifty percent EAL teaching with fifty percent addressing issues of racial equality in schools. The fact that the EMAS budget was extremely limited meant that only a temporary appointment had been advertised, and this was again felt by Jo and her colleagues to be an indication of the lack of centrally perceived importance of these matters from the LEA. The temporary status of the post was also felt to be a key factor in the ultimate failure to make an appointment. In fact, the county racial equality council, which had lately been contracted to step into the breach and assist EMAS in delivering a limited amount of assistance with training and race equality initiatives in schools, felt, and still do feel extremely strongly, that this ultimately unfulfilled post was a poor substitute for the appointment of a full-time LEA racial equality officer. The county racial equality council (REC) is, even now, still forwarding strongly worded recommendations to the LEA that the creation of such a post is imperative. The latest response to this from senior management has been a memo to the effect that *There are still unresolved issues about whether or not to appoint a full-time racial equality officer to the LEA*. Both EMAS and the county REC have commented that the 'unresolved issues' amount, in effect, to a lack of resolve or real commitment on this matter, and subsequently, in a failure to research and procure funding possibilities.

Following Hassan's departure and the failed EMAS appointment however, and before the re-allocation of John's role, a part-time internal 'emergency post' covering racial equality had been created, delegating an individual, David, who had no previous knowledge or expertise in these matters at all. David had simply been 'moved sideways' into this post as part of his job, and his appointment was specifically in response to the negative observations of the OFSTED report. David demonstrated his lack of empathy and appreciation of the issues when, shortly after his appointment, during a meeting with the EMAS team, he expressed the opinion that OFSTED's criticisms could be easily remedied, since all the LEA would need to do would be to *throw some money at it for a while'*. Both Jo and her team were shocked that somebody who had been appointed in charge of racial equality should have such a fundamental misunderstanding of the situation and its required remedy. They pointed out to David at the time, (none of the team being reluctant to come forward in defence of their field) that he was actually referring to the lives of young people, and their experiences of exclusion and alienation, and that no amount of 'money throwing' would change anything if fundamental attitudes were not addressed. Money, in any case, together with commitment, was one of the crucial resources (despite intimations from David that it could be made available) that the LEA did not seem willing to throw.

David did in fact face an extremely steep learning curve on these issues according to Jo, although she has more recently been moved to comment that his attitudes have become *'considerably more empathetic'* (personal conversation, 2002). However, at the time, mainly due to his lack of familiarity with the issues, it was difficult for him to provide LEA leadership in this area, either internally, or externally in advising schools. Documents that he prepared were subtly vetted before circulation, and often substantially edited, both factually and conceptually, by Jo in EMAS. At the same time, Jo was also having to deal with many of the day-to-day enquiries from schools that Hassan would previously have covered, and the stress was telling on her to the point where, already overstretched with both her own language work and the management of her team, she had occasionally been reduced to tears. It was clear that she felt significantly under-supported by the corporate body of the LEA.

Jo was further disturbed by the way in which the CEO had, in her opinion, marginalised the importance of OFSTED's words that '*Measures taken to combat racism in schools are not adequate*', by completely failing to mention this statement and its implications in a post-OFSTED action plan which had been circulated to all LEA employees. Jo said that she had read the document twice, just to be sure that she hadn't overlooked the inclusion of this aspect, and was so incensed that she had sent a strongly worded email to the CEO expressing her concerns that this omission further compounded the already minimal importance given to these issues throughout the LEA. Jo's hopes that the CEO would perhaps have realised from the OFSTED report that the measures being taken by the LEA were insufficient, and that attitudes of 'no problem here' could no longer be tolerated, had effectively been disaffirmed, and the reply that she received did nothing to raise her confidence that the issues raised by her email had really been understood. In fact, the reply highlighted a serious breach, either in understanding, or in a real willingness to take Jo's comments on board; possibly both.

In a return email the CEO stated, with (in Jo's opinion) emotional overtones, that surely she knew that he was really committed to these issues, and hadn't that been confirmed by his encouragement of Jo and her team's work, together with the appointment of David (the untrained individual mentioned above) to a part-time post? The reply also suggested that hopefully Jo didn't consider that just because the OFSTED reference was not mentioned in the circulated document, it didn't mean that the CEO had not fully taken on board the commitment needed to address these issues. From Jo's point of view, in terms of publicly and symbolically being seen to both grasp the issue, and put funding behind it, this was exactly what it did mean.

Racism ...what racism?

Later in the year the LEA 'OFSTED Scrutiny Committee' decided that the race equality specific recommendation should be one of their areas of inspection. The committee was comprised of elected councillors who chose key recommendations in order to receive progress reports on the changes that had been effected since the delivery of the OFSTED report. Both Jo and her team commented somewhat wryly that the scrutiny committee had seen racial equality to be of sufficient importance to select it for inspection, whilst the CEO

had not even demonstrated enough concern to include it in his circular. However, this attention from the scrutiny committee needs to be qualified somewhat.

The presentation to the committee had been delegated to John, very recently instructed that forty percent of his time was to be spent addressing race equality issues; together with David, the appointed individual mentioned above. David, having held his race-equality post for less than twelve months, was now unfortunately about to be transferred *away* from the task of promoting racial equality altogether, just as he had apparently started to demonstrate some commitment to the post, together with significant positive changes in his outlook and understanding of the issues (according to Jo, [personal conversation, 2002]). Just before John and David made their presentation, which took place in the rather grand and somewhat intimidating surroundings of the large council chamber, colleagues of theirs had presented the new IT (Information Technology) initiatives; another area that OFSTED had picked up on in their report.

John later confided in me that he had been particularly nervous about this presentation, since his own knowledge of race equality issues was only just beginning to take shape, both in terms of legislation, and on aspects of attitudes and behaviour. Additionally he felt that since David had heard he was imminently to be transferred to another area of the LEA, he was becoming increasingly disconnected from race equality issues despite (in Jo's opinion) his newly acquired insights and understandings, giving the impression that it was a load that he would be pleased to shed. Given the circumstances of his racial equality appointment and the lack of confidence he had experienced in his new responsibilities, this relief was hardly surprising. However, as forty per cent of John's time was now dedicated to race equality, he felt he needed some formal 'hand over' of duties and information from David, and felt that David had made himself particularly unavailable to do this. John's comment was that the 'de-mob' effect seemed to have kicked in early. The result was that John felt particularly under-equipped to take on responsibility for this presentation, which would in fact, be David's final official involvement with racial equality within the LEA.

John commented to me that sitting in the council chamber waiting for their turn, he had watched the scrutiny committee 'grill' the IT presentation party with some ferocity. He said that no stone had been left unturned; the committee were obviously well-versed on the issues and the requirements; and had really placed the IT presenters in a very exposed

position in order to be absolutely certain that the OFSTED recommendations had been taken on board, and that relevant change was both in progress and on target. As the IT presentation finished and John and David took the floor, John, somewhat nervously, fully expected the committee's treatment of racial equality to be of the same intensity. With some confusion he found that the questions asked were woolly and ill-defined, and that the committee seemed to be awkwardly deferring both to each other, and to the presenters, appearing not to know in which direction their inquiries should be leading them. They dismissed John and David almost as soon as their presentation was over with few further questions. John's comments to me were that he had the strong feeling that the committee had included racial equality in their scrutiny because OFSTED, presumably responding to the implications of the RRAA 2000, had clearly felt that it was important. They themselves however, appeared to have very little awareness, or confidence in their knowledge of the issues being raised. John said to me afterwards that it was almost as if, in response to OFSTED's statement 'Measures taken to combat racism in schools are not adequate', the scrutiny committee's secret thoughts were 'racism ...what racism?'. We can perhaps relate the implications of their attitudes to forms of unintentionally racist discourse akin to Gaine's observations that there is no requirement for a solution to racism, as there is 'No Problem Here' in the first place.

REC...

Discussed above are the attitudes and responses of those who were significantly involved in the implementation of the LEA's race equality initiatives following the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report recommendations for education. These attitudes and responses became a little more focused in their specific relation to schools with the advent of the CRE's Statutory Code of Practice on the Duty to Promote Race Equality, which itself followed the directives of the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000. However, this legislative imperative did not immediately or significantly increase the amount of corporate commitment to these issues in terms of adequate funding or recruitment in relation to racial equality. Most of the activity described above took place following the departure of Hassan who, having initiated the lead on a corporate response, left the LEA to work for another county on post-Macpherson initiatives. Before Hassan left however, he had developed contacts with the REC (the county's racial equality council), and before expanding on the full implications of Hassan's departure, and the way in which this

reflected the attitudes of individual and institutional practices within the LEA towards issues of racial equality, I will briefly describe the context in which the REC contacts continued once Hassan had left.

Sudhir was the racial equality officer at the REC, and the principal contact for the LEA during the period described above. It is mainly in connection with Sudhir that OFSTED included the reference in their report to the fact that 'The [county] race equality council has now been contracted to develop work on the Commission for Racial Equality's document *Learning for All* and the response to the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry in conjunction with the ethnic minority achievement service.' (County OFSTED Report, 2002). As a result of this contract with the REC, Sudhir had been delegated to fulfil a service level agreement with the LEA to provide the following facility spread out over a two-year period:

- 20 days working collectively with Primary and Secondary Heads/Senior Managers
- 40 days with identified pilot Secondary Schools
- An equivalent of 5 working days with the Monitoring Group (the monitoring group comprising of Jo, John, Sudhir, and myself as an invited member).

OFSTED were aware that work was about to be contracted to the REC at the time of their inspection; however, this had not changed their opinion that action taken was still '*too little and too late*' (county OFSTED report, 2002). Sudhir was in agreement with this criticism; his main concern being that there was still no sign of the appointment of a full-time LEA racial equality officer, a neglect that in his eyes showed a serious lack of intent. Sudhir was also aware of Jo's feelings relating to the lack of corporate initiative, and of all the difficulties that had been encountered in the attempt to get higher levels of management to put both centralised action and funding where their professed ideals lay. The peripheral nature of the funding for race equality work had again been demonstrated by the fact that the REC contract, as with the ultimately unfulfilled advertised post mentioned above, been found from the EMAS budget rather than a more central source of LEA funding.

From working alongside Sudhir, both during the series of county-wide conferences for head teachers and governors, and with the monitoring group, his constant refrain was that the LEA was not taking the issues seriously enough, was not responding adequately, and

that they needed to be more positive and proactive in their approach. Jo, as described above, was fully behind Sudhir's concerns. However, Jo, John and David had some concerns of their own.

RAT...

Sudhir's training techniques in relation to racial awareness concentrated particularly, besides aspects of the new legislation, on the phenomenon of *unconscious* attitudes and behaviour held by white people about black and minority ethnic people. In many respects these techniques were similar to those of RAT (Racism Awareness Training) referred to fully in Gaine's chapter by this name (Gaine, 1987, p100-122). There is not the space here to explore this approach as Gaine has done so comprehensively in his chapter, however, because of Sudhir's employment of certain approaches intended to challenge such unconscious beliefs, it became possible to observe an emerging friction. This friction was generated by, on the one hand, Sudhir's sincere belief that these unconscious attitudes and behaviours need to be undermined and dismantled before any real progress can be achieved in raising awareness in majority white areas; and on the other, the belief by some in the LEA that 'People do not learn, or change attitudes, or change actions, when they feel attacked, defensive, hostile, angry or guilty.' (Gaine, 1987, p103).

It was not apparent that Sudhir approached his training in a way that would have intentionally generated such unproductive responses. However, even without deliberate approaches aimed towards more personal and unconscious beliefs, situations still arose in which conference delegates expressed attitudes that were hostile, defensive, or sometimes unwittingly racist, or clearly demonstrating a lack of understanding of the issues at stake. On occasion, such situations prompted comments from Sudhir that had been construed as challenging, and which he has admitted came from his own frustration at not being able to deliver a more positive and pro-active programme in the context of the training for governors and head teachers. Indeed, the attitudes of many of the delegates themselves have been proof that what is needed is more than an approach that just 'scratches the surface' (*a comment made by Jo to the CEO to describe the progress she felt had been made as a result of the governor and head teacher conferences*). As Sudhir has also said, there is a world of difference between appreciating the issues, and really understanding them. Unfortunately however, Sudhir's responses on these occasions gave Jo, John and

David the impression that '*he comes on way too strong*' and that his responses would '*only get their backs up*' (*comments made to me personally by Jo, John and David*). Their impression has been in fact, that Sudhir's occasionally less-than-sensitive responses are an indication of the way in which he would conduct any training that might take a more positive and pro-active approach. This has meant that in the work he has jointly facilitated so far in terms of the eight LEA conferences held for head teachers and governors, Sudhir has been dissuaded from including any element of this type of training on the grounds that educators, besides being completely preoccupied by the imperatives of impending new race equality legislation, were '*just not ready for it in* [county]'.

In addition to attitudes encounter during the training, an example of the cause of Sudhir's frustration was demonstrated in the case of a particular school where a dual heritage African Caribbean/English child was excluded on the grounds of disruptive behaviour, whilst on closer inspection, the racist taunts and abuse he had experienced prior to his disruptive behaviour had not been taken into account in the assessment (see *Leon's Story* in chapter five). The school had preferred instead to focus on the perspective that the child was having an 'identity crisis' because of his dual heritage background. All the attention of the school on this matter was therefore concentrated on the child, who, at the time of writing, is still excluded from lessons, and is being escorted at all times in his day-to-day movements around the school. Sudhir clearly felt that there was a need for this school to receive some race equality training. However, the school did not send delegates to the county-wide race equality training, and have since consistently sidelined many opportunities for staff training that have been offered by both Sudhir and the LEA, stating that they have 'no time' and that all their TD days are 'booked up in advance'. This example amply illustrates Gaine's comment that,

> A curious feature of racism is the way it manages to focus attention on its victims rather than its beneficiaries. ...relatively few writers have looked at the psychology and identity of whites, as whites, nor at the actual mechanisms by which racism is perpetuated. ...The educational manifestation of this tendency is the identification of black children (or parents, or culture) as 'the problem' and the consequent removal of any imperative to look at the decision-makers.
> (Gaine, 1987, pp100-101).

Unfortunately, because of the school's response and behaviour towards this child, a white colleague of Sudhir's at the REC became extremely frustrated and accused the school quite

openly of being racist. The school have since refused to deal with this individual, and the situation does in fact, epitomise Gaine's comment above that 'People do not learn, or change attitudes, or change actions, when they feel attacked, defensive, hostile, angry or guilty.' (Gaine, 1987, p103). Sudhir feels that it was largely the unwitting attitudes and behaviour of the school that created the situation in the first place, but is nevertheless working hard at the present time to re-build broken bridges in the hope that the school will eventually take the opportunity to be informed by a broader perspective on the issues.

Sudhir himself however, has openly admitted that some of the actions he has taken and the comments he has made have, in retrospect, been counter productive in a similar way to that of his colleague. An ill-advised letter to a head teacher over a racist incident; a somewhat strident response to a governor who asked an ill-informed question are two instances that have unfortunately given Jo, John and David the impression that Sudhir should not be too hard on educators who have some way to go in really getting to grips with the issues at stake, and that to do so risks alienating them even further. Sudhir has recognised that his responses were possibly less than well-judged, given the circumstances, and has been hopeful that forthcoming opportunities for in-service training will enable him to demonstrate his genuine sensitivity to the issues, and also to show that more positive and pro-active approaches to countering racism can be tailored with care to the needs of a particular audience, in order to produce positive outcomes with real shifts in attitude and behaviour (personal conversation, 2002).

In the meantime however, and in response to Sudhir's 'misjudgements', I have been asked on three separate occasions if, during my visits to schools, and during the training I am helping to facilitate, I would '*keep an eye*' on the interactions that are taking place between the REC and school staff, to make sure that heads, governors and teachers do not respond to any initiatives by (as it was described to me by John), '*feeling "got-at"*'. This request has apparently been because, especially on the part of Jo and John, they recognise how far this majority white county has to go in terms of changing attitudes, and they feel they need to be very careful that progress is not impeded by presenting educators with approaches that will make the task more difficult. However, as Gaine has commented,

> The difficulties in raising awareness are formidable. People who have tried 'straight' [as opposed to RAT] education in this field in the past 20 years have

repeatedly despaired of progress. ...education and correct information do help, but there is such a strength in racism that these alone are often ineffective. (Gaine, 1987, p103).

Crucially for Sudhir, what must be acknowledged is that despite Jo and John's 'good intentions' approach for progressing racial equality in the county, the circumstances described above placed him in the double bind of being charged to change white people's awareness without 'undue' discomfort to them. Furthermore, the level of discomfort has been defined by what is in effect, the white power structure in charge of training delivery, and my role in fact, was one of being asked to 'police' Sudhir's activities. When considered in this way, these circumstances begin to sound like a textbook example of Halstead's Paternalistic Racism (Halstead, 1988; see Appendix [A2]). Sudhir himself has admitted that the reasons behind his occasionally 'strong' response was that it was often the cumulative effect of the frustrations of dealing with the attitudes he frequently encounters in this majority white county; where sometimes, he told me, *'I don't just get tired of the attitudes, I get sick of being the "token black"'*.

White is a Colour

The outer cover of the concluding study guide to the Open University course *'Race', Education and Society* (OU, 1992) presents a striking image. Against a rural English landscape of hills, valleys, trees and dry-stone walling stands a lone figure. The figure is dressed in the obligatory cagoule, sturdy footwear and thermal hat, and gazes out across a scene of bucolic beauty. The figure herself is black.

There is not the space here to enter into debate about the full semiotic significance of the image, nor an expanded consideration of the role of 'the gaze'. In simple terms however, what the image does very effectively is to juxtapose the idea of 'black' with 'rural'. To briefly refer to Saussure, this image splits the sign asunder. Saussure has stated that although the sign is the union of the image (signifier) and our ideas about that image (signified), 'There is no natural or inevitable link between the [two]' (Hall, 1997b, p31). Thus the connection that is frequently made between 'black' and 'urban'; 'white' and 'rural' is, with subtle artistic understatement, (giving the image all the more power), completely overturned. Similarly, the image challenges by inverting the legitimacy of the gaze (Mulvey, 1975), so that in place of Mulvey's 'looked-at-ness', which is the usual

experience of the black person in the white rural setting, the gaze is reversed as the gazer looks out over the scene, either as muse, or source of oppression - we are left to decide.

In any landscape of rural racism, 'white' is the default colour. There is an assumed and deeply ingrained notion of the 'rural white idyll' (described by Neal as 'the collapsing of rurality into whiteness' [Neal, 2002, p 443]), that contextually, automatically and often subconsciously 'others' any encounter that is in contrast to these perceived notions. These notions have no recourse other than to problematise such encounters, and it is this environment in which black and minority ethnic people find themselves in relation to the English rural landscape. In the case study that follows, I will show that this model is not limited to individual responses, but can affect organisations and institutions, and have a profoundly detrimental effect on black and minority ethnic people living and working in white rural areas. The case study therefore, will consider Hassan, the central figure mentioned above, whose experiences provide the backdrop for much of what has been both theorised and narrated here in relation to the context of a majority white rural LEA.

Hassan's Story...

Hassan was the first point of contact for all my subsequent connections within the LEA, and despite the fact that he had left within a short period of my making contact, his presence, both through the introductions he had facilitated, and the gap that had been left in terms of service provision by his resignation, remained with me. My arrival at almost the same time as Hassan's departure in fact, meant that I had become involved in some service provision, which both alleviated pressure upon EMAS, and hugely facilitated my own research.

Describing my first meeting with Hassan above, I stated that 'I sensed deep dissatisfaction and frustration in relation to his employment as we spoke, but also sensed that as we had just met, he was cautious about giving too much information concerning personal aspects of his relationship with his employers.' This impression had not left me during the time I had been working and researching with the LEA. There were hints from conversations that led me to feel that Hassan's departure was not entirely straightforward, and Jo in particular had commented that Hassan had certainly been overworked during the time he was dealing with the post Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report initiatives.

Over a period of twelve months, Jo occasionally heard from Hassan, and we (the EMAS team and myself) followed what was happening to him second-hand through Jo, as we heard he had started his new job, had become ill and taken time off, and had eventually made the decision to take early retirement from his new post altogether due to ill-health. Shortly after this last despatch, Jo received a longer email than usual from Hassan, which in fact, contained a fuller version of an article of his that had been published in *Society Guardian* on Monday, 27th May, 2002. The article was entitled *Go to Brixton, You'll Make It There*. Jo shared the fuller version she had received, making copies for myself and for John.

Reproduced below is the abridged version which appeared in *Society Guardian*, sent to Jo with Hassan's comment; '*Attached is an abridgement of a long article due to appear soon. I am afraid that the abridgement has rendered the article less readable, but it still makes its point. See you soon. Best Wishes, [Hassan]*'.

In the fuller version of his article sent to Jo, Hassan had stated that,

> I have always had a passion for personal and national narratives. Each nation has a narrative to tell. Each narrative is alive and constantly developing.
>
> I did my postgraduate, pre- and postdoctoral research into narratives. I attempted to show how an English narrative - or story if you will – can be retold in Arabic, French and Russian and how, with each retelling, it is invented anew.
>
> I made one major discovery through this lifelong interest: the human condition is reflected in the narrative and in the narrative alone. The reality is in the story.

What follows therefore, is Hassan's story.

> I am a Palestinian British Muslim. I take great pride in my dual heritage. I have always had an abiding and deeply felt love for Britain and its way of life. I studied English literature, wrote in imitation of it and in extension of it, read avidly in it and worked tirelessly to teach it. I have also maintained my Palestinian culture through its literature, its history and its people.
>
> There shouldn't be a price to pay for this duality, but there is. I have paid it always reluctantly, occasionally resentfully and once or twice bitterly. The bitter harvest is invariably sown when I dare to show any pride in my Palestinian origins, when - as

a believer in dialogue and understanding - I work for peace in Israel and Palestine no matter how very modestly.

I was employed by one local education authority for some 12 years teaching in various schools. Here are some of the things that happened during that time.

A head teacher told me to keep race out of the school when - after I was racially attacked in a bank - I used the occasion to give an assembly on racial bigotry and intolerance. He said, "We don't want these stories in our schools. Keep them to yourself." On the same occasion a local education authority officer said, "Racial harassment is your problem, not ours. Don't bring it here."

A senior manager at the school asked how a football game was going and I answered that we (ie, England) were winning. "No lad. You're not winning. We are."

A senior adviser suggested, "Why don't you look for senior posts in Hackney or Leicester? Many of your people live there." And a head teacher, asked what I should do to get a senior post, said, "Leave - go to Brixton. You'll make it there."

Another senior adviser said, "You didn't get the job, because we didn't like the colour of - shall we say - your shoes."

A head teacher said, "You will never get promotion in one of the local schools. Try the race relations industry. You should go far."

During a meeting, a head teacher responded to a suggestion from me with, "We don't want any of your foreign ideas here."

Such statements, and they were not the only ones, I took as being part of the risks of the trade. They were, I thought, harmless and unintentional stupidities. I was very wrong. Their cumulative effect destroys the very essence of one's humanity.

Then in the late 1980s I started teaching an adult evening class in literature. We did some work on the First World War poets. I decided to use three examples of modern war and protest writing: the Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish, extracts from the Israeli novelist Amos Oz and two poems from my then recently published anthology, entitled A Return: The Siege of Beirut.

Two students objected to the use of Palestinian poetry. They asked to be moved. They were moved. I was told by the director to "pack it in."

I withdrew from teaching adult classes.

Meanwhile, the students wrote to Selwyn Gummer MP objecting to the use of Palestinian poetry and alleging anti-Semitism. Mr Gummer rightly wrote to the local education authority. The LEA launched an enquiry lasting a term. I was asked to submit my anthology, which was scrutinised for anti-Semitic sentiment.

At the end of the term I was called into the head teacher's office where an LEA official told me that I was exonerated of any improper behaviour or improper sentiment and that the matter was closed.

The official asked if I was happy. I told him that I was not, as I believed the whole episode to have been essentially unjust. For a man who had always believed passionately in a working relationship with Israel, the label anti-Semitic was highly offensive. He stood up before me, wagged his finger and shouted, "The matter is now closed. Be grateful. Now, get back to your teaching."

I resigned and spent the next year writing freelance. I also continued my involvement in the Middle East through correspondence with persons interested in a negotiated peace. A year later, I got a new job. Working in an advisory capacity for another LEA, where I was to stay for 12 years.
Here are some of the things said to me during that time.

"We used to shoot people like you" (on the occasion of walking into a room and saying 'shalom' instead of good morning).

"Oh, computer. Wow. Bet you don't know what that is" (when we received our new laptops as Ofsted inspectors).

"Of course you can't inspect schools. You're an Asian and as an Asian you don't know how to criticise" (when an Ofsted report written by me was judged too soft).

"These people are pushy. You don't have to be involved with them if you don't want to" (when I put forward a proposal that we should work closely with the Anne Frank Educational Trust on the Anne Frank Moral Courage Award).

"You're an Asian. You can't say no" (when my workload had become unsustainable).

"You're not in Beirut now" (on an occasion when I got excited over an Ofsted finding).

"Those four head teachers [all women] fancy you because of your race" (when evaluation feedback praised my work).

"I think that she's Irish [referring to a head teacher who was not, in fact, Irish]. That's why she likes you. You're a Palestinian victim like her."

"Go for it [when I suggested tongue in cheek that I should go for the post of chief education officer]. You might get it. They need a token black here."

"Being a Conservative will get you nowhere. They all hate the likes of you" (when I revealed that I had voted for John Major).

In February 1999, I was asked to chair a group to look at the implications of the Macpherson report [Sir William Macpherson's recommendations on the investigation and prosecution of racially motivated crimes].

Having reported to the education committee by December 1999, I was then asked to chair another group to look at the implications of the Macpherson report on the whole of county council. Both jobs required some 40% of my time, I felt, to cover the task properly. As a result some other tasks suffered, especially in the early days.

I was consistently made to feel uncomfortable by an unsympathetic and pompous senior manager who felt that the Macpherson work was interfering with the real job.

By May 2000, a line manager complained about my work. I was immediately put on capability procedures. I went through the list of complaints with the head of the service, and these were removed one by one (except for a complaint that on two occasions my mobile phone rang during a meeting). I was consequently taken off capability procedures without a word of apology or an acknowledgement of unfairness.

My next reference for a job specifically stated that I had needed support at one point. I did not get the job and during the debrief I was told that the reference was the main obstacle despite my performance at interview being "inspirational".

It was eventually conceded that my Macpherson work was causing an overload but nothing was done about this. The line manager was consistently impatient of my Macpherson work insisting that it came second to everything else.

The list of examples is endless. During an inspection of a special school in Sussex, a teacher came into the inspectors' room and asked to see "that inspector - Mr Farouk McDoughnut or McDonald", meaning me. At the time the mistake was mildly amusing. When it became my name at work, it was no longer so.

At one point the head of the school improvement and support service introduced me to a room full of newly qualified teachers as Mr Farouk McDoughnut. I received correspondence using that name. I became so sensitive to this abuse that when I obtained my PhD in 1997 and the head of the service sent a fax reading "Congratulations Herr doktor", I found it deeply offensive although I was sure that it was not meant to be so.

I have left out many out the many examples of sexist comments about my alleged relationships with female head teachers. Presumably, it is impossible for a black man to have a successful professional relationship with white women head teachers.

It is difficult to work out in hindsight why I put up with such treatment. (*Guardian*, May 2000).

In Conclusion

There is not the space here to relate the fuller version of Hassan's story. However, I have below selected his documented responses to some of the racisms that he was subjected to

during the time he worked for the county LEA in which I first met him, and in which I have conducted my research. Some of these responses were related to circumstances described by one or two close colleagues from the Corporate Macpherson Working Group as *'racial and cultural bullying'*. All of the responses are documented in the *Blue Eyes – Brown Eyes* workshops run by Jane Elliot, in which she assists white people to experience the everyday racism that their fellow black citizens must live with. All the responses, experienced for only one day by the workshop's white blue-eyed participants, are corroborated by the black participants in Elliot's workshops as being part of their everyday experience.

Hassan related that in response to racisms experienced during his time at the LEA,

- I was shocked
- Badly shaken
- I was like a man in a trance
- I felt physically ill and continuously nauseous
- I felt that I could not take it any longer
- I felt too ill to continue
- I was scared

These do not sound like the words of an intelligent, articulate and highly qualified male, working in a position that would normally command considerable respect. The ultimate outcome of Hassan's experiences has been that he has been diagnosed with high blood pressure, severe stress, and has finally been retired from his post *'after suffering what is commonly known as a nervous breakdown'* (shared personal correspondence, 2002). In documentary footage of one of Jane Elliot's *Blue Eyes* workshops, she responds to a statement from one of the white blue-eyed participants. He says, in some distress, that being subjected to forms of racism for only one and a half hours, and allowing himself to really *engage* with what is happening to him, has made him feel physically ill. Elliot responds with the conjecture,

> Why do so many black males die nine or ten or fifteen years before white males do? …and so many of them have high blood pressure, and problems with their heart, and all kinds of problems that kill them early and have nothing to do with

violence? Could having to confront [racism] and deal with it, or *not* confront it and cope with it every day for yourself and your wife and your children and your parents and your grandparents make you sick?
(Elliot, 1995, documentary footage).

Intimations from Hassan's narrative would certainly lead us to believe that this may indeed be the case.

In the majority white rural area in which my research has taken place therefore, the culture of 'no problem here' is alive and well. The fact that tackling racism is given higher priority in more ethnically diverse geographical locations tends to lead to the assumption that racism is both worse in its manifestations and more prevalent in those areas. In fact, both the actions and the effects of racism in mainly white areas are often exacerbated because of the isolation of minority ethnic individuals, and the lack of awareness and contact experience of the white majority. As *The Children's Legal Centre* has commented, 'Racism may be more of a problem in predominantly white communities ...precisely because of their insularity' (Hamilton, Rejtman-Bennett, Roberts, 1999, p2). This culture of 'no problem here' therefore, allows institutions and individuals to perpetuate and reinforce racisms, however unwittingly, making it harder to unpack attitudes and behaviours precisely because of the perceived irrelevance of 'race' in mainly white areas. Furthermore, as has been demonstrated above, the lack of centralised legitimacy over the years, together with a prescriptive and restorationist approach to education in general has done little to alleviate this situation. In fact it has allowed majority white areas to reflect that lack of centralised legitimacy in their policies and practices; in their attitudes and behaviours.

Dhalech has commented that, 'The isolation of living in rural communities with little or no support can exacerbate the experience of racism but maintain its invisibility' (Dhalech, in Henderson and Kaur, 1999, p11). In fact 'little or no support' for minority ethnic citizens in the face of racism is a specific symptom of the 'no problem here' mindset, and has been demonstrated by the lack of full commitment to race equality initiatives by the LEA in which I have conducted my research. It is this lack of full commitment that is made manifest in the three key elements of racism described by Dhalech at the beginning of this chapter; the way racism is *expressed;* the *effect* of racism; and the way in which racism is

addressed; and if we take the case of Hassan as an example of this structure, we can see how,

- The racism he experienced was *expressed* in relation to the specific discourses that existed within a rural LEA in relation to a minority ethnic individual. The discourse of rural racism was given freedom of expression in the context of the 'space' created by the prevalence of the white majority, and the diminutive presence of black and minority ethnic people. The lack of commitment to an anti-racist infrastructure within the LEA further served to support and perpetuate this discourse.

- The *effect* of this racism was felt by Hassan in terms of the isolation he experienced, and the lack of support available (amply illustrated by his responses listed above). This isolation and lack of corporate support were demonstrated by the fact that he confided in only a small number of people he considered to be friends; as Dhalech has stated, '[isolated] minority ethnic [people] are inclined to resolve issues within the private circles of family and friends' (Dhalech, quoted in Henderson and Kaur, 1999, p11). It is only now that he is too ill to continue to work, ('*I have intimations of mortality so am much less scared of bosses...*') and is away from the situation and its immediate repercussions that he feels able to 'blow the whistle' more publicly.

- In Hassan's case, the racism he experienced was *addressed* only by the fact of his own resignation as escape. The LEA position at this time was summed up succinctly by Hassan when he commented on his own circumstances, saying, '*There I was, having successfully chaired the Macpherson Education Committee Working Group and currently proudly chairing the County Council's Corporate Macpherson Working Group, ironically being subjected to the most insidious and misguided racisms conceivable.*'(shared personal email, 2002). It is clear that at the time, despite the new initiatives that were starting to be mobilised in response to legislation, there was still much ground to be covered in terms of addressing attitudes and behaviour within the LEA.

In relation to institutional racism therefore, we can distinguish two levels of understanding that may be held by individuals within those institutions. These two levels are states of awareness that these individuals hold in relation to the phenomenon of racism.

One level of awareness can be identified as the *issues* that are involved in racism, and these relate directly to the three aspects of racism, recognised by Dhalech, as the way in which racism is *expressed*, the *effects* of this racism, and the way in which it is *addressed*. Although this level of understanding can clearly be acquired by both white, and black and minority ethnic individuals, it is more likely that black and minority ethnic individuals will become aware of these issues through their daily interpersonal interactions. This personal aspect leads on to the second level of understanding and awareness, which we can identify as the *experience* of racism, and by default this level of awareness is available *particularly* to black and minority ethnic individuals within a mainly white environment. A short anecdote will illustrate this point.

Jo, the head teacher from EMAS told me the following story:

> I became very friendly with an Indian family, and was invited to a family wedding in the small rural town near to where they live locally. For the wedding, the family bought traditional clothes especially for me that would be the same as their own.
>
> After the wedding, we had to walk through the town to the place where the reception was being held. During that short walk, our party were stared at, people made rude or 'funny' comments, and a few boys gathered together acted in quite a threatening way towards us.
>
> For me, I could go home at the end of the day, take off the clothes, and be my usual 'white' self, dress in the clothes I usually wear, and no-one will take any particular notice of me, I just 'blend in' with everyone else.
>
> For the members of my friends' family, many of the women wear that style of dress every day, and not only that, all of the group were Asian, and look different to almost all of the other people in the town in terms of the colour of their skin. For them, the experience that I had for one day is an experience that they have every day of their lives.
> (narrative related to me personally, 2002).

This personal narrative clearly illustrates the *first hand experience* of racism that the western white majority population is not usually privy to.

Therefore, having identified the two levels of understanding described above, four subject positions can now be defined in relation to differing levels of *engagement* with the *issues* and *experience* of racism, and these are:

- *fully* engaged
- *vicariously* engaged
- *semi* engaged
- *under* engaged

These subject positions can be explained more clearly with reference to the roles that the various LEA and REC employees introduced above have played in relation to the phenomenon of racism in a majority white area, and can be described as:

- *fully engaged*: This position is fulfilled by the positions of both Hassan and Sudhir, who are working in the area of racial equality, and are therefore fully engaged with the *issues*, both through cognitive acquisition, and through personal interactions as and with, minority ethnic individuals. Because they themselves are visible minority ethnic individuals, they have also been forced to fully engage with the *experience* of racism on a personal level. **This subject position of *fully engaged* therefore enables Hassan and Sudhir to have maximum contact with the individuals most affected by racism.**

- *vicariously engaged*: This position is taken up by Jo and the EMAS team; also by Sudhir's white colleague at the REC mentioned above. These actors are engaged with the *issues* of racism as they are all working in the field of racial equality. Their knowledge of the issues will arise through the nature and understanding of their work, both through their contact with black and minority ethnic individuals, and through their own cognitive acquisition. As white individuals however, it is not possible for them to be fully engaged with the direct personal *experience* of racism, and knowledge of this can only be accumulated vicariously through their

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work with black and minority ethnic individuals. **This subject position of** *vicariously* **engaged therefore means that these actors have considerable contact with the individuals most affected by racism.**

- *semi engaged*: This subject position is taken up by both John and David. These individuals are working in the area of the implementation of anti-racist guidance, although both individuals were shown to have been on a steep learning curve in relation to the issues involved, both having only recently been appointed to post. In addition to this factor, their work does not involve any considerable contact with black and minority ethnic individuals, and therefore their engagement with the *issues* of racism is both incomplete – due to their short time in post, and limited to cognitive acquisition of relevant knowledge, since the nature of their work involves little direct contact with minority ethnic individuals. This also means that in terms of the *experience* of racism, besides being white individuals and therefore unable to gain this understanding directly and personally, neither are they favourably placed to vicariously empathise with the experiences of black and minority ethnic individuals since their contact is largely removed. **This subject position of** *semi engaged* **therefore means that John and David have only limited contact with the individuals most affected by racism.**

- *under engaged*: This subject position includes diametrically opposite locations in terms of responsibility within the hierarchy of the LEA. It contains both the CEO, and also, for example, Hassan's line manager who was directly accountable to the CEO. However, it also contains an element of the LEA secretarial and administrative staff with considerably less responsibility. In this majority white area, both these strata of employees have extremely occasional contact with black and minority ethnic people. It is also the case that neither work directly in the area of racial equality.

Black and minority ethnic people are largely absent from employment in the higher-ranking positions of the LEA, such as those in which the CEO and those directly responsible to him are working. It is also the case that this stratum of employee has reduced contact with the general public, which in any case, would

provide little opportunity for contact with black and minority ethnic people due to the fact that the LEA is in a majority white area. Engagement with the *issues* of racism at the higher-ranking levels is inadequate therefore, since these actors have both extremely limited contact with black and minority ethnic people, and, despite the fact that by law they now need to possess a cognitive awareness of the issues; they are often (apart from fulfilling the legal requirements) unwilling to engage with them. Additionally, as they are not working directly in the area of racial equality these issues are delegated a position of relative unimportance. In illustration of this attitude, I attended an LEA racial equality meeting where I was told directly by a high-ranking employee:

> *Nobody wants* [responsibility for race equality]. *David couldn't wait to get rid of it. He hasn't even taken the time to formally hand it over to anyone. It's a bit like 'pass the parcel'* [laughs] – *if you stand still long enough you'll get it. It's under-funded, under-staffed, under-resourced.* [The CEO] *doesn't want to know about it. I haven't got the time to sort it out, but he'll just say 'you do it' – he just won't get involved...*

In terms of the *experience* of racism, as with the subject position of *semi engaged*, these are white individuals who are unable to gain understanding directly and personally, and whose contact is almost completely removed, giving no immediate opportunity even to personally empathise with the experiences of black and minority ethnic individuals.

In the lower-ranking positions of secretarial and administrative staff, contact is virtually non-existent as there are very few minority ethnic employees at this level either, and although this group of employees may have more contact with the (largely white) public, this is often by letter or telephone. Engagement with the *issues* of racism is negligible, since these staff are not involved in implementing racial equality initiatives, and they often possess only a peripheral cognitive awareness of legislation. As an example of this, members of staff have been overheard referring to members of the minority ethnic public as '*Ities*', or '*those gyppos*', and attitudes can often be hostile. The white individuals employed in these lower-ranking positions are also unable or unwilling to empathise with the *experience* of racism, both because of their own 'whiteness',

and again because their contact with black and minority ethnic individuals is virtually non-existent, making empathy difficult or impossible.

In the case of the higher-ranking posts therefore, this subject position of *under-engaged* is a result of the perceived relative unimportance of the issue of racial equality in a majority white area, together with a reluctance to engage with the issues and an inability to connect in any meaningful way with the experiences of racism. In the case of the lower-ranking posts it is a similar attitude to this, in combination with an ignorance of the issues and experiences involved[1]. Both attitudes result in the manifestations of institutional racism, and in both cases, **this subject position of *under engaged* means that these two strata of LEA employees have negligible contact (leading to negligence) with the individuals most affected by racism.**

These subject positions are more simply illustrated in the diagram below:

1: fully engaged	2: vicariously engaged
maximum contact with BME individuals fully engaged with *issues* fully engaged with *experience* Hassan, Sudhir (BME individuals)	considerable contact with BME individuals engaged with *issues* vicariously engaged with *experience* Jo + EMAS team + REC colleague (white individuals)
3: semi engaged	4: under engaged
limited contact with BME individuals incomplete engagement with *issues* extremely limited engagement with *experience* John, David (white individuals)	negligible contact with BME individuals inadequate engagement with *issues* negligible engagement with *experience* CEO, Hassan's line manager, certain members of secretarial and administrative staff. (white individuals)

A Typology of Engagement (Carroll, 2002)

The subject positions described above provide a snapshot of the particular circumstances within a majority white LEA at a particular point in time. In relation to the individuals involved these positions can of course, change in some respects. People can change their jobs, their attitudes, increase their knowledge, awareness and understanding. All of these features are, to various degrees, 'moveable'. What is not moveable is the fact of colour, and this makes the subject positions of Hassan and Sudhir fixed to some extent, and to some extent dependent upon the initiatives and responses of a majority white institution in relation to the issues and experiences of racism[2].

In relation to this fixity, it needs to be said here that the subject position of *fully engaged*, although certainly not a welcomed or accepted position in terms of the *experience* of racism, is not necessarily a welcomed or accepted position in terms of accommodating *white perceptions* of a fully engaged black or minority ethnic individual's relationship to the *issues* either, and the apparent immovability of this subject position can be experienced as stifling. An extract from a conversation held with Sudhir illustrates this point. He told me:

> *...there's so much more to me than people see – they just don't see it – they say 'of course, you're a representative of black and minority ethnic people' ... I'm not!! – I'm an employee of the Racial Equality Council; I represent racial equality in that job - but I have a life outside of racial equality too... I don't want to be seen as just a 'token black'...*

Sudhir's frustration clearly expressed his need to be recognised as a professional representative of his organisation, with a full three-dimensional personal existence outside of that role too, rather than being seen simply as a representative of black and minority ethnic people based on his colour. In fact, there is a certain disempowerment bestowed by assumptions such as this, which effectively 'roll' the professional and the personal into one, assuming the power to ascribe a monolithic identity in this way. As Sudhir said to me, '*why should I represent all the other black and minority ethnic people in* [county], *they're all different from me. How do I know what they want?*'

Some final comments

This chapter has endeavoured to show the extent to which a local authority in a majority white county has responded to new racial equality legislation (or not), and the various ways in which the actors within this institution have hampered, assisted, or in some circumstances, been personally affected by this process. It has highlighted the persistence and intractability of the 'no problem here' attitude first identified by Gaine (1987), and has explored certain legislative issues that have in some ways exacerbated these backward and complacent attitudes. The chapter has also illustrated, latterly, the extent to which the degree of contact experience with black and minority ethnic people, encountered by those within the hierarchy of this LEA, appears to have some influence on the engagement that these individuals demonstrate towards the issues and experience of racism.

Two final short quotations will suffice here; both of them from the black and minority ethnic individuals who have been two of the subjects of this study; Sudhir and Hassan. Both are illustrative of the circumstances surrounding the situation of the county LEA in relation to racial equality.

Sudhir quite recently set the potential scene of the Commission for Racial Equality (with its newly acquired influence in relation to public authorities), deciding to visit this LEA to find out how progress towards the full implementation of the Macpherson recommendations and the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000 was being moved forward. Knowing the current situation at the LEA, Sudhir commented less than succinctly '*you'd be stuffed...*'

Hassan, in the longer version of his article (referred to above) which was emailed to Jo, stated in relation to the less than supportive environment in which he attempted to implement the Macpherson recommendations at the county LEA, '*Thank you Macpherson. You forgot to include a recommendation in your Report prohibiting the victimisation of those working on implementing the Report's recommendations*'.

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[1] From this description it is also possible to consider the subject position occupied by the key member of the Advisory Group for Citizenship referred to in chapter three, in relation to their level of engagement with the phenomenon of racism (see sub-section entitled *Learning for All – Or just for Some?* The transcribed data for this individual also appears in Appendix [B3]). In fact, the 'unwitting' nature of many of the comments

featured in the transcribed data betrays evidence of a subject position that is clearly *under-engaged* through a hybrid response to issues of 'race'. This hybrid response can be identified with attitudes corresponding to the diametrically opposite locations described in the *under-engaged* category (see sub-section entitled *Levels of Engagement: A Model of Understanding for a Majority White Area* in chapter four), in that the individual featured in the transcripts has both a high-ranking position, and yet does not appear to connect with the issues in ways that demonstrate any real intent to effect change. Additionally, the attitudes of this individual, although not openly hostile, nevertheless betray evidence of both negativity, and of the unwitting use of language that could be interpreted as offensive by minority ethnic citizens. It is difficult to imagine that the influence of such attitudes upon the organisation in which the individual works, no matter how covert in the context of their employment, would not be palpable.

[2] In fact, if we link these subject positions back to the earlier discussion in relation to Sudhir's occasional inability to conceal his frustrations in training and other interactions with white educators, we can see how the experience of being *fully engaged* would place Sudhir in a reference group which might make it *difficult* to keep a constant perspective on an externally perceived need by white training facilitators for interaction which is consistently 'non-upsetting' and 'non-confrontational'. Further development of this model at some stage might provide the opportunity for a more reflective overview of where a trainer is 'coming from' in terms of their subject position/reference group.

Chapter 5

PUPIL EXPERIENCE - SCHOOL RESPONSE: THE MARGINALISATION OF THE MINORITY ETHNIC VOICE IN A MAJORITY WHITE AREA

Abstract

This chapter considers the way in which a sample of schools has failed to develop the connection between new citizenship legislation and the recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report. This failure has manifested both in the area of promoting an anti-racist curriculum, and in terms of dealing with the isolating experiences of black and minority ethnic children in the schools of this majority white county. This latter aspect is considered with particular reference to individual case study examples, and finally, a brief exploration of possible interpretative theoretical models is presented in relation to the work of both Cross (1992) and Maxime (1986).

Citizenship and Racial Equality: Bridging the Gap

The title of this thesis is *'Race' and Citizenship after 2000: Educational Policy and Practice*, and the focus so far has been on the way in which these two aspects, *'Race'* and *Citizenship*, have been aided and impeded towards a union which would result in forms of citizenship that could accommodate both equality and diversity. Chapter three particularly described the way in which new legislation for the teaching of citizenship (following the publication of the Crick Report in 1998), had evolved as a distinct agenda from the developments of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report of 1999, and that as a result of this, the issues raised by the agenda for citizenship and those raised by an agenda for anti-racism had remained, to a large extent, disconnected.

An example of this disconnection was taken from the occasion of my attendance at an education conference in the early days of the government's stated intent to introduce citizenship as a statutory requirement in the secondary curriculum from 2002. At that conference, held in 2000, the connection was exclusively made between the Crick Report (1998) and citizenship, and yet no mention was made of the more recently published

Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report (1999) with its explicit recommendations for anti-racism in education. In fact at that conference (facilitated by the British Educational Research Association), there had been not even passing reference made to issues of multiculturalism, much less anti-racism.

This disconnection has been further reinforced by the findings of my research within a majority white LEA. At a large sixth form conference held for almost two hundred of the county's pupils in 2001, there was no reference at all made to issues of anti-racism, or to the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, and the only presentation that referred to any aspect of the multicultural had been a short global studies session conducted by UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund). It has since been decided that the conference will run annually, and anti-racism and the issues raised by diversity have now been included in the future agenda as a consequence of discussing this omission with the conference co-ordinators. This has resulted in an invitation to run a session jointly facilitated by myself and the county's Racial Equality Council.

Further evidence of the neglect of anti-racism in the citizenship curriculum has been generated by other schools in my study. Four secondary schools featured in the short case studies which follow below for example, had quite intense anxieties in some instances concerning the content and delivery of their citizenship curriculum, particularly in feeling that they had not been given enough specific direction by the DfES (Department for Education and Skills). These same schools however, when offered help with the introduction of a particular citizenship resource which would assist them in addressing anti-racism[1], treated this offer as an issue of peripheral and secondary importance in comparison to their concern with the other areas that citizenship would need to cover. In the course of further contact with these schools, I came to regard this response as an indication of the perception of irrelevance that anti-racism has for this majority white area, and as a further reflection of the 'No Problem Here' mindset (Gaine, 1987, 1995). Having approached these same schools in the early stages of my research for information regarding their linking of the new citizenship curriculum with the issues raised by the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, and having received some fairly discouraging responses, I noted in a paper I wrote at the time that,

> ... the energy needed to mobilise school response [to the citizenship curriculum] was considerable, which further increased anxieties concerning assessment and inspection. In addition... I was particularly asking the schools of a majority white county for access to information about cultural diversity, an area that had, in the county's recent history, been treated at worst defensively, and at best, as an irrelevance (Gaine, 1987, 1995).
> (Carroll, 2002, p35).

These same schools deferred frequently to the Crick Report, and there seemed to be an underlying assumption that Crick had said all there was to say on the subject of citizenship. The schools were however, much less familiar with the recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report (detailed in chapters three and Appendix [B2]), and it increasingly seemed to be the case that any connection between Crick and the new citizenship curriculum; and the Stephen Lawrence recommendations and anti-racism was simply not being made; and further, that the opportunity was being neglected and the curriculum space used for other purposes.

Crick, in fact, as discussed in chapter three, had done little more than nod in the direction of multiculturalism, and as described in that chapter at some length, had given little real guidance on the ways in which 'an understanding of the diversity of community and society and an awareness of equal opportunities issues, national identity and cultural differences' (QCA, 1998, p19) was to be achieved. As also discussed in chapter three, Crick had failed to specifically address the issue of racism, and his approach could be described as that of 'teaching children how to get along together', with no attention given to the practical barriers that prevent that process from happening (see Ashrif, 2002, p24, quoted below). This approach however, certainly seemed to be one that the schools from my study in this majority white area found most suited to their comfort zone.

The Absence of Guidance and Help from on High

Chapter four discussed at some length the long-term impact that the National Curriculum ultimately had on marginalising the recommendations of the Swann Report of 1985, especially in majority white areas. Picking this up quite damningly in his article *QCA* [Qualifications and Curriculum Authority] *and the Politics of Multicultural Education*, Shahid Ashrif has commented,

There is no official national guidance regarding antiracist approaches to teaching and learning. There never has been. Efforts by the Anti-Racist Teacher Education Network in the 1980s to ensure that all teachers were given the skills to teach in a multi-ethnic/multicultural classroom came to nothing. Instead the government and the press demonised antiracists. …The committee set up to advise on the 'multicultural' dimension to the National Curriculum and the proposed publication of guidance were scrapped. Antiracist approaches were squeezed out of the National Curriculum and only educators committed to racial equality and justice persisted in exploring the issues. Teachers and the DFES forgot the rationale and practices that had been developing.
(Ashrif, 2002, p24).

Ashrif further sheds light on reasons why the schools from my research sample seemed oblivious to the implications of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report when he states that,

The QCA's sudden interest in multicultural education arose out of the recommendations of the Macpherson [Stephen Lawrence Inquiry)] Report. The remit from the Education Secretary was issued in 1999 but QCA's work with consultants only began seriously in autumn 2001. …QCA's analysis echoes the government stance of being opposed to racism while playing down the prevalence of racism in society and treating it as some form of misunderstanding between various groups and individuals.
(ibid. p24).

QCA (who were subject to DfES approval) had been tardy in picking up the implications of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report for an anti-racist curriculum, and in fact the planned launch of a website for schools entitled *Respect for All*, scheduled for December 2001 (echoing the CRE's guidance booklet *Learning for All*, produced in 2000 as a specific response to the recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report), was both poorly organised (Ashrif, 2002, p24), and ineffective to the point where almost twelve months past the original launch date, the site still consisted of no more than a homepage advising visitors to 'watch this space'. An enquiry to QCA produced the response that the drafted content of the website had been found unacceptable by the DfES in certain respects, and had resulted in prolongation of the draft procedures. A call to the DfES elicited the response from an equal opportunities adviser that the site could potentially contain '*very sensitive material*' (personal conversation, November 2002), and was therefore more likely to be 'multicultural' rather than specifically 'anti-racist' in content and purpose. They further commented that the launch date was still indefinite, and that interested educators should just keep an eye on the homepage.

Despite the care that was obviously being taken in compiling this 'sensitive' material, the situation was clearly not helpful to schools looking for guidance, and further; these deliberations and frustrated responses seemed to reflect a lack of confidence in approaching the issues at stake. What the above conversation actually demonstrated was that clear guidance from QCA and DfES was still unavailable almost three years after the publication of the recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report of February, 1999. This situation might help to explain why the schools from my research sample appeared to be so unfamiliar with the significance of the recommendations for education, and indeed, on the training days conducted by the LEA in 2002 which I helped to facilitate, head-teachers, senior management and school governors frequently claimed that the importance of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report had not been a significant factor in relation to their planning for citizenship education.

Continuing on the subject of promoting an anti-racist curriculum, Ashrif has further commented that:

> Good teaching starts with the ideas, skills and understanding children bring to school. We need to accept and understand that their racial and ethnic identities are an integral part of their lives. Teachers are a product of their conditioning and the extent of teacher prejudices and the profession's lack of understanding of what racism is and how it operates in society has to be recognised.
> (ibid. p24).

Ashrif beds these comments in his firm belief that the TTA (Teacher Training Agency) does not make sure that 'Teacher Trainers have the necessary understanding and skills to teach this aspect [anti-racism] to their students. ' (ibid, p27; see also Jones, 1999, pp5 & 107-8). As an additional factor in this failure to deliver a curriculum that fully reflects the ideals of an anti-racist agenda, my paper (referred to above) also made the observation from my contact with schools that,

> ...my subsequent research experience has shown that these institutions are often pushed to the limit by the pressures of 'performativity' (Ball, 2001), a situation that increases performance related anxiety in schools and institutions. ...As one teacher confided in me at the beginning of my research, *'for citizenship, we're so pressed that to be honest, all we want to know is what boxes we have to tick for OFSTED'*.
> (Carroll, 2002, p36).

This teacher's observation clearly reflects the pressures of a highly prescriptive curriculum, with penalty structures for inadequate attainment tending to take the focus away from the wider issues of an education for diversity and anti-racism.

A Cocktail of Neglect...

The pattern of neglect that will be demonstrated by the data presented below therefore, can be distilled into a cocktail containing several different and interlinking ingredients. These are:

- A serial lack of guidance and direction by QCA and the DfES
- Neglect by the TTA to practically tackle the issues of racism
- The pressures of the National Curriculum and the strictures of 'performativity'
- Teachers' own background prejudice and conditioning regarding racism
- The perceived irrelevance of anti-racism as an issue in majority white areas.

To this list, Gaine adds:

- Teachers' fear of handling such sensitive issues in the classroom
- A lack of structural support from related agencies and individuals
- A lack of awareness from teachers of the real incidence of racism in their schools. (Gaine, 1995, pp11-12).

Gaine's first two points confirm Jay's findings from 1992 that:

> Some [education] advisers and specialists reported that they encountered resistance not only at the level of the classroom, the staff room and the parents' meeting, but also from people at the top of the education system who were reluctant to back them fully, on the grounds that 'race is such a sensitive issue'.
> (Jay, 1992, p33).

On his final point above, Gaine himself comments:

> ...many colleagues...simply will not believe that significant levels of hostility exist. ...teachers are usually telling the truth when they say they have never heard children expressing racist attitudes. Particularly in white schools it does not tend to

arise as a public issue in chemistry, or typing, or when doing minibeasts. ... The important things happen between lessons ...and we teachers are seldom privy to this world.
(Gaine, 1995, p12).

My own research findings would support these assertions, since many of the racist incidents recounted to me over the past two years have taken place in the 'spaces' between lessons, or in the form of covert or 'coded' behaviour if in the classroom. In particular, once a 'campaign' of racism has been set in motion against a certain child, the perpetrators often find subtle ways to perpetuate this behaviour and treatment throughout the school day in ways which are not obviously noticeable to teaching staff. An example of this racist behaviour might be the case of deliberately and consistently not choosing a peer for group work, a situation to which the teacher may give little attention, but which, in relation to my experiences with black and minority ethnic children (particularly from the secondary schools I have researched in), can often be a symptom of wider and more pro-active peer group exclusion. A further example of teachers' lack of awareness can be cited from a training session I took part in for the staff of a primary school, at which several 'context cards' with examples of recent racist incidents in schools were circulated for the teachers to consider. Two or three of the teachers working with the cards stated that these examples '*must be very out-dated*'. They commented that the events must have occurred a while ago, and therefore had little relevance to present day circumstances. They were disbelieving when told that *all* the incidents had been collated over the past eighteen months in the geographical area in which they taught.

Real Lives – Real Experience

For the wide variety of reasons cited above therefore, many to do with a history of neglect, the opportunity offered by the new citizenship curriculum to address issues of anti-racism and racial exclusion in education was not being taken up by the majority white schools of the county in which my research has taken place. In fact, a response towards anti-racist initiatives was *only* galvanised (characterised by a sudden willingness to attend the county's racial equality conferences), as a result of new legislation following the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000, and the subsequent requirement for schools to produce a racial equality policy by May 31st 2002. This new policy legislation came into force only

towards the end of the time during which my research focus groups were conducted, and it was, therefore, too early to assess the impact of any resulting change.

Legislation regarding citizenship however, was somewhat clearer at that time, and had been outlined by the DfES as follows:

- Key Stages 1 & 2

  Non-statutory framework for personal, social & health education & citizenship. From August 2000

- Key Stages 3 & 4

  Statutory introduction of Citizenship as a National Curriculum subject. From August 2002

My original intention had been to concentrate specifically on a sample of secondary schools, most particularly because of the statutory nature of the new citizenship curriculum for key stages three and four from August 2002, and the opportunities that would provide for addressing anti-racism, together with other aspects of citizenship in the curriculum. However, due to initial resistance from a sample of secondary schools I contacted as a lone researcher, the direction of my research became focused through gatekeepers at the LEA, and therefore on the schools that they could assist me in gaining access to. Initially the LEA agreed that the concentration would be on contacting secondary schools in order to conduct focus groups with minority ethnic children in order to give them the opportunity to express their experiences of citizenship within a majority white environment. It is therefore from these schools (the case studies being taken from four secondary schools out of direct interaction with twelve; although the 'racial temperature' of many more schools could be gauged through subsequent head and governor training sessions) that the main body of this data has been collected. Subsequently the attitudes of majority white children towards issues of inclusive citizenship were also briefly canvassed, and these are included in the form of statistical data to be found in Appendix (B4).

However, racism is not confined to secondary schools, (Wright, 1992; Epstein, 1993) and language-teaching members of the Ethnic Minority Achievement Service told me that they were often asked for additional support by the minority ethnic pupils of both primary and secondary schools, who wanted to engage the language teachers in conversation about

other issues that were affecting their lives. Occasionally there would also be requests by schools for some help in dealing with incidents relating to the isolation of these pupils. The situation was that EMAS simply didn't have either the time or the resources to effectively respond to these requests, and it was decided therefore, that in the course of gathering my research data I would be able to respond to some of these needs, and to give the minority ethnic pupils an opportunity to talk about issues that were causing them concern. At the same time I would be able to help the schools become more aware of how these children felt, and the opportunity might also arise to assist in the development of a whole-school approach to anti-racism as a result of this information. Inevitably therefore, there has been some contact with primary schools, and a particular case study from one of these is also offered below. Before the case-study descriptions are presented however, it will be useful to take a brief overview of the demographic situation in which black and minority ethnic children find themselves within the context of this study.

Demographic Isolation

In an early paper introducing my research, I described these demographic circumstances as follows:

> In the rural county where my research has taken place, there are small numbers of minority ethnic people. This situation is reflected in the numbers of minority ethnic children attending the county schools. In a school of approximately 700 children for example, only seven or eight of these will be of minority ethnic or dual heritage background, and these figures are borne out by the county's recent OFSTED (Office for Standards in Education) report (2002), which confirms that only 1.5 per cent of the county's pupils are of minority ethnic origin compared with the national figure of 12 per cent. It is especially the case that in schools that are not situated in the county towns, the minority ethnic individuals attending the schools in these rural areas do not share a common 'racial' or ethnic homogeneity, and often come from widely varying backgrounds and heritage.
>
> To put this into context, among the minority ethnic population of the county there are children who have themselves come from, or have parents and relatives who have come from, countries such as Bangladesh, Morocco, the Caribbean, India, and China. Some of the minority ethnic religions represented are Judaism, Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism, Buddhism and Rastafarianism. These examples, which by no means represent the complete picture in terms of the range of diversity, nevertheless give an idea of the variety of backgrounds represented by the minority ethnic population. In the particular group of children I discuss in this article there is further diversity. In this group of eight children who make up the larger part of the school's minority ethnic population, the following backgrounds were

represented. One child was of Sudanese heritage, one of Israeli heritage. There were two dual heritage children with a Cypriot and an English parent, one of Greek heritage, and a dual heritage child (white) with a South African and an English parent. There was one child of Jamaican heritage, and another dual heritage child with one Jamaican and one English parent.

It can be seen that any racial or ethnic homogeneity is not a feature reflected by this group, and one of the major concerns of the children was that their individual identities be recognised and respected, and that in the minds of their peers and teachers in school, and the local community outside of school, they were not 'lumped together' as one homogeneous body simply on the grounds of their difference from the white majority population. These children do however, feel themselves to be linked together in *some* ways by the nature of their social experience of exclusion within the community, and this situation has made necessary the development of certain 'coping' mechanisms, and ways of 'managing' their feelings of isolation in order to survive and be able to function in their environment.
(Carroll, 2002, pp 33-4).

These demographic circumstances therefore, are reflected in the case studies presented below. What these case studies show is that it is possible to describe the experiences of these black and minority ethnic children as *racist* experiences, despite prevailing attitudes of 'no problem here' in this majority white county[2]. 'Racist' is used here both in terms of its more intentional forms (see Appendix [A2]), and also in the specific sense described by the Runnymede Report summary of the murder of the Burnage schoolboy Iqbal Ahmed Ullah, and defined as attitudes that are,

...based on a doctrine of racism ...reflect[ing] the racist structure of society, and need not be conscious behaviour as such.
(Runnymede, 1989, p8).

Similarly there are parallels, in relation to individual schools in the cases described below, with the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report definition of institutional racism, stated as:

The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.
(Macpherson, 1999, 6.34).

From the case study examples that follow, it will be seen that the perception, or perhaps more appropriately, mis-perception, of there being 'no problem here', does not accord with

the lives, the experiences, and the racism that many black and minority ethnic children face every day, both as a result of the unwitting *and* sometimes deliberate actions and attitudes of pupils, teachers, parents, the wider community, and, not least, their school as an institution (for particular circumstances relevant to this county, see also Gaine, 1987, 1995; Allen, 1990). It is therefore even more pertinent to consider the extent to which racial equality issues have been marginalised in this majority white area, and especially more recently, in relation to the possibilities provided by the new citizenship curriculum. Finally it should be noted, reflecting the demographic statistics of this county, that all teachers, senior management staff, heads and governors in the following case studies are white, there being no representation in these numbers from the black and minority ethnic community.

The Elisha Secondary School: Praveer's Story

Praveer had started at the Elisha secondary school as a new pupil in year seven. Set on the outskirts of one of the county's villages, the school catered for children of the surrounding (extremely rural) area, up to year eleven. Praveer's parents were Indian, and he had previously attended a very small rural primary school in the county where there had, according to a teacher who had known him there (Mrs Jacobs), been no apparent problems, and where Praveer had been treated '*just like everyone else*' (for a critique of the *One size fits all* phenomenon, see Cline et al. 2002, p167-8; also Jones, 1999, pp139-142). Praveer's difficulties apparently began at the Elisha school therefore, and in fact, after a year of constantly upsetting experiences, his parents (somewhat reluctantly) had agreed to move him to another secondary school. Mrs Jacobs had not only known Praveer at his primary school but was also a friend of his family, and it was through her, together with a head teacher from another school in the county, (Mr Abnett; also acquainted with Praveer's father), that his story came to me.

The year before Praveer had started at the Elisha school in fact, two dual heritage brothers (Irish/Indian) had been moved by their parents to a school in a neighbouring town. At that time I had spoken to their mother, who described a catalogue of racist harassment and bullying over a period of some three years, which had culminated in one of the brothers being held over a first floor stairwell by his legs by a group of boys at the school. The racial harassment suffered by Praveer did not escalate into physical abuse, but it is possible

to speculate that over a period of time, the verbal abuse and isolating experiences might have culminated in a more serious situation (see *Peter's Story* below for an example of this kind of escalation).

In the account given to me by Mr Abnett, Praveer had been in great distress for much of his time at the Elisha school, and had been in tears many evenings on returning home, according to Mr Abnett, '*begging his parents to move him to a different school*'. Mr Abnett said that he himself might have been more supportive at the time, but told me that much of this information had only been revealed to him retrospectively after Praveer had been moved. Praveer's parents had arrived in England from India when he was very young, and had no first hand experience of attending British schools themselves. They had therefore, few coping mechanisms appropriate to the school situation to offer him, and living in a majority white rural area, had little support from any sense of community with other Indian families (see Dhalech in Henderson and Kaur, 1999, p11). The best that Praveer's father could offer him, and the reason why, in Mr Abnett's opinion, the situation had persisted for twelve months before his father agreed to move Praveer to a different school, was to give him the 'advice' (presumably with the most positive intentions for his son) that '*this is the way things are in Britain, and the sooner you toughen up and get used to them, the easier it will be for you here*' (quotation taken from personal conversation with Mr Abnett, 2001). This information was also corroborated by Mrs Jacobs, who said she felt that the attitude of Praveer's father in giving him such advice had, in part, come from some of his own experiences of exclusion within the majority white community.

Praveer had been described to me by both Mrs Jacobs and MrAbnett as a '*likeable and hardworking child*'; apparently keen, as were his parents for him, to do well in school. It is therefore interesting to note that the year after Praveer had left the school, in a questionnaire that I conducted with the tutor group that Praveer had been a member of, and with one other tutor group from his old year group; one child replied to the question '*Has anything like this* [incidences of racism] *happened to you or your friends or your family?*', with the answer; '*no, but Praveer left our school because he was naste* [sic] *to people and rude so people called him a parkistani* [sic]'. It is possible to speculate that there could be some connection with the advice of Praveer's father for him to '*toughen up*', and the child's perception in response to the questionnaire, that Praveer was '*naste to people and rude*'. For a child who had been described as '*likeable and hardworking*', and with no

previous history of being abusive to other children, this behaviour, if it was an accurate perception, might have been part of a 'last resort' strategy of Praveer's in response to the isolation and verbal abuse that he was experiencing. As Williams has commented, 'the experience of black ...students [is] multifaceted ...they perceive and respond to racism ...within society and education in different ways' (quoted in Mac an Ghaill, 1992, p42-3). Mac an Ghaill has further stated that 'schooling for black female and male youths is a central part of an alienating social response to them, ...In response to this, they have, collectively and individually, ...developed coping and survival strategies' (ibid. p43). However, it is also possible to speculate that this child's perception that Praveer was *'naste ...and rude'* was inaccurate, and had been developed as part of a more general misperception that Praveer had somehow, by his actions or demeanour, *invited* racial abuse (*'people called him a parkistani'* [sic]) and thus 'deserved' the names he had been called.

During the time Praveer attended the school, he, and one black African/British dual heritage girl were the only visible minority ethnic pupils on roll out of about six hundred and fifty children. As the dual heritage child is still at the school, it is difficult to consider that any child other than Praveer was implicated in some of the additional comments generated by the questionnaires such as: *'someone left my school because of racist remarks'*; *'I know people that left because of it* [racism]'; *'a boy at our school was called "Paki" a number of times. I stood up for him about two times – the only times I saw him really'*; *'I stuck up for a black skinned boy* [in school]'. Further comments were also expressed in relation to children still attending the school. Of (presumably) the black dual heritage child, (since she is the only visible minority ethnic pupil now left in the school), the comments were made that, *'I have a black friend and she is sometimes cast aside by others because she is different from them'*; *'My sister* [who attends the school] *is friends with a coloured girl who is actually really nice and on some occasions, she has had racist remark* [sic] *called at her'*. Finally, a non-visible dual heritage (German/British) minority ethnic girl wrote, *'because I am half-German I was accused of being half-Nazi'*. Two other children also wrote of the same child, *'one of my friends was accused of being nazi cos her dad was german – that has got nothing to do with her, Why blame her?'*; and *'my best friend was accused of being half nazi because she's half German – But she's really cool!'*. In the face of these particular incidents (which had, I discovered through conversation with the deputy head, been brought to the knowledge and attention of school staff, and the perpetrators spoken to) it is difficult to understand why, at a fund-raising day

where children were encouraged to go to school in fancy dress; when one year eleven boy turned up dressed unambiguously as Adolph Hitler, the history teacher, according to several of the pupils, found it '*very funny, and laughed*' (as, apparently, did many of the children). Perhaps some understanding of the circumstances is made easier when the fact is considered that issues of 'race' and racism are not generally open to frank and unambiguous discussion within the environment of majority white schools. Some children later told me that the deputy head teacher had appeared unsure of how to respond (presumably juggling the unwitting nature of the situation with his own awareness of its potential for inappropriateness - reflecting the often ambivalent responses to issues of 'race' in majority white areas), and in the end made the uncertain comment that it was '*appropriate perhaps, with History in mind*'.

With such 'mixed messages' being promoted within a school; on the one hand with children being reprimanded for calling a child a 'Nazi', and on the other, allowing and even encouraging a child to remain dressed as Hitler as part of a fun fund-raising day event; a lack of knowledge, confidence and clear direction is betrayed in facing up to issues of racial and ethnic diversity in this school. Similarly, in the experiences of Praveer, the black African/British dual heritage child, and the two Irish/Indian brothers, their circumstances within the school betray a neglect in adequately preparing its majority white children for responding to diversity in the context of what is clearly, a very 'sheltered' white environment, (see Cline et al. 2002; Jones, 1999; Gaine, 1987, 1995; Tomlinson, 1990).

Reflecting this observation, when the school received its last OFSTED report in 1998, the report stated that although the school was clearly very caring, familial, and mindful of encouraging its pupils to be aware of the needs and circumstances of others, it did however, fail to prepare the children for the reality of living in a diverse society (OFSTED, 1998, recommendation 20). This ambiguity was further reflected when I interviewed both teachers and the deputy head at the school, since they showed a marked disinclination to talk about either racism or anti-racism, no matter how carefully I attempted to introduce these issues as part of the more general subject of citizenship in order to avoid directly approaching an apparently sensitive area. They were however, quite happy to discuss any other area of the curriculum through which citizenship might be introduced, and this response was confirmed when the county's citizenship adviser visited the school and

commented to me later that, '*it* [racial equality] *was quite a difficult question to get a firm response to; one really gets the sense that they are saying all the right things in relation to racial equality without really grasping the issues*' (personal conversation, 2002).

To complete Praveer's story therefore, some months into my research with the LEA I was able to visit the new school that he had started to attend as a year eight pupil. This school was situated in the county town, and therefore had *relatively* more minority ethnic pupils than the Elisha school, although the numbers were still quite small (the latest figures that they were able to give me accounted for one Chinese child, one Indian child – presumably Praveer, two African Caribbean children, and fifteen dual heritage children out of a total of nine hundred and thirty pupils). It was a school with a very good reputation for pupil attainment, together with quite a structured and disciplined school ethos and organisation. Although I did not get the opportunity to hold a focus group at this school, I was able to mention Praveer's name to a member of staff who had been available to support him through the process of moving school, and to ask how he was progressing. I was told that he had settled in well, and that in the opinion of the teacher it would be preferable not to talk to him about his experiences at the Elisha school, since he had clearly been quite traumatised by his time there; the teacher stating that she felt it would be unwise to revisit those events and risk upsetting or unsettling him in any way. I was unable to detect whether this response was obstructive in its intent, and further unable to verify or triangulate the teacher's perceptions in this respect. Therefore, due to limitations of access, I could not qualify or confirm whether Praveer's experiences at his new school did in fact concur with this teacher's observations.

Northbrook Secondary School: Peter's Story

Northbrook had over twice the pupil numbers of the Elisha school, its roll being approximately 1,483 at the time I conducted my research. I first contacted the school as a result of a conversation with a member of the EMAS team, who said that they had some concerns about two Korean brothers who had arrived at the school just over a year ago from Germany, where their father had been working. The concerns about each brother were of a contrasting nature. At the time of my research, David, the youngest boy, was in year seven, and Peter, two years older, was in year nine. David had integrated reasonably well socially, and had some friends both within and outside of the school. Peter later told

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me that he thought it had been a little easier for David to make friends because he had initially gone to quite a small primary school before attending Northbrook, and most of David's peer group had come up to this relatively large secondary school with him. However, David's difficulty was in relation to the teachers, who had described him as 'surly and un-co-operative'. As a result of this, his attainment targets were suffering, and according to the EMAS teacher and teachers in the school, he was failing to make any more than the most basic progress. His elder brother Peter, on the other hand, appeared to be extremely socially isolated, and yet was thriving academically, working hard, and doing very well in all of his subjects.

Both brothers were receiving language support from EMAS, although their language teacher said that it was very difficult to engage David, and that he was sometimes rude, and refused to respond. She had serious concerns for his well-being, and expressed the thought that his lack of co-operation with teachers generally might be part of a 'school culture' response against the idea of 'working hard' that he felt enabled him to strengthen and maintain his place within his friendship group. Peter, on the other hand, was described as very pleasant and co-operative; often wishing to engage the EMAS teacher in conversation well over the allotted time that she had to spend with him. However, the reason for his wish to engage in prolonged conversation was more disturbing. Peter was very unhappy at school, and had told the EMAS teacher that he was being ostracised and subjected to racist abuse.

Following a conversation with the EMAS team leader, I arranged to visit Northbrook secondary school to conduct a focus group for any minority ethnic children who might wish to take part, to discuss issues that they would like to raise regarding their experiences of school life. The focus group was entirely voluntary, and if the children wanted to take part, formal permission had to be obtained from their parents. About six children responded to the invitation to come to the focus group, and amongst them were Peter and David. I later discovered from Peter that as he had wanted to attend the group, his parents had encouraged David to come along as they thought it might give him the chance to talk about the difficulties he was having academically. From my interaction with David on the one occasion that I saw him however, it was very clear that he did not want to be there at all, and in fact, after reminding the children that they should only join the focus group if they really wanted to, David did not attend again after our first meeting.

Peter however, was extremely anxious to talk, and after the first focus group, we agreed that I would visit the school the following week so that we could talk more privately. What he told me at our next meeting amounted to experiences of extreme social isolation, and the daily occurrence of racist abuse. Peter described having no friends in the school, apart from one child, who was '*ok to speak to me, but* [he] *doesn't want to spend any time with me outside of school*'. He described how he spent every break and lunchtime alone – usually retreating to the library where he felt less conspicuous. He told me that certain children would deliberately 'bump' into him in the corridor, and that if he found the language difficult to understand in lessons, sometimes his peers would intentionally give him the wrong information. He described being called names with pejorative overtones such as '*Korean-boy*', and being pelted with small missiles such as rolled-up pieces of paper during lessons and at break times. He told me that he spent every weekend and all of his holidays at home, and was never visited by, or invited to visit anyone he knew from school. He said that the treatment he received in school was on a daily basis, and his exclusion was such that even if he tried to join in casual conversation, it was made very clear that his contributions were unwelcome.

Peter said that he thought he was being treated in this way both because his peers thought his country was 'poor', and therefore did not deserve any respect, and also because he had difficulties with the language. He recounted that he had made friends when he moved from Korea to Germany, and had never had this problem before, despite the fact that the school he attended in Germany had a majority white population. He also said that it was something he found difficult to talk to his parents about, although they did sometimes ask why he didn't see anyone from school at weekends and in holidays. When I asked if he had reported the incidents to teachers, he said that on some occasions he had, and that the teachers had talked to the individuals concerned, but that this either made no difference, or sometimes only made things worse. Peter also said that in the case of fairly low-level abuse, such as being shunned, or 'bumped into', he would have found it very difficult to describe these incidents to a teacher and feel that he was being taken seriously (this particular perspective is one picked up by a respondent in the *St Peter's School* study below).

The other children who had joined the original focus group were all Japanese, and although they had been subjected to low level harassment on occasions, they had formed a quite tightly knit friendship group which extended to their families outside of school. These children felt considerably more supported because of this framework, and appeared to take confidence from the existence of their mutually shared cultural background, and also from the fact that the fathers of the four children had come to England to work for the same local Japanese company which provided the families with substantial material and cultural support. They seemed to consider the focus groups as an opportunity to discuss their impressions of England and to engage in comparisons of how the education system differed, together with descriptions of their aspirations for the future. There was little evidence from the discussion of their lives in this majority white secondary school, of any deep friendship engagements with peers outside of their own group, especially beyond the school gates; but little apparent need for particular concern due to their own supportive familial and friendship networks. It was interesting to note that Peter stated he was often confused with being Japanese by his peers, who despite giving him the pejorative name 'Korean-boy' seemed to think, in Peter's words, that '*we all just look the same*'. Peter thought that this misperception sometimes caused his peers to assume that he shared similar friendship networks to the Japanese children, despite the fact that he felt conspicuously alone for much of the time.

I continued to see Peter by himself at his request, and his circumstances continued to cause concern. Each week he would describe his isolation and the continuing low-level abuse that he received, and his inability to engage his teachers in helping him to find a solution. He said that they were '*always busy*', and did not seem to have the time to listen to him. On several occasions I tried to contact the SENCO (Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator) who had helped me to set up the focus group, both during my visits to the school, and by telephone calls made in-between visits, but by now the routine had developed whereby reception would allow me to make my own way to the room that we used, and the SENCO was usually occupied elsewhere in the building. Although I left messages, my telephone calls were not returned, and despite the validation of my presence in the school by EMAS, as an unpaid and officially un-posted researcher it was difficult for me to make any emphatic demands upon the school. However, events escalated to the point where I sought the support of EMAS in eventually delivering a letter to the school concerning Peter's experiences.

On my fourth visit to the school to see Peter he was in a Science lesson, and as I was a familiar figure to the receptionists by this time, they suggested that I make my way to the Science block to collect Peter myself. When I arrived in the classroom, the teacher suggested that if Peter was in agreement I could stay in the lesson with him and help him with an experiment that they were conducting. Peter seemed very pleased to see me, and so I took a seat next to him and asked him to describe what the experiment was all about. The class was quite noisy, although it looked as if pupils were working, and as I sat down I noticed that the desk and the floor all around where Peter was sitting was littered with pellets of potato from the experiment they were doing. Peter immediately quietly confided in me that he was glad that I had arrived, since his group were, for the most part, ignoring him, and were not responding to questions he had asked them about the complexity of the experiment. He also said that other members of the class had been pelting him with pieces of potato while he had been trying to work. We left the class shortly before the end of the session since Peter was clearly upset, and said that he would like the chance to talk privately before I left. When we began to talk, he said that he had experienced a particularly bad week in which, besides the usual verbal abuse and occasional pelting with small missiles, a boy he had been sitting next to in one of his classes, having refused to speak directly to him during the lesson, even though some of the work required them to confer, had stabbed him quite hard in the arm with the sharp point of a pair of compasses at the end of the lesson, and had then run away while Peter was still packing his bag.

I asked Peter if he had reported this to anyone, and he said that by this time he was so used to any action taken by the teachers being ineffective, that he had decided to wait and tell me at our meeting. He was clearly very upset by what had happened, and I assured him that I would do what I could to bring the incident to the attention of the SENCO before I left. I attempted to find the SENCO, but was again unsuccessful. Over the next week I left several telephone messages, both on reception, and on her voice-mail facility, to which she failed to respond despite the fact that I indicated there was an incident I needed to discuss with her. I had been unable to make a date to visit Peter over the following two weeks due to end-of-term exam schedules, and a school trip that Peter was taking part in. With time running out before the end of term, I discussed the situation with the EMAS team leader, and she suggested that I write a letter to the school. She herself was clearly under too much pressure from other areas of her EMAS work to become involved at this point, and

there was at that time, no racial equality officer in post at the LEA. She therefore said that she would be grateful if I would follow-up the incident so that the situation could be monitored, and also make clear to the school that the events to-date needed to be entered in the racist incident log book.

With some reservations about my role as a researcher therefore, and the extent to which this position might fail to validate my concerns in the eyes of the school, and also recording in my field notes diary the leap that this initiative appeared to indicate in terms of a clear shift from interviewer and participant observer to action researcher, I wrote and sent the following letter to the school SENCO.

16th July 2001

Dear Christine,

I was hoping to have a word with you about Peter last Wednesday, but didn't manage to catch you before I left.

I have been a bit concerned about some of the things he has been talking to me about; particularly his lack of a real friendship group either in or out of school, and about the way that other children in his year are behaving towards him generally. He keeps emphasising to me that he does not see his problem with his work, or in his relationships with the teachers, but with the children and the way they are treating him.

When I saw him last Wednesday he was really quite anxious to talk because his week had been particularly bad. When I found him in his Science lesson the class were doing experiments with pieces of potato. I noticed that the floor around him was littered with these pieces when I went to sit next to him. When we talked at break-time I asked him if he had minded me coming into his lesson, and he said that he had been glad that I arrived when I did, because he was being pelted with these small missiles during the lesson by various children. He also told me that earlier in the week, a boy who had been sitting next to him during a lesson had been verbally unpleasant, and that at the end of the lesson this same boy had stuck him quite hard in the arm with the sharp end of a pair of compasses. Peter said that this had made him really very angry, and that as it was the end of the lesson and the boy had grabbed his things and run off, Peter ran after him but did not manage to catch up with him. I asked Peter what might have happened if he had caught up with him, and Peter said that he was so angry with this boy, he felt like hitting him, which would obviously have escalated the whole incident.

These things had happened during a week when he had been unable to find a friend to spend either lunchtimes or break-times with, and I think he was feeling particularly low. It seems that the low-level verbal disparagement is going on most of the time and he does feel quite fed up with it. As for the incident with the compasses, I think that it might be advisable to enter it into the school's racial incident logbook as it is important to keep a record of anything like this that happens in the school. I think particularly because it has occurred as an incident within a broader spectrum of circumstances that Peter is unhappy about.

I was wondering if it would be a good idea to have a chat in September about a slightly wider strategy that might involve some of the other children. Although concentrating on Peter is beneficial to him in the short-term, and I would certainly like to continue to do this next term as he has indicated that he would welcome this, even if it meant meeting at break-times, it does not really address the underlying cause. Perhaps some work with some of the other children might be possible, maybe using the website as we had already discussed.

Anyway, if you get the chance to drop me a line with your thoughts about this, it would be good to hear from you. I am looking forward to coming back into the school in September, and particularly to continuing to work with Peter.

Kind Regards ...

No reply to this letter, either to myself or to EMAS, by mail or by telephone, was received before the end of term, and much to my concern, I was unable to make contact with Peter again before the summer holidays began.

The following September, in the second week of term, I again began leaving messages for the SENCO, which went unreturned. There was still no response to my letter, and these attempts at contact continued sporadically throughout the term. Being immersed in other areas of my research, Christmas came and went, and in the New Year I made renewed attempts to contact the SENCO. In February I made my final call to the school in order to try to discover how Peter was progressing, and having left a message on voice-mail as usual, to my surprise I received a response that same day. The SENCO called me back almost straight away, and said that both Peter and David had returned to Korea with their parents just after Christmas. She made the comment that *neither of them had been doing very well at school*', (which, if referring to academic performance, certainly conflicted with what I had been told by both Peter and the SENCO herself about his attainment), and that Peter in particular, had 'failed' to fit into the life of the school socially. Her use of the

word 'failed' seemed to place a heavy burden of responsibility upon Peter regarding events over which he had no control. Her final words to me were '*so, anyway, it's not a problem for us here anymore*'. Her demeanour came across as being one of relief at exoneration from all further responsibility for a situation which she had clearly found 'uncomfortable, and by her evident avoidance, had certainly seemed to lack the confidence (or even failed to register the concern) to grasp the full implications of. She made no reference to the letter I had sent, and seemed to wish to keep our conversation brief. Following the call, I decided to refer the school for the particular attention of EMAS regarding the new round of racial equality training for schools that was being initiated by the LEA. I was, unfortunately, unable to discover Peter's account of why the family had returned to Korea, and to what extent, if any, his unhappy experiences had played a part in this.

The Sands Secondary School: Leon's Story

I first came into contact with The Sands as a result of their response to a letter from EMAS that had gone out to all secondary schools, asking if they would like some assistance with diversity issues (see Appendix A1/1). The school was extremely rural, being described by one member of the EMAS team as '*literally in the middle of nowhere*'. It was also located close to an army camp, and of the seven hundred and thirty one children on roll at the time of my first visit, approximately forty per-cent of those children were from what the head described as '*lower ranking*' army families, many of which had social problems. Of this seven hundred and thirty one, only ten children were black or minority ethnic and were recorded as:

Chinese	2
Nepalese	2
Canadian	1
Thai/English	2
German/English	2
Caribbean/English	1

The head teacher of The Sands had previously taught in a large inner-city comprehensive school, and she described her concerns to me when I first met her shortly after the events of terrorism that took place in America on September 11th, 2001. She told me that,

It was a total culture shock for me when I arrived at The Sands – a combination of the lack of diversity I think, together with the undercurrents of violent attitudes and racism that seem to come from the army camp and transfer themselves into school. We've had three exclusions on issues of drugs and violence. There's a group of army children known as the 'Parkway Posse' who just go out at night to find trouble, and although we don't have any Muslim children at the school at the moment, there's a lot of anti Muslim feeling surfacing following September 11th – we've had some graffiti in the toilets, and found comments written in text books to do with ethnic minorities. It's a very 'cosy' white enclave here – people feel very threatened by diversity of any kind.... The attitudes of the children are very rigid and narrow – on gender issues and racial issues. We get a lot of bullying and name-calling in school.... They'll get such a shock if they ever leave the area.... There's also a real 'them and us' culture between the army and the non-army families. The non-army families feel very strongly that it's the army families that cause all the problems....
(Carroll, November, 2001, personal transcripts).

It can be detected from this description that this was a school without an ethos of inclusivity, where bullying and racism were a part of school life, and where, in the year prior to my visit, there had been forty seven fixed term exclusions, and one permanent exclusion – all these being majority white pupils. Furthermore, this was a school in OFSTED special measures, and where the newly arrived head, praised for her '*strong lead*' in the OFSTED report, was nevertheless struggling to improve both the ethos and the performance of the school against great odds. The head was the only member of the staff who had previously worked in a multi-ethnic/racial area before coming to the school, and as Cline et al. have stated in their findings from a majority white area,

Very few of the teachers whom we interviewed spoke with knowledge or confidence about issues relating to multicultural education. Those who did had usually had experience in a school in a multiethnic area in the past, but more than a third had very little or no such experience to draw on.
(Cline et al. 2002, p135).

The head told me that she felt that the staff were in full support of the action she was taking to improve the school in many areas, but that they themselves often seemed to be unaware of the particular need to educate for issues of diversity; although she felt that the reaction of some of the pupils to the events of September 11th had given them all quite a jolt.

The head left me to make arrangements with the teacher in charge of Citizenship and PSHE (Personal, Social and Health Education) to visit the school again, and I returned on two occasions. On the first occasion I visited in order to introduce a specific anti-racist resource that I had been working with through my University. On the second, my purpose was to meet a delegate from the Islamic Education Project (IEP) who visited the school to conduct some year group assemblies in response to the anti-Muslim feeling that appeared to be surfacing in the aftermath of the events of September 11th. Although the head told me that the response to the visit by the IEP representative seemed to go down quite positively with the children, I later heard from two independent sources within the school that some of the female members of staff had been offended by the (male) representative's religious observance of not shaking hands when introduced to them. As detailed earlier in chapter three, my own impressions were that *'Having met this individual on several occasions I can only offer what is inevitably a personal observation as a woman myself, that he had emphasised the value that his faith placed on women, and would have been unlikely to have wished to offend by his actions.'* The response of the staff therefore, might possibly reflect an aspect of the cultural insularity and isolation of the school, together with the staff's lack of exposure to a multi-ethnic/faith environment.

At our first meeting, the head had mentioned the need she felt to *'raise awareness of the difficulties of dual-origin pupils'*, and at the time we did not expand upon what this awareness raising might involve, or why she might have felt this was an issue of particular relevance for the school. However, very shortly after this meeting, news came from the school via an EMAS team member that Leon, the lone year eight dual heritage African-Caribbean/English boy, had been excluded for a fixed period of fifteen days. As the story unfolded, it became clear that Leon had been subjected to low-level racist abuse for some time, particularly by one white child, Ethan, who, other children had observed, had gone out of his way to *'wind Leon up'*. However, Leon had not reported this abuse either to his teachers, or to his family, and had responded by trying to retaliate. This retaliation had eventually culminated in a violent incident involving both children, and as a result of this the decision had been taken to exclude Leon on a fixed term basis. After fifteen days, Leon had been re-admitted to the school, but was only allowed to attend core subjects under the constant supervision of a TA (teaching assistant), and had to spend the rest of the time in the school's Skills Centre. Sudhir, one of the county's Racial Equality Advisers

(referred to in chapter four) also became involved in Leon's case, and at the time I received a copy of the EMAS team member's report which read,

> Sudhir and I had a meeting with the head... We discussed with the head the possible causes of Leon's anger and the reasons he cannot tell anyone about racist incidents. We talked about the build up of constant 'low level' taunts and the need to work with his tutor group and the whole school on racism.
>
> I said that I felt the staff were very defensive and that there needed to be work done on raising awareness re: prejudice and racism, perhaps through a TD day with the staff.
>
> Sudhir's main concerns were that the causes for Leon's anger were not being examined and that he is not believed when he complains about racism. He also raised the question of whether a white pupil would have been treated in the same way. He queried whether excluding Leon from parts of the curriculum and having a TA to accompany him was in effect racist.
> (report from EMAS teacher, 18/07/02).

This is a case that is still continuing at the time of writing, and since the above report was filed, Leon's responses to the racism he has experienced in school and to his exclusion have escalated. He has twice attempted to bleach his skin white using household cleaning products; he has attempted to hang himself with his tie from his bedroom door, and to harm himself with a woodworking saw; and he has expressed extreme anger towards his white mother, refusing to co-operate at home and calling her a '*white slag*'; telling her that it is all her fault for '*going with a black man*'.

The issues are complex, and will be considered below in the light of Cross's Five Stage Model of the formulation of identity, (Cross, 1992). However, at this point it should be noted that although Leon has been brought up by his single white mother, he has always had contact with his father, and with his father's side of the family, and has therefore not been separated from his dual heritage origins. The school however, has responded to the situation by focusing their attention entirely on Leon, and has stated their belief to both Sudhir and EMAS, that Leon is having some kind of an 'identity crisis'. When we come to consider Cross's model, it may well be the case that identity has played a part in contributing to Leon's circumstances. However, what is very clear is that his home life *has* cultivated his status as a dual heritage child, and therefore what is more likely to have caused the situation in which he now finds himself, is the poor attitude and ethos of a

school in which racism has been allowed to flourish, together with a failure to recognise the particular needs of a dual heritage child within this non-inclusive environment.

Unpacking the EMAS report (quoted above) raises several issues for the experience of this dual-heritage child in a majority white environment therefore:

- First of all we have the fact that Ethan, the white child involved in the disturbance at school, was neither suspended from school, nor subjected to any special conditions for his continuing presence in the classroom. This does in effect, answer Sudhir's question of '*whether a white pupil would have been treated in the same way.*', and the answer would appear to be '*no*'.

- This answer might lead us to the conclusion therefore, that the reply to Sudhir's next question of whether the school's exclusion of Leon was racist, might be to argue that either intentionally or unintentionally, the *effect* of this treatment on Leon might be experienced as racist.

- Thirdly, we have the situation whereby not only is Leon reluctant to report racism; he also feels that if and when he does report it, he will not be believed by members of staff. This clearly shows that the school environment is failing to support Leon in this respect to the point where he has no confidence in the practical procedures for reporting racism (Cline et al. 2002, p76). This might be interpreted as a facet of the 'No Problem Here' mindset (Gaine, 1987, 1995), in which the experience of racism is both denied and marginalised in majority white areas. (This issue of the reluctance to report racism was specifically referred to in *Peter's Story* above, and the possible reasons for this reluctance will be referred to further in the example of St Peter's School below.)

- The 'build up' of ' *"low-level" taunts*' which eventually escalated into physical contact is a situation that was experienced by Peter in the case study above, and has also been documented by Cline et al. (2002, p77).

- The reference in the report above to '*Leon's anger*' refers to the fact that as a result of the incident with Ethan, the school had insisted that Leon be referred to an 'anger management' specialist. This again focuses on Leon as 'the problem', and the demonstrator of behaviour that needs to be modified or '*managed*'. This focus occurs at the expense of considering the serial provocation he had been subjected to

over a period of some fourteen months, and at the expense of considering the wider remedial input in relation to attitudes and awareness that might be required by the school's majority white staff and pupils.

- Finally, the report describes the need to work on the whole school ethos, both in relation to the pupils, and to the '*very defensive*' attitudes of the staff with regard to prejudice and racism; aspects that will be referred to in the final paragraph of this case study below.

Although, as stated above, the head of The Sands has had experience of working in a more multi-racial/ethnic environment; and although, as EMAS has commented, you sense that she has some empathy with the circumstances of isolated black and minority ethnic children, it is clear that in the difficult environment of working in a school under special measures she has many other things to think about. In particular there have been considerable staffing shortages over recent months, and several times I have been told that the head was unavailable as she was standing in for absent teachers. There has also been considerable pressure from other members of staff to 'deal with' the 'problem' of Leon's behaviour, which has meant that the way in which events have unfolded has not always been entirely in the hands of the head.

The situation as it stands at the time of writing is that although the staff initially seemed willing to undertake training and advice for themselves and for their pupils on issues of prejudice and racism, this need has since been neglected and marginalised. A date that was arranged for training was cancelled, as the head of Citizenship and PSHE telephoned the Racial Equality Council to say that the school was '*too busy with other things at the moment*', and that they would call back to arrange another date. Four months later, no call has been received to re-book. The efforts of the school in respect of Leon however, have not been so neglectful.

For a period of three months he has been isolated in the Special Skills department of the school, which deals with pupils with special educational needs. When he has not been attending his core subject classes under the constant supervision of a TA, he has spent much of his time alone in a room working on a computer. Despite this exclusion however, Leon recently received the results of his school Cognitive Ability Test (CATs) which indicated that his projected average achievement grades for all subjects at GCSE are at

grades B/C. However, at the last PSP (Pastoral Support Programme) meeting that I was invited to attend (as I had been offering Leon some support through my connection with EMAS), on being told that he would continue to be excluded from all sport (the subject he enjoys most), a literal description of his response to this news, as recorded in my field notes diary, was that '*he put his head down on his knees and cried without restraint*'. It has now been decided in consultation with Leon's mother and Sudhir from the Racial Equality Council that Leon will seek his education elsewhere since, as Sudhir plainly put it at the last PSP meeting, '*It is quite clear that the school is not working for Leon, and as a result of his experiences, Leon is now not working for the school*'.

Although the school have not called Sudhir back regarding their racial equality training, they have called Leon's mother several times to find out how soon they can expect him to leave. Her comment to me recently over the telephone was; '*they actually don't care about what will happen to him, he's a problem to them, and now they just want him out*'.

Fieldways Primary School: Joseph's Story

Joseph had arrived in England from the Caribbean with his parents two years before I first met him in 2001. His mother was Black African Caribbean, and his father was Black British, his Black African Caribbean grandparents having settled in England before his father was born. Joseph's father had moved to live and work in Trinidad as a teacher until returning to England with Joseph and his mother in 1999.

Early in 2001, the following letter was received by the LEA adviser, Hassan, who was dealing with issues of racial equality at that time:

11th January 2001

I am writing to ask for some information and advice regarding a child of Caribbean origin who has recently arrived in school.

As a staff, we have little knowledge or experience of the cultural differences that this child may be experiencing and as he is having problems in learning we believe that this may be a contributing factor.

I would be grateful for any recommendations on how we can meet this child's needs and best support his learning.

G. Taylor
SENCO

Fieldways Primary School was the third school that Joseph had attended since the family's arrival in the UK. Shortly after the family arrived, his father had to change jobs which necessitated a move from another area. Once they had moved, Joseph attended a large primary school in the centre of a nearby town, but had not settled, and the family had decided that he might be happier in a smaller school with fewer pupils, similar (in size) to the one he had left in Trinidad. Out of eighty pupils at Fieldways, Joseph was the only black child, and the only minority ethnic pupil apart from a recently arrived Traveller child. When I met him, he was in year six, his last year at primary school.

Joseph had been assessed (prior to the new SEN [Special Educational Needs] guidelines published later in 2001) at Stage 2 of the Special Educational Needs Code of Practice. The effect of this for Joseph meant that he had an IEP (Independent Education Plan), and that the SENCO was working closely with Joseph's parents, class teacher, and any outside agencies who were concerned with his well-being. In Joseph's case this meant his paediatrician, since he had been diagnosed with petit-mal epilepsy some years ago whilst still living in Jamaica. However, the medical report in his file stated that there was a strong possibility that Joseph would outgrow this condition, and the prognosis ultimately pointed towards the withdrawal of medication (which was minimal at the time). When I spoke to Joseph's parents, their main difficulty seemed to be in understanding what had happened to their child in the two years since they had moved to England from Trinidad. On the face of written evidence, I began, along with Sudhir from the Racial Equality Council, to share some of their concerns.

In Joseph's file, to which I was offered full and free access by the school as a representative of EMAS, I found his final school report dating back to late 1998, just before leaving Trinidad. The report was clearly intended to be read not only by Joseph's parents, but by whichever school received him as a pupil in England. The report stated:

A very fun loving and energetic child, Joseph gets along well with his teachers and classmates. In the classroom he has little difficulty in expressing his views and

experiences. He is a bright child, and although he can be easily distracted, when focused he produces good work. He is confident with adults, and his academic progress is good. He has a good team spirit.

Just over two years later the SEN report in his file dated 5th January, 2001, stated that:

> Joseph has difficulty in social groups and with social relationships. He finds it very difficult to respond in both formal and informal settings with adults and children. He is not receptive to new ideas. He does not contribute, and his attitude to learning is poor.

It is hardly surprising that Joseph's parents wondered what had happened to their child in the space of two years.

I visited the school on five occasions before the end of the summer term, and on those visits spoke to both the head and the SENCO, and also spent time with Joseph. In addition to the SEN report, some of the comments made to me about Joseph during that time were:

- *We treat him just the same as we treat everyone else – there's no distinction made at all. It's the same when we have the occasional Gypsy Traveller child. The other day I heard one of the children say to our Traveller child 'you're a Gypsy' – I knocked that one on the head straight away* [meaning he dealt with it – not literally]
- *He's a very big child, and I think that sometimes intimidates the other children*
- *He questions our decisions all the time – not just about himself, but in relation to other children too*
- *His parents are very confrontational*
- *His parents are very pushy – there's a lot of pressure from home to perform.*

Despite the fact that the school had specifically written to the LEA requesting guidance and support; some of which had been provided by EMAS in the form of literature and advice, they still clearly felt unprepared to adequately deal with Joseph's needs in the school. Their fall-back position therefore, appeared to be the notion of 'treating him just the same as everyone else', making no particular distinction with regard to his colour, culture or ethnic background. The comment in connection with the Gypsy Traveller child would appear to support this position, and especially in relation to the way in which the ethos of the school did not appear to be comfortable with, or to encourage the recognition of difference. Sudhir from the Racial Equality Council commented that he felt the school

was unprepared for dealing with the presence of minorities, and that once Joseph had left, their efforts would probably return to being less than pro-active.

In a recent article on raising the attainment of Black children in UK schools, a BBC education correspondent commented with reference to a forthcoming conference *London schools and the Black Child* that:

> Its organiser, the Labour MP Diane Abbott, says she has to fight hard to get government, schools and parents to recognise that children of African and African-Caribbean descent have particular needs which are not being met by the school system.
>
> The biggest obstacle is what is known as the 'colour blind' approach. This, like political correctness, is rooted in the best of intentions, namely to counter conscious or unconscious prejudice.
>
> But perhaps we have now got to the point where a simple 'colour blind' policy is not only not helping those it is meant to protect, but may be putting them at a disadvantage.
> (Baker, 2002).

The 'colour-blind' approach to diversity is well documented in Jones (1999), and the remedy is apparently not as straightforward as simply making a point of recognising racial, ethnic or cultural difference. This issue will be considered below (together with aspects of the other case studies) with reference to Cross's five-stage model of the development of the black identity (Cross, 1992). At this point however, it is illustrative to refer to two observations from Joseph's experience.

In one instance, the SENCO confided in me that she had made an attempt to enquire about Joseph's familiarity with Patois, and said that he '*got very embarrassed*', and that she had not dared to make any cultural or linguistic reference since that time as she did not want to make him feel uncomfortable. A possible contributing factor to Joseph's embarrassment was that he had been asked about it in front of the class as part of a discussion about different languages. Presumably this was a time when Joseph was forming friendships and relationships with his peers, and quite understandably would not have wished to be regarded as 'different' in any way that might alienate him from the group. This sensitivity to the attitudes and opinions of his peers was confirmed at a later date when I was working with Joseph on the computer, both by himself, and with two members of his class.

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On the first occasion I was working alone with Joseph in a private room, and we were looking at the *Britkid*[1] website which features a character of African-Caribbean descent describing himself, his family and his cultural background. Joseph initially selected this character to work with out of eight other possible character choices, all from varying racial and ethnic backgrounds. As he chose the character, he said *'this one looks like me – so I'll choose him'*. As the character began to describe himself and his background, Joseph became very animated because of the knowledge that this character had, both of Patois, and of Rastafari. He was clearly both pleased and surprised, and wanted to add to the information the character gave by supplementing it with his own knowledge. He was also very pleased to find a character that looked like him, and said on several occasions *'he's like me'*[3].

On the second occasion I worked with Joseph on the website, his class teacher suggested that he chose two friends to work with, and Joseph seemed happy enough to do this. However, when his friend chose the African Caribbean character, Joseph became very agitated, and did not want to visit that particular page on the website. His friend insisted however, saying that the character looked like Joseph, and he wanted to find out more about him. As his friend explored the pages, Joseph became increasingly upset and did not want to discuss any of the character's features. His friend asked him several times why he had a problem with this, and eventually Joseph replied, *'because you'll find out all about me and there are things I don't want you to know because you'll just use those things against me later to laugh at me.'* Although his friend denied that this was the case, Joseph was clearly feeling very vulnerable and sensitive in relation to these aspects of the 'self', and appeared to feel less threatened once we had changed to another character page.

Regarding Joseph's physical size, which certainly seemed to be an issue in respect of perceptions of Joseph's capacity to 'intimidate', the black Labour MP, Diane Abbott, recently stated in relation to black children,

> The boys are reaching adolescence. They look quite big – literally quite big and threatening – and I think some teachers do have a problem with this.

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I think it's a complex thing but I mean it's sad that children that come in so bright and eager should end up disaffected and disillusioned.
(Abbott, 2002).

When I spoke to Joseph's mother, she said that Joseph often felt that his actions were misinterpreted. If, for example, he was in the playground joining in a game, he had been told several times that he was being 'aggressive' by teachers or lunchtime staff. Joseph had told his mother that all he was doing was joining in with the other children. On another occasion Joseph had picked up a wall stapler in the classroom and was examining it. His class teacher had immediately taken it off him, and had reported to the head that Joseph had been handling the stapler with the intention of firing it. Joseph has denied this, and has always maintained that he was just looking at it.

The situation between Joseph and the school was complex and multi-layered, and there are no generalisable conclusions that can be drawn from his particular circumstances. Joseph's mother said that she felt the SENCO had not really been very helpful or sympathetic towards the family, and in fact, despite having written to the LEA earlier in the year with the specific request for support and information, the SENCO had made several negative remarks (similar to those outlined earlier in this case study) on occasions when I had seen her. The relationship between the school and the family was clearly deteriorating, and this was now having a more serious effect on Joseph, who had been off school on several occasions suffering from what his doctor had described as 'stress'. In addition to this, the circumstances appeared to be exacerbating his petit-mal condition, and a meeting was arranged between Joseph's medical representative and the school to discuss this situation.

It was clear that Joseph was not happy at the school, and the school considered that Joseph was presenting them with 'problems'. Joseph's mother wrote a letter to the school early in March, 2001, which stated that,

Joseph just wants to feel a part of what is happening at school. He feels 'left out', and often says it's as if he 'doesn't exist'. He says that he is shunned by many of the children, and kept out of their games, and has expressed these feelings to close family and family friends.

With regard to allegations that Joseph's parents were 'pushy', and 'confrontational', his mother told me that she knew that the school thought that she and her husband were 'difficult', but that they were just struggling to try to find out what had happened to their 'bright achieving' son since he had arrived in the UK.

Unfortunately, Joseph's experience would seem to concur with statistical research in England which has shown that,

> Children of African and African-Caribbean origin show a distinctively different pattern of progress in schools. At age 5, base-line testing has shown they are performing as well as, if not better, than other groups. But by the start of secondary school they are starting to fall behind and statistics show that black African-Caribbean pupils are between three and six times more likely to be expelled from school.
> (Baker, 2002; see Appendix [A5]).

On my last visit to see Joseph, he told me that he was looking forward to going to secondary school, since he might meet more children *like me* there. Unfortunately statistics show that there are not that many other children like Joseph in the county's schools (see reference to the county OFSTED report above). After several meetings with the school before Joseph left, all attempting to arbitrate in the increasing frustrations between the school and Joseph's parents, Sudhir from the Racial Equality Council commented that his own frustration in dealing with schools is that often so much time and energy are invested in helping with a particular situation, only to be lost in the failure of the school to grasp the issues in the long term in respect of whole-school ethos and strategy. The head of Fieldways, despite protestations that the school had realised that they needed to be more prepared for dealing with diversity, and would be seeking staff training and advice in the coming year, has so far failed to contact the LEA for assistance or for race equality training since Joseph left.

St Peter's Secondary School: Findings and Feelings

Finally, as a general summary of the experiences of black and minority ethnic children, there follows a set of original transcripts from a focus group conducted at St Peter's secondary school. The transcribed data details the experiences of this group, and highlights their perceptions and observations of what it is like to be a young minority

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ethnic citizen in a largely white environment. The school has 1170 pupils on roll, eight of whom took part in the focus group, a further six black and minority ethnic children being unavailable at the time of the interview. Their expressed views are presented under the headings of the particular issues that were raised.

Social Exclusion in the wider community

Several children related experiences of social exclusion in the wider environment of the community, detailing incidents that had happened either to themselves, or to their relatives in and around the town. *G* said,

> *A few Christmases ago my mum and dad went to the pub on Christmas Eve and there was some Irish bloke in there and he said to my mum that she had to get out because she was black and she doesn't belong in* [town]...

> *I went down* [to the youth club in the town] *once and this boy started singing to me there's no black in the union jack and send the F-ing niggers back... where was I supposed to go cos I was born here, where am I supposed to go back to? I was just thinking yeah whatever and he sang it to me quite a lot of times then it got harder when he introduced his friends to his pathetic little song, when they started singing it and that that's when I stopped going. I wish I hadn't stopped going cos then it looks like they have actually got to me, but...*

F related,

> *Well my mum's a science teacher in* [town] *and she gets quite a lot of gyp from the kids as well, she can speak English but she doesn't have the English accent, she's called Mrs ... so they change it and call her Mrs Kebab, she's got used to it now though...*

> *Yeah there's places like the Grocery Basket and everybody just calls it the Paki basket and it's just become what everyone says now...*

Reporting Racism:

The group spoke about how hard they find it to report an incident that has happened to them in school, and how self-conscious they feel when they have been racially harassed in some way. They said how difficult it is to express on paper the emotions that racism raises. *B* said,

...In a way we feel ridiculed cos you have to write down everything that happened, well you can't write down something that is so emotional and when you write it down its seems so ridiculous, it seems childish, it can upset people...

H related,

They often say go see a parent or a teacher or your head of year, but you don't really wanna be talking to your head of year really about it, cos they'd probably just write it down... you can't really write down emotions...

and *C* said,

In a way you wanna get rid of the problem but you don't want everyone to know what exactly is done...

This reluctance to complain about their experiences seems to stem from a feeling that the channels for lodging their complaints are both ineffective (*'they'd probably just write it down'*), and inappropriate, (*'you can't really write down emotions'*). In addition to this, my experience has been that in discussions with focus groups of minority ethnic children, their experiences of exclusion and racism often only surface in the conversation once the group feels that I am going to have some empathy with their experiences. Before this 'bond of trust' is established, there is a reluctance to talk about these issues, and although their feelings about what has actually happened to them are alluded to, they are not stated explicitly. The overall impression created by this reluctance has been that the children seem to be responding to some kind of stigma they feel is associated with being a 'victim', combined with a sort of socially customised taboo on the recognition of the experience of racism.

Issues of 'Difference':

We talked about issues of 'difference', and how the children felt that they themselves had to change to 'fit in' with the dominant culture. *A* and *B* said,

I emigrated from South Africa about five years ago and it's much easier now than when I first came, cos your culture's so different you don't get accepted by everyone here...

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I agree with that...they can be very narrow minded...your family believes in different morals and the whole culture at home is different...I think people feel threatened by people who are different, because they don't know much about...

...when I started changing my look, looking more like they do, they accepted me more ... it's awful how they can judge you on how you look. ...The whole language thing is a problem as well. People rip it out of you 'cos you can't speak the language properly; when I first came I was awful at English...

Strength and Survival:

They all spoke of having to be 'strong' to survive the racism and exclusion they have experienced. *H* commented,

I was born in Birmingham but I came from Greece [his family moved back to Greece, but then returned to England] *...we came here when I was about seven. It's made me a bit strong, I don't really get bullied but people tend to call me stuff like 'Greek boy'; take the mick and stuff, but it has made me stronger... When I first moved to England I was really young and weak inside and I couldn't really stand up for myself, but now I can 'cos I'm stronger...*

While *D* and *C* observed,

...You know, as they say, sticks and stones may break my bones...

But they are very hurtful...

Yeah but, sometimes you have to like, I dunno...

It makes you stronger...

and *G* said,

...you have to learn to stick up for yourself...

It was obvious from the conversation that despite their widely differing backgrounds and heritage, and the fact that they were from different year groups, most of the children knew one another fairly well. They explained that certain experiences had brought them closer together and made them more familiar with each other. They were also all very much aware of each other's ethnic identity. *C* threw some light on their collective coping mechanisms when she said,

...I know the people here; we all have quite strong personalities. If someone says anything to us about [each other]...we'll stand up for ourselves 'cos we have quite strong personalities...

F also commented,

...some things have happened which have brought us closer...

It is possible to make two links here to earlier comments the group had made. The first is that the strength they feel they have had to develop both individually and collectively may be a response to the position of being 'powerless' as victims of racist abuse, and to the feeling that the channels for complaint are largely ineffective. The second is that this necessary response serves to reinforce issues of difference and ethnic isolation from the majority white community. With such feelings, it is hardly surprising that the children are often reluctant to discuss these issues before they feel that they can comfortably 'let down' their defence mechanisms in a safe and empathetic environment.

Additional Issues

This particular group brought up many other issues that there is not the space here to address more fully. However, some of the other comments that were raised included:

- Stereotyping: *'they say if you're from Africa you run around in a rag with spears and live in mud houses...'*

- Ignorance of other cultures and ways of life: *'...it's like, how far do you have to walk to get to your nearest supermarket...do you live in a house...do you have a radio...have you ever had ketchup...?'*

- The perceived attitude of teachers to racism: *'...I think teachers are scared to like, to talk openly about it...I think that's half the problem, like people are too afraid to talk about it or discuss it.'*

- Where racism starts from: '...*I think it actually starts at home...it's parents actually, what they set for the kids...*'

- How racism should be dealt with in school: '...*When somebody's been racist to someone else, instead of writing it down they should like talk, a teacher should be there, both of them in the room and they should talk about what happened...*'

- Immigration (refugees): '...*What I often find is that people often call me immigrant* [some confusion here between immigrant and refugee] , *I'm not though, I mean I had the money to come here...*'

- Minority ethnic people and professional opportunity: '*My mum's friend, when she worked in the Sudan, she has like a higher degree in maths...then when she came over here she just got like a normal job 'cos her qualification don't actually mean much here...*'

- Not being accepted as a British citizen: '...*they used to call me names and that and say I was stupid because I was black and that I was pathetic and I should go back to my country...but this is my country...*'

It is clear from these findings and feelings that despite the prevailing attitude of 'no problem here' in this majority white county, this attitude is certainly not endorsed by those considered 'problematic'. With this issue in mind a brief overview of certain theoretical models of identity construction is presented below, and some consideration given to the reality of how these models might possibly illuminate the case studies of some of the individuals described above.

Theoretical Considerations on the Formation of the Black and Minority Ethnic Identity

One of the key effects of the 'no problem here' mindset for black and minority ethnic children in majority white areas is (through the ignor/e[ance] well documented by Jones, 1999, pp 139-142), to fail to give them a strong or valid sense of their own racial identity (Maxime, 1986; Cross, 1992). Whether these children have been born in Britain; raised by

British parents or carers; or whether they are immigrants to the UK, their British citizenship, and that of their families is a fact that must be considered in all its diversity, not least through the medium of education. The way in which this diversity is catered for can no longer be a tokenistic nod in the direction of multiculturalism imbued with the legacy of colonialism (Tomlinson, 1990; Gaine, 1987, 1995; Ball, 1994), but must make a serious effort to 'bring the world' into the classrooms of majority white areas in ways that clearly recognise, value and respect diversity in all its manifestations, and eschew racism in all its forms.

In their racial equality training literature, Funge and Williams refer to factors that hinder the development of a strong racial identity in black and minority ethnic children as those of:

- Living in racial isolation – a pressure to fit in
- Little or no peer group support
- Lack of positive role models

And on the part of carers/parents/professionals variously:

- A denial of 'blackness' (this can also be on the part of the children themselves)
- A failure of to recognise the importance of a strong racial identity
- A failure to understand the impact of racism and how to tackle it
- Not wanting to 'make a fuss' in respect of a child's racial identity
- Not knowing what to do or say – a lack of confidence in how to handle situations
- Holding racist views themselves (often unconsciously)
- Embarrassment in approaching issues of racial identity
- Lack of appropriate information.

(Funge & Williams, 2002, training course material).

From the case studies described above, there are certainly issues from this list that conform to experiences from the children's 'stories'. Furthermore, as discussed fully in chapter three, the latest manifesto on citizenship education has failed to offer more than a few ill-

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defined references to ways in which education can '...find or restore a sense of common citizenship, including a national identity that is secure enough to find a place for the plurality of nations, cultures, ethnic identities and religions' (QCA, 1998, p17, 3.14), this ineffective approach having been explored and commented upon extensively and critically by Osler and Starkey, (2000a). However, one of the key methods by which this dual process of recognising diversity and challenging racism could be promoted, is to examine the ways in which a strong sense of racial identity might be beneficially fostered, and it is here that a brief consideration of the work of both Cross (1992) and Maxime (1986) may help illuminate the issues.

Cross's Five-Stage Model: Maxime and Racial Identity

Cross has identified five possible stages through which a black or minority ethnic child might pass in order to reach the point of achieving a clear sense of their own racial identity in which both their wellbeing and a positive sense of self is firmly grounded. He defines these stages as:

- *1. The Pre-Encounter Stage* - Where the child's racial self has not been nurtured; their 'world view' will be 'white orientated', and having not encountered racism, they will not recognise that it exists at this stage.

- *2. The Encounter Stage* - Where the child is brought face-to-face with an experience of racism. This can be shattering for them and may make them angry and upset about the fact of their 'difference'.

- *3. The Immersion/Emersion Stage* - The child may intensify their 'black identity', but may not experience positive reinforcement. This may lead to the disparagement of white people.

- *4. The Internalisation Stage* - The child begins to have a clearer definition between their 'old' 'white identified' self, and a positive black identity. At this stage they can be encouraged to explore the issues and the impact of 'race', and how it relates to them.

- *5. The Internalisation-Commitment Stage* - The child becomes increasingly comfortable with their new black identity, and can accept both black and white people into their lives. They can begin to build on their own sense of wellbeing and a positive sense of 'self'.

(adapted from Cross, 1992, in: Funge & Williams, 2002, training course material).

This model is not intended as a 'catch-all' in terms of describing children's developing awareness of a sense of racial identity. However, in relation to the four case studies presented above, we can identify a degree of coincidence with reference to Cross's first three stages of *pre-encounter*, *encounter*, and *immersion/emersion*; each one being different in relation to the child's own personal circumstances as detailed below:

- In the case of *Praveer*, his primary school experience would align him with stage one of Cross's model, whilst the racism he encountered once he entered the Elisha secondary school had moved him on to the *encounter stage*.

- *Peter's* circumstances differed in that he had only recently moved to England from Germany, where he felt that his racial identity had been almost taken for granted. In this respect, Peter had certainly been at the *pre-encounter stage* before moving to the UK. However, his experiences of racism at Northbrook secondary school had provided the *encounter* with racism that progressed his experience on to Cross's second stage.

- The case of *Leon* differs in that he had reached stage three of Cross's model. In this case the *pre-encounter stage* had been characterised by the absence of racism at his primary school, and simultaneously, some effort on the part of his white parent to keep him in touch with his black heritage on his father's side. However, Leon had lived with his white parent, and had possibly found little need to really identify himself as black in the majority white environment in which he was being brought up, until he reached the stage at which he *encountered* open racial hostility. At the encounter stage, Leon had been angry and upset at his mother for '*going with a black man*'. He had also, around this time, verbally expressed rejection of his black parent. However, when I last saw Leon, there were signs that he was moving from the *encounter stage* to the *immersion/emersion stage*. This had been characterised by the disparagement of his mother as a '*white slag*', whilst simultaneously embarking on a long stay with his father, and engaging in prolonged telephone conversations with his black parent, after which, according to Leon's mother, his attitude towards her would frequently be hostile and difficult. Reinforcement of these attitudes towards 'blackness' were also described by the
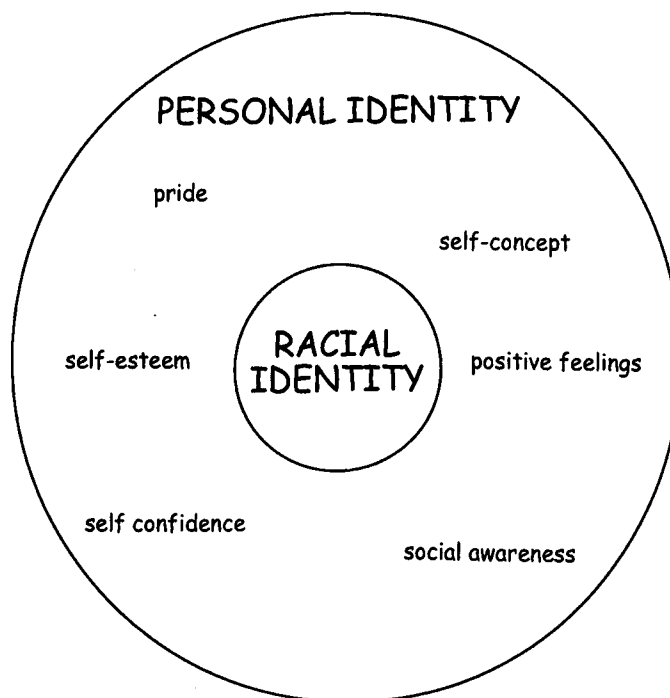
school, who told me that during the time Leon spent alone in the skills centre with the computer, staff had discovered that he had been logging-on to what they described as 'black activist websites', such as those connected with Malcolm X. This activity had worried the school considerably, and it was therefore unlikely that Leon would have received positive reinforcement for these forays into the discovery of his black identity, since the school felt that his endeavours in this direction were both extreme and threatening.

- Finally, the case of Joseph is not so straightforward, since he had only recently moved from Trinidad where he had been at ease with his own racial identity in the company of his African-Caribbean peers. Joseph's *pre-encounter stage* therefore, had consisted of a 'black orientated' world view, in which his inner racial reality had been confirmed and reinforced by his outer experience. However, once he had moved to the UK, he had experienced more or less immediate confrontation with the *encounter stage*, which had 'forced' Joseph to reinterpret his world. He clearly felt threatened by the attitudes facing him from his white environment to the point where he had concealed his need to relate to his black identity, distinguishing it as a factor that would isolate him from integration and acceptance in his new surroundings.

In all these examples there is an apparent progression which ultimately, if Cross's model holds true throughout the five stages, will lead to the gradual development of a positive racial identity. However, the *conditions* described by Cross under which this progression takes place are less than propitious, and are based on the fundamental premise of an environment that does not nurture or value a child's racial identity, preferring instead to take the attitude that '*All people are exactly the same in my eyes, and I treat them as such*' (Jones, 1999, p139). It is therefore worth speculating on the potential value of an environment that *does* nurture a positive racial identity, and Maxime (1986) has pointed to the importance of this approach towards the education of black and minority ethnic children from an early age. Maxime argues that by encouraging these children to establish a 'core' racial identity in their construction of the self, they are enabled to then develop a sound sense of psychological well-being onto which all aspects of *personal* identity can be built and sustained. As a reviewer of Carter's *The Influence of Race and Racial Identity in Psychotherapy: Towards a racially Inclusive Model* has stated,

Conventional wisdom has it that race and racial identity are, at best, marginal factors in personality development. In light of the fact that in many cultures race is the ultimate measure of inclusion or exclusion, this view seems about as sensible as the claim that dietary habits have little or nothing to do with physical development. (Wiley, Accessed 23/08/03).

Maxime's proposition supporting this comment therefore, is illustrated in the diagram below:

PERSONAL IDENTITY

pride

self-concept

self-esteem   RACIAL IDENTITY   positive feelings

self confidence

social awareness

(Maxime, 1986, in Funge and Williams, 1996)

Maxime proposes that unless this clear sense of *racial* identity is encouraged and established in the child, it will not be possible to nurture the aspects of *personal* identity, since these will have no firm foundation on which to be built. Without a firm foundation, these personal aspects will be subject to 'slippage' in response to the experiences that the black or minority ethnic child will inevitably encounter in relation to their racial identity as perceived, imposed, and reinforced by those they come into contact with.

Throughout much of the child's formative development, besides their own families and their extra-curricular links to the wider community, those they come into contact with will inevitably be their teachers and peers at school. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that

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to an extent the personal will be political, and that the citizenship experiences that these children receive through their education will impact significantly upon aspects of their emotional literacy and self esteem. In this respect, Wilson's findings from 1987 are supportive, since in her research study *Mixed Race Children: A Study of Identity*, Wilson 'found that the outcomes were most positive where race was openly discussed within families and school, and [with a negative significance for the circumstances of minority ethnic children living in a mainly white environment] when families lived in multiracial areas.' (Alibhai-Brown, 2001, p108).

Wilson's research also highlights the relevance of Maxime's model in terms of developing a strong 'core' racial identity for children of dual heritage, since she states that 'Some interracial families ...seem conducive to the development of a positive mixed-race identity where the child is content to be both black and white without perceiving a contradiction between the two.' (Wilson, 1987, p176; quoted in Alibhai-Brown, 2001, p108). This position is further supported by Alibhai-Brown in the final paragraph of her chapter on *Identity*, when she concludes that,

> Debates about identity ...go back to the sixteenth century. What is new however is that we now have a critical mass of young Britons who see themselves as mixed-race and who wish to challenge many of the assumptions that have been made about them for four centuries. They do not wish to be labelled by others. They do not wish to be subsumed by others. Most of all they do not wish to be patronised by those who always seem to know what their needs should be.
> (Alibhai-Brown, 2001, p124).

However, despite this bold statement of agency and enablement, it is possible to speculate that such attitudes amongst young 'mixed-race' Britons might have more difficulty in finding their voice in the environment of a majority white population.

Some Final Thoughts: Factors of Hindrance and their Effects

In conclusion therefore, what are the factors that *hinder* the development of a whole school ethos dedicated towards a genuine and non-tokenistic appreciation of racial and ethnic diversity? This would include both black and minority ethnic children in relation to their own identities (and those of others) and majority white children in relation to recognising and respecting the diversity they will inevitably be brought into contact with (eventually) in the wider context of the multi-racial country in which they live.

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We may return here to Ashrif's comment that 'There is no official national guidance regarding antiracist approaches to teaching and learning. There never has been.' (Ashrif, 2002, p24). Taking this comment as our starting point, and using the evidence presented in this chapter, we can 'cascade' Ashrif's point down through four further possible stages for a majority white area:

- A lack of guidance/strong lead from DfES/QCA *(has led to)*:

- Budgetary deficiencies for this specific approach to education, in addition to 'perceived irrelevance' by LEAs *(which in turn results in)*:

- 'Perceived irrelevance by osmosis' in schools, (heads, teachers and governors), leading to both a lack of confidence with, and sensitivity to, issues of racial and ethnic diversity; together with factors of existing inertia, *(resulting in)*:

- A lack of awareness/sensitivity to the issues by majority white pupils *(which impacts negatively upon)*:

- The experiences of citizenship, inclusion and self-esteem of black and minority ethnic children.

A final point here relates to the *effects* of this negligence in terms of the impact of racism on the identity of *all* children and young people. Funge and Williams have stated unequivocally that:

> Racism is damaging to *all* children and young people. They can *all* grow up with negative images of Black people and so will internalise negative messages.

> For Black children it can leave them:

> - Hurt
> - Rejected

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- Angry/withdrawn

- Acting out/dropping out

- Looking to attract attention in other ways

For White children it can leave them with:

- A false sense of superiority and result in bullying/name calling which will perpetuate racism

- Undervaluing of Black children

- A blinkered approach to the world they live in

- Distorted concepts of fairness, equality, sharing and respect

- Denied the opportunity to learn and appreciate the achievements and aspirations of others

(Funge & Williams, 2002, training course material).

From this perspective, we are left with little doubt about the impact of an education that fails to recognise and respond to issues of diversity on the everyday experiences of both white majority, and black and minority ethnic children, and the consequences of this failure for the citizenship experiences of *all* children.

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[1] *Britkid:* The *Britkid* anti-racist website was written by Dr Chris Gaine at University College Chichester, and is funded by the charity *Comic Relief*. It was originally anticipated that the study of its use in schools would make a larger contribution to this research study. However, due to issues largely connected with access, together with teachers' uncertainty surrounding the new citizenship curriculum; their evident lack of confidence with the use of IT in the classroom, and the perceived irrelevance of anti-racism in a majority white area, the information made available to the researcher required that some of these more fundamental issues took priority. At this later stage of the development of citizenship in the curriculum, and following the raising in profile of the relevance of anti-racism for majority white areas following the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000, a bid has recently been put forward by the LEA to provide four half-day training sessions for teachers to work with the website and to explore its use and value in the classroom. It is hoped that this pilot scheme will be rolled out county-wide in the next financial year.

[2] Troyna and Hatcher have developed a useful *Model for Analysing Racist Incidents in Schools*, referred to by Connolly (in Connolly and Troyna, 1998, p130ff). There is not the space here to analyse this model in detail, however, it is instructive to note that the eight levels of the 'social formation' detailed in Troyna and Hatcher's model have arisen without contrivance or deliberate inclusion within the context of this thesis. Briefly described, Troyna and Hatcher consider the influence of a wider frame of reference in relation to the occurrence of a racist incident in school, rather than just considering the incident in isolation. From an outer perimeter moving inwards towards the centrally located incident, Troyna and Hatcher consider the effects of the *Structural* (involving power relations and racial 'difference'; referred to in this thesis through the issues of discourse and identity locations), the *Political / ideological* (relating to 'Prevailing systems in play at the time of the incident'; illustrated in this thesis through the consideration of such political influences as the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, the Crick Report, and the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000), the *Cultural* (referring to the 'lived experience and common-sense understanding within the locality and community', including family networks; featured in this thesis [most especially in the case-studies] in respect of the school community, including teacher response, peer group response, and the familial involvement of

the child), the *Institutional* (described by Troyna and Hatcher as 'The ideologies, procedural norms and practices which are promoted, sanctioned and diffused by the school' [1992, p41; in Connolly & Troyna (Eds.), 1998, p132]; referred to in this thesis in the light of both the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report and its definition of institutional racism, and in relation to what has been termed a 'whole school' approach [CRE, 2000, p39]), the *Sub-cultural* (relating to the sub-cultural worlds of the children, and illustrated most specifically in the transcribed focus group data from St. Peter's Secondary school in chapter five of this thesis), the *Biographical* (referring to the specific circumstances of the child involved in the racist incident; detailed in the case study material, again found in chapter five), the *Contextual* (described as the 'immediate history of a racist incident.' [1992, p41; in Connolly & Troyna (Eds.), 1998, p132], and found in the descriptions of several racist incidents similarly found in chapter five of this thesis), and finally, the *Interactional* (referring to the actual incident itself, including what was done, and what was said; again, related in the case study and transcript material found in chapter five.) Connolly makes the important point that these levels, although interrelated within the context of this structural framework, do not necessarily extend in their effect from one layer to another. So, for example, just because racism may be found in the context of children's peer group relations (i.e. at the sub-cultural level), this does not mean that these children are themselves endemically racist (i.e. at the biographical level).

[3] There is considerable scope here for the introduction of a Lacanian analysis of identity formation in this situation where Joseph was clearly pleased and excited to recognise someone 'out there', who *'looks like me'*. Unfortunately there is not the space here to explore this aspect. However, to briefly state, Lacan's analysis is formulated around the central idea of a 'mirror stage' whereby *'we first take on board an identity from outside ourselves – an "image" of ourselves – yet one which we feel to be a part of who we are'* (Minsky, 1992, p189). Seshadri-Crooks in her book *'Desiring Whiteness'* has particularly related Lacan's analysis to issues of racial identity, and has written that,

> ...an appropriation of Lacan's mirror stage could potentially be extended to resolve the conundrum of race as a (scientifically groundless) fraught looking. Insofar as racial differences are understood as being inscribed on the body as skin colour, hair texture and bone structure, it seems inescapable that we should analyze race within the paradigm of identification.
> (Seshadri-Crook, 2000, pp30-1).

Taking into account Joseph's experiences to date, such as the fact that he had spent the first eight years of his life living amongst a majority black population, had then found himself placed in an alien (in his experience) majority white community, and was now seeing a representation of someone almost his own age, who not only looked like him, but knew about the things that he knew about, the unpacking of these issues in the light of Lacanian analysis would provide both an interesting and insightful perspective.

Chapter 6

DRAWING CONCLUSIONS: 'RACE' AND CITIZENSHIP AFTER 2000 - SOME FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Abstract

With the intention of avoiding the simple provision of a summary of the research findings here, this chapter will endeavour to outline six main areas of relevance in drawing together some conclusions from this work. This outline will therefore include a consideration of:

- The relationship between the original research question, and the work finally produced
- The relevance of key texts used in the research, and the relationship of these to new work that has appeared since the study began
- The implications of the findings in relation to policy and practice
- Lessons to be learned from the conduct of the study
- Further research that might follow from the findings, methods and concepts
- Personal implications for the self in relation to the research, and to an heuristic methodology.

(adapted from Silverman, 2000, p251).

It is hoped that through the use of this specific framework, the relevance of diverse considerations of the research will be pulled together to form a coherent 'end-tying' process.

Embarking and Arriving – and what happened in-between...

To recap - the Primary Aim of this research investigation was,

> To trace the development and implementation of national policy with regard to 'race' in the curricula of largely white schools, following the Macpherson Report and the 1999 Citizenship requirements, towards an analysis of the educational and social change processes.

In fact, what stands out most significantly for me as researcher in revisiting this primary aim is an issue of simple (or not so simple) semantics. The use of the descriptor 'Macpherson Report' is the subject of a brief paragraph in the methodology chapter

(chapter one), and explains why the term 'Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report' is preferred to 'Macpherson' (the reason being entirely in relation to recognition of where the report derives from). As a result of the research process it has become second nature to describe the document by its longer title through recognition of the fact that the death of this particular black teenager was the catalyst for this Report, and that the extra effort required in referring to this full title does in fact, serve as a powerful reminder of the circumstances.

In terms of tracing the 'development and implementation of national policy with regard to 'race' in the curricula of largely white schools', the research has exceeded its brief somewhat, in that this 'development and implementation' has also been considered from the point-of-view of LEA responses to mobilising initiatives in response to new legislation. This was largely the result of unexpected opportunity (described more fully in chapter four) which gave access to rich data in terms of shedding light on institutional processes of change (including the consideration of existing ethos and attitudes in response to issues of 'race').

With regard to analysing the processes of educational and social change, a secondary heading under consideration for this chapter was, 'Galvanising Response/ Highlighting Complacency'. This possible choice of title (which in the end gave way to something less specific due to the broad range of issues covered in this conclusion) nevertheless gives some indication of the way in which new policy initiatives were received. In the case of both the LEA, and schools, the effect of new legislation was to do just what this alternative heading describes. On the one hand, both schools and LEA came to realise that new initiatives would have to be mobilised, whilst on the other, the huge weight of inertia and complacency surrounding these issues meant that initial response was somewhat mechanistic and policy bound.

A prime example of this would be the interaction that took place between the LEA and schools in response to the CRE's directive on the need to prepare individual race equality policies by a certain date. Although the LEA organised a series of conferences across the county to assist schools with mobilising race equality at around this time, the purpose of the conferences was not intended to be solely directed towards policy writing, and in fact, some of these conferences took place after the policy deadline. The attitude of the LEA was particularly directed towards a process of awareness raising that would *assist* with

policy writing, the feeling being that schools should not be 'spoon-fed' during this process, but should have to 'think for themselves' once the information had been made available to them. The school response however, was the claim made by many attending the conferences, that this approach demonstrated a lack of support from the LEA in expecting majority white schools, so unused to having to deal with positively addressing issues of diversity education and anti-racism in particular, to (as one delegate put it) *spontaneously produce a policy from nowhere*. In the end a compromise was reached, and the LEA produced a template (see Appendix [A3]) that provided structural guidance, and yet still required the schools to think about, and include, their own very personal perspectives.

Reference in the Primary Aim to 'analysis of the educational and social change processes' is particularly considered in chapters three and four, which reflect on these processes in relation to new legislation for both citizenship and anti-racism. Through this analysis, and the approaches outlined above, the Primary Aim provided a structural 'touchstone' during the research process, assisting with issues of relevance at each stage.

The development of the sub-aims however, was not quite so straightforward, and in fact these were subject to change as the research progressed. The principle reason for this was because, as this thesis considers, schools were unprepared for the implications of the new legislation determined first by the Crick Report and then by the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report (and subsequently, the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000), to the extent that their general overview of the requirements had not settled to the point where they were able to consider specific solutions, in terms of curriculum resources, to specific problems. Therefore, despite repeated attempts during the fieldwork period of the research to assist schools with the introduction of particular anti-racist web-based materials as part of the citizenship programme, it was found that schools were not at the point where they were able to effectively commit to incorporating the resource into the curriculum.

In chapter three I described how '...in my early approaches to schools ...heads and senior management seemed to be fixated by the full glare of the headlights of citizenship legislation that had been generated by the Crick Report', a situation which effectively disabled them from engaging with practical curriculum solutions at that time. During the fieldwork period of my research therefore, I noted that:

- First and foremost the schools' uncertain response to new citizenship legislation became evident, together with associated anxiety concerning how citizenship might be delivered in the curriculum

- Secondly, apprehension and uncertainty were further generated as a result of the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000, as a result of which schools were given a deadline by which time they were obliged to produce a race equality policy

- Finally, and as a result of having to consider areas of both citizenship *and* race equality, the connection began to be made (especially in response to an increasing demand from OFSTED that educating for diversity must play a prominent role in the life of all schools), that race equality issues would have to be addressed as a part of the curriculum. Although (as detailed in chapter three) this need was more often interpreted from a multicultural, rather than a specifically anti-racist perspective.

As a result of this process therefore, it was only towards the end of the fieldwork period that schools seemed to have acquired the focus (having passed through the stages described above) whereby they were able to acknowledge their need for specific resources that would fill the gap (by now) frequently noted by OFSTED. This gap was described to me in the words of the county's citizenship adviser as '*the almost automatic recommendation by OFSTED nowadays for schools to address issues of diversity both within and without the framework of the curriculum*' (personal conversation with county citizenship adviser, 2003). As a result of this focus in fact, the county have since begun to promote workshops dedicated to the *Britkid* web-based resource, and to-date the response has been positive, with twenty two delegates attending out of a possible twenty four available places at the last training session. Some consideration of this interest, although outside the scope in terms of the time-frame of this study, will be reflected upon in the section below that addresses the implications of the findings of this work in relation to policy and practice.

What has taken the place of the original sub-aims therefore is largely the result of these being deflected by the fact of effectively finding myself in the right place – at the wrong time. This deflection however, reaped the benefits of opportunistic availability in other areas; most specifically in relation to the wider range of issues generated by aspects of

national, LEA, and school response to new legislation, together with rich case study material from minority ethnic children (and one adult) whose experiences largely reflected the need for change afforded by these new legal imperatives. Within this wider range of issues, it has also been possible to include some consideration of the historical perspective behind notions of 'citizenship' and the minority ethnic presence in the UK, together with the ways in which these notions relate to semiotics, representation, and the need for reconsideration of the 'space' occupied by minority ethnic people and their experiences, and the potential for the use of dynamic models of practice in educating against racism.

The relationship therefore, between the original research question and the work finally produced, has held fast to the primary aim, whilst deviating in response to the discovery of the untimely nature of the sub-aims. In fact, having given new legislation the time to settle and begin to find its place in terms of the integration of policy with practice, *now* would be an excellent time to begin a research project centred on the original sub-aims of this project. Nevertheless, the value of the sub-aims in terms of providing a reference point to what anti-racism in the citizenship curriculum might look like, and the issues that it would raise in terms of what teachers would be working towards in delivering this aspect of the curriculum, has been invaluable. In practice, many early and brief introductions to the resource are now bearing fruit in that some teachers are returning to use the resource (following considerable promotion from the LEA) to consider its potential now that they have a somewhat clearer idea of the legislative imperatives involved, and what their practical needs might be in response to these.

Relevant Key Texts - Old and New - and the Relationship between them

The primary key texts in the context of this research have been those that particularly focus upon the experiences of minority ethnic people (and pupils especially) in mainly white, or majority white environments. Although my initial interest in the field came from my own experience of living in a majority white environment and both observing and engaging with the experiences of minorities in this context, my early attention to these issues was given direction and focus through the texts and documents on this subject that I subsequently discovered, or was introduced to.

Of particular importance (although supported by numerous other texts and publications spreading more widely into the field of citizenship and 'race' embedded throughout this work) were the following publications, considered here in the context of their chronological significance for the developing issues of educating for anti-racism and diversity in mainly white areas:

- *No Problem Here*, Gaine (1987): As the title suggests, this text particularly considers the mindset frequently found in mainly white areas, where besides issues relevant to minority ethnic people being somehow perceived of as a 'problem', the issues are assumed to be irrelevant in any case because of their minimal representation. Gaine also considers the way in which, at a time when racial equality in education was considered to be a national priority area in curriculum development following the Swann Report of 1985, there existed a considerable 'extent of misconception and prejudice among white children against black and Asian people' (Gaine, 1987, publisher's information). Gaine analyses these problems in schools, and considers possible policies that may help to tackle the issues; shifting the focus firmly away from multicultural approaches and towards the need to find practical ways of tackling racism.

- *Multicultural Education in White Schools*, Tomlinson (1990): In which Tomlinson, following the Education Reform Act 1988, has stated that the Act 'did not take the development of educational policy and practice in a multi-ethnic society forward on a statutory level.', and further, that 'There was no mention anywhere in the Act of multicultural, non-racist education or of education appropriate for a multi-ethnic society' (Tomlinson, 1990, p14). Within this context therefore, Tomlinson considers the 'pressing need for the education system to adapt, and to develop in today's pupils tolerance and respect for different cultural and religious values' (ibid. publisher's information). Of particular value in Tomlinson's analysis is the consideration she gives to the impact of British imperialism, and its continuing influence within society and more particularly, education.

- *Keep Them in Birmingham*, Jay (1992): Jay's report was carried out in the south west of England at a time when Education Support Grants (ESGs), initiated through

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the 1984 Education (Grants and Awards) Act, many of which had supported projects aimed at 'Educational Needs in a Multi-ethnic Society' (Tomlinson, 1990, p104) were coming to an end. Commissioned by the CRE, Jay's report did not concentrate solely on education, but considered the broader issues of minority ethnic people living and working in predominantly white rural counties. In a section on education in the report however, Jay's findings were (in the opinion of an unidentified academic) that despite there being 'exciting pockets of innovation' (many of which had been funded by ESGs), there was also 'a vast extent of indifference and hostility' towards multi-cultural education. Jay further commented that these attitudes were found to emanate not only from the classroom, but all the way through to the 'top of the education system', where 'race' was frequently considered to be 'such a sensitive issue.' (Jay, 1992, p33).

- *Education Reform*, Ball (1994): Although not specifically concentrated on the majority white environment, this text is nevertheless a crucial commentary on the changes that were occurring as a result of the 1988 Education Reform Act, and which directly affected the learning experiences of all minority ethnic pupils. Ball considers the ways in which 'market forces, managerialism and the national curriculum ... generate and ramify multiple inequalities and ... destroy civic virtue in education' (Ball, 1994, publisher's information). These considerations therefore, are particularly relevant in the context of this research in that they relate to issues concerning the citizenship status of minority ethnic pupils; and further, in that Ball considers the ways in which 'myths of national identity, consensus and glory' (ibid.) can provide an insidious influence on the context within which education is delivered (see references to the ideas of 'myth' and national identity in chapter two).

- *Still No Problem Here*, Gaine (1995): Writing some eight years after his first book on this subject, the political climate had changed somewhat in that *No Problem Here* had been published in the early years following the Swann Report's directive for an *Education for All*. Gaine's new volume however (published after the 1988 Education Reform Act and the instigation of the National Curriculum) chronicles the fact that with regard to issues of 'race' and education, 'There is certainly plenty

of ebb and flow in the 'official' support this issue receives. The Education Reform Act's preamble seems to say that such social concerns are the business of education; the later compilation of the actual curriculum tacitly said that it was not.' (Gaine, 1995, p11). It is from this political perspective therefore, that Gaine returns to tackle the issue of racial attitudes, both in the ethos and the curriculum of white schools, and considers the case for a coherent and committed stance on racism in education.

- *Challenging Racism in the Rural Idyll*, Dhalech (1999): Published only five months after the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, this is the Final Report of the Rural Race Equality Project, conducted in three of the south west counties between 1996-1998. The background information states that 'The Project was the first local initiative following the now famous '*Keep Them in Birmingham*' report by Eric Jay' (Dhalech, 1999, p2). Dhalech further states that 'Although Jay had made it clear that there was a general malaise and failure to even recognise that race equality was an issue in the South West, this pervasive 'no problem here' attitude proved to be an even stronger counter force than we had initially considered.' (ibid. p2). The report, published by NACAB (National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux) does not centre on education. However, issues of citizenship are undoubtedly at the heart of the report, and with specific regard for education, the Project undertook work on the development of guidelines for dealing with racist incidents in schools. In practical terms therefore, this work pre-dated the emphasis placed upon the recognition and definition of racist incidents in the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, and subsequently, on the legal requirement for schools to log and report all racist incidents to the LEA.

- *Teaching Racism – Or Tackling It?* Jones (1999): In this book, Jones states that his intention is to 'unpick[s] the concept of "no problem here" and reveal[s] what this means for beginning teachers who find themselves in schools which deny that race issues exist' (Jones, 1999, p1). Jones describes the context in which his work took place in relation to some of the issues cited in the examples above: the new initiatives generated by the Swann Report; the regressive effect of the Education Reform Act and the National Curriculum on anti-racist education; the largely

politically unheeded warnings of events such as the murder of Stephen Lawrence and Michael Menson (another young black man murdered in a racist attack); and within this context states that 'Multicultural education has had a difficult task justifying its existence in recent years. The absence of any educational input on issues of race means that many teachers and learners cannot recognise the importance of acknowledging and understanding ethnic status in the classroom, nor do they have professional strategies to combat racism in the education system.' (Jones, 1999, p5). Jones particularly focuses on the ways in which ethnic status is not being recognised in the classroom, both as a result of the absence of these 'professional strategies', and of National Curriculum demands and inspection criteria that effectively obliterate issues of race equality.

There are other writers who could have been included in this textual chronology, (Naidoo, 1992; Troyna and Hatcher, 1992; Epstein, 1993; Osler, 2000, for example). However, I have detailed here those that have been most influential and significant in relation to the way in which my project has unfolded, and the work of whom has stood out as being most relevant to the research issues as they have developed. Their relevance and significance can be found embedded in the references throughout the body of this research. In addition to these texts however, the two central policy documents that have provided the foundations for the critical structure and premise of this thesis must also be mentioned here. These documents are:

- *Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools*, QCA (1998): The report which provided a governmental response to the perception that 'Citizenship as a subject appeared to be diminishing in importance and impact in schools' (QCA, 1998, p3), and a critical review of which (in relation to this research) is given in chapter three.

- *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry*, Macpherson (1999): This being the report of the inquiry into the handling by the metropolitan police of the murder of the black teenager, Stephen Lawrence. This document provided working definitions of the concept of 'institutional racism' (see chapter two), and of a 'racist incident' as being 'any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other

person.' (Macpherson, 1999, Ch.47, recommendation 12). Of particular importance however, is Macpherson's development and unpacking of the idea of 'institutional racism' in a way which unequivocally 'names' the concept, and has thus made its presence significantly harder to ignore, or to create justifications for its effects (this aspect is briefly discussed in chapter four).

All the documents referred to above therefore, are texts that were available at the time my research began, and with which the research question has critically engaged during the course of the analysis. However, the wider processes of inquiry and publication could not stand still until my own project was completed, and in fact, the work that took place alongside my own during the research period has provided both an indication of the significance of the broader field of the subject of inquiry, together with the welcome availability, chronologically speaking, of parallel points-of-view. During the period of my inquiry therefore, several significant texts appeared within the related field which both built on the work of earlier research and publications, and linked significantly with my own area of interest. Of the publications detailed above, the work of Gaine, Jay and Dhalech had concentrated particularly, as my own had, on areas in the south west of England, and during the period of my research two new publications focusing on this area came to my attention.

The first, published in April, 2002, was the *Hidden Voices* study, which considered the experiences of the minority ethnic residents of a particular county in relation to the 'range of significant difficulties encountered in day-to-day life arising from language and cultural barriers as well as experiences of racism', it being 'important to address these issues to ensure that future policy development and service planning are inclusive of the needs and views of [county's] minority ethnic residents.' (Collins and Begum, 2002, Authors' Note). The purpose of the study, commissioned by the county council, was particularly to consider the extent to which the county's minority ethnic residents had fair and accessible use of municipal services, and this qualitatively based study is therefore wide ranging. The focus does however, relate to issues of full and participative citizenship by the minority ethnic community, and the study includes a particular section entitled *Young People and the School Setting*. As this work took place in the county of my own research enquiry, I was asked if one of the interviewers could attend one or two of the focus groups I had already negotiated access to within schools. Initially I was somewhat concerned as my

intention had been that the function of the focus groups would be for the participants' rather than the researcher's agenda to predominate (Cohen et al. 2000, p288), and further, that as stated in Appendix (B1) - (see section on 'Focus Groups'), I saw my role only as 'facilitator' in conducting these focus groups in order to allow 'the nature of the group's minority ethnic status within a white majority community … to offer sufficient common ground for the recognition and sharing of their experiences'. We therefore negotiated this additional access issue, coming to an agreement that I would conduct the focus group exactly as I had intended, and that the invited interviewer would pose any questions of particular relevance to her study as an additional section at the end of the session. In this way I felt that my methodology was not compromised, particularly as I intended the facilitator's role to be as non-interventionalist as possible, and therefore during the focus group the invited interviewer's role (apart from her additional questioning at the end of the session) was not significantly different from my own.

In summary therefore, in assessing the relevance and relationship of this adjacent study, both to my own research, and to the earlier work of other authors and researchers; this inquiry built on (and indeed referred to) the work of these authors, (significantly; Gaine, Jay and Dhalech [Collins and Begum, 2002, p4-5]). Additionally, and in a similar respect to my own research, this work was produced at a timely juncture in the evolution of these issues, with questions relating to minority ethnic citizenship, 'difference', 'belonging' and racism placed on the agenda as a result of the two key governmentally instigated reports referred to above. Ultimately, the findings of this study concurred significantly with my own work, and with that of others, and the Concluding Comments section of Collins' and Begum's report states unequivocally that the findings were 'that the nature of racism in [county] was predominantly prejudice and negative stereotyping, borne out of the lack of presence of people of different ethnic cultures and backgrounds.' (ibid. p67), a thread which can be found to run both through my own work, and that of others in the field.

The second publication based on research specifically in the south west region did not become available until December 2002, by which time my own work was largely committed to script. Nevertheless, I was aware that this work had been commissioned by a south western Race Equality Council, (not that of my own research area), and was also particularly aware that the issues being investigated were again as a result of significant governmental attention following the findings of their own inquiries. Because of the late

availability of this document in terms of the writing up of my own research, this commentary cannot critically consider the relationship between the study and that of my own and other work in the field. However, similarities in concerns are apparent, and again, the report refers to its own timely significance (Gaine and Lamley, 2003, p6), both in respect of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, and of subsequent legislation in terms of the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000.

As with the *Hidden Voices* report, *Racism and the Dorset Idyll* had a wide-ranging brief, stating in an introductory letter to potential minority ethnic respondents that 'The kinds of things we would like to know are whether you have had problems getting or using some local services? Are there ways in which services could be improved? The services we are interested in are health, education, social services, housing, the police etc.' (Gaine and Lamley, 2003, p127). With particular reference to education however, the research findings in the relevant section specifically refer to 'a pervasive attitude of "there aren't many minorities so there's no problem"' (ibid. p91). Presumably a somewhat disheartening finding for Gaine (although in the light of the findings of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, possibly not surprising) to discover that little if anything had changed in a mainly white area (similar in some respects to that of Gaine's original research) in the fifteen years following the publication of his book *No Problem Here*. What this section does determine is striking similarities between Gaine and Lamley's findings, and those detailed by myself and others in relation to minority ethnic children's and parents experiences of racism, exclusion, and marginalisation within a majority white educational setting, experiences that a new national survey similarly highlighted, and to which we will now turn.

In between *Hidden Voices* and *Racism and the Dorset Idyll*, in July 2002 there appeared a report that had been commissioned by the DfES (Department for Education and Skills), and was published under the title of *Minority Ethnic Pupils in Mainly White Schools*. This qualitatively based study produced a substantial document with the intention of 'highlight[ing] factors that might affect the educational achievements of [minority ethnic pupils in mainly white areas] and examin[ing] the perspectives on the situation of minority ethnic pupils and parents as well as their teachers.' (Cline et al. 2002, p1). This report, clearly more particularly focused on education, lists eight key findings; some of which relate to attainment, language provision and teacher training needs; all of obvious interest

to the DfES in terms of service provision. However, in addition to these key findings, and with particular relevance to my own research and to the above mentioned authors whose work had contributed to my deliberations; attitudes relating to identity, racist incidents, and the preparation of pupils in a mainly white area for life in a diverse society were all mentioned as significant factors found to affect the attainment of minority ethnic children.

There is little doubt that this report was commissioned with the intention of informing the DfES of the particular issues raised for minority ethnic pupils in mainly white schools, and the concluding thoughts of this document spell out the significant findings clearly in the statement that, '...precisely because the implications of having a small proportion of minority ethnic pupils in a school can so easily be overlooked, it is necessary that it is given higher priority in the guidance that underpins teachers' thinking and planning.' (ibid. p166). Given this concluding thought, it might be reasonable to assume that the DfES would build these observation into any strategic planning for minority ethnic provision in education (even more importantly since, as discussed in chapter one in the section on *Defining Terms*, this report by Cline et al. defines 'mainly white' as between 4-6% [ibid. p1], when in fact, there are many areas with considerably fewer minority ethnic people). However, in March of 2003, the DfES produced an equal opportunities Pupil Support consultation document entitled *Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Minority Ethnic Pupils* (DfES, 2003a) in which section four considers *Funding Issues* (ibid. pp37-40).

This section considers possible ways in which government EMAG (Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant) funding might be apportioned, stating that 'funding specifically to support schools in raising the achievement of minority ethnic pupils ...will continue to be routed through EMAG.' (ibid. p38). The consultation document then considers four possible options regarding the way in which funding could be distributed, a core theme from *all* options being that there should be a large degree of flexibility for schools and local authorities to decide on the ways in which this raising of achievement can be accomplished, and therefore, on how the funding, or a proportion of it, could be spent. Most importantly, the document further states that all of the options given,

> ...would result in significant changes in the distribution of funding between LEAs. In some instances, schools and local authorities would control a smaller share of the dedicated additional resources than now. This makes it even more important to

ensure that those additional resources are allocated fairly and transparently on the basis of need.
(ibid. p39).

The document then provides three possible 'formulas' for the actual distribution of the funding, *all* of which are derived from a numbers based rationale. The fundamental premise being made in all these options therefore, is that the greater the number of minority ethnic children, the greater the need for EMAG funding, and conversely, the smaller the number, the less funding that will be required. This premise has caused not inconsiderable concern to the Ethnic Minority Achievement Service in the county of my research (referred to in *Defining Terms* in chapter one), not least considering that the aim of the research of Cline et al. (as quoted above) was to 'highlight[s] factors which might affect the educational achievements of [minority ethnic]...pupils' (Cline et al. 2002, p1). Their research did in fact demonstrate that it is not language provision alone that determines attainment, and indeed, language is frequently not a factor at all in the issues surrounding the attainment of African Caribbean and many dual heritage children.

What is being overlooked in this *numbers = need* mindset, is that in mainly white areas the *infrastructure* necessary to address any attainment deficit will not be available in the same way that it might be in areas with higher concentrations of ethnic diversity. If this funding therefore, is to be allocated on a numbers based rationale, the 'complete freedom to decide how to spend these resources' (DfES, 2002, p38) may become irrelevant in a mainly white area such as that of my own research. In such areas where the percentage of minority ethnic residents might be as low as 1.6% (or less - see reference in *Defining Terms* in chapter one), the amount of funding would inevitably be insufficient to address the needs of infrastructure *in addition* to any other initiatives that may wish to be considered. (In fact, as a response to this consultation document the Ethnic Minority Achievement Service, with whom I had been working, asked if, as a result of my research, I could produce a short paper to submit to the DfES on these issues to be included with their Consultation Response Form, and this is presented for information in Appendix [B5].)

In concluding this section therefore, it can be seen that a chronology of key texts, old and new, has supported and informed both my own research, and that of others. Each makes its own unique contribution to the field, and in the case of my own study, this contribution has included such considerations (amongst others), as the blending (or opposition) of new

legislation for citizenship and racial equality; issues of semiology, representation and identity; new models of dynamic approaches to anti-racist training; an analysis of the work of Bhabha and the 'third space', and Maxime on racial identity; and additionally, a consideration of the cultural implications of racial identity within the context of new legislation. In the end, we might consider this process as a kind of 'dialogue' between researchers conducted over a period of time, or taking a simplified Hegelian standpoint, we might look at his interpretation of thought systems wherein '...only the whole is true. Every stage or phase or moment is partial...', and further, that in relation to his analysis of the processes of dialectical thinking, 'The totality is the product of that process which preserves all of its "moments" as elements in a structure...'of which we should 'Think of these structural elements as the interrelated ones of a whole architecture...' (Spencer & Krauze, 1997, p79).

Hegel saw such architecture as being in a constant state of dynamic evolution, moving towards a 'totality' of thought; and that this evolution of thought is still progressing towards some kind of a totality in the field around which this discussion is based remains very much in evidence. In the Concluding Thoughts of their study, Cline et al. comment quite starkly that:

> We have concluded that at present mainly white schools do not adequately prepare their pupils for adult life in a society that is culturally and ethnically diverse. That is unlikely to change unless greater priority is given to that goal in national education policies and curriculum development, as in the new programmes of study in Citizenship in the National Curriculum (DfEE/QCA, 1999). In working towards this end it is important that diversity within the minority ethnic population is respected. ...Moving forward ...will require that teachers in mainly white schools are supported towards a fuller understanding of the range of backgrounds and perspectives that are represented in the more and more dispersed minority ethnic population of England in the 21st century.
> (Cline et al. 2002, p167).

Evidently from the perspective of Cline et al. therefore, the issues are still very much alive and in a process of evolution.

Policy and Practice - The Research Findings and their Implications

For Schools...

Towards the end of the fieldwork period of my research, I attended a meeting between the parent of a Sikh child, and the head teacher of a new secondary school. The Sikh child had special educational needs, and attended most of his lessons with two other (white) children with similar needs. The parent was complaining that her child had been called, amongst other things, '*nigger*', '*black bastard*', and various names (unsuitable to commit to script here) by the two children in his small group. The parent was close to tears as she related this, and in response, the head teacher said that '*to be fair*', her child had called one of the other children '*Peachy*' (in connection with the child's surname), and '*fatty*', relating to the child's weight. When the parent told the head that these names were extremely mild in comparison with those that her son had been called, and that she also considered the names to be both hurtful and insulting to herself and to the rest of her family, the head seemed unable to make the distinction in any way that appreciated the difference that the parent was pointing out. What the head did say was that as all these children had special educational needs, she felt that it was difficult for them to relate to the issues in the same way that other more able children might. This made finding solutions to the problem more difficult, as each time the children came together they would fall straight back into these 'learned patterns' of behaviour, apparently forgetting anything they had been told on previous occasions.

The implications for policy and practice in this interchange are those which are supported by other evidence found in this research. The parent clearly felt that the racist nature of the bullying experienced by her son was qualitatively different from other forms of name calling. The difference she felt, was based on the fact that the insults did not stop at her child, but that the implications of abuse were carried on to herself and to her family as minority ethnic citizens. The head seemed to be unaware of, or unable to appreciate the implications of this difference, and it would therefore seem reasonable to conclude (having heard similar comments about the assumed parity of all verbal bullying made by other teachers at training sessions) that there is a need for greater awareness in mainly white areas, of the implications of racist name calling, and an understanding of why it is not, as I have often heard teachers from the county state, '*just the same as any other kind of name*

calling'. Moreover, this awareness needs to be cultivated as part of the broader spectrum of anti-racist education within the context of *emotional literacy*, a subject which has captured much attention in schools in recent years. Part of this broader spectrum of any citizenship programme is the capacity it holds for addressing the more affective aspects of education, and the experiences of racism and their effects could certainly be included in this remit.

Further implications for policy and practice lie in the connections that can be made with the wider field of equal opportunities highlighted particularly by the incident related above. Whilst keeping a very clear focus on the issues raised by racism and racist name-calling, this aspect is nevertheless affiliated to the equal opportunities issues connected to this group of children in terms of their special needs status, and it is clear that sensitive and yet effective ways of dealing with the concerns raised by such situations are essential. Inevitably therefore, circumstances such as these highlight a need for training which is sensitive to the feelings and perceptions of all parties involved in such interchanges, and yet dynamic enough to produce real shifts in attitudes and understanding (see chapter two). Such incidents as these also point to the need for an unequivocal anti-racist standpoint from educators, and demonstrate that approaches which are multicultural by any other name are insufficient to tackle points of view which may, however unwittingly, perpetuate racism.

A particular source of help in these situations may in fact be new legislation requiring schools to log all racist incidents. This may initially sound potentially punitive rather than a source of assistance. However, if positive guidance is in place to help with the recording process, this may help to unpack the issues from all points of view, and provide learning opportunities and the occasion for increasing sensitivity and understanding for all parties involved. An example of the potential for such positive practice might be the provision by the LEA of some form of flow-chart which would help schools to consider all aspects of logging a racist incident in order to be aware of the correct procedures, as well as where help and guidance might be obtained, and a sample chart under consideration for use in the county of my research may be found in Appendix (A6).

A further issue for policy and practice in schools is the need to be more aware of the imperatives of race equality legislation. Attitudes in mainly white areas have been

described by Gaine as frequently 'backward and complacent' (personal communication, 2000), and evidence throughout my research has often highlighted such attitudes with regard to both individual and institutional practices and procedures. In addition to the evidence presented in the data chapters therefore, there have been incidents that have clearly indicated a lack of familiarity with legal imperatives. In at least three cases schools could have been deemed to be in breach of the Race Relations Act 1976, Part III, Section 17 which addresses access to education, and states that:

> It is unlawful, in relation to an educational establishment falling within column 1 of the following table, for a person indicated in relation to the establishment in column 2 (the 'responsible body') to discriminate against a person-
>
> (a) in the terms on which it offers to admit him to the establishment as a pupil; or
> (b) by refusing or deliberately omitting to accept an application for his admission to the establishment as a pupil; or
> (c) where he is a pupil of the establishment-
>
> (i) in the way it afford him access to any benefits, facilities or services, or by refusing or deliberately omitting to afford him access to them; or
> (ii) by excluding him from the establishment or subjecting him to any other detriment.

(RRA 1976, Part III, Section 17).

In two cases I encountered during my fieldwork, the schools' action could have been judged to be in contravention of (c), parts (i) and (ii), in that access to facilities had been denied, and fixed-term exclusion imposed in a way that (clearly by comparison), it had not been exercised in relation to a white child under similar circumstances. In another case, a school had to be advised by the county's Racial Equality Council that they were in possible contravention of parts (a) and (b) (Part III, Section 17) of the Act following an incident in which a Chinese parent had been unable to read a notice regarding entry deadlines, and the school had refused to accept a late application from this family, even after the circumstances had been fully explained to the head teacher. Inevitably, the LEA must take some of the responsibility for guiding and advising schools in such matters. However, having been in the position of being asked by the LEA to arbitrate in such circumstances on several occasions, it is hard to avoid the feeling that simply by informing schools and heads of the legal imperatives, they somehow reflect back a feeling of being 'got at',

despite the intention for such guidance and advice to be supportive, whilst at the same time giving schools the facts that they need to know.

Finally with regard to legislation, schools need to be aware that in relation to race equality, much can now be based on inference, and schools therefore need to consider attitudes and actions (however unwitting or unintentional) that might be interpreted as a disenfranchisement of the rights of minority ethnic pupils. A recent call to the Commission for Racial Equality produced the following 'over the phone' advice.

> *It is unlawful for an educational establishment to discriminate on the grounds of race.*
>
> *Inference is often sufficient, especially in combination with any comparative evidence that a non-minority child might be, or has been, treated differently.*
>
> *Any supporting information would of course be taken into account.*
>
> *A county court could legitimately prosecute on the grounds of inference.*
>
> (personal telephone conversation with CRE, summer, 2003).

It is clear that such advice indicates a need for schools not only to be aware of legislation, but to also cultivate processes of self-reflection in relation to these issues, as 'not knowing', or even 'not realising' will provide scant justification for evidence of inequality.

With more particular reference to citizenship, it is clear from the findings of this research that broader concepts must be nurtured in which both multicultural and anti-racist approaches can take their place in education. What seems to have been missed in national policy is the fact that anti-racist initiatives must underpin citizenship before any truly inclusive model can be promoted, since racism and xenophobia are both divisive and destructive forces that undermine any holistic sense of community.

We might here consider Tomlinson's perspective, in that if what she affirms concerning colonialist and imperialist attitudes having been nurtured through the medium of education are true (Tomlinson, 1990, p71ff), then we must also consider the possibility that such attitudes must necessarily be imbued in the psyche of those in positions of power and influence today. If this is the case, then it follows that whether consciously or not, such

attitudes must, to some degree, influence the way in which policy is formulated, and practice delivered.

Citizenship education therefore, needs to seek more inclusive models, not just in what is said and protested by policy makers, but within the very fabric of the model of citizenship itself. The proof of this would be demonstrated by the presence of an attitude best described not as a treatise on how 'we' define 'their' sense of citizenship and belonging, but on how 'we' define 'our' sense of citizenship and belonging, such a change in attitude representing a clear shift in position. Citizenship as a curriculum subject therefore, could provide (as discussed in chapter two) a 'space' in which minority ethnic identities could be nurtured, not as exclusive, but as inclusive elements as part of an holistic concept of citizenship.

As a part of all these processes, and most particularly in the curriculum opportunities provided by citizenship, together with permeation through the whole ethos of the school, majority white children must be encouraged to appreciate diversity and eschew racism in all its forms, and rational and thought-provoking models of delivery must be encouraged and further developed to this end. Chapter five outlined the effects of a mono-cultural/faith/ethnic environment in terms of the impact of racism on the identity of *all* children and young people (Funge & Williams, 2002), and practical ways must be found of diminishing these effects. An example of a currently available resource which endeavours to contribute to this process is the *Britkid* website, which both informs majority white children on issues of anti-racism and diversity, and provides minority ethnic children with characters and experiences to which they might (possibly) relate, (an example of the positive impact of this website being an African Caribbean child I worked with who was clearly delighted to find a child on the website who knew about all the things he himself was familiar with). Another example of a currently available resource is the *Show Racism the Red Card* video pack (based around the issues of racism both in football, and in society more generally), which I have used with a class of lower ability children who had been directing abuse at a particular minority ethnic child when playing football during break times. The impact of the video was to halt the racist name-calling more or less immediately, and (according to the head) on a continuing basis as a result of follow-up work based on the pack. It should be noted that a key feature of both these resources is their provision of minority ethnic role models (and of majority white role models who

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demonstrate their rejection of racism and xenophobia) *where few exist* in mainly white areas; together with the potential that these role models offer in assisting both minority ethnic and majority white children to address the issues and experiences raised by racism as a barrier to the equal opportunities of citizenship.

For the LEA...

At LEA level, as demonstrated in chapter four, there is a need for the raising of awareness, both of the experience of minority ethnic individuals in a mainly white environment, and of the unreflective and often unconscious attitudes of majority white individuals towards the issues that surround minority ethnic citizens.

In order to outline the issues raised for policy and practice by the findings of this research, (interim reports from which have been regularly presented to the Chief Education Officer, and to line management committees), action planning points raised at a meeting recently held by a newly convened race equality monitoring group at the LEA will assist in highlighting the practical implications of these research findings, those of the *Hidden Voices* report referred to above, and of the impetus created by the Race Relations Amendment Act (RRAA) 2000.

From the meeting held it was minuted that:

> There was a feeling that the greater issue is the need for guidance and training in all branches on how to investigate and respond to [racist] incidents appropriately.

> What is required in each area is to look at both service provision and also at policies – not full corporate policies, but those that are local to a particular service or cut across more than one service.

> [Member] commented that work on schools on these issues [racial equality] should be informed by the OFSTED package *Evaluating Educational Inclusion* and the DfES document *Aiming High*.

> Discussion centred on the tendency within the organisational culture to be colour blind, and adopt a 'no problem here' mentality.

> There had been an attempt made to initiate a black workers group in education, but this had failed to materialise due to low numbers of black and minority ethnic employees. The issue of the difficulty of encouraging black workers to move out to

the more rural areas was discussed, as it was often the experience that there were not enough black and minority ethnic applicants for the jobs that were advertised.

[Members] are developing a management training programme on promoting awareness and positive images of diversity, aiming to get managers to address these issues proactively.

There is a need to monitor and share information about [race equality] initiatives across the department.

The monitoring group should act as a 'ginger group' in promoting awareness and driving equalities issues forward.

There should be firm procedures for monitoring and auditing feedback on the recording of [racist] incidents.

There should be 'joined-up' responses to issues [involving racism] that arise, such as exclusions from school.

And finally:

There was some discussion around the question of broadening the focus of the group to embrace wider equalities issues. Concern was expressed about the implications at this stage of watering down the specific race equality focus.

(action points taken from minutes of LEA race equality monitoring group meeting, 2003).

It is clear from these minuted action points that the LEA is beginning to respond to the issues raised in all the documented evidence mentioned above (the RRAA 2000; the *Hidden Voices* report; my own research) of the need for change in both policy and practice, and it is encouraging that the monitoring group sees the importance of maintaining the focus specifically on racial equality 'at this stage', rather than broadening their remit to a more general focus on equal opportunities. Having been invited to attend the meeting at which these matters were raised, my strong impression was that the intended meaning behind the phrase 'at this stage', was the implication that the county was in the *early* phases of beginning to address these issues, especially perhaps, in comparison with other more urban authorities, and therefore their energies should all be directed towards getting these new racial equality initiatives up and running. This observation certainly resonated with the comment I received from a respondent (related in chapter four) who had just come to work in the county from a much more urban area, and who stated that in terms of racial

equality initiatives, she felt as if she had been '*transported back in time; taken off to another planet...*'.

The implications for the LEA regarding policy and practice that resonated with the findings of this research therefore (and with research and legal directives from other sources), were highlighted in raising the following issues for action:

- that the LEA begins to make positive progress in the area of race equality training for staff
- that race equality policies are improved and developed
- that legal and governmental advice is responded to
- that the attitudes of employees are informed through good practice
- that positive action is encouraged in the area of recruitment
- that there is the sharing and promotion of information
- that monitoring, auditing and communicating ideas and initiatives both inter- and intra-departmentally is encouraged.

Finally, it was felt that it would be preferable for the monitoring group to maintain an exclusive focus on promoting race equality for the time-being, rather than broaden the focus to wider issues of equal opportunity, at least until these initiatives had become an integrated part of the organisational infrastructure, not just in policy and theory, but in everyday practice and procedure.

At National Level...

At national level there is perhaps less to say, since the area of influence is somewhat remote in comparison to the close contact that this research has had with schools and with the LEA. That is not to say, of course, that the changes suggested or recommended for policy and practice in the institutions taking part in this project are entirely due to the effects or the influence of this study. However, having been in the position of action researcher with both schools and the LEA, it has been possible to feed the findings of the research into their processes of change to some extent, through channels that have obviously been more local than national.

Nevertheless, there are some implications that can be drawn from this study for policy and practice at national level, and the first would be the ways in which, despite the Race Relations Act of 1976, the Swann Report of 1985, and the Human Rights Act of 1998 (all of which had implications for education), notions of what it means to be a British citizen in a sense that captures and welcomes the true diversity of that concept have failed to take root. They have also to a large extent, apparently failed to be promoted through the education system in any way that has been shown to be effective in the majority white area of my research. Had there been effective change as a result of these documents, it is unlikely that my research findings would have been the same, and as discussed in chapter four, it is likely that in more recent years some of the blame can be laid at the door of the Education Reform Act and the failure of the National Curriculum to promote concepts of diversity, anti-racism, or holistic citizenship (Ball, 1994, p28ff). Chapter three of this study similarly refers to a collection of international and European documents supporting anti-racism and inclusive concepts of citizenship (Coomans and Batelaan, 1999), one of the contributors to this document stating that 'Unfortunately, schools and universities in almost all European countries have been kept ignorant by their governments with regard to the commitments which have been made by them' (Batelaan, 1999, p21), thereby pointing out the failure of national government to promote ideals from European and international documents that they themselves have put their names to.

Returning to UK legislation, at the time I began my research the Crick Report had been recently published (QCA, 1998), and a year later, the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report was produced (Macpherson, 1999). The limitations of the Crick Report for the promotion of inclusive and anti-racist notions of citizenship have been fully discussed in chapter three. The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report however, being the catalyst for the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000, may stand as a more effective document in terms of tackling racism, and therefore (as an integral element of the message of this document), in promoting more inclusive forms of citizenship. Certainly schools and institutions have had to respond to recent anti-racist legislation through the new 'Positive Duty' incumbent upon all public authorities. However, although this has produced a flurry of response in terms of producing race equality policies, action plans, and having to respond to OFSTED's increasingly exacting criteria, it remains to be seen whether or not a 'strong lead' from central government will keep these issues alive long enough for them to establish strong roots and precedents.

The DfES consultation document *Aiming High* seeks to open discussion on issues surrounding the attainment of minority ethnic children in the UK, and indeed, it should be noted that for the year 2002, the ethnic groups of 'Chinese' and 'Indian' outperform all other groups, including majority white, at GCSE level. However, all other minority groups fall *below* the average achievement level for all ethnic groups (see table in Appendix [A7]), and this must open some serious debate on the possible factors, both educational and social, that contribute to this shortfall. As part of this debate, (pointed out in the short response paper to the *Aiming High* document, referred to above in the section on *Relevant Key Texts* and included in Appendix [B5]), there needs to be some consideration regarding issues of funding and the lack of a supportive infrastructure available within mainly white areas, where diversity is often characterised by the largely dispersed demographics of the minority ethnic population. As has been demonstrated by issues raised in this study, the 'backward and complacent' attitudes (Gaine, 2000, personal communication) that frequently characterise the understanding of diversity in mainly white areas, can seriously affect the equality of opportunity available to minority ethnic children in education. Furthermore, even by appealing to basic concepts of emotional literacy, it is clear that children who cannot confidently and comfortably occupy their 'space' in the world (Meredith, 1998), will be unlikely to perform as well as those who can.

Two final points are included here in the implications of this research for considerations of national policy and practice. The first is that, most especially as a result of analysis of the purport of the Crick Report in chapter three (and of the Crick-related citizenship conferences that took place at various locations in the UK, referred to in chapter two under the heading *If you ain't white*), it seems evident that policy makers need to involve minority ethnic groups and individuals at every stage of their planning and procedure in order to ensure that resulting policy and documentation does not represent ethnocentric (or even more specifically, Anglocentric) perspectives on what constitutes genuine forms of equal and inclusive citizenship. The second point is that there needs to be more positive promotion of the minority ethnic presence in the UK at national level, especially (at the present time) in relation to the issues surrounding refugees and asylum seekers (see chapter two under sub-heading, *UK Immigration: Fact, Fallacy and Feelings*; also chapter four under heading, *Challenging Racism in Majority White Areas*). At the moment there exists the unfortunate contradiction where on the one hand, attempts are being made as national

directives to increase the appreciation of a diverse citizenship, and to publicly eschew manifestations of racism, and on the other, national policies of detention, dispersal and deportation stand in stark contrast to these positive initiatives.

Under the heading of this section, *Policy and Practice* therefore, consideration has been divided between the three areas of schools, the LEA, and national findings and their implications, and inevitably, there have been some overlaps. However, in closing this section I include here a précis of actionable issues for each level of responsibility in order to highlight particular aspects relating to each.

For Schools:

- the need to make a clear link between citizenship and issues of anti-racism
- a joint approach of celebrating diversity together with positive action against racism
- the requirement to be aware of the needs of minority ethnic pupils in a majority white environment
- the need to educate their white majority for life in a diverse society
- the need for reflective awareness of the 'no problem here' attitude
- practical curriculum tools for tackling racism.

For the LEA:

- the need for a reflective awareness of the attitudes and actions of their institution, most particularly embodied by the 'no problem here' approach
- commitment to address the issues of race equality seriously
- the need for race equality training throughout the organisation
- the need to be aware of legislation both within the context of the LEA as an institution, and in order to advise schools
- the requirement to be aware of minority ethnic needs in a majority white environment
- the need to demonstrate a strong and yet supportive lead with schools.

At National Level:

- to clearly recognise and promote the links between citizenship and anti-racism
- the need for funding to reflect an understanding of the particular issues that educating for diversity and anti-racism raises for majority white environments, both in terms of the attainment of minority ethnic pupils, and of the broadening of attitudes in preparing majority white children for life in a diverse society
- the demonstration of strong support for all minority ethnic groups, thereby reflecting the diversity that must constitute notions of 'Britishness'
- to lead by example on what it means to belong to a diverse and vibrant society that celebrates difference in ways that are both positive and inclusive
- a commitment to eradicate racism in all its forms, including those of outdated and entrenched imperialist attitudes
- the inclusion of minority ethnic representation at all stages of planning and consultation.

Finally here, it should be noted that in reviewing these implications for policy and practice, it was also intended that some explication of the generalisability of the research would unfold in the process, in that the findings move from the particular applications for policy and practice within schools and the LEA in a majority white environment, to the more general application of the relevance of the findings in relation to the national context. Therefore, if any generalisability can be claimed, it is here, within this comparative frame of reference, that it may be found.

Fundamentally, what is important in reviewing these implications is the thread of 'policy and practice' that leads us back to the title of the original research question and the issues it sought to uncover, together with a consideration of the way in which the theory that supported the question is now different as a result of this study (Phillips & Pugh, 1994, pp59-60, in Silverman, 2000, p251). In this respect it would be fair to say that the implications of theory behind the original research question were directed towards an hypothesis that the emergence of a key report on the need to educate for citizenship in schools (the Crick Report, 1998) being published just a year before a powerful report condemning racism in all its forms (the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, 1999), would have a significant and joined-up impact on promoting diversity and anti-racist education in

schools, in a way that might succeed where other initiatives, over the years, had failed. This study has analysed the ways in which this connection between the two reports was largely unrecognised in the early stages of implementing new legislation; thereby demonstrating that the marriage between the imperatives of inclusive notions of citizenship, and the anti-racist initiatives needed in order to achieve this in practice did not come easily or inevitably. The implications for policy and practice outlined above therefore, are based on the need for initiatives that will progress this 'joined-up' process in ways that are able to positively capitalise on new legislative imperatives.

Lessons to be Learned...

Wolcott has noted that recognition of the limitations of any research will necessarily include a disclaimer in awareness of the fact that a study 'occurred in a particular place, at a particular time, and under particular circumstances' (Wolcott, 1990, p30, quoted in Silverman, 2000, p252), and taking this perspective into account, there has been some discussion of the generalisability of this research included in the preceding section. However, in terms of place, time, and circumstance, this study had well defined parameters from the outset, in that the research was to be based in a 'mainly white' area; it was to concentrate on a period directly following the publication of two major pieces of new legislation for citizenship and racial equality; and it sought to uncover new possibilities for policy and practice in the wake of a litany of unfulfilled initiatives in both of these fields. It would therefore seem fair to observe that the potential limitations outlined by Wolcott more accurately describe the structural framework of this study, in that without this particular skeleton, the body of the completed research would have resembled a different form of enquiry altogether.

In fact, because of this fairly rigid research framework, it became possible, as referred to in chapter one, to experience the freedoms best described by Roads (1987, p26, quoted in Moustakas, 1990, p13) as the opportunity 'to let go of the known and swim in an unknown current', without the fear that one was going to be washed away completely. My research journey therefore, might be compared to a voyage across a large lake: a view of the opposite shore obscured by distance, the geography of inlets, bays and tributaries as yet undiscovered, and yet the location and general parameters of the lake somewhat defined,

and providing welcome limitation in comparison with the hazards and distractions of a journey ventured onto open and uncharted seas.

Because of these parameters therefore, it is recognised that this study provides a snapshot in place, time, and circumstance, and in relation to the particular perspectives of the researcher, personal history and experience inevitably indicate some investment of the self in the process of analysis and interpretation. In this respect, personal perspectives in relation to the broader issues raised by the research for the experience of exclusion more generally will be given some consideration in the final section of this chapter.

In considering this study therefore, an holistic perspective might best be described as a hybrid involving two structural or skeletal systems. The first framework, or *exoskeleton*, was provided by the defined parameters of the research question, as discussed above, of 'place, time and circumstance'. Within this framework, the freedom was gained to allow the research to 'unfold' within the process of an heuristic methodology, as described in chapter one. However, this process of unfolding did not proceed unchecked, and a second skeletal system, or *endoskeleton* was provided by a sub-methodological framework (see Appendix [B1]) in order to ensure that the heuristic focus (frequently placed on the tacit and the opportunistic) developed in a way that was accessible to external interpretation, and did not devolve into a 'soup of data'.

In summary therefore, three main lessons have been learned from the conduct and the progress of the study:

- that it is important to define the research area fairly clearly, and yet this must be done in a way that does not limit or inhibit the findings. Data gathered strategically, opportunistically, or informed by the tacit can then be allowed to guide and inform the work within the parameters of a well-structured and formulated sub-methodological framework.

- that once the 'exoskeletal' framework has been defined, the 'endoskeletal' framework can provide a stable internal structure on which to hang the data. This allows the strategic, the opportunistic and the tacit to flow in terms of making

cross-connections and allowing the research an holistic freedom in which to unfold and reveal itself.

- that advantage should be taken of all opportunistic openings for the research, up to a point where they may be considered superfluous or peripheral when cross-referenced back to the original framework of the research question. Data gathered via the strategic and informed by the tacit must be similarly referenced.

Bearing these points in mind, whatever inference is built upon during the process of answering the research question, the primary aim must remain in focus, and no-matter whether the route taken in terms of the opportunistic and the tacit entails deviation from elements of the sub aims, ultimately, the primary question must remain the pre-eminent point of reference.

Further research that might follow from findings, methods and concepts

During the course of becoming immersed in this research, there have been many writers to the work of whom I have only been able to refer, and yet who have introduced approaches to considering issues raised in this study in ways which have been both inspiring, and frustrating. The inspiration has come from their often unique interpretations, or from the ways in which they have interpreted and shed new light on the work of others. The frustrations have come in that, as discussed above, there has to be a 'cut-off' point where it is recognised that to go further with a particular idea or inference that has been sparked by the research of others (or from the study data) would be to stray too far beyond the boundaries of the primary aim of one's own research. Below therefore, I will briefly outline areas of interest that it has not been possible to fully explore in this thesis, but that could provide scope for further study.

- A footnote in chapter five refers to possibilities for the application of further research based on Lacanian analysis. This interest initially came from the contact I had with the African Caribbean child whose case study is related in that chapter. However, the interest has been fuelled throughout the research by the contact that I have had with dual heritage children, who frequently, as referred to in the research model produced by Cross (1991), experience feelings of ambiguity in relation to

their own racial identity, moving at different stages of their development between 'white' and 'black' experiences of self-identification.[1] Lacanian analysis has been taken up and applied with considerable relevance for feminist theory (Minsky, 1992, p188ff). However, it has also been adapted by Seshadri-Crooks (2000) to understandings of 'race' and ethnicity (and by Hage [1998, pp70-75] in the context of 'fantasy' and 'nationalism' more particularly). My inspiration in all of this lies in how concepts of identity are formulated at a very early age, and the way in which, from a Lacanian perspective, very young children gather reflections in the course of constructing their own identity through a process of 'mirroring' the images they see around them. The implications of relevance for a child who has a black parent and a white parent are considerable here (Minsky states quite specifically that Lacanian analysis is an 'innovative and radical version of Freud's theories' [Minsky, 1992, p188]), and yet what is also both interesting and relevant is the way in which Lacanian analysis employs ideas of modern linguistics, thus utilising concepts of semiotics, and in Minsky's analysis (ibid. p191), referring directly to the work of Saussure (work which is further considered in the research possibility outlined below).

- Chapter two opens a discussion on the ideas of *Semiotics, Signs, Myths and the Discourse of Difference and Belonging*, and although in the context of this thesis there is a reasonably full discussion of these concepts and their significance for issues of identity, I feel that there is further scope for development here. Most particularly, I would like to find a fuller explication of these ideas through the medium of the *Britkid* web-based anti-racist resource that has been referred to in this thesis, and which, due to inappropriate timing (as discussed above in the section entitled *Embarking and Arriving – and what happened in-between...*) it has not been possible to discuss more fully in the research findings. The idea that I would like to pursue in relation to these concepts is one which would consider the way in which identity and ethnicity are portrayed and depicted on this website with reference to the characterizations which inevitably 'bear some burden of representation' (Gaine, 2000a, p89ff). In particular, I would like to analyse whether the representational intentions of signified, signifier and sign related to the characterizations are in accord (or possibly in conflict) with the interpretations of those accessing the site. The opportunity to do this is in fact forthcoming in the

form of a chapter in a book to be published about the website project, and which will include some discussion of the work of Saussure, Barthes and Hall in relation to semiotics, myth, and representation.

- Moving away from the specifically anti-racist stance of the web-based resource referred to above, and yet echoing its pluralist approach to the fact of diversity, Bhikhu Parekh's book *Rethinking Multiculturalism* (2000) engages with both theory *and* policy in the endeavour to bring solutions to 'the dialectical interplay between shared humanity and its cultural mediation' (Barber, 2000, in Parekh, 2000, publisher's information). Reading this book in the early 'immersion' stage of my research, my inspiration was fired by the notion of this 'dialectical interplay', and the possibilities that it held for arbitration in terms of 'discussion and reasoning by dialogue as a method of intellectual investigation' with specific relevance to 'conflict that is aimed at resolution' (Merriam-Webster on-line, 2003). The rationale behind this inspiration lay in a seasoned interest in the processes of dialogue propounded by writers such as Blake (1996), Bohm (1985, 1996) and de Mare (1991), and a personal involvement in dialogue groups going back some years. The opportunities offered by dialogue for the opening of a 'space' for the facilitation of mediation was the particular notion that drew me, and in this respect I had hoped that the use of this process might be possible at some stage of the research. In the event, probably the closest process to dialogue offered by the study was that presented by the opportunity for focus groups. However, a further link was to emerge. At a later stage of the research, my interest was drawn by the work of Homi Bhabha and his notion of 'the third space', Bhabha offering the description that:

> ... the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is **the 'third space' which enables other positions to emerge.** This third space displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives.
> (Bhabha, 1990, interview quoted in Lawrence and Wisheart).

Bhabha's concept of a 'third space' as indicated in the quotation above, opens up possibilities for a renegotiation of meaning by 'displac[ing]' the old, and 'set[ting] up' the new; the reference to 'structures of authority' and 'new political initiatives'

indicating a clear commitment to the translation of theory into practice. In a similar way, the concept of dialogue (in itself a very practical process) as a vehicle for the resolution of conflict offers a 'third space' into which a range of difference can be introduced, not in the sense of *e pluribus unum*, but more in terms of the notion of plurality offered by Parekh, (i.e. not in the sense of an homogenised 'whole', but in the sense of a whole comprising of its individual dynamic elements).

To summarise in relation to these three strands of thought therefore; Parekh's concept of *plurality*, Blake, Bohm and de Mare's concept of *dialogue*, and Bhabha's concept of *the third space*, the focus for further research could arise and connect through the unpacking and analysis of ideas contained in Meredith's statement that:

> The concepts of hybridity and the third space contribute to an approach that avoids the perpetuation of antagonistic binarisms and develops inclusionary, not exclusionary, and multi-faceted, not dualistic, patterns of cultural exchange and maturation.
> (Meredith, 1998).

The intention of all these ideas being directed towards ways in which a 'dialectical interplay between shared humanity and its cultural mediation' (Parekh, 2000, ibid.) might be opened and negotiated.

- Finally, in terms of further research that might follow, there are specific possibilities for the development of two key original ideas introduced in this thesis, and one additional area where the collaboration of ideas from other research might be applied with more specific reference for the practical application of theory in majority white areas.

The first possibility relates to further thought connecting *Myth, Discourse, Learned Misinformation* and *Stereotyping* to a dynamic model of training (illustrated in chapter two, *Diagram III*). This model demonstrates the way in which specific interventions can be applied to the self-sustaining cycle of *Myth/Discourse/Learned Misinformation/Stereotyping* from a theoretical perspective. The further development however, would follow from the practical application and monitoring

of these concepts in order to uphold or modify this theoretical model. Of particular interest might be pre- and post-testing in relation to the development of reflexivity and more self-reflective attitudes and responses relevant to the particular issues that racism raises for a majority white environment.

The second possibility refers to the *Typology of Engagement* introduced in chapter four. This model was developed with specific reference to the majority white environment in which my fieldwork took place, in order to identify the subject positions and levels of engagement of particular individuals in relation to the issues and experience of racism. Further development could arise from the broader employment of this typology, again in order to uphold or modify this model. The widening of this application has in fact, been exercised in this thesis outside the context of its initial development (the county LEA), and has been directed towards an individual (the data transcripts from whom appear in Appendix [B3]) working as a member of a somewhat larger institution (the DfES). A brief description of this application may be found in chapter four (see reference to a *Typology of Engagement* in chapter four; also, ch 4, endnote 1) where in this instance, the model would appear to have been upheld. The potential of such extension of this typology therefore, would lie in the possibilities it might hold for further illuminating the structural implications of both the issues and the experiences of institutional racism.

The third and final possibility introduced here in terms of further research relates to the potential for development of a synthesis of ideas from the work of Cross and Maxime (see sub-section entitled *Cross's Five-Stage Model: Maxime and Racial Identity* in chapter five) on the creation of a positive racial identity. Both Cross and Maxime emphasise the importance of fostering a strong sense of *racial* identity in the minority ethnic child in order that this may be used as the foundation for the development of a confident sense of *personal* identity. In addition, Alibhai-Brown removes ambiguity from the identity positions of children of dual-heritage, emphasising Wilson's attention to 'the development of a positive mixed-race identity where the child is content to be both black and white without perceiving a contradiction between the two.' (Wilson, 1987, p176; quoted in Alibhai-Brown, 2001, p108). The ideas of these writers and researchers are further promoted with

reference to the work of Hall on identity and 'othering', (see section entitled *Semiotics, Signs, Myths and the Discourse of Difference and Belonging* in chapter two of this thesis). Most particularly, Hall's concept of binary extremes (see sub-section entitled *Saussure, Barthes, Semiology and 'Myth'*, also section entitled *If You Ain't White... - Creating Confident Locations*; ibid.) may find relief in the possibilities held by the ideas of Cross and Maxime in relation to locating a positive sense of racial identity. The potential connection between the ideas of Hall and Bhabha has already been noted (ibid.), and therefore in summary, the possible development of a synthesis of the ideas of *all* these writers and researchers might be found in the work of Homi Bhabha and his notion of the *third space*. This concept, which offers the potential for new and confident locations in relation to racial identity (ibid.), might (in addition to connecting with the work of Hall), be considered in its possible relationship to the research of Cross and Maxime, and of Alibhai-Brown (whose development of the identity position of dual-heritage children might in itself be seen to resolve certain issues through use of a *third space* located between two [or more] racial identities). Again, it is possible that the most useful application of further research along these lines might be in their specific application to minority ethnic children living in mainly white environments, since it is these *environmental* locations that are the most challenging to the development of the *identity* locations of minority ethnic children (Wilson, 1987; Gaine, 1987, 1995; Jones, 1999; Alibhai-Brown, 2001; Carroll, 2002)[2]. An early working of the potential compatibility of the work of Maxime and Cross, Bhabha, and Hall, (in relation to specifically 'white' environments) may in fact, be found in Appendix (B6).

As a final additional note, it should be considered that any further research in this area might concentrate more particularly on specific minority groups (Traveller children for example, as the largest minority ethnic group in the county – see chapter one, *Defining Terms*). There is also scope, as discussed in chapter one (*Research Inclusion Issues)* for the attitudes of majority white children towards minority ethnic people to be further considered, together with the influences that affect these perceptions (see Gaine, 1987, 1995), and a 'backdrop' of statistical information regarding these attitudes may be found in Appendix (B4).

Some Final Reflections on the Personal...

During the process of this study it became increasingly apparent that personal internal experiences were resonating with aspects of the research findings, and with regard to this, as quoted in chapter one, Moustakas has commented that,

> The process of discovery leads investigators to new images and meanings regarding human phenomena, *but also to realizations relevant to their own experiences and lives.'*
> (Moustakas, 1990, p9, emphasis added).

The particular 'field of resonance' from my own experience was that of issues of exclusion, and although briefly referred to in chapter one, the decision has been taken not to expand upon these more explicitly. The reasons for this are complex and personal. However, possibly a major factor is that the childhood events are far enough away to consider with reflection, and yet there remains a certain sense of loyalty to those who shared the experiences with me at the time.

Nevertheless, this thread of the personal has been with me throughout the research process, resonating more strongly or weakly at different times, and under different circumstances. Many of the physical and emotional states described to me by my respondents felt familiar, and often disturbing. Again, as Moustakas has stated, 'The self of the researcher is present throughout the process and, while understanding the phenomenon with increasing depth, the researcher also experiences growing self-awareness and self-knowledge' (ibid. p9). In fact, what has become increasingly clear through the process of the research in terms of personal realisation, has been an internal recognition of the particular significance of the work of Bhabha and the 'third space'. A conversation with Sudhir (the minority ethnic representative of the county's Racial Equality Council, referred to in chapter four) during the fieldwork period of my study, initially sparked this connection of Bhabha's ideas in relation to the personal experience of exclusion.

Speaking to Sudhir about his own experiences of racism, and those of the people he encountered during the course of his work, he described to me the effects as he had observed them. His observations were that in the face of racist encounters, the victims

(including himself) often experienced polarised personal responses. Sudhir explained this quite demonstrably, and said that the person might 'retreat' (he crossed his arms over his chest and hunched-up his shoulders – physically demonstrating retraction), or they might 'react' (here he brought his arms back, fists clenched, chin out – a reactive physical demonstration). He further observed that any 'middle ground' was frequently the position of either having to 'put-up-with' such encounters, or reaching a stage where one simply could not be bothered to respond (see Hassan's comment in chapter four '*I'm not Mother Theresa, I don't want to challenge everything under the sun.*').

Sudhir described these polarised responses, observing that in the context of this duality, what was needed was some kind of 'space' in which a personal reconciliation of the issues might take place, and that this 'space' should be a place where retreat or reaction were unnecessary – a place in fact, where one could '*be comfortable in one's own skin*'. In reflecting on this conversation afterwards, I myself recognised that during my childhood, there had been times of 'retreat' in response to my own experiences – often sparked by things that had happened in the private and familial, but which had then powerfully affected the way in which I would 'present my face to the world' in the school, social, and community context. In practical terms therefore, my experiences would affect my demeanour in ways that would attract encounters that compounded my feelings of isolation, and with little emphasis (at the time of my education) on issues of emotional literacy, I had no way of 'speaking' my experience. In consequence, I felt frequently unsupported in both the school and social environments; situated in a position of attempting to take part in a dynamic from which essentially, I felt excluded as a result of my internal frame of reference. However, as is often the case with polarised or extreme positions, their dynamic is balanced by their polar opposite, and there were times when these experiences (that I had no ability to process) had surfaced in reactive responses, sometimes inappropriate to the situation at hand, and taking on the function of a kind of 'release valve' for inner tensions that had built up. It is clear therefore, that in certain respects, aspects of the personal had some resonance with the experiences of my respondents.

From subsequent reflection on my conversation with Sudhir, I further came to realise that by patterns of repetition, my past experiences had to some extent become transformed into models of learned behaviour in which my 'way of being' might at times vacillate between

responses of 'retreat' and more reactive locations. In reflecting on this it seemed that what I *myself* sought was a 'third space' in which to 'feel my two feet on the ground'; a place from where I could conduct my life with a degree of internal measure, rather than responding to the ghosts of previous experience, even when the external stimuli of the past no longer existed. Chapter two considered ways in which the minority ethnic identity might utilise such a 'space' in order that '...a new hybrid identity or subject-position emerges from the interweaving of elements...' (Meredith, 1998), and in a similar way, I began to see the possibilities of such an 'interweaving' in myself. In fact, I came to realise that this process had begun in me already, and more specifically came to recognise that through active participation in dialogue groups and the attendant search for a reinterpretation of meaning through this collaborative participation, what I had been seeking was this re-orientation of myself in relation to the world. The results, I came to realise, could be attested to in my own development by the fact of new engagements with aspects of life that previously, up to a point, had been without meaning or purpose for me, thus providing personal endorsement of a process of internal shift, and further, supporting Bhabha's commentary that it is the "third space" which enables other positions to emerge.' (Bhabha, 1990, interview quoted in Lawrence and Wisheart).

Finally therefore, in broadening out the issues from realisations of the self in relation to the research, to considering the wider implications, Moustakas has commented (as quoted in chapter one) that, 'The heuristic process is autobiographic; yet with virtually every question that matters personally there is also a social – and perhaps universal – significance.' (Moustakas, 1990, p15). In this respect, the observation might be made that at some time in their lives, to a greater or lesser extent, everyone has had *some* experience of exclusion. In the race equality training I have co-facilitated for educators in the county of my research, one of the things we have done with consistency is to ask participants at the very beginning of the session to consider an experience of exclusion that they have had in their own lives, and then, if they feel they are able, to give us a little feedback on this. We have often introduced this exercise under the broad umbrella of emotional literacy, and have found that we have never been short of examples. In this way (we have explained) we have attempted to put participants a little more in touch with exclusion as a personal experience before our session begins, rather than just allowing them to think of exclusion as 'something that happens to somebody else'. From this experiential perspective, Moustakas has commented that,

> Rogers (1951) has emphasised that the empathic understanding of another person's internal frame of reference is an essential condition of constructive personality change. Our most significant awarenesses are developed from our own internal searches and from our attunement and empathic understandings of others. (Moustakas, 1990, p 26).

In this way therefore, Rogers makes us aware of the importance of the experiential, and for the educators described above, this process was useful in the context of race equality training in order to help them towards understandings, both of themselves, and of the impact of exclusion upon minority ethnic people in general, and of children in particular. Similarly, my own encounters with the experiences of my respondents have assisted me in gaining deeper understandings both of my respondents themselves, and of my own experiences of exclusion in ways that have provided new insights and understandings.

The Conclusion - A Final Note

Since finishing my intensive period of fieldwork and whilst writing up this research, I have continued to be involved sporadically with training, and in an advisory capacity with schools and the LEA.

My involvement with the LEA, and specifically in the role of action researcher, has been such that our loose agreement of 'assistance in return for data' cannot be dropped without a period of gradual withdrawal from that specific role. This has been particularly important in relation to the sensitive nature of the issues, both in terms of interaction with the LEA, and with schools and pupils (Lee, 1993). Lee points out the dangers of the 'researcher as predator' or 'sojourner' (ibid. p156-7), and it is therefore specifically in relation to honouring the role of action researcher in assisting with issues of social justice that makes sensitive and timely withdrawal an important part of the final stages of the research. My closing observations at this point however, for the purposes of this study, may be summarised as follows.

I have found that notions of citizenship are bound up generally within a white frame of reference, and from within that white frame of reference it has been considered 'safe' to coyly refer to the multicultural as a possible antidote to issues of racial exclusion. The reasons for this appear to be that this is a non-confrontational and 'protected' way of

dealing with the diversity that is felt to be 'out there' somewhere (anywhere, as long as it is not right here, right now, and in our faces). Anti-racism however, *confronts* that frame of reference, opens up the issues, and thereby renders 'traditional' concepts of citizenship an *unsafe* place. Anti-racism means that we must accept that racism exists, and that the reality is that we do not all just 'get along together'. In combating and confronting racism through issues of citizenship therefore, we open up the potential for the real equality of citizenship for *all* peoples in the fullest sense of what that citizenship means. The equality of power to name the issues; the equality of position to effect change; the equality of entitlement to take part at all levels; and the equality of opportunity that comes with participation in the full rights of truly inclusive forms of citizenship.

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[1] As referred to in the sub-section entitled *Cross's Five-Stage Model: Maxime and Racial Identity* in chapter five of this thesis, Alibhai-Brown, in her book *Mixed Feelings* introduces commentary on these issues and the ways in which they might be addressed (Alibhai-Brown, 2001).

[2] Alibhai-Brown describes what she refers to as 'anecdotal evidence' from *The Guardian* (9th February, 2000) commenting that, 'Ngiao Anya, the six-year-old mixed-race daughter of white mother Henrietta Wilkinson, regrets bitterly the decision her mother made to leave London and move to the country. Ngiao was bright, confident and well liked by her teachers in the metropolis. In an all-white school where she was big for her age, she became withdrawn and inarticulate. Her teachers complained that she was attention seeking. The local doctor assumed she was adopted. She started bed wetting and was bullied endlessly. [Her mother] was told by the school that it was her "aggressive political stance more appropriate to an inner city ghetto" which was the problem, not the racism her child was facing. They moved to Bristol and Ngiao is thriving' (Alibhai-Brown, 2001, p108). Aspects of this example may be compared to material in the case study entitled *Fieldways Primary School: Joseph's Story* in chapter five of this thesis. Parallels can be drawn between the circumstances in which Joseph relocated from an environment more reflective of his own racial identity, to a mainly white rural area; his deteriorating patterns of behaviour in response to this environment, and the attitudes directed towards both Joseph and his parents by teaching staff (even though Ngiao's mother was white, she was still subjected to accusations of being 'aggressive'. Similarly, Joseph's [black] mother was accused of being 'pushy'.)

APPENDICES

Appendix A1 / Correspondence 1

EDUCATION & LIBRARIES DEPARTMENT

All Headteachers of Middle & Secondary Schools

Dear Colleague

I am pleased to inform you that the Ethnic Minority Achievement Service has, from this term, been offered the services of a PhD student, Pam Carroll, who is undertaking research into the educational experiences of minority ethnic children at Key Stages 3 and 4 in [county] schools.

Pam hopes to provide the opportunity for minority ethnic pupils to discuss any concerns they may have at school with someone who will be both empathetic to, and supportive of, their particular needs and circumstances. Minority ethnic children in [county] often find themselves extremely isolated within the majority white population.

This will be a service which will certainly be available should schools have reasons for concern regarding particular children. However it is also hoped that it can be offered to pupils even if concern has not been expressed by the school. These children often feel isolated in ways which they may find difficult to express. A school may be unaware of their needs.

Pam intends that the support offered and information gathered will feed back into the school's own support systems. She will alert staff to the particular issues raised by the pupils. This process will contribute to enhancing pupils' self esteem and helping them to feel more secure and confident. She also intends to introduce a new and exciting resource in the form of the BritKid antiracism web site which is designed for use in Citizenship, PSE and RE work.

Pam hopes to be able to begin this work as soon as possible. If you are interested in the service she is offering, please return the enclosed slip to _____ at County Hall. There will not be any charge to schools, although we may have to ask for some help with travel expenses.

Yours sincerely

EMAS Ethnic Minority Achievement Service

Appendix A1 / Correspondence 2

Pam Carroll

Please ask for: OurRef: Your Ref:

05 April 2001

Dear Pam

Many thanks for your letter of 14 March, and my apologies for the delay in replying.

I very much appreciate your offer of support for the work we are undertaking in the effects of the McPherson report and new citizenship requirements, and we would be pleased to accept your offer of help. In the light of this please renew your contact with _____, but you might also like to contact _____, who is our Advisory Teacher for Health Related Education and Citizenship. He is a part of our School Improvement and Support Team and can be contacted through County Hall or direct through the [location].

I very much hope that the collaboration that you are offering will lead to successful outcomes for the young people of [county] and look forward to hearing progress.

With best wishes

[CEO]

Dear Parent/Guardian

_____ **Racial Equality Council**, together with _____ **County Council** are conducting some research into the social and personal experiences of minority ethnic people living in [County]. This also ties in with similar research being conducted from **University College Chichester.**

One of the areas being looked at is education, and it has been decided that the best way to find out about the experiences of minority ethnic children, is to talk to the children themselves.

The research will take the form of an informal group discussion, **and will not take up any more than one hour** of the children's time. We would like to tape-record the discussion so that the ideas, comments and suggestions raised by the children can contribute to the information we are collecting about the support they feel they need, both in school, and out of school in the community.

We hope that you will look on this as a positive opportunity for your child to talk about their thoughts and feelings about living in [County] so that we are better able to provide the services necessary to address the issues that are raised.

We would be very grateful if you would give consent for your child/children to take part in this discussion group, **providing of course, that your child wishes to do so.**

It would be very helpful if you could sign the attached consent form, and return it to the school as soon as possible, since the session has been organised to take place at your child's school during the next week.

Thank you very much for your great help and co-operation.

From:

Pam Carroll: University College Chichester: Inclusion Policy Research Centre

Helen Begum: _____ County Council: Ethnic Minority Communities Project

_____

I give permission for my child _____ to take part in the

discussion group taking place at _____ School,

which I understand will take place under the conditions mentioned in the letter above.

Signed:_____   Date:_____

Mark Halstead, *Education, Justice, and Cultural Diversity: An Examination of the Honeyford Affair, 1984-85* (London: Falmer Press, 1988)

Our note: The following consists of excerpts from Halstead's book, pp. 139-55. Ellipses are omitted from the end of each major paragraph and his text begins with our (1).

6 Different Types of Racism:

- o **Pre-reflective Gut Racism**
- o **Post-reflective Gut Racism**
- o **Cultural Racism**
- o **Institutional Racism**
- o **Paternalistic Racism**
- o **Color-Blind Racism**

(1) Pre-reflective Gut Racism: This name is being used instead of the now redundant term 'racialism,' implying racial hatred. Its name suggests that it has emotional rather than rational origins and content. It can be observed in both individuals and groups. Its deep psychological roots can be traced to three main factors. First, there is a tendency to feel fear, anxiety, insecurity and suspicion in the presence of any persons and groups who are perceived as strange, foreign or unfamiliar....Secondly, there are certain motivational dispositions such as rejection, aggression, dominance and superiority which some psychologists consider fundamental to human personality....The third factor is ignorance of racial minorities, which leaves people open to the too- ready acceptance of myths, sterotypes and other fear-arousing communications.

(2) Post-reflective Gut Racism: This type of racism is concerned to provide a justification for the continuation of racial privilege, and this may involve the creation of an ideology of racial superiority and domination. Whereas pre-reflective gut racism may be attacked for making arbitrary distinctions between people on the basis of irrelevant differences, post-reflective gut racism counter-attacks by claiming that the differences are not irrelevant. Post-reflective gut racism therefore involves the post-hoc rationalization of practices emanating from racial prejudice, such as social avoidance, scapegoating and overt acts of racism. This rationalization may take two forms: first, the establishment and acceptance of an unfounded system of beliefs which would, if it were true, justify racial discrimination; and secondly, the misapplication of well-founded scientific theories to provide support for racist ideology. Both forms of rationalization may ultimately be the product either of conspiracy or self-deception.

(3) Cultural Racism: This term is being used with increasing frequency to draw attention to a shift in the focal point of much racism from physical characteristics such as social customs, manners and behaviour, religious and moral beliefs and practices, language, aesthetic values and leisure activities. Whereas post-reflective gut racism seeks to explain and justify racist attitudes in religious or scientific terms, cultural racism attempts the same thing in cultural terms. It involves prejudice against individuals because of their culture. The culture of minority groups is seen as flawed in some way, and thus as standing in the way of their progress. Unlike post-reflective gut racism, however, cultural racism does not

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involve belief in the existence of any biological incapacity to change. On the contrary, change is exactly what is sought. Minorities are encouraged to turn their back on their own culture and to become absorbed by the majority culture.

(4) Institutional Racism: In one sense, this type is closely liked to type three, for the institutions of a society are a product of, and a part of, its culture. But whereas cultural racism focusses attention on the differences or supposed flaws in the culture of minority groups which are said to justify their inferior treatment, institutional racism generally refers to the way that the institutional arrangements and the distribution of resources in our society serve to reinforce the advantages of the white majority....The standard analysis of institutional racism involves four steps:

> a. The historical creation of an institution which is non-racist in intent because it is designed for a homogenous society. If it contains any elements of racism, these must not be conscious, because if they were the institution would exemplify type two racism.

> b. A change in the context within which the institution exists, so that new minority groups are disadvantaged by the continued existence of the institution. For example, giving preference to the employment of the 'lads of the dads' may make it more difficult for new racial minorities to get jobs; and seeing exclusively white faces in school textbook illustrations might give black children a poor self-image.

> c. The power of the white majority over the institution. The institution may be perpetuated intentionally for racist reasons (because the whites perceive it to be to their advantage to do so), intentionally for non-racist reasons (because, for example, tradition and normal procedures are highly valued) or unintentionally (in that customary procedures are adhered to unreflectively).

> d. The moral judgment that once the discriminatory consequences of the institutional practices are raised to consciousness, anyone seeking to perpetuated them is guilty of racism. A stronger version of institutional racism involves the claim that merely going about business as usual in such a context makes one an 'accomplice in racism.'

The main difficulties with this analysis are its oversimplified view of white individuals as the source of institutional power and its assumption that the raising of individual consciousness is sufficient to bring about institutional change....

Institional racism, which I am referring to as type four, refers to the long- established organizational practices which disadvantage members of racial or ethnic minorities for no other reason that that they are members of those minorities.

(5) Paternalistic Racism: This type of racism refers to the process whereby the freedom of black people is defined or restricted by generally well- intentioned regulations that are drawn up by whites....It differs in two ways from institutional racism. First, it involves the initiation of new practices and procedures in response to the presence of racial minorities in the country, whereas institutional racism involves the failure to adapt long-standing practices and procedures to new needs. Secondly, it involves a more clear- cut wielding of power by white people, whereas it was argued above that in institutional racism it is a

mistake to oversimplify the power that any individuals can wield in established institutions. Paternalistic racism implies that white people have the right to interfere in the lives of blacks for their own good and the power to define that good.

(6) Color-Blind Racism: Color-blind racism is the type which most closely corresponds to what is commonly called 'unintentional racism.'... What is it that makes color-blindness a type of racism rather than merely a misguided form of action? I want to argue that color-blindness not only leads to undesirable outcomes (the disadvantaging of black people by ignoring or marginalizing their distinctive needs, experiences and identity), but may also involve racial injustice. It is not a new idea (indeed it can be traced back to Aristotle) that there can be injustice in treating people the same when in relevant respects they are different, just as much as there can be in treating them differently when in relevant respects they are the same....When a color- blind approach is adopted to any social policy in this country, white people are usually able to dominate because the common experiences are defined in terms which white people can more easily relate to than blacks and which tend to bolster the white self-image at the expense of the black....Color- blindness falls down because it is based on an idealistic principle (that all people are equal) which may be valid sub specie aeternitatis but which fails to take account of the contingent facts of racial inequality and disadvantage in our present society. (139-55)

Template for a School Race Equality Policy	
Outline Content	**Comments / Notes**
1 School Context • School details [Brief description of the school, including age and ability range, number on roll, catchment area, social / ethnic / religious / language backgrounds of pupils] • Date of this policy and due date for review	
2 Values and Aims • School mission statement *[If required]* • Key principles [Eg: The school is committed to working towards race equality, promoting positive approaches to difference, and opposing all forms of racial prejudice and discrimination. Language or behaviour which is racist or potentially damaging to any ethnic or racial group is not tolerated and will always be challenged. We value and encourage involvement of people from all sections of the local community. We recognise that British society is made up of people from many different racial, cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds, and that all pupils must be fully prepared to live in such a diverse society] • Aims of the policy [Eg: The purpose of this policy is to: o *Eliminate unlawful discrimination and promote equality of opportunity and good relations between different racial groups, including Travellers, refugees and asylum seekers, across all areas of school life* *To that end, the school aims to:* o *Promote a positive, supportive ethos in which all pupils and staff feel that they are valued, that their needs are met, and that they are able to achieve their full potential* o *Respect and value differences between people, promote good relations between different groups within the school and wider community, and prepare all pupils for life in a diverse society* o *Ensure that racial equality is an integral part of planning and decision making across all areas of the school* o *Work in partnership with parents and the wider community to tackle and eliminate racial discrimination, making the school a place where everyone feels safe, welcome and valued]*	

3   Leadership and Management

[The following hold key roles and responsibilities in ensuring that the provisions of this policy are made effective:]

- The governing body
  [Eg:
  - *Ensure that the school fulfils its legal responsibilities*
  - *Maintain an overview of implementation of the Race Equality Policy and its related procedures and strategies*
  - *Designate a governor with responsibility for equalities issues, who is ....]*

- The headteacher
  [Eg:
  - *Ensures that the Race Equality Policy and its related procedures and strategies are implemented*
  - *Ensures that all staff are aware of their responsibilities under the policy and that they receive appropriate training and support within the school's programme of CPD*
  - *Takes appropriate action in any cases of racial discrimination]*

- All staff
  [Eg:
  - *All teaching and support staff have a responsibility to comply with this policy and avoid any form of discrimination on racial grounds*
  - *All staff, through teaching and other relations with pupils, parents, colleagues and the wider community, should promote race equality, good race relations and understanding of diversity*
  - *All staff are responsible for applying school policy appropriately to deal with racist incidents and to identify and challenge racial bias and stereotyping*
  - *Staff should keep themselves up to date with race relations legislation by attending training and information events as necessary and available]*

- Staff with specific responsibilities
  [Identify, as appropriate, specific roles of:
  - *Equal Opportunities Co-ordinator and/or designated senior colleague with responsibility for dealing with reported racist incidents*
  - *Co-ordinators for PSHE / Citizenship / RE, with responsibility for promoting awareness of race equality issues, positive images, balance and appreciation of diversity through the curriculum]*

- Visitors
  [Eg:
  - *Care is taken to ensure that all visitors, including*

contractors, are aware of, and adhere to, the school's policy on race equality]	
4 Policy and Practice *[It is recognised that making the race equality principles stated above a reality in all aspects of school life requires a continuous process of review and development]* • **Planning and development** *[Eg:* o *The criteria set out in section 5 of this policy, together with the standards identified in the CRE document 'Learning for All', form the basis for regular audit and evaluation of race equality issues in all areas of school policy and practice* o *In the light of this, priorities are set, school policies and strategies are amended as necessary, and appropriate targets for action are identified and incorporated into the school development planning process]* • **Monitoring** *[Eg:* *Patterns and trends are identified, and used to inform planning, through regular monitoring of key indicators by ethnic group:* o *The pupil population (following national guidelines)* o *Pupil admissions and attendance* o *Pupil progress and attainment* o *Rewards, sanctions and exclusions* o *Bullying and racist incidents* *Relevant data and issues emerging from monitoring are communicated as appropriate at staff meetings, governors meetings and in the governors' annual report to parents, ensuring that information cannot be used to identify individuals* *An overall review of the impact and effectiveness of this Race Equality Policy will be carried out every (2? 3? 5?) years]* • **Consultation** *[Eg:* *The checklist below identifies those members of the school or wider community who have been consulted during the initial drafting or subsequent review of this policy:* ❏ *Pupils (all or a representative sample)* ❏ *Teaching and support staff* ❏ *Parents (all or a representative sample)* ❏ *Governing body* ❏ *Local community / faith groups* ❏ *(County) LEA / Ethnic Minority Achievement Service / Traveller Education Service*	

❏ *(County) Race Equality Council]* • **Dissemination** *[Eg:* *The full Race Equality Policy is:* o *Published in the staff handbook* o *Issued to all governors* o *Available on request to all parents, visitors or members of the wider community* *The policy is summarised / referred to:* o *In the school prospectus* o *In the school newsletter* o *In school details sent out to all job applicants]*	
5 Building in Race Equality *[Set out below are the key criteria that we undertake to use as a school to evaluate our provision and to inform our targets and plans for development. Where appropriate, our approach will be guided by the more detailed standards incorporated in the CRE document 'Learning for All']* • **Curriculum and Teaching** *[Eg:* o *Racial equality and ethnic and cultural diversity are promoted, and racism and discrimination challenged, through learning in all areas of the curriculum and through the resources and teaching methods used* o *Every effort is made to ensure that all pupils have equal access to the mainstream curriculum, by taking account of their individual cultural backgrounds and linguistic needs, and by differentiating work appropriately* o *Wherever possible, steps are taken to provide experience of diversity through personal encounter with other cultures]* · • **Admission, Attendance and Discipline** *[Eg:* o *The admission process (and selection criteria) is/are fair and equitable to pupils from all ethnic groups* o *The school monitors pupil attendance by ethnic group and uses the data to develop strategies to address poor attendance – making appropriate allowance for leave of absence for religious observance* o *The school's procedures for discipline and behaviour management, including exclusion, are fair and applied equally to all pupils, irrespective of ethnicity]* • **Personal Development, Attainment and Progress** *[Eg:* o *The school recognises and values many forms of personal and academic achievement, and all pupils are*	

encouraged and enabled to reach the highest personal standards o *Planned and targeted support are given to address any disparities in progress or achievement that are identified through our ethnic monitoring procedures* o *Provision for pastoral care and guidance (including careers guidance) takes account of ethnic and cultural diversity, seeking to promote equality and challenge stereotyping]* • **Attitudes and Environment** *[Eg:* o *Every care is taken to ensure that all aspects of the communal life, environment and ethos of the school promote equality, celebrate diversity and negate all forms of prejudice and discrimination* o *All incidents of racism or racial harassment are dealt with according to (County) LEA's published guidance on dealing with racist incidents]* • **Parents, Governors and Community Partnership** *[Eg:* o *All the school's forms of communication with and involvement of parents and carers are designed to be inclusive and accessible to all* o *Community members of all ethnic groups are encouraged to participate in the life of the school, whether as governors or in other capacities, and positive steps are taken to include under-represented groups* o *Community access to school premises and facilities is equally available to all ethnic groups]* • **Staff Recruitment and Professional Development** *[Eg:* o *All procedures for recruitment, selection, promotion and professional development of staff are planned and monitored to ensure equality and avoid conscious or unconscious racial discrimination* o *Staff are supported through training and management to develop their effectiveness in dealing with race equality issues]*	

Appendix A4 / EMAS EAL Support Data

### EMAS Report of Pupils with EAL Supported and Monitored 2001/02

School	Supported	Monitored	Total
Primary	94	137	231
Secondary	17	65	82
Middle	3	9	12
Grand Total	114	211	325

Breakdown by Language

Language	No. of Pupils	Language	No. of Pupils
Bengali	74	Korean	3
Japanese	38	Punjabi	3
Chinese	25	Romanian	3
Arabic	24	Tamil	3
French	18	Welsh	3
Turkish	18	Creole	2
Portuguese	10	Danish	2
Nepalese	10	Estonian	2
Italian	9	Farsi	2
Tagalog	9	Fijian	2
Thai	9	Hebrew	2
Spanish	7	Hindi	2
Albanian	4	Indonesian	2
Russian	4	Malay	2
Swedish	4	Norwegian	2
German	4	Twi	2
Dutch	3	Ukrainian	2
Kiswahili	3	Afrikaans	1
Bulgarian	1	Moldavian	1
Malawian	1	Urdu	1
Marathi	1	Wolof	1

Inequalities from Baseline to GCSE
OHT 2.3
by ethnic origin in relation to LEA average
(one LEA in 1998)

- ● White
- □ Indian
- ■ Pakistani
- ○ Bangladeshi
- △ Black
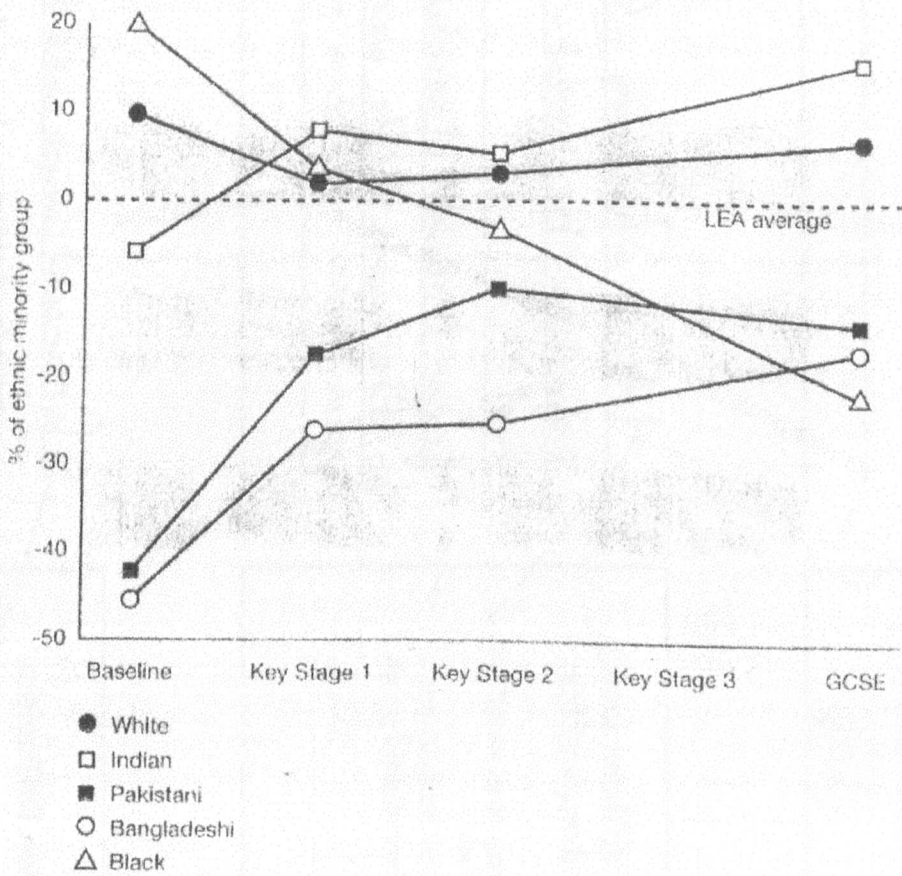
From *Educational Inequality: mapping race, class and gender* (Gillborn & Mirza) Ofsted, 2000

Source: EMAG submission 1999

This graph represents the average scores at each key stage in terms of:
- ■ KS1 national tests (pupils achieving level 2+)
- ■ KS2 national tests (pupils achieving level 4+)
- ■ 5 or more A*–C grades

average at each key stage

| | Baseline | KS1 | KS2 | KS3 | GCSE |

Indian
White
LEA average
Bangladeshi
Pakistani
African Caribbean
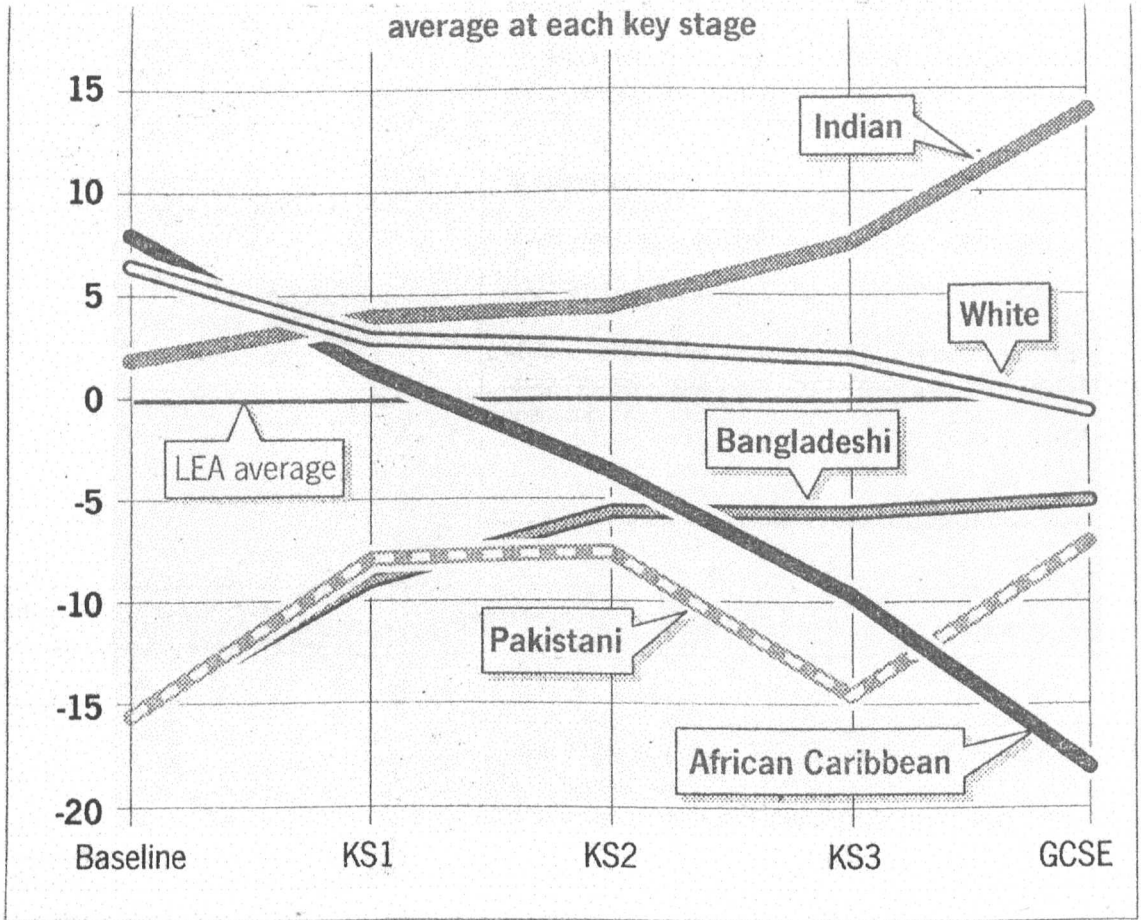
National Figures Presented at County Training Session (2001)

Appendix A6 / Racist Incident Guidance

SUGGESTED GUIDANCE FOR DEALING WITH RACIST INCIDENTS

Challenge all racist behaviour immediately and sensitively
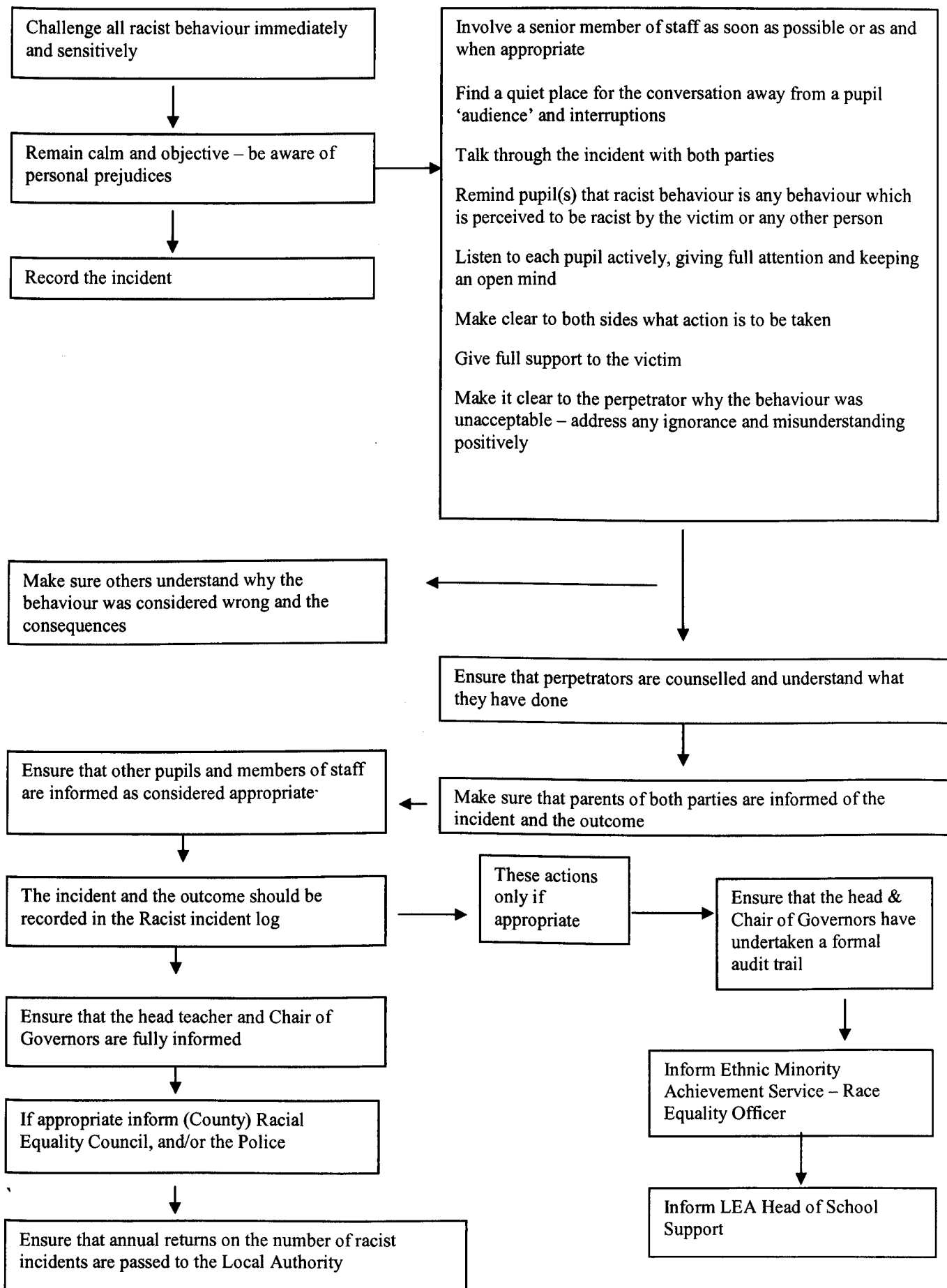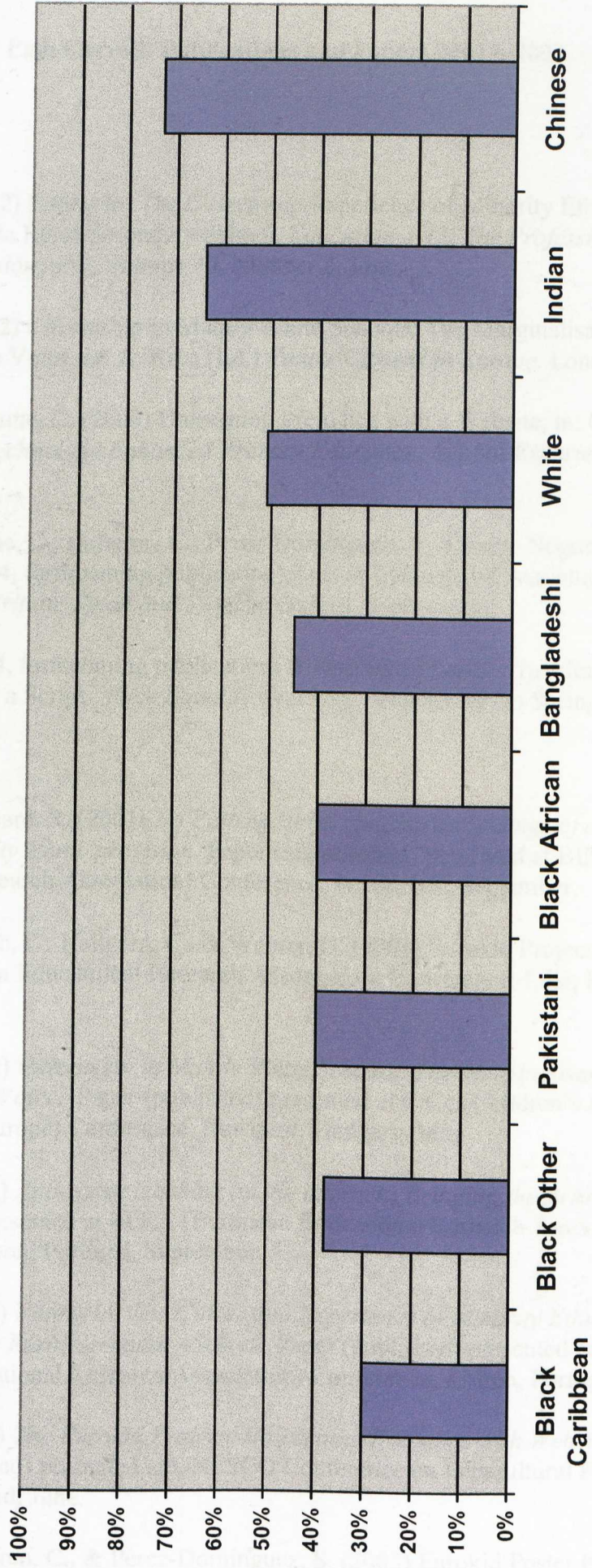
↓

Remain calm and objective – be aware of personal prejudices

↓

Record the incident

Involve a senior member of staff as soon as possible or as and when appropriate

Find a quiet place for the conversation away from a pupil 'audience' and interruptions

Talk through the incident with both parties

Remind pupil(s) that racist behaviour is any behaviour which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other person

Listen to each pupil actively, giving full attention and keeping an open mind

Make clear to both sides what action is to be taken

Give full support to the victim

Make it clear to the perpetrator why the behaviour was unacceptable – address any ignorance and misunderstanding positively

---

Make sure others understand why the behaviour was considered wrong and the consequences

←

Ensure that perpetrators are counselled and understand what they have done

↓

Ensure that other pupils and members of staff are informed as considered appropriate· ← Make sure that parents of both parties are informed of the incident and the outcome

↓

The incident and the outcome should be recorded in the Racist incident log → These actions only if appropriate → Ensure that the head & Chair of Governors have undertaken a formal audit trail

↓   ↓

Ensure that the head teacher and Chair of Governors are fully informed

↓

If appropriate inform (County) Racial Equality Council, and/or the Police

↓

Ensure that annual returns on the number of racist incidents are passed to the Local Authority

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Inform Ethnic Minority Achievement Service – Race Equality Officer

↓

Inform LEA Head of School Support

PLASC 2002 characteristics: Proportion achieving 5+ A* - C GCSEs in Maintained Schools in 2002

(Average Achievement Across all Ethnic Groups = 51%)

GCSEs for those entered for

(DfES \0183\2003)

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Publications

Carroll, P. (2002) Fitting In: The Citizenship Experience of Minority Ethnic Individuals in a Majority White Rural Secondary School. *Education 3-13, The Professional Journal for Primary Education*, p33, Volume 30, Number 2, June.

Carroll, P. (2002) Citizenship in Mainly White Schools: The Marginalisation of the Minority Ethnic Voice, in: A. Ross (Ed.) *Future Citizens in Europe*. London: CiCe.

Carroll, P. & Gaine, C. (2003) Unlearning Prejudice with a Website, in: Chandra Bhushan Sharma (Ed.) *Technology Enhanced Primary Education: Global Experiences*. New Delhi: Kautilya.

Carroll, P., Gaine, C., Hallgren, C., Perez-Dominguez, S., Salazar-Noguera, J., Weiner, G. (September 2004, forthcoming publication) *Kids in Cyberspace: teaching antiracism using the Internet in Britain, Spain and Sweden*. Oxford, Symposium.

Carroll, P. (2004, forthcoming publication) A Festival of Fools – Tackling Racism in Schools without a Script. *Race Equality Teaching*, Volume 22 (2) Spring 2004.

Papers

Carroll, P. & Obare, R. (2001) *No Pattern Here: Qualitative findings of a multi-agency survey of minority ethnic provision.* Paper (unpublished) presented at BERA (British Educational Research Association) Conference, Leeds, UK, September.

Carroll, P., Gaine, C., Hallgren, C., & Weiner, G. (2001) Eurokid Project Presentation. EERA (European Educational Research Association) Conference, Lille, France, September.

Carroll, P. (2002) *Citizenship in Mainly White Schools: The Marginalisation of the Minority Ethnic Voice.* Paper (published) presented at CiCe (Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe) Conference, Budapest, Hungary, May.

Carroll, P. (2002) *Anti-racist teaching on the internet: Bringing the Britkids to Life.* Paper (unpublished) presented at EERA (European Educational Research Association) Conference, Lisbon, Portugal, September.

Carroll, P. (2002) *Fitting In: The Citizenship Experience of Minority Ethnic Individuals in a Majority White Rural Secondary School.* Paper (published) presented at EERA (European Educational Research Association) Conference, Lisbon, Portugal, September.

Carroll, P. (2003) *The Eurokid Project: Unlearning Prejudice with Website Technology.* Paper (unpublished) presented at UNESCO Conference on Intercultural Education, Jyvaskyla, Finland, June.

Carroll, P., Hallgren, C., & Perez-Dominguez, S. (2003) Eurokid Poster Presentation. EERA (European Educational Research Association), Hamburg, Germany, September.

Appendix B1 / Sub-methodologies of an Over-arching Heuristic Approach

A. Interview guide approach: The topics and issues to be covered are specified in advance, outline form, and the interviewer decides on the sequence and working of the questions in the course of the interview.

Strengths: A fairly systematic, and yet still more informal 'conversational' approach.

Weaknesses: Comparability may be impaired by the flexibility of the questioning format. A 'guide list' may be useful to avoid omitting important points inadvertently.

Used in the Context of the Research with:

- Individual co-creator and implementer of national Citizenship policy
- Senior Management within the LEA responsible for County-wide initiatives regarding Citizenship and Racial Equality Issues
- Middle and lower strata of LEA management responsible for putting policy into practice within schools
- Interested outside agencies involved in school contact
- Head teachers, Schools Governors, Senior Management and Teachers

Appropriate in that...

This approach was particularly useful in the early stages of my research when interviewing people with obvious expertise in various fields, since it allowed me to direct questions towards the intended line of my research *and* their expertise, whilst at the same time allowing flexibility for the respondents to impart new knowledge *to me* to further my inquiries. To a certain extent, although not in any formal sense of a specifically circular hermeneutic approach (Guba & Lincoln, 1989), this enabled me to return to some of these respondents at a later date to re-interpret/modify information.

B. Informal conversational interview: The questions emerge from the immediate context and are asked in the natural course of things; there is no predetermination of question topics or wording.

Strengths: Encourages questions relevant to the situation, matched to both individuals and circumstances.

Weaknesses: Less systematic than interview guide approach. Can be difficult to rationalise data (although can provide a useful support in triangulation).

Used in the Context of the Research with:

- Senior Management within the LEA responsible for County-wide initiatives regarding Citizenship and Racial Equality Issues
- Middle and lower strata of LEA management responsible for putting policy into practice within schools
- Interested outside agencies involved in school contact
- Head teachers, Schools Governors, Senior Management and Teachers

Appropriate in that...

This approach was an irreplaceable tool in the many informal interview situations in which I often found myself in the course of my contact with agencies and individuals. The process became more rewarding as the research progressed and I became more familiar and relaxed with my respondents, whilst at the same time being in possession of greater insights into the circumstances surrounding and supporting their activities.

C. Participant Observation: The degrees of participant observation defined by LeCompte and Preissle, (1993, p93-4, quoted in Cohen et al. 2000, p310) are; *complete observer / observer-as-participant / participant-as-observer / complete participant.* The relationship with my respondents progressed from the interview approaches described in *A* and *B* above, to *observer-as-participant*, which LeCompte and Preissle describe as the process of being known as a researcher to the group, but having less extensive contact with the group

than the next stage of *participant-as-observer*, (which is described as being part of the working life of the participants, documenting and recording what is happening for research purposes.) My relationship bypassed Le Compte and Preissle's stage of *participant-as-observer* as I moved directly from the position of *observer-as-participant* into that of action researcher.

Strengths: Naturalistic, and frequently longitudinal by nature, participant observation offers an ideal opportunity for the collection of 'rich' or 'thick' data'. This type of observation tends to be less reactive than other more structured approaches.

Weaknesses: Long-term access issues may need sensitive negotiation. The recording and interpretation of large quantities of rich data may be a cause for the researcher's concern.

Used in the Context of the Research with:

- Senior Management within the LEA responsible for County-wide initiatives regarding Citizenship and Racial Equality Issues
- Middle and lower strata of LEA management responsible for putting policy into practice within schools
- Head teachers, Schools Governors, Senior Management and Teachers
- Focus Groups of minority ethnic children
- Individual minority ethnic children

Appropriate in that...

This approach enabled me to attend departmental lunches and meetings, as my respondents were interested in the possibilities of my research in relation to their own practice. This access helped me to make contacts and to become familiar with my respondents, who eventually introduced the possibilities of my becoming involved in their working life in a more interactive and pro-active capacity. It was the cultivation of these contacts through the role of *observer-as-participant* that enabled me to progress to the next and deeper stage of my involvement in the capacity of action researcher.

D. Action Research: This approach is described by Cohen and Manion (1994, p186) as 'a small-scale intervention in the functioning of the real world and a close examination of the effects of that intervention'. Also, Carr and Kemmis (1986, p162) 'regard it as a form of "self-reflective inquiry" by participants, undertaken in order to improve understanding of their practices in context with a view to maximizing social justice.' (quoted in Cohen et al. 2000, p227). Somekh (1995, p340) further makes the statement that 'action research is designed to bridge the gap between research and practice, thereby striving to overcome the perceived persistent failure of research to impact on, or improve, practice' (quoted in Cohen et al. 2000, p227).

Strengths: The process of action research can encourage reflective and effective practice. It has the capacity to increase feelings of self-worth and confidence in the practitioner/researcher, and can bring about changes in skills, roles, values and beliefs, increasing the researcher's awareness of the issues at stake. The approach of 'maximizing social justice' in relation to the interactive aspects of this research between researcher and respondent minimise the potential for the researcher to take on the role of 'predator' or 'sojourner' (Lee, 1993, p156-7).

Weaknesses: These may be found in formulating economies of time and scale so that the research is effective, as action research usually requires a large commitment of time and energy to produce new insights and understandings that will impact positively in relation to practice.

Used in the Context of the Research with:

- Senior Management within the LEA responsible for County-wide initiatives regarding Citizenship and Racial Equality Issues
- Middle and lower strata of LEA management responsible for putting policy into practice within schools
- Head teachers, Schools Governors, Senior Management and Teachers
- Groups of minority ethnic children
- Individual minority ethnic children

Appropriate in that...

As detailed in chapter four, my research took place in the context of new legislation for the teaching of racial equality and citizenship in schools, and my contact with the LEA therefore coincided with emerging concerns of how policy was to be translated into practice. As the LEA were under funded and understaffed in relation to these new initiatives, they took particular advantage of my presence as someone who they felt had spent time researching both past practice and new legislation, and it was due to these circumstances that my presence became mutually beneficial. The LEA felt they had someone who could provide them with additional in-depth information, whilst my involvement in the new initiatives enabled me to examine policy, practices and attitudes within the LEA.

E. 'Associative' Action Research: This is a term coined within the specific context of this research project, and generally conforms to the description given above for action research. However, the added dimension is that of not only being involved with respondents of institutions directly involved in the focus of the research, but also with *outside agencies* who have a stake in the potential outcomes for social justice.

Strengths: This approach holds the potential for a broader base of change from a 'multi-agency' approach. Both outside agency and researcher have the opportunity to benefit from each others expertise in relation to outcomes of effecting social justice. Encourages an approach of holistic rather than partial change.

Weaknesses: There may be conflicts of interest in approach, in that some aspects of the importance of the issues at stake may be given different weighting by the agencies involved. The researcher may find themselves 'straddling' perspectives that do not coincide.

Used in the Context of the Research with:

Interested outside agencies involved in school contact.

Appropriate in that...

Particularly through the contact between the LEA and the county's Racial Equality Council, and their collaboration on certain aspects of training for education professionals and for schools, I was able to gain a broader perspective on the issues at stake, and became aware of some of the conflicts encountered in a multi-agency approach. This was particularly pertinent in relation to the way in which the LEA made efforts to shelter their employees from some of the more direct approaches to tackling issues of racial equality, using the rationale that this kind of approach would 'only get their backs up and make them antagonistic' (Carroll, 2002, field notes, also chapter five). This sheltering also manifested in overlooking some institutional failure to meet certain legislative deadlines, with the reason given that some schools needed a little longer to 'get their heads round' the issues at stake. From a different perspective meanwhile, the Racial Equality Council (under legislative pressure from the Commission for Racial Equality), were keen to ensure that facts were given and deadlines met; sometimes despite the implications of this being a more mechanistic approach.

F. Focus Groups: According to Morgan (1988, p9), 'Focus groups are a form of group interview, though not in the sense of a backwards and forwards between interviewer and group. Rather, the reliance is on the interaction within the group who discuss a topic supplied by the researcher.' (quoted in Cohen et al. 2000, p288). Cohen at al further state; 'Hence the participants interact with each other rather than with the interviewer, such that the views of the participants can emerge – the participants' rather than the researcher's agenda can predominate.' (ibid. p288).

Strengths: Being targeted towards a specific issue, focus groups may yield particular insights that would have been unavailable in more non-directive forms of group interview. They can be particularly insightful with children since the role of the facilitator is not presented as an 'authority figure', and given enough time, focus groups can produce a relaxed atmosphere in which both children and adults can interact more freely with one another and gain the confidence to speak about what is on their minds.

Weaknesses: Cohen et al. state that focus groups may be considered 'Contrived' in the sense that they are 'unnatural' (2000, p288) in bringing together a chosen sector to discuss

a particular theme or topic. They also tend to generate less data than interviews with the same number of individuals.

Used in the Context of the Research with:

Groups of minority ethnic children

Appropriate in that...

Through a strong personal interest in the dialogic method of Bohm (1996, 1985), de Mare (1991), and Blake (1996), which advocates the use of what de Mare terms the 'median group' approach to the synergistic collation of collective individual experience, I was particularly interested in the potential use of a similar process of data collection at some stage in the research. This aim seemed to best find its place in gathering the life experiences of minority ethnic children living in the majority white county in which I conducted my research, and the opportunity that the focus group would offer for this more non-interventionalist approach by the researcher. This context proved to be appropriate, since with minimal guidance and direction from the interviewer (although in the focus group situation I preferred to consider myself as 'facilitator' rather than 'interviewer'), the nature of the group's minority ethnic status within a white majority community appeared to offer sufficient common ground for the recognition and sharing of their experiences.

G. Case Study: As Cohen et al. state (2000, p181), 'A case study is a specific instance that is frequently designed to illustrate a more general principle (Nisbet and Watt, 1984, p72), it is "the study of an instance in action" (Adelman et al. 1980). The single instance is of a bounded system, for example a child, a clique, a class, a school, a community. It provides a unique example of real people in real situations, enabling readers to understand ideas more clearly than simply be presenting them with abstract theories or principles'.

Strengths: Nisbet and Watt (1984) outlined some of the strengths of the case study. They noted that the language and content were easily understandable to a wide audience; that they are 'strong on reality', and can capture unique observations; that although not widely generalisable, they can help with the interpretation of similar cases; and finally, that they

can be conducted by a single researcher who can take full advantage of the information from the situation as it unfolds (Cohen et al. 2000, p184).

Weaknesses: Nisbet and Watt similarly identified weaknesses of the case study approach. These were, as mentioned above, the non-generalisable nature of this methodological tool; the fact that the case study is not open to cross-checking; and finally, that it may be difficult to overcome observer bias, despite the best intentions of upholding reflexivity (ibid. p184).

Used in the Context of the Research with:

Individual minority ethnic children

Appropriate in that...

Apart from my own initiative, with the agreement of the LEA, to use the medium of focus groups, in my role as action researcher one of the lines of inquiry the LEA asked me to pursue was to respond to queries from schools concerning racial incidents. In the course of both running the focus groups, and of responding to particular situations in schools, I came into contact with children who were experiencing racism, and who often wanted someone outside of the school context with whom to discuss what was happening to them. The case study therefore arose as a medium through which, in the context of the research, the more general could be particularised, and assisted in bringing the real experiences of individual children into sharp relief against a background of more generalised data.

H. Focused Interview: The focused interview is a technique which has grown out of the therapeutic tool of the 'non-directive' interview. Similar in some respects, it relies on minimal interviewer guidance in a one-to-one situation, and allows the respondent to give 'full and specific expression' (Cohen et al. 2000, p291) to their own understanding and definition of their experience. However, the particular difference between the non-directive and the focused interview is the 'prior analysis by the researcher of the situation in which subjects have been involved'. (Cohen et al. 2000, p290).

Strengths: The interviewer is familiar with certain aspects of the respondent's experience and can therefore direct her questions quite specifically to certain areas relating to hypotheses already taken as the underlying basis of the interview. The researcher is thus able to 'test the validity of her hypotheses, and to ascertain unanticipated responses to the situation, thus giving rise to further hypotheses' (Cohen et al. 2000, p290)

Weaknesses: Similar weaknesses to those of the case study can be identified, in that the data generated is of a non-generalisable nature, and also that observer bias might overcome the best intentions of a reflexive approach.

Used in the Context of the Research with:

Individual minority ethnic children

Appropriate in that...

This method was the most appropriate in gathering information for the analysis and presentation of the case studies. It conformed to the methodological model in that there had been 'prior analysis by the researcher of the situation in which the subjects had been involved' (see above). However, the use of the focused interview enabled individual case study subjects the opportunity to give 'full and specific expression' (Cohen et al. 2000, p291) to their own understanding and definition of their experience.

Appendix B2 / A Brief History of Citizenship and Citizenship Education from Sparta and Aristotle to the Present Day

Abstract

Since the publication of the Final Report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship (1998), and the Macpherson report (1999) with its further recommendations for the teaching of citizenship in schools, the generic term 'citizenship' has arguably become one of the most used, and yet variously interpreted and least-understood descriptors in the context of the school curriculum over recent years. Schools have had particular anxieties about both content and pedagogy, given that the brief for schools in terms of David Blunkett's 'light touch' approach was a sharp deviation from the prescriptive format that teachers had come to expect from the National Curriculum. Behind these curriculum related anxieties however, lay deeper questions of interpretation. Decisions made regarding what was to be taught in schools necessarily needed to be linked reflectively to a model of citizenship that would be both appropriate and sustainable in the outside world. The attitudes that this model would reflect were by no means simple in their formulation. If the model were not to fall foul of monistic accusations, it would need to be broad and wide-ranging enough to encompass issues of both global and European citizenship, together with the reality of living in Britain as an increasingly multicultural experience in some areas. Further attention would need to be given to decisions regarding whether communitarian or liberal ideals were promoted, and where, in all this, would the issue of human rights stand?

It is these issues that are addressed below, taking into account the fact that citizenship is undoubtedly not a new concept; although from the attention the subject has been given over past two years, one might be forgiven for thinking that it is. This supporting chapter will therefore briefly trace the broad and general evolution of citizenship from the time of the Greeks and the Romans.[1] It will then give more specific attention to the development of British citizenship in relation to the school curriculum over the past fifty years. The chapter will culminate in a discussion of the more recent developments following the decision to make citizenship in secondary schools a statutory element of the curriculum from 2002, and will consider the impact that the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report has had upon this initiative.

INTRODUCTION

In his book *History of Citizenship*, Heater traces the roots of citizenship in civilization back to the Greeks and the Romans, stating in the preface,

> Citizenship became a topic of keen interest throughout the world in three spheres during the 1990s: socio-political, academic and educational. ...However, the current conditions and debates cannot be fully understood without a knowledge of the historical background; indeed, a great deal of the literature on the subject justifies itself by allusions to past theories and practices.
> (Heater, 2001, p2).

My research experience would concur with Heater's observations, especially since legislation in the sphere I shall mostly focus upon, the educational, has been offered out to schools under the description of a 'light touch' approach; one which many of the schools I visited in the course of my research have struggled to interpret the exact meaning of in practice. In speaking of the new citizenship initiatives, Bernard Crick, who chaired the Advisory Group on Citizenship wrote,

> ...So it is a flexible Order. David Blunkett likes to say a "light touch", which I gloss as "strong bare bones", with plenty of room in it for human rights, global citizenship and race relations programmes. Different schools will have or see different possibilities. Very sensibly the Government had no wish to prescribe in detail in this subject what should be taught and how. ...So a flexible curriculum, albeit each school will have to produce one to be assessed internally, and will be publicly accountable both to governing bodies and to Ofsted inspection.
> (Crick, 2000a).

This concept-rich statement does in fact, set out all the reasons behind certain anxieties that the interpretation of the new citizenship order was very clearly causing many schools. At this stage, the 'light touch', intended to offer flexibility of interpretation to schools, had not been converted into the 'strong bare bones' that educators needed in order to turn an abstract idea into school policy and practical classroom activity. The subject was broad and diverse, and the energy needed to mobilise school response considerable, which further increased anxieties concerning assessment and inspection.

At the time I began my research therefore, nobody seemed to know exactly what the content of the new citizenship curriculum was to be, and in order to profile the emerging developments more clearly for myself, it seemed essential that any analysis be grounded in a clear understanding of what had gone before. In particular, as my research was specifically concerned with a critical appraisal of inclusive forms of citizenship in relation to 'race' and ethnicity, it was important that earlier models be examined in terms of their inclusivity and exclusivity through the evolution of the concept. It also seemed important to critically examine where the notions of citizenship that have appeared in the curriculum over the years have taken their origins from, and what this means in terms of how young people are 'guided' and directed towards an appreciation of what it means to be a citizen.

EARLY MODELS OF CITIZENSHIP

Ancient Greece

In approximately 700 BC a collection of villages on the Peloponnesian peninsula constituted the city-state of Sparta. Those granted Spartan citizenry were utterly dependent upon the slave labour of the helots, whose land the Spartans had both invaded and annexed. The Spartan model of citizenship certainly contrasts strongly with broader and more modern notions of a citizenship based on civil, political and social rights, and in terms of educating for citizenship, the Spartans made sure that they perpetuated the idea of exclusivity among their young citizens.

However, describing the contribution made by the Spartans to the concept of citizenship, Heater has said that their ideals, although exclusive and tyrannical, were that Spartan citizens,

> ... should exist in conditions of basic equality with each other; they should have a keen sense of civic duty; they should participate in the political affairs of their state; and they should be ready to defend their country.
> (Heater, 2001, p18).

That the model they themselves chose to live out their ideals of citizenship was monistic in the extreme need not concern us here; and there is much about their system that came under the critical scrutiny of Plato and Aristotle (although *their* examination was certainly

not impartial, and was influenced by their own strong beliefs based on models of ideal citizenship). What is important here in terms of the basic principles stated by Heater above, is that the idea of *duties* as a form of morality seems to have remained intact despite the passage of time. If we compare Heater's description of the ideals of Spartan citizenship to the Aim and Purpose of the Framework for Citizenship Education set out in the Final Report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship published in 1998, there are striking similarities. Under the chairmanship of Professor Bernard Crick, The Citizenship Group Report states that,

> The purpose of citizenship education in schools and colleges is to make secure and to increase the knowledge, skills and values relevant to the nature and practices of participative democracy; also to enhance the awareness of rights and duties, and the sense of responsibilities needed for the development of pupils into active citizens; and in so doing to establish the value to individuals, schools and society of involvement in the local and wider community.
> (DfEE/QCA, 1998, p40).

Undoubtedly the Spartan model appears to place particular emphasis on the duties of citizenship, with its references to civic duty, political participation, the willingness to defend; and these notions certainly align themselves with communitarian ideals, albeit a limited version. The more liberal notion of 'rights', analysed by Marshall (1950) consisted of the trinity of the civil, the political, and the social, and the way in which these three enabled the rights of citizenship to be designated. In the quotation above taken from the Citizenship Group Report, although both rights *and* duties are mentioned in the same breath, the report has been criticized for the overall emphasis that it places upon the more 'moral authoritarian/communitarian notions of duties and responsibilities, rather than liberal notions of rights.' (Institute of Education, 2002). Speculation that this criticism might be correct could be situated in the possibility that the Crick Report considered the emphasis on duties and responsibilities to be more appropriate for curriculum purposes, and the possibility exists that it might have been considered unwise to unleash any over-emphasis on the *rights* of the citizen as an idea that was dangerous for young minds to consider too seriously.

This possibility takes us back again over two millennia, and in particular to the ideals of citizenship held by Plato. Although such ideals are commonly grounded in social and political theory, their projection in terms of preparing the citizens of future generations is

often necessarily translated into educational pedagogy. It is therefore important to note that political philosophy was not the sole string to Plato's bow. He was also concerned with the development of pedagogical discourse within state-run education, and in particular, with that which would lead to the development of what he considered to be the 'perfect citizen'. The ideas of Plato and of his pupil Aristotle should therefore be briefly considered.

The Citizenship of Plato and Aristotle

Plato's Three Divisions of Citizenship

Plato saw the ideals of citizenship being fulfilled through the instruction of young men educated to be law-abiding, deferent to the polity of the state, and in possession of firm and disciplined self-management. The focus again remains on citizenly *duty*, although unlike the Spartan model, the emphasis was removed from being purely concentrated on the efforts and ideals of war. Plato's concept of the citizen was further broadened structurally to consist of three separate divisions; those who governed, and were known as the Guardians; the defenders, or soldiers; and the largest component, the producers, or those who held professional, business or working status, and who enjoyed a limited participation in public affairs. Serfs took care of the land and agriculture, and foreign residents, as with the Spartiate model, were completely precluded from citizenship rights, but were allowed to take on roles in both industry and business. Citizenship was hierarchical and largely wealth based, with little scope within the structure for any general concept of equality.

Aristotle and 'Civic Education'

Aristotle himself stated that 'The nature of citizenship, like that of the state, is a question which is often disputed: there is no general agreement on a single definition' (Barker [Ed.] 1948, 1275). Citizenship can never be homogeneous, either in theory or in practice. To model it in such a way falls prey to simplistic and monistic interpretations that fail to take account of diversity, and marginalise issues which for some are crucial and central to their experience. Aristotle recognised the difficulty in accommodating the circumstances of '...resident aliens...disenfranchised citizens...the young...and the old' (Heater, 2001, p24) into any straightforward notion of what it meant to be a citizen, and his contribution to the

development of citizenship was the formulation of a model that aligned itself with the state, and was nurtured through the notion of 'civic education'. He therefore supported the development of a curriculum that would guide young people to become good and dutiful citizens who were fully committed to their community. Such a curriculum advocated the teaching of music, literature and gymnastics as subjects suitable for the cultivation of the qualities of civic virtue, but considered politics to be an unsuitable subject for study since young people had no experience of the practical application of political science.

However, despite its insistence on the more democratic ideals of a state education, the primary feature of Greek citizenship was still determined by the concept of privilege. Citizenship was generally an inherited position, and the issues of immigrants, slaves, women and the peasantry remained excluded and unresolved categories. It was only with the concept of Roman citizenship that the idea of conferring the status of citizenship in recognition of services began to emerge.

Roman Citizenship

The Roman concept of citizenship remained exclusive, and those who were enslaved, illegitimate, poor or immigrant were ineligible. However, Stoic philosophy, initiated under the direction of Zeno in 310 BC, gradually developed the idea of a universal citizen hood based on the assertion of the equality of *all* men; women not included. The emphasis remained upon rights and duties, despite the fact that Rome was never a democracy and unlike the Greek democratic era, power was always held either by the Senate and consuls during the period of the republic, or by the imperialism of the Emperor.

With regard to educating for citizenship, during the early years of the Roman Republic, which lasted from 509-27 BC, education fell largely to the responsibility of the family. Young boys were taught a stern model of what it was to be a dutiful citizen, with plenty of reference to history and to the exploits of the founding fathers of Rome. For the sons of higher-ranking citizens, tuition was available in elementary government and law from the age of about sixteen, together with the oratory skills needed for civic participation. Added to this mostly 'home-grown' approach to civic education, there arose a need to address education for citizenship in response to the situation created by territorial expansion and the annexing of new lands into the empire. It was not enough to simply offer the title of

'citizens of Rome' to those whose lands had been absorbed in this way. It was further seen necessary to mobilise a process which would assist in the assimilation and integration of the new Roman citizenry. This led to the setting up of 'Roman' schools in the provinces, which concentrated mainly on oratory skills and the dutiful aspects of citizenship. However, as the empire declined, so did the standards of the schools, and eventually the whole concept of a secular citizenship came to be challenged by the Christian ethic.

FROM THE MEDIEVAL TO 19TH CENTURY NATIONALISM

The Medieval Period

Throughout most of Europe during medieval times, and after the decline of the Roman schools, education had fallen largely to the responsibility of the clergy. The curriculum however, was concentrated on reading, writing, arithmetic and, as Heater has stated, the 'liberal arts' (1990, p26). Price has also commented that,

> Unlike the Greek and Roman schools, which sought to prepare men for this life, the church schools sought to prepare men for life beyond the grave through the contemplation of God during their life on Earth. The schools taught students to read Latin so that they could copy and thereby preserve and perpetuate the writings of the Church Fathers. Students learned the rudiments of mathematics so that they could calculate the dates of religious festivals, and they practiced singing so that they could take part in church services.
> (Price, 2002).

The closest that the medieval curriculum came towards any form of civic education was in the case of the sons of the aristocracy. They took part in a form of secular education labelled 'chivalric', and amongst other things, these young men learned 'some poetry, national history, heraldry, manners and customs, physical training, dancing, a little music, and battle skills' (Price, 2002), a curriculum dedicated, no doubt, to the perpetuation of the ruling classes. What is also notable about the medieval period however, is that through the convents of France, a small number of girls began their education in about the 12th century, this number progressing steadily, until by the 17th century it had become a standard feature of French society.

What is clear is that medieval education was largely indoctrinal, with little scope for originality of thought and enlivening of the mind. Furthermore, the absence of an education for citizenship mirrored the fragmentation during this period, of any cohesive concept of what it was to be a citizen. Loyalty was demanded by church, monarch, feudal lord or urban administration, with no guarantee that the demands of these loyalties would coincide, or even overlap in places. Primary loyalties tended to be regional rather than national, although feelings of a patriotic identity were beginning to emerge towards the end of the Middle Ages. The main feature of medieval citizenship however, remained rooted in the concept of a more personal allegiance to a more local and identifiable body, rather than to the more amorphous notion of the body of the state.

Citizenship During the Renaissance

The two names that are significant during this period in relation to citizenship are Bruni and Machiavelli. Bruni in particular, was instrumental in initiating a move from the studious contemplation of civic ideals to the idea of active citizenly participation, while Machiavelli modelled his ideals on the concept of the Roman Republic, guided by men of 'virtue'. Both Bruni and Machiavelli held the belief that the duties of a citizen included the willingness to fight in defence of one's state. During the time of Bruni and Machiavelli, between about 1369-1527, the progression from the medieval concentration on more local concepts of allegiance, to ideas of 'nationhood' had yet to be made. In terms of education, the church continued to hold the greatest influence, although Machiavelli, while assenting that the church had its role to play in promoting the ideals of virtue, nevertheless maintained that the Romans had grasped the true picture of the virtuous man in their combination concept of magnanimity, boldness and physical prowess. With the rediscovery of classical ideals therefore, the great humanist movement of the Renaissance from the religious towards the validation of the secular civic identity had begun.

Concepts of the State in the 17th Century

Following the Westphalia peace settlement of 1648, marking the end of the thirty years war, Europe began to open out in the 17th century towards the possibilities of individual independent statehoods. At this time the independent states of Europe were typified by the presence of their respective monarchs and so the question arose, could subjects of a

monarch also be citizens of a state? Also, during the medieval period little political attention had been given to those considered aliens and foreigners, save for the idea of protecting urban trade. However, the two issues of allegiance and the rights of citizenship came to the fore in the 17th century, and in some countries attention began to be directed towards the legal implications of naturalisation and alien rights of abode, this process being assisted to some degree by the passing of the Toleration Act of 1689.

With regard to educating for citizenship in the seventeenth century, Pufendorf, a specialist in international law tellingly entitled his essay of 1682 'On the Duties of Citizens', and gave a special cautionary directive for those who were in charge of educating young people. He raised the question (still under debate), concerning how much encouragement to be critical and politicised young people should be given. Pufendorf stated that,

> Teachers appointed to instil knowledge into the minds of the citizens should not teach that which is false or noxious: the truth should be transferred in such a way so that those listening assent not from habit, but because they have been given substantial reasons; they should not teach that which tends to disturb civil society, and hold human knowledge redundant, if it provides no gain for the life of man and citizen.
> (Pufendorf, quoted in Heater, 2001, p86).

It was being recognised that issues of citizenship were fast becoming part of the fabric of civic society in the wider and less parochial sense, and to this end attention began to be directed towards the instilling of what Heater has described as the 'patriotic commitment to the status quo' (Heater, 1990, p33). This instillation was not however, limited to school children, and in fact at this time much of the political socialisation of the day was a role taken on by the church. What was clearly happening however, throughout the various upheavals of the century, was that a clearer picture was beginning to emerge of a more nationalistic model of citizenship, with all the implications that held in terms of individual acceptance as a member of a 'nation', and once accepted, the duties and responsibilities that this would place upon a citizen. The rights of citizenship were an issue that would increasingly come to the fore during the coming century, together with the focusing of attention on the processes of developing a more unified polity. It would be fair to say that at the stage citizenship had reached thus far, consideration of the restrictions that such unity would place upon the expression of individual aspects of diversity was not yet an

issue, since the energy being directed was towards finding consensus to create a sense of national identity.

With regard to issues of homogeneity introduced by developing notions of statehood, Parekh has said,

> Since the state required cultural and social homogenisation as its necessary basis, it has for centuries sought to mould the wider society in that direction. Thanks to this, we have become so accustomed to equating unity with homogeneity, and equality with uniformity, that unlike many of our premodern counterparts we feel emotionally disorientated by, and do not quite know how to accommodate, the political demands of a deep and defiant diversity.
> (Parekh, 2000, p9).

Parekh here takes issue with the idea of the 'homogeneity' and 'uniformity' of a liberal rights society in relation to the state, identifying issues that are to be raised in the thesis regarding the conflict surrounding homogeneous notions of citizenship in a majority white environment in relation to the minority ethnic population.

Developing Ideas of State and Citizenship in the 18th Century

Two of the most dramatic events of the 18th century were also those that made huge contributions to developing concepts of citizenship. The American and French Revolutions brought crucial constitutional issues to the fore that demanded to be clarified in relation to the standing of the ordinary man as citizen. One of the most important issues to be raised during this time was the issue of the *rights* of the citizen. This issue makes an important link with modern day conceptions of citizenship, and in contrast to the classical or 'civic republican' version which had concentrated on concepts of duty and civic virtue, is based upon the idea of more liberal notions, with the rights of the citizen a primary factor.

In England the wave of cataclysmic events in both America and in France had not gone unnoticed, and although circumstances there were not in a similar state of upheaval, these events certainly contributed to the rumblings of civil unrest. At the time, Dissenters and women were second-class citizens, and demands began to be voiced for greater parliamentary democracy and for the abolition of this inferior category of citizenship. At

this time dialectical debates were also taking place concerning the role of education in relation to the people as citizens. Thomas Paine had produced his *Rights of Man*, and Malthus had responded that its circulation had 'done great mischief among the lower and middling classes of people in this country' (quoted in Heater, 1990, p44). Malthus clearly regarded the work as inciteful, and felt instead that any education of the 'lower and middling classes' should be directed towards encouraging behaviour that was both uniform and obedient towards those who knew what was best for them. On the other hand, the radical activists Godwin and Priestley took a fairly unique stand on educating for citizenship, and argued that a national system of education would be used by the government to manipulate young minds, (a familiar argument even today). Nevertheless, we have a glimpse of the growing sense of nationalism that was emerging when Priestly expressed the hope that an education would emerge that would transform the population into a more cohesive body of patriots and citizens.

19th Century Nationalism

Throughout the 19th century, ideas promoting the concept of national identity were expounded and consolidated. There was a brief and early budding of the ideals of cosmopolitanism, only to be overwhelmed by the vigorous growth of nationalism, which in turn, permeated the ideals of civic education. Heater has said,

> ...school systems in the nineteenth century were either controlled by the nation-state or at any rate engulfed in the prevailing nationalist atmosphere.
> (Heater, 1990, p56).

At this time, the 'sovereign people' were cultivated to be identified with the nation, the most common identifying factor in this process being the exclusive use of a country's national language.

The influences and the ideals of socialism were the cause of much friction between different interpretations of what it was to be a citizen at this time. This was further fuelled by the fact that to make education of any kind more widely available, teachers began to emerge from the 'lower strata' of society, and were therefore much more likely to have sympathy with these ideals. Thomas Arnold argued for an education that would rigidly maintain a civic social hierarchy, whilst T. H. Green spoke out for the equalising effects of

a comprehensive system of education. By the end of the 19th century in England however, the citizenship that was being taught in the newly formed Board schools was particularly modelled on the qualities of loyalty and passivity towards both Queen and superiors.

What happened during this period was that attention was shifted away from monarchical, regional, and religious allegiances, and instead, loyalty to the state was both encouraged and cultivated, not least through the semiotic process of connotation and denotation (Hall, 1997b, p38-9). Symbolic icons of the state, such as the national flag, or patriotic songs, came to play a great part in denoting all that was to be admired about a citizen's identity in relation to the state, with all the connotations such symbolism carried, such as loyalty, pride, exclusivity etc.

As the state developed a more central position in the provision of and legislation for education towards the end of the 19th century, the role of the school increasingly became implicated as a tool to assist in the consolidation of the national identity. Opposition was voiced from the church, who until this time, had been primarily responsible for education where it existed, and who were concerned on account both of their potential loss of control, and of the secular nature of the state in the process of moulding young minds. However, nationalism had been firmly charted on the agenda, and it was only a matter of time before the formal education of young citizens of the state would begin in earnest. In addition, it should be noted that the promotion of nationalistic homogeneity and uniformity were very much a part of the European mindset, together with the attitudes of conquest and superiority that went hand-in-hand with the further development of colonialism. In 1870 William Forster's Education Act signalled the formal involvement of the government in the provision of elementary education, and from 1880 attendance at these schools was made compulsory. The patchy provision of the church with its Sunday Schools, British Schools and Board Schools had at least been joined, if not superseded at this stage, by its secular rival.

With the attitudes and ideals of nationalism now being more firmly established, the final part of this supporting chapter will turn to the introduction and consolidation of the civic ideal through British education for citizenship throughout the 20th century, a process seen as crucial to the underpinning of the civic mindset. Tracing the history of citizenship up to this point has provided the context in which to discuss the educational developments of the

last century, together with more contemporary legislation and debates. 'Citizenship' as a word without history is a floating and rootless concept in need of some definition in order to lay the foundations for newer models more suited to the needs of the present day. This 're-modelling' has particular significance in relation to the experience of what it is to be a young minority ethnic citizen in a majority white school environment, since the weight and inertia of historical models underpins the struggle created by the need to effect change. That change is needed in the national consciousness of what it means to be a young British citizen will be demonstrated by the experiences, attitudes and reflections of the key respondents who feature in the data chapters of the thesis.

The route taken by citizenship education in the last century will mainly be traced through the History curriculum, since it was this subject that was seen, at least in the early years, to be the most appropriate vehicle. This vehicle later came to be challenged by the emerging importance of Social Studies, Civics, and more recently, by the discrete subject of Education for Citizenship.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN 20TH CENTURY BRITAIN

From the Turn of the Century to Marshall in the 1950s

With the concept of nationalism an established part of political vocabulary, the 20th century was host to various struggles and upheavals directly related to the idea and ethos of what it was to be, and belong to, a nation. Two world wars were fought, both of which divided nations, and at the same time forged powerful alliances. The American civil rights movement grappled with overthrowing the gross inequalities of the second-class citizenship and segregation of black people, and the totalitarianism of both fascist and communist regimes spawned the coining of new words for people who could not describe themselves as democratic citizens under these systems of government; 'pioneer', 'proletarian', 'comrade'. All of these events took their toll on concepts of civic consciousness, either by association or dissociation, (i.e. by defining what they were by what they were not) and progressed nations in their ongoing evolution and evaluation of what it was to be a citizen, and how best to educate towards the civic ideal.

With the British government finally involved in the provision of elementary education, and with attendance being made compulsory from 1880, the scene was at last ideally set for more central input and direction on civic responsibility. Writing as early as 1867, S. Laurie had emphasised the role of studying the patriotic deeds of great names in history as a way of emphasising the value of these qualities to the school pupil, and Gould followed on from this idea in the 1880s with the idea of training for both patriotic and social loyalty. However, by the early 20th century when the Education Act of 1902 made local authorities responsible for providing both elementary and secondary education (although the latter was not compulsory until 1918), it was recognised that these curriculum models, taught under the auspices of History, were both partisan and inadequate. It was decided that what this 'drum and trumpet' approach lacked was any real provision of political and constitutional information, and that the emphasis for pupils should be focused on 'a greater awareness of the national society in which they lived and how it developed to its present stage.' (Wong, 1997).

In 1905, Bourne published his book *The Teaching of History and Civics in the Elementary and the Secondary School*, firmly emphasising the link between the teaching of history with civic education. Writing in about 1910, Hayward, despite the fact of his involvement with developing a civic curriculum in the great public schools of the day, began to transfer the idea of the importance of the civic ethos of the school to elementary education. Hayward was particularly directing behaviour towards an idea external to the school of what it was to be a good British citizen in relation to the abstract concepts of 'the state' and 'the nation'. His liberal notions of the individual and the state provided little space between these two poles to accommodate the concept of society, and his views were certainly fuelled by the imperialist colonialist beliefs of the day; of Britain as the strict surrogate parent of diverse peoples.

From very basic and early models of citizenship right up to the emergence of the idea of a national consciousness, it has been evident that homogeneity and conformity, with scant attention to the accommodation of difference, have often been seen as the glue that sticks a polity together. More recently, the whole school ethos developed as an aspect of education through the document *Learning for All* (published by the CRE in the wake of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report) has specifically included the statement that schools' should publicly support 'ethnic, cultural, religious, linguistic and social diversity, and actively

promote(s) good personal, community and race relations'. (CRE, 2000, p39), a model contrasting significantly with Hayward's more homogeneous and individualist doctrine.

What is being called for by the CRE, and what has, in fact, under the legal requirements of the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000, become law, is an inclusive response to issues of diversity. What this inclusive model will need to challenge are the more homogeneous and nationalistic concepts of citizenship that have become embedded both subtly and in some cases, more overtly, in ideas about what it is to be a British citizen. This will include, as Tomlinson (1990) has chronicled, challenging the legacy of what she terms 'education for white superiority' (p44), and 'the imperial curriculum' (p71), both of which have, in the past, promoted intensely nationalistic attitudes and ethos.

In relation to this, Tomlinson has said,

> It was during (the) period of Empire that many aspects of what is now regarded as 'British culture' came to be reflected in the school curriculum, underpinned by a set of values still regarded by many as 'traditional' British values. Some of these values were and are highly questionable in terms of democracy, tolerance, and social and racial justice.
> (Tomlinson, 1990, p70).

Tomlinson further relates these attitudes to the curriculum when she summarises,

> The importance of these imperial values and beliefs is two-fold. Not only are they still reflected, although in changed or rationalised ways, in much current curriculum material, thus influencing the present generation of school children, they have undoubtedly influenced the grandparents and parents of children currently in schools. The task of changing the curriculum has to take account of the past influences which now form part of the 'British heritage'.
> (Tomlinson, 1990, p84).

Writing in 1990, Tomlinson's account predates the murder of the black teenager Stephen Lawrence by three years; an event which has provided the catalyst for close scrutiny of, and legislation against, the attitudes described by Tomlinson as they manifest in the form of the embedded cultures of institutionalised racism.

The impact of the First World War must also be considered in relation to the citizenship curriculum, including the development of more progressive ideals and the promotion of an

international perspective in the desire to avoid repeating the experiences of the war. During the period between the First and Second World Wars there emerged two polarised schools of thought; those who argued against nationalism, considering it to be one of the prime causes of war, and promoting both peace and international co-operation in its place, whilst the opposing faction argued for the continuation of an essentially nationalist curriculum. The League of Nations pressed for the removal of the study of the 'glory of national victory' from the history curriculum, still the essential vehicle of citizenship teaching, while the Historical Association were, according to Wong (1997) said to be 'exhilarated with…imperial ideas'. What happened in practice was that the History curriculum came to be used to foster local, national, European and world citizenship, and also to include certain aspects of social and civic responsibility. There is little doubt, however, as Tomlinson documents, (1990, pp74-5), that the curriculum remained imperialist, and although aspects of world citizenship were promoted, the essential superiority of the 'white races' was an integral part of this notion of citizenship. In the end, despite any efforts to avoid the nationalism felt to be responsible for conflict between nations, nationalism in its most extreme form emerged as both the cause, and the fuel for the continuation of the Second World War; a nationalism that came to be defined more exclusively in terms of 'race' than of territory.

The period following the Second World War was the time during which migrants began to arrive in the UK from the new Commonwealth and Pakistan (Solomos, 1997, p7). However, the issues that this presence raised for citizenship education in terms of accommodating diversity were hardly a concern at the time, since policies of assimilation meant that '"coloured" immigrants role was to "fit in" to an (assumed) monocultural Britain, and to aspire to be "just like us"' (Gaine, 1987, p22). In comparison, the more recent directives given by the Advisory Group on Citizenship in 1998 could hardly provide more of a contrast. In their final report they state that,

> A main aim for the whole community should be to find or restore a sense of common citizenship, including a national identity that is secure enough to find a place for the plurality of nations, culture, ethnic identities and religions long found in the United Kingdom. Citizenship education creates common ground between different ethnic and religious identities.
> (QCA, 1998, p17).

Even if therefore, as is often remarked, theory moves way ahead of practice, at least the deliberate and accommodating change in the direction in which citizenship appeared to be moving could be recognised as a testimony to the failure of earlier assimilationist policy.

The Influence of Marshall on Ideas of Citizenship

In the 1940s and 1950s the role of history as the vehicle for citizenship teaching was challenged by the Social Studies movement (Wong, 2002). This change was representative of a move away from the study of past political models and events to the consideration of contemporary society. It was also towards the end of the 1940s that Marshall delivered a series of lectures at Cambridge which came to be published under the title of *Citizenship and Social Class*. Marshall had been an historian who had then transferred the focus of his academic work to Sociology. The development of his thoughts is particularly relevant in the case of subtle systems of 'second class citizenship', Marshall's argument being that as citizenship stood at the time,

> ...the co-existence of inequalities of class and the equality of citizenship had become so firmly accepted that 'citizenship has itself become, in certain respects, the architect of legitimate social inequality'
> (Marshall and Bottomore, 1992, p6, quoted in Heater, 2000, p158).

It is this aspect that is of particular relevance to the study of the experiences of minority ethnic people as citizens. Marshall's implications were specifically concerned with the elements of class distinction as they impinged upon the practical experience of social citizenship. Although we are not here specifically addressing issues of class, it is possible to transfer this particular aspect of the social dimension of citizenship onto the experience of minority ethnic people, since the issues at stake, to a large extent, remain the same.

The rights of citizenship up to the point of Marshall had been more specifically concerned with legislating for the civil and for the political. The social had, up until this time, been fleetingly referred to, and it was this aspect of Marshall's thought in particular that made his ideas stand out. He made the clear statement that,

> By the social element I mean the whole range from the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in society.

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(Marshall and Bottomore, 1992, p8, quoted in Heater, 2000, p158).

Marshall is here implying that despite the apparent 'equalities' of citizenship, equal rights to 'the good life' (Parekh, 2000, p105-7) were not available to all. He had been particularly impressed by the reforms that had led to the development of the welfare state and the right to secondary education for all between 1944-46; however, the implications of his statement above are wider ranging than simply the welfare and educational aspects of social citizenry. He refers to sharing in the 'social heritage' of society, and commenting on the political and academic concerns of Marshall, his collection of papers based upon the Cambridge conferences of 1949 are described thus;

> These articles acknowledge the continuing tension between the social forces encouraging greater equality and those which preclude it, arguing that such conflict springs from the very roots of the social order. Marshall demonstrates the centrality of the concept of citizenship which promotes greater equality through civil rights, the political power of the vote, and inclusion in the prevailing social mores.
> (quoted in Marshall, 1963, publisher's information).

This quotation points out Marshall's concern with 'the continuing tension between the social forces encouraging greater equality and those which preclude it', and 'the centrality of the concept of citizenship ...and inclusion in the prevailing social mores.' Clearly Marshall saw the value of citizenship as an opportunity for the delegation of equal status, and yet recognised that there were social forces working against equality and inclusion. It is to a similar dilemma relating to the status of citizen that Bhikhu Parekh refers when he writes specifically of the experience of minority ethnic people, stating that,

> Although equal citizenship is essential to fostering a common sense of belonging, it is not enough. Citizenship is about status and rights, belonging is about being accepted and feeling welcome. Some individuals and groups might enjoy the same rights as the rest but feel that they do not quite belong to the community, nor it to them. This feeling of being full citizens and yet outsiders is difficult to analyze and explain, but it can be deep and real and seriously damage the quality of their citizenship...
> (Parekh, 2000, p342).

Clearly a parallel can be drawn in terms of exclusivity, between the 'class' distinctions of Marshall, and the 'ethnicity' distinctions of Parekh. Both operate on the principle of the bestowal of citizenship, and yet the denial of full social participation. Heater further

confirms this parallel by recourse to the example of extreme totalitarian circumstances when he makes the observation that,

> ...in the cases of regimes constructed on the ideologies of racism and Communism, citizenship was further undermined by being a form of identity secondary to race and class respectively.
> (Heater, 2001, p171).

Marshall's contribution to the conceptual development of the idea of citizenship has been described as 'the most significant contribution to social and political theory made this century by a British sociologist' (Marshall, quoted in Heater, p170). His commentary had been given a kick-start by the reforms of welfare and education, but his analysis went further than that to consider wider ranging aspects of social exclusion. In a simplified analysis, he saw civil rights as a development of the eighteenth century, political rights of the nineteenth, and social rights of the twentieth. In Marshall's day, the considerable benefits of welfare and education made significant contributions to the practical processes of establishing a new egalitarianism. More recent legislation for equality has extended the recognition of discriminatory practice on the basis of racial and ethnic difference, and has seemed almost to be a process of progressively 'speaking the unspeakable' as greater awareness of the issues develops, often under contested circumstances, and legislation follows.

These more subtle aspects of human rights, racial equality and democracy have progressively been given their elocutionary force through such legislation as the Race Relations Act of 1976 which imposed a duty to both 'eliminate unlawful discrimination', and to 'promote equality of opportunity and good relations between persons of different racial groups'. The Human Rights Act 1998 referred to the 'prohibition of discrimination', and the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 made it unlawful to discriminate on racial grounds, and imposed a positive duty to 'promote racial equality and prevent racial discrimination'. Furthermore, and with specific reference to the provision of education for all young citizens, the Swann Report of 1985 promoted the idea of an *'Education for All'* which, had the recommendation not been progressively undermined by unsympathetic government policy (Ball, 1994, pp39-40), would have provided equality of opportunity for all school students, taking diversity into account in policy, procedures and practice. However, despite the sanctioning of legislative force in an attempt to provide articulated

guidelines for changes in practice, the conceptual shift needed in order to produce real equality of opportunity has lagged behind as a result of a deeply ingrained legacy of prejudice, misinformation and ignorance of the issues at stake (Tomlinson, 1990).

It is clear that when Marshall was writing in the late 1940's, his preoccupation was very much with issues of class, and that at that time, as stated by Gaine above, assumptions of an assimilationist monocultural Britain meant that cultural diversity did not enter into his argument. However, before we leave Marshall, it is worth referring to his description of the process of oppression as described in his book *Class, Citizenship and Social Development* when he states that,

> Oppression describes a conflict between two parties engaged in unequal co-operation, the inequality being a product of the institutions of a stratified society. The word is not meant to define the motives or methods ...(of the oppressors)..., but only the situation as it appears to the ...(oppressed).... . Whereas comparison breaks contacts and frustration produces contact by collision, oppression implies contact as an organic process.
> (Marshall, 1964, p187).

If we apply this model of oppression to the circumstances surrounding the inequalities associated with 'race', culture and ethnicity, a brief analysis highlights several points which validate the application. The references to 'conflict', 'inequality', and stratification are all clearly addressed as pertinent issues in the legislation listed above. Further, lack of parity has produced division and segregation between the white majority population and minority ethnic groups, (Modood et al. 1997), and frustration has certainly led to 'contact by collision' in the case of rioting, unrest, and racially motivated attacks over recent years. Finally, in respect of the statement that 'oppression implies contact as an organic process', it is this legacy of the constitutional and fundamental attitudes of ingrained prejudice to which Tomlinson refers, and it is these attitudes and their effects that are to be explored in the thesis in relation to young minority ethnic citizens.

Citizenship Education from the 1970s

By the 1970s an approach in which a combination of subjects worked together to promote an active model of citizenship based on the interaction between children, teachers, schools and environments was being developed and promoted. Thus the role of citizenship

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education moved from the passive to the active, a trend echoed in more recent developments, as the Advisory Group on Citizenship state in their final report,

> 'Active citizenship is our aim throughout. ...this report states the case for positive relationships with the local community... Also...preparation for citizenship in adult life can be helped or hindered by the ethos and organisation of a school... (QCA, 1998, p25).

The important thing about this move towards the 'active' in the seventies was that it initiated a shift from the passive and theoretical model of citizenship, which had been the specific legacy of the history curriculum, to a new approach which relied less on historical underpinnings, and developed more in terms of contemporary practical and conceptual engagement. Books were published which introduced topics of both world and European citizenship, and tackled a number of controversial points of view. Increasing emphasis was placed upon the acquisition of the skills of deductive reasoning, a prominent feature of the more recent recommendations for the citizenship curriculum (QCA, 1998, p44).

In 1970 we also have an early reference to the addressing of diversity issues specifically in relation to citizenship, when G.R.Elton maintained that the new approach to the teaching of history should be,

> ...flexible and open to new ideas but at the same time capable of assessing them against the traditional, *aware of mankind in its variety*.
> (quoted in Wong, 1997, emphasis added).

What is particularly relevant here, is that for the previous twenty years or so, as Gaine (1987, p24) documents, an assimilationist approach to the education of the black and Asian presence in UK schools had been cultivated assiduously. It was around the mid 1960s to 70s that this approach was giving way to the more liberal processes of a 'multiracial' education which was characterised by 'its apparent acceptance of some cultural diversity, and ... was explicitly less racist.' (Gaine, 1987, p26). What is clear therefore, is that a link was being made in citizenship education between what was taking place in British society in terms of a growing awareness of the need to recognise cultural diversity, thus avoiding an assimilationist 'colour blind' approach to the presence of the minority ethnic population. Both the 'active' approach, therefore, and the introduction of the recognition of diversity signalled a citizenship curriculum whose 'main objective was to bring out the

relevance of the subject for the practical needs of the pupils in their daily life and in their future life.' (Wong, 1997).

Despite the fact that there was some evidence of a backlash in history teaching in the 1980s, grounding its case in the accusation by some educationalists that the value of the history curriculum was being *de*valued by the introduction of the broader issues of citizenship and the social sciences as opposed to the more 'traditional' and chronological perspectives, the 'drum and trumpet' approach had largely been cast off. Residual influences remained however, and as recently as 1980 there was evidence that work of the staunch traditionalist, R.J.Unstead, was not only being used in schools, but was also being re-issued. Purkis, writing in 1980 with reference to Unstead states that,

> His approach is structured, safe and conventional...he emphasizes the long-running, happy and glorious success story of the great (white) British people. (quoted in Wong, 1997).

A challenge to these attitudes towards the curriculum came in 1985 in the form of the Swann Report which called for an *Education for All*, (DES, 1985), and promoted the idea that diversity must be recognised in the provision and content of both pedagogy and curriculum. However, the initiatives of the Swann Report were systematically disregarded by subsequent government legislation, culminating in the Education Reform Act of 1988, which promoted a National Curriculum which was essentially assimilationist in nature. Griffiths and Hope have commented that following the Education Reform Act of 1988, 'Multicultural educational initiatives had no place within schools that now had to adopt a curriculum based on the concept that everyone was the same'. (Griffiths & Hope, 2000).

However, running parallel to this legislation, we find statements such as that made by the document *History from 5-16*, which stated that '(history) has a particularly important role to play in preparing pupils to participate in multi-ethnic society' (HMSO, 1988, quoted in Wong, 1997), and it is clear that some recognition, albeit peripheral in the extreme, was beginning to be given to the fact that the experience of being a citizen in Britain was changing, and that the development of a diverse society would have to be acknowledged at some level. With regard to the National Curriculum directives for the teaching of history however, there was considerable controversy when the Secretary of State demanded that a sharper focus be given to 'British History' and the 'British Experience', although in the

interim and final reports, the case for maintaining some form of citizenship education was upheld. The lack of real importance placed upon the subject nevertheless, was betrayed by the fact that it remained non-statutory, and was largely left to inclusion in such areas as history and PSE (Personal and Social Education), or through chance methods of permeation in other aspects of the curriculum. The Education Reform Act had therefore, despite paying ample lip service to citizenship education (Wong, 1997), effectively marginalized any serious attempt to apply methods of addressing either diversity or issues of citizenship in the curriculum.

In 1990 the theme of citizenship was revisited by the National Curriculum Council, who outlined guidance on several cross-curricular themes, one of which was citizenship. In a Review of Secondary Education Schools in England in 1998, the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) made the comment that,

> Schools vary widely in the degree to which they have taken these cross-curricular themes seriously. The great majority plan adequately for careers education and guidance, health and sex education, *but only a minority have a planned approach to environmental education, citizenship and economic and industrial understanding.* (OFSTED, 1998, emphasis added).

Thus it can be seen that in the opinion of OFSTED, the teaching of citizenship issues had largely been left to chance along with other issues connected with 'preparing pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life.' (OFSTED, 1998). This document produced by OFSTED in 1998 was timely, since its publication in June of 1998 both coincided and overlapped with the preparations for the publication of the Final Report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship which appeared in September of the same year. This group had been set up for reasons explained by the former Speaker of the House of Commons, and it is worth quoting her comments here in full. She stated that,

> Like my immediate predecessor as Speaker, I have become increasingly concerned that Citizenship as a subject appeared to be diminishing in importance and impact in schools – this despite a number of non-governmental initiatives over a long period of years. This area, in my view, has been a blot on the landscape of public life for too long, with unfortunate consequences for the future of our democratic processes. I therefore welcomed the pledge of the Secretary of State for Education and Employment in the White Paper, *Excellence in Schools* (November 1997), 'to strengthen education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools'. More particularly, I welcomed the setting up of an Advisory Group on Citizenship

to report and make appropriate recommendations in the context of the forthcoming review of the National Curriculum.
(QCA, 1998, p3).

The Final report of the Advisory Group is dedicated to the dissemination of ethos and curriculum issues related to citizenship in schools. The extent to which this document promoted concepts of equality in relation to diversity has been contested from several sources (Osler and Starkey, 2000), and will be discussed more fully in chapter three of the thesis. However, to give one brief quote from an interview with a researcher from the Citizenship Foundation, and someone who had worked quite closely with the Advisory Group at the time, the comment was made with reference to the Chairman, Sir Bernard Crick, that 'he was coming at citizenship very much from a 'traditionalist' point of view, and didn't particularly see why all these other agencies were trying to, as he saw it, 'railroad his subject' into issues of racial and ethnic diversity'. The 'other agencies' referred to here must now be mentioned briefly in closing this supporting chapter.

The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report

The racist murder of the black teenager Stephen Lawrence in 1993 was eventually to become a catalyst for legislative change in terms of the recognition that citizenship and race equality are inextricably bound together in the process of changing perceptions of what it is to be a British citizen. Whilst peripheral debates were continuing about the importance of teaching citizenship in schools, proposals and advisory groups were making slow but steady progress towards the eventual conclusion that the Secretary of State should be advised

> ...that citizenship and the teaching of democracy...is so important both for schools and the life of the nation that there must be a statutory requirement on schools to ensure that it is part of the entitlement of all pupils... (and) can no longer sensibly be left as uncoordinated local initiatives which vary greatly in number, content and method.
> (QCA, 1998, p7).

During this period the investigation into the murder of Stephen Lawrence had been mishandled by the Metropolitan police, culminating in the setting up of a full-scale inquiry and the eventual publication of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report under the direction of Sir William Macpherson in 1999. This report focussed particularly on the existence of

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institutional racism within the Metropolitan police force, and was to exert a direct influence on the instigation of the Race Relations Amendment Act of 2000, which placed a statutory general duty on most public authorities to promote race equality.

Of the forty-seven chapters of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, which include seventy recommendations, it is the penultimate three recommendations that are important for the formal recognition of the role that issues of race equality now play in the school curriculum. The recommendations state,

> ...that consideration be given to amendment of the National Curriculum aimed at valuing cultural diversity and preventing racism, in order better to reflect the needs of a diverse society.
>
> that Local Education Authorities and school governors have the duty to create and implement strategies in their schools to prevent and address racism. Such strategies to include:
>
> - That schools record all racist incidents
> - That all recorded incidents are reported to the pupils' parents/guardians, school governors and LEAs
> - That the number of racist incidents are published annually, on a school by school basis
> - That the numbers and self defined ethnic identity of excluded pupils are published annually on a school by school basis.
>
> that OFSTED inspections include examination of the implementation of such strategies.
> (Macpherson, 1999, Ch.47, recommendations 67-69).

The Home Secretary's action plan in response to these recommendations (Home Office, 1999) was to accept all of them apart from the recommendation to publish the number of racist incidents on a school-by-school basis. This was because they felt that this approach risked 'discouraging the reporting of racist incidents to the detriment of minority ethnic children, effectively penalising those schools which sought to address the problems by acting in an open and honest manner' (CRE, 2000, p81). This was a minor point, and by its publication, the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report had put issues of racial equality firmly on the legislative agenda.

We have therefore, two reports; the Final Report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship (1998), and the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report (1999), and it might have been

anticipated that the aim of these two documents in respect of promoting inclusion and challenging racism would concur, given the climate that had been created by the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry and the issues that it had raised for the experiences of minority ethnic citizens. However, in terms of what has happened in respect of addressing citizenship and issues of racial equality in schools, there seems to have been a channelling of initiatives from two fairly distinct agendas. On the one hand we have the movement, fuelled by the Final report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship, for bringing citizenship education into schools, an intention that has now been vindicated by the introduction of a compulsory element of citizenship in all secondary schools from 2002. This initiative saw the issues of citizenship from what we might define as a fairly 'traditional' rights and responsibilities approach in terms of the civil, the political and the social, and as mentioned above, this triad which formally dates back to the work of Marshall in the 1950s, pays scant attention to issues of the minority ethnic presence in society.

Picking up on this marginalisation of the minority ethnic citizen, Osler and Starkey have indicated that the Final Report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship (also known as the Crick Report) is seriously flawed in terms of addressing issues of diversity and comment that,

> The Crick Report, which provided the basis for Citizenship in the National Curriculum for England, made no mention of racism when it presented the case for education for citizenship in the light of perceived threats to our democracy. Our analysis of the report (Osler, 2000) suggests that this important and in many ways valuable document may itself unwittingly reflect racism, particularly in its reference to minorities, who, it suggests, 'must learn and respect the laws, codes and conventions as much as the majority' (QCA, 1998: 17-18).
> (Osler and Starkey, 2000, p7).

Osler points out that although the Crick Report (QCA, 1998) 'suggests that there is a general atmosphere of political apathy and that citizenship education is urgently needed to sustain a flagging democracy', and that 'racism has been identified by a number of international organisations… as one of the forces which serves to undermine democracy in Europe and one which should consequently be addressed in education programmes', she makes the concluding observation that 'the Crick Report makes no mention of racism when it presents the case for education for citizenship in the light of perceived threats to our democracy.' (Osler, 2000, pp26-27).

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In contrast, one year after the appearance of the Final Report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship we have the publication of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report with its particular recommendations for the teaching of issues of diversity in schools *and* for the challenging of racism, and it is this report which was directly responsible for specific legislation in terms of addressing issues of 'race' and racism in public institutions, including education, in the form of the Race Relations (Amendment)Act 2000.

A final comment from Osler therefore, will locate the current relationship between issues of racial equality and citizenship in the curriculum, and provide the impetus for investigating the citizenship experiences of minority ethnic pupils in the majority white schools of a rural British county. In the paper *The Crick Report: difference, equality and racial justice*, Osler states that,

> We ... need to develop a shared understanding of citizenship which is based on a broader theoretical base than that of Marshall (1950), recognising that, despite formal equality, various groups may encounter barriers to claiming their citizenship rights as a result of disadvantage and/or discrimination based on, for example, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexuality, disability, poverty or a combination of such factors. In other words, it is important to recognise how racism may operate with or alongside other factors to create what have been termed 'everyday racisms' (Chebel d'Appollonia, 1998).
> (Osler, 2000, p35).

It is the experiences of this disadvantage and discrimination that the thesis will address in the light of this supporting background information on the evolution of notions of citizenship, both in policy, and in practice.

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[1] This account concentrates upon the specifically western evolution of notions of citizenship. This is due to the constraints of space, and therefore of the need to concentrate upon the effects that these particular values have exercised upon minority ethnic people residing in the UK.

Appendix B3 / Respondent's Transcripts: The Personal and the Political

On working to eradicate racism, and on the inadequacies of the Crick Report, Osler has stated that,

> In England, the closest we have moved towards anti-racism becoming a hegemonic discourse was in the days and weeks following the publication of the report into the Stephen Lawrence inquiry (Macpherson, 1999). Despite the pledges of senior politicians, including the Home Secretary and the Prime Minister, to work towards the elimination of institutional racism, there does not seem to be the will, among education ministers or within the Department for Education and Employment, to acknowledge institutional racism within the education service or to take steps to challenge it effectively through the curriculum. This is the case in the new proposals for citizenship education, the avowed aim of which is to strengthen our democracy. Indeed...these curriculum proposals themselves appear to contain examples of unwitting racism and reflect institutionalised racism within society. (Osler, 2000, p34).

Similarly, CARF (Campaign Against Racism and Fascism) has observed that,

> The Crown Prosecution Service, one of the most contentious institutions in the whole Lawrence Inquiry and notorious for its non-prosecutions of those responsible for black deaths in custody, tried in October to head off an investigation into its institutional racism 'as defined by the Stephen Lawrence inquiry' by approving plans to appoint more ethnic minority prosecutors. *And a special guide was created for the judiciary so as to prevent judges from making racial gaffes.* (CARF, 1999/2000, pp2-3, emphasis added).

CARF use this example to emphasise their opinion that organisations are not really tackling institutional racism, but 'merely resorting to old-style palliatives' (ibid. p4); while Doreen Lawrence, the mother of Stephen Lawrence, has further stated that 'nothing (has) changed since the Government pledged to root out prejudice three years ago'. (Bright, 2002).

In the quotation from CARF above, the last sentence has been italicised as it is the 'unwitting racism', which may betray deeply ingrained institutionalised beliefs and attitudes held by those in positions of both power and influence that I here consider. As Osler has observed, the absence of any reference to racism in the citizenship curriculum guidelines could be caused by the fact that the authors themselves are 'victims of a culture

in which institutional racism is so powerful, and so ingrained, that it is invisible to those who do not experience it directly.' (Osler, 2000, p31)[1].

One Member's Perspective:

During the course of my research, I had the opportunity to interview a member of the Advisory Group on Citizenship who would certainly fall into the category of not having experienced racism directly; being both white, and English. Below are reproduced a selection of comments made by this particular member. My field notes recorded immediately after the interview follow each statement/interchange. However, rather than consider these field notes as finite polemic judgement, they are included in order to convey *my immediate and freshly perceived impressions from the statements*, however personal. The observations following the field notes however, contain later and more reflective responses, although it will be seen that additional research data and references often support these initial impressions. The point may be argued that such additional information can either support *or refute* these initial impressions depending upon the *selection* of supporting data. However, the argument concerning the role of the personal (as emphasised in chapter one), returns to the position that,

> ...in the last resort... The synthesis of essences and meanings inherent in any human experience is a reflection and outcome of the researcher's pursuit of knowledge. What is presented as truth and what is removed as implausible or idiosyncratic ultimately can be accredited only on the grounds of personal knowledge and judgement.'
> (Moustakas, 1990, p33).

It is this spirit therefore, in which the commentary should be considered.

Personal Interview with Member of the Advisory Group on Citizenship, 2001:

- **Interviewer:** *...do you think that the future of citizenship can be located in the nation state, when the idea of nationhood has been rejected by certain minority groups with a fairly powerful sense of their own community?*

  Interviewee: *Well – it's a bit rhetorical that rejection, because they're living in the larger community, and they have to adjust to it...I think one must be sensitive to community demands, but one must also be sensitive that community leaders are often, somewhat self-appointed, and are not particularly aware of the problems of actual classroom teaching, nor of grievances...*

(**Field Notes:** There seem to be overtones of a hegemonic 'like-it-or-lump-it' approach here, together with assumptions of at least integration, if not assimilation. The reference to community leaders seems to imply 'trouble making', and also be somewhat paternalistic.)

Observations: Gaine (1987, p22) has commented of the early 1950s, '...assimilation: "coloured" immigrants role was to "fit in" to an (assumed) monocultural Britain...' and of integration in the 1960s that 'Black minority groups...were expected to integrate politically (eventually) with space given for some cultural residues' (ibid. p26). The above comments appear to bear some resemblance to both/either of these models. The reference to community leaders not being 'particularly aware' of the problems is to imply that they are ignorant of the fact that,

> Examples of the effects of institutional racism within the education system have been well documented. They include the over-representation of black and other minority students among those excluded from school (Osler, 1997b; DfEE, 1999); differentials in educational outcomes between ethnic groups in many schools and local education authorities (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996; Richardson and Wood, 1999); the barriers to promotion and career progression which black and minority ethnic teachers may experience at each stage in their careers, whether they are in training, newly qualified, or holding headships or other senior positions (Osler, 1997a); the failure of the school inspections system to address adequately issues of race equality (Osler and Morrison, 2000).
> (Osler and Starkey, 2000, p5-6).

A final observation is of both the tone and the content of the interviewee's comment. Halstead has defined 'paternalistic racism' as,

...the well-intentioned drawing up of regulations by whites, thereby defining and restricting the freedom of black people. It involves the initiation of new practices and procedures in response to the presence of racial minorities in the country, and the clear-cut wielding of power by white people. Paternalistic racism implies that white people have the right to interfere in the lives of black people for their own good, and that white people have the power to define that good.
(Halstead, 1988)

This definition refers to the idea that ultimately the majority population expect to 'call the shots', and an aura of this idea surrounds the Crick Report.

- **Interviewee:** *I think individual rights are important, I mean, historically, immigrant communities have wanted the protection of the laws, and there's a sort of 'trade-off' between having the protection of the laws, and being willing, on the whole, to accept the laws...*

(**Field Notes:** Implications of colonialism. There are implications here that minorities have to be somehow 'disciplined' into accepting the laws in order to gain their protection – as if there is no volition involved, only coercion. This also implies a hierarchy of power and separation, as if minorities, together with the majority community, cannot also make and bestow the law. The other issue this comment raises of course – although not implied here - is the unequal spread of justice minorities have traditionally received in the UK- have they really received 'the protection of the laws'?)

Observations: The Crick Report itself has stated that minorities 'must learn and respect the laws, codes and conventions as much as the majority' (QCA, 1998, p17-18), and on this Osler and Starkey have commented,

No explanation is provided, but we are left with a number of possible interpretations, none of which is supported by evidence. One explanation is that the cultures and values of minorities are somehow at odds with the laws and conventions; another that minorities have not yet been socialised into these laws; and a third, that those drafting the report believe that individuals from minority communities are more likely to break the laws and conventions than are individuals from majority communities. One worrying feature is that minorities are lumped together as a homogeneous group and the same assumptions are made about all.
(Osler and Starkey, 2000, p7).

A final thought can be added here in reflecting upon the' protection of the laws' that the family of Stephen Lawrence received, having been willing to previously 'accept the laws'. Lustgarten and Edwards give commentary on the full extent of 'Racial Inequality and the Limits of the Law' in their article produced under this title (1987).

- **Interviewee:** (Replying to a question about 'free citizenship' and the Salman Rushdie affair). *...white Christians have been used to blasphemies since about the time of the late seventeenth-eighteenth century. But if you're not used to living with it, it's a bit of a – with all the culture shocks, however much you choose to say they've imposed it on themselves, if you choose to live in another country...*

(**Field Notes:** There are imperialist overtones to parts of this statement. The last sentence seems to be implying that any cultural differences experienced by immigrants need not really be taken into consideration since they have somehow 'brought it on themselves' by choosing to come and live in another country. The majority situation seems again to be the power structure of 'holding all the aces', while ignoring the fact that immigrants have traditionally been placed 'at the bottom of the pile', where their own cultural needs have either been marginalized, ridiculed, or ignored. The fact that immigrants have frequently been invited to come and work to boost an under-resourced economy is also ignored.)

Observations: Solomos (1989) has commented extensively on the 'choice' of immigrants to live in the UK since 1945 in relation to political and economic imperatives. Chapter two of the thesis also covers these issues in some detail.

- **Interviewee:** (Giving an example of how a teacher might tell children about diversity issues). *...formal knowledge is quite easy, a teacher can say, 'such and such a proportion are Afro-Caribbean, and that's how people think of themselves, and West Indians, mainly brown aren't they? Different shades...*

(**Field Notes:** crude, simplistic and insensitive 'categorisations')

- **Interviewee:** *Muslims can get pretty cross if they're called an ethnic group...It's a proselytising religion, they'll convert you if they had half a chance, or me. No chance at all, but anyway...*

(Field Notes: 'proselytising' comes across as a pejorative statement - a lack of respect here – almost religious xenophobia. Tone and content creates an immediate 'us and them' situation. There seem to be overtones of 'fundamentalism'.)

- **Interviewee:** (Talking about majority white areas). *...it's nationally important that any white kids in any white area are aware that there are problems...when they go into the great big wider world - they will be quite surprised at the different composition of the country...*

(Field Notes: Inference here that diversity is a 'problem')

Observations: Gaine and Jay have outlined the extent to which 'minorities' are often considered in the same breath as 'problem' (Gaine1987, 1995; Jay, 1992). Osler has referred to the fact that the Crick Report frequently implies that 'difference' is 'inextricably linked to dissent and conflict' (Osler, 2000, p29).

- **Interviewee:** *...at a conference – I said, 'perhaps the only contact white kids would have with a non-white in some areas is with the man running the local paki shop'.*

    Some people got quite excited when I used that – well I use it quite casually, and everyone in (place name) *does, and I'm on good terms with Mr Mohammed – and – I shouldn't think he thinks of himself as running the paki shop – it's just become one of those almost innocent terms, I think, but I'll bow enough to political correctness to watch in future...*

    Does that, does that constitute a...? (Asking me here if I think the term is racially abusive)

(Field Notes: Interviewee considers 'paki' to be an 'innocent term'. Seems to have no awareness of the power relations in using such a term. Admits that the shopkeeper probably doesn't think of himself as 'running the paki shop', and seeks to make it all ok by stating that they are 'on good terms with Mr Mohammed'. Interviewee then externalises the blame onto issues of 'political correctness' rather than accepting the fact that it is a

term of racial abuse. Is actually even uncertain as to whether the term is abusive, as they 'sound me out' for my opinion to check, but also, I sense, in case I have been shocked.)

Observations: Recent data from my research county produced the following statement from school pupils:

> *Being called Paki is like being kicked in the stomach. I don't understand those teachers who say "Words don't hurt." They just don't understand what it's like. It really hurts you inside, you wish you were never born. You feel so miserable you just want to die.*
> (Nock, [Ed.] 2002).

Interviewee continues;

- **Interviewee:** (talking about the way in which something is said) *..I mean, I'm friendly enough with someone to say 'Oh – come on you lazy black bastard – let's get moving...' and he'll reply 'All-right, you fucking whitey', or something like that...*

(Field Notes: This kind of abuse is not necessarily justified by the fact that it is mutual and apparently good-humoured. It's possible that when one person is addressed in this way they may feel obliged to respond, despite how they might really feel about it. Power issues again. Interviewee continues...)

- **Interviewee:** *I mean, do you artificially say that you never mention significant indicators like colour? It's almost as odd as saying you must never say 'shorty' or 'fatty', which can be terribly offensive...but sometimes it's just accepted as a nickname. ...It's no use trying to correct rather casual language that could be offensive; you have to decide is it offensive, otherwise you just get a sort of tokenism of good behaviour that probably doesn't have any effect at all.*

(Field Notes: There seems to be a lot of jumbled thinking going on here. There is a difference between discussing or mentioning significant indicators, and using them abusively. Interviewee is also conflating general abuse with racist abuse, and disregarding the historical implications of power in racial abuse. Slightly worrying that abuse can be considered as 'rather casual language'. There is also a difference between attempting to

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stop children using terms of abuse as they occur, and receiving a tokenistic response; and teaching them the broader principles of anti-racism, human rights and mutual respect.)

Observations: It has been well documented that black and minority ethnic people find verbal racist abuse deeply wounding (Allen, 1990; Mac an Ghaill, 1989; Wright, 1992; Epstein, 1993; Jones, 1999; Collins and Begum, 2002). The CRE have stated that,

> The foundation and origin of words such as coon, wog, itae, packi etc are not conclusively known, but it is safe to presume that their origin lies in oppression, the slave trade and fear. ...People will use language...which others may find prejudicial and derogatory, without thinking about the consequences of that language.
>
> It may be that there is a consensual agreement between friends to use racist language, but it is still possible that when such interchange takes place between a white person and a black person, there may be lurking issues of power. (CRE, 2002a).

- **Interviewee:** *Some community leaders are seeking for grievances to articulate... A lot of Asian community leaders are keen to accept that there are considerable differences of prejudice and attitudes to prejudice between the different ethnic communities. On the whole the Asian community leaders take a softer, rather than an agitational line. They try and see where the difficulties are, whereas there is a tendency of some of the Afro-Caribbean leaders to think that if you blow the trumpet of injustice loud enough, sometimes the heavens will fall. Well, I'm afraid that very often the contrary happens. There's a body called 'the red card' is it – 'the red card against racism'? Well, I'm a bit worried about their line. I think it's so full frontal that it could possibly have a counter productive effect...*

(**Field Notes:** Implications of 'trouble-making' here, together with stereotyping of responses to dealing with racism by community leaders, [pejorative in the case of African-Caribbean communities.] Surprising that 'red card against racism' - a body with endorsement from many well-known people, and which has produced respected educational resources should be considered a bit of a worry in terms of being 'so full frontal'. Not sure what the implications of 'the contrary' and 'counter productive' are, unless they refer to the perceived threat of some kind of a right-wing backlash. There seems to be great resistance here to any response to racism that is other than understated reproval.)

Observations: As an example of this kind of deliberate misrepresentation CARF has stated that Dennis, Erdos and Al-Shahi in **Racist Murder and Pressure Group Politics** (2000) 'succeed in arguing…that it was Doreen Lawrence who incited the public, and Imran Khan, an uppity lawyer, who made it so hard for the police to do their job.' (CARF 59, 2000/2001)

- **Interviewee:** *Young* (Asian) *people either want to leave their community or they want to lead a kind of 'double life'. Young Muslim girls are not exactly happy being kept at home every evening while their friends are at discos…'*

(**Field Notes:** This is rather a sweeping statement that seems to be based on stereotyping rather than research evidence. It implies both rejection and conflict in the homes of young Asian people in their relationships with their families, together with the assumption that what young British people do is what all young people really want to be doing. This assumption also stereotypes young British people with some kind of 'out-every-night-party-going' culture.)

Observations: Allen has stated from her research findings in secondary education that,

> Some teachers seemed to expect there to be conflict between Asian pupils and their parents. Most of the Asian girls I interviewed told me that their white peers often felt sorry for them because their parents did not allow them to go to discos, go out with boys, wear certain clothes, and suchlike. There is an assumption that western ways are superior, and if young Asian people do not subscribe to them it is because their parents prevent them. Some of the girls I spoke to were obedient to their parents, but seemed perfectly happy to be. …I found that far from being oppressed by or in conflict with their families, they had happy, close relationships with their parents.
> (Allen, 1990, pp45, 49).

She has also stated that,

> Staff must treat pupils – male and female, white and black – as individuals rather than homogenous groups. Crude stereotypes must be avoided; for instance, staff must not assume that Asian girls are any more oppressed than white girls by their families…
> (ibid. p51).

Brah has further commented,

> There is a tendency...to see most problems encountered by Asian girls as being the
> result of "intergenerational conflict". Yet there is no evidence to support the
> implied assertion that conflict levels are higher amongst Asian families than among
> white families. Asian parents tend to be portrayed as "authoritarian",
> "conservative" and supposedly "opposed to the liberating influence of schools".
> ...There are many problems with "culturalist explanations", not least that they can
> have the effect of blaming the victim as well as providing legitimacy to the
> ideology which claims superiority of Western cultural traditions over non-Western
> values.
> (Brah, 1987, p74).

A Final Note...

Many of the interviewee's comments above appear to reflect a lack of awareness and

knowledge with regard to issues of racial equality, a criticism that is supported here

through commentary provided by writers and theorists with significant knowledge of the

subject. The absence of specific address to anti-racism in the Crick Report therefore, may

be a symptom of this lack of awareness, and may, either consciously or 'unwittingly', have

supported this omission in some respects. The observation can also be made that the

interviewee's comments became progressively more 'open' as the interview continued, and

also noticeably more racially biased. During a period of just under forty-five minutes, it is

interesting to speculate what might have been revealed had the interview continued for

longer.

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[1] See reference to a *Typology of Engagement* in chapter four, (also, ch 4, endnote 2).

1. How well do you think you understand what being a 'citizen' means?

   –   –   –   –   –

Very Well   **Not well at all**

2. How important do you think learning about being a citizen is to young people ?

   –   –   –   –   –

Very important   **Not important**


3. How important do you think learning about different peoples, cultures and ethnicities is to school students who live in areas populated by mainly white British/English people?

   –   –   –   –   –

Very important   **Not important**


4. Outside of the school environment, where would you say most of your information about other peoples, cultures and ethnicities comes from?

(please number 1-9:   1=most information)

  _ TV
  _ Newspapers
  _ Magazines
  _ Internet
  _ Films
  _ Books
  _ Conversation
  _ First hand contact
 _ Other (please specify)
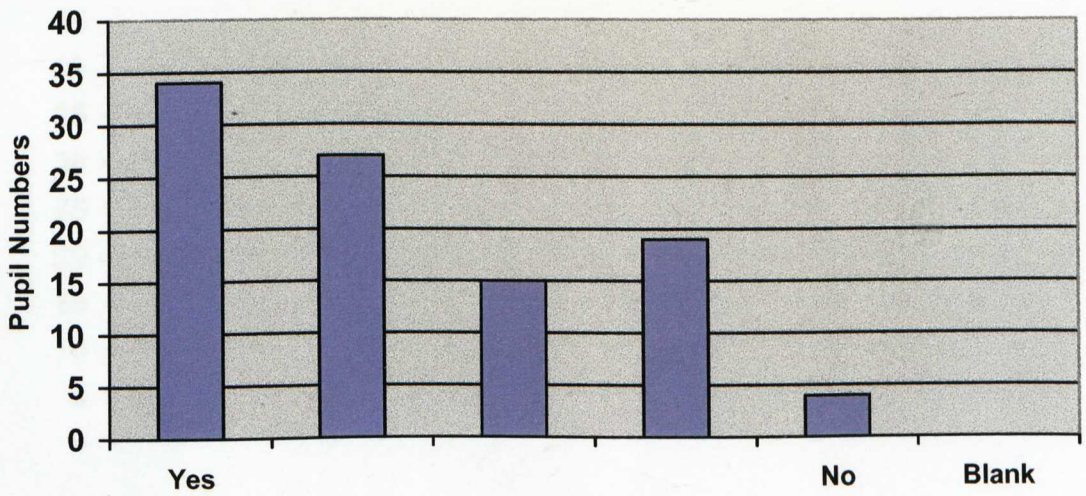
5. Do you think that the internet and websites can help people to learn about different peoples, cultures and ethnicities ?

—   —   —   —   —

Yes   **No**


6. Do you think that a website specifically designed to challenge incorrect beliefs about different peoples, cultures and ethnicities would be useful?

—   —   —   —   —

Yes   **No**

7. If you moved to live in an area with a more diverse mix of peoples, cultures and ethnicities, how prepared and informed do you think you would be to live in such a different environment?

—   —   —   —   —

Prepared   **Unprepared**

8. How important do you think it is to have some knowledge and understanding of different cultures, beliefs and ways of life?

—   —   —   —   —

Important   **Not Important**

Question 1:   How well do you think you understand what being a 'citizen' means?

BOYS
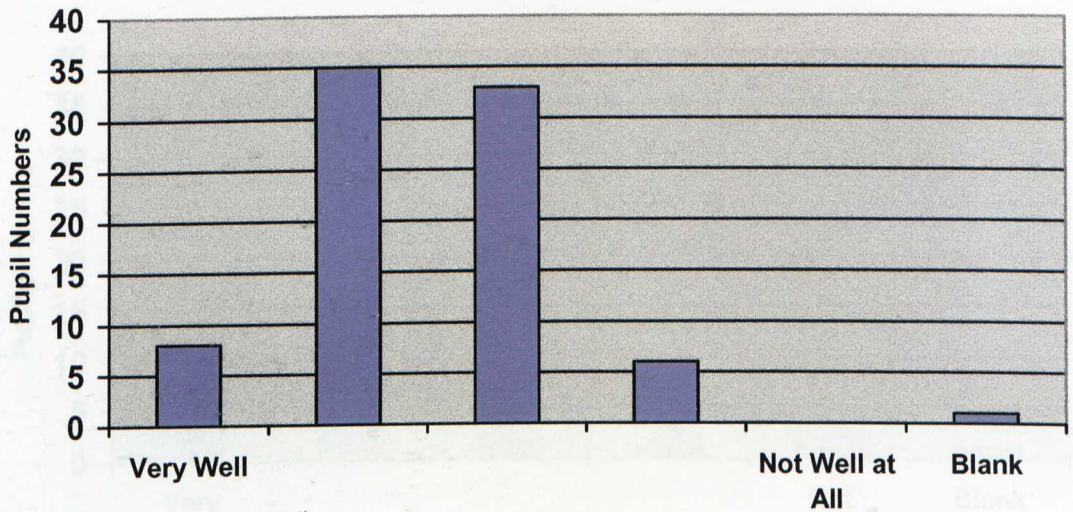
GIRLS
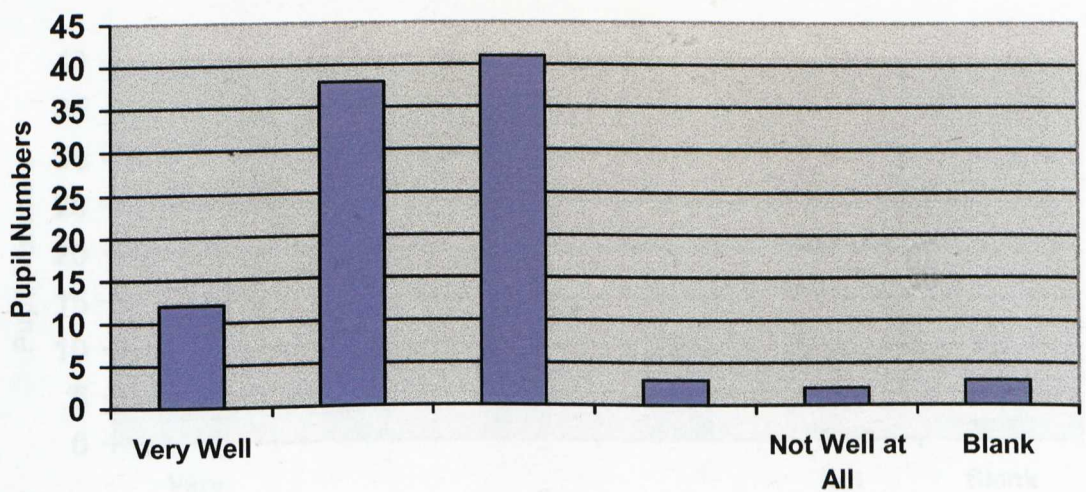
Question 2: How important do you think learning about being a citizen is to young people ?

BOYS
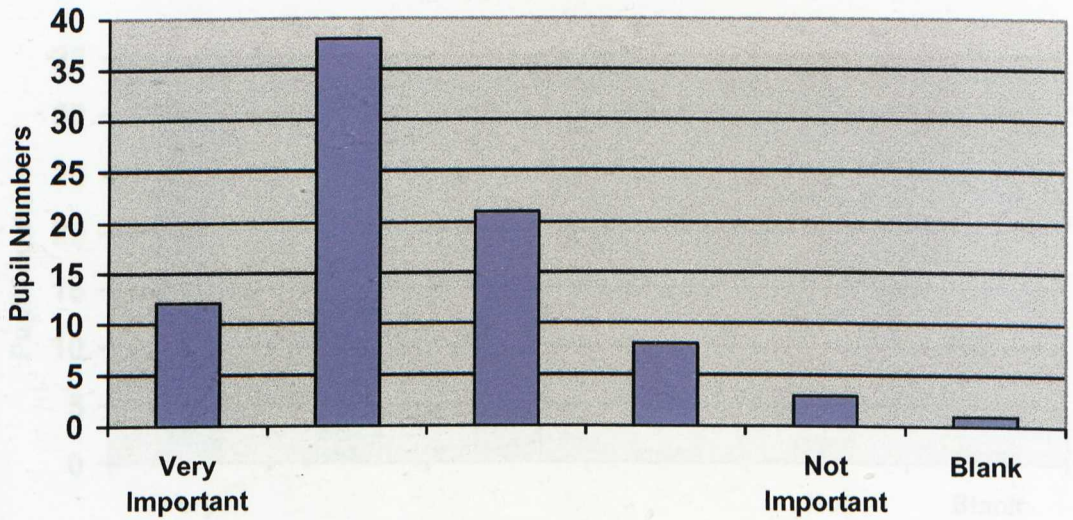
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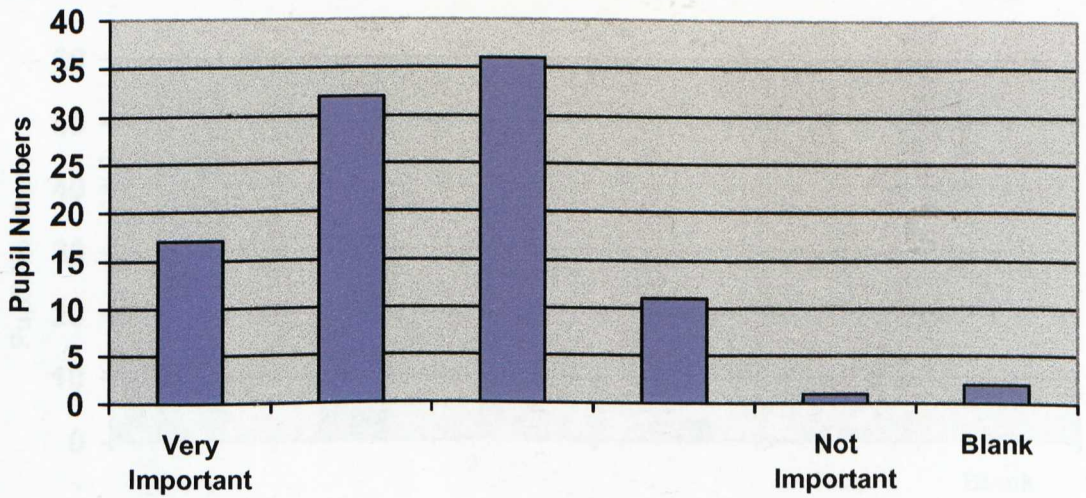
Question 3: How important do you think learning about different peoples, cultures and ethnicities is to school students who live in areas populated by mainly white British/English people?

BOYS
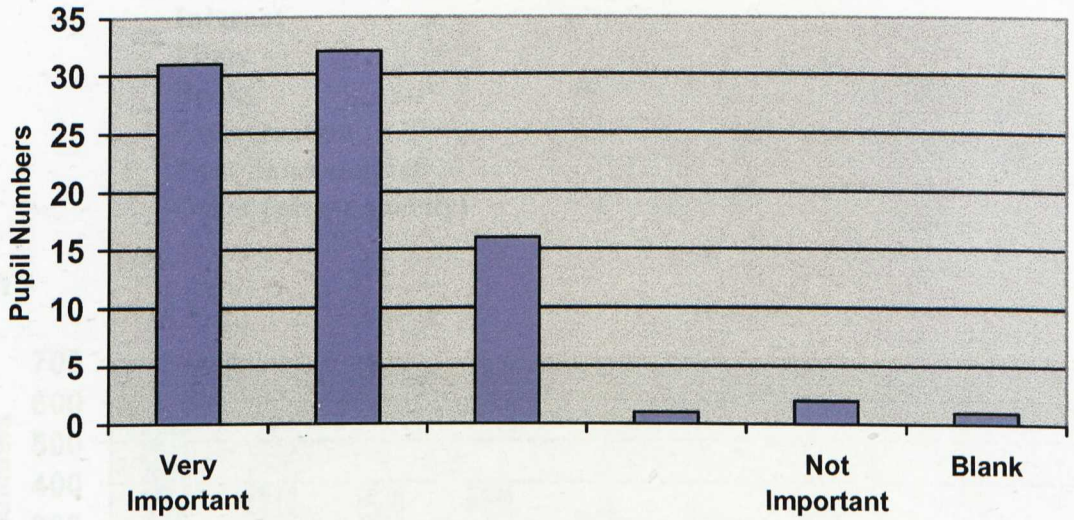
GIRLS
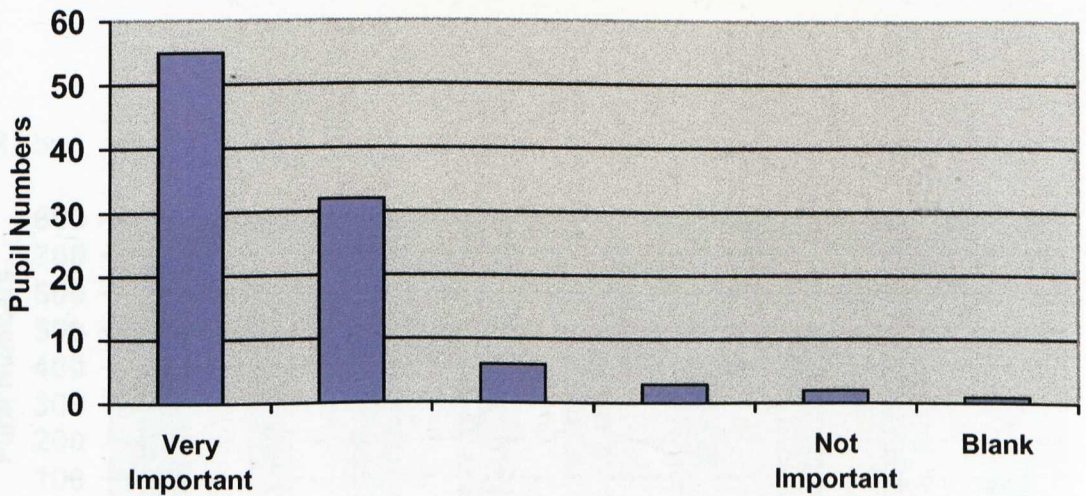
Question 4: Outside of the school environment, where would you say most of your information about other peoples, cultures and ethnicities comes from?

(please number 1-9:   1=most information)

_ TV
_ Newspapers
_ Magazines
_ Internet
_ Films
_ Books
_ Conversation
_ First hand contact
_ Other (please specify)

BOYS

GIRLS

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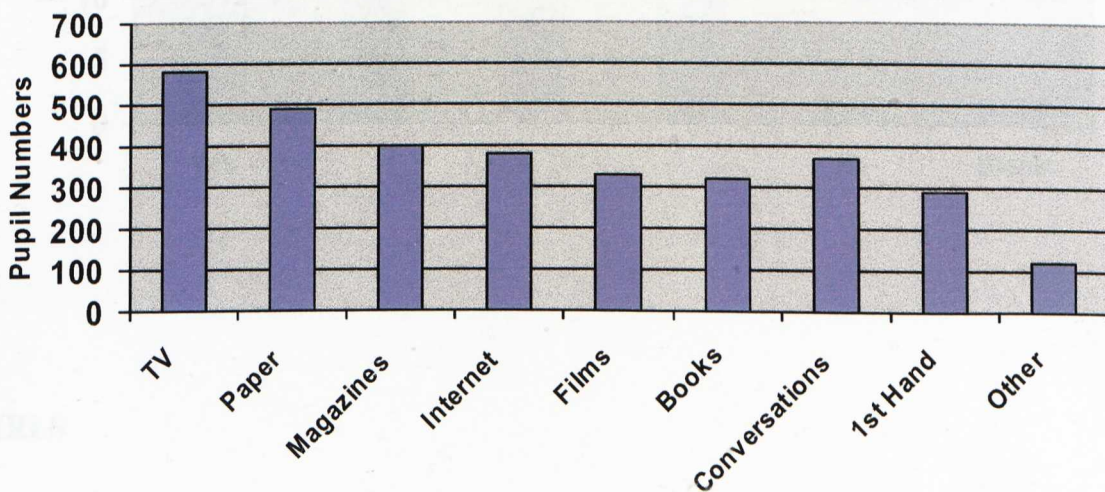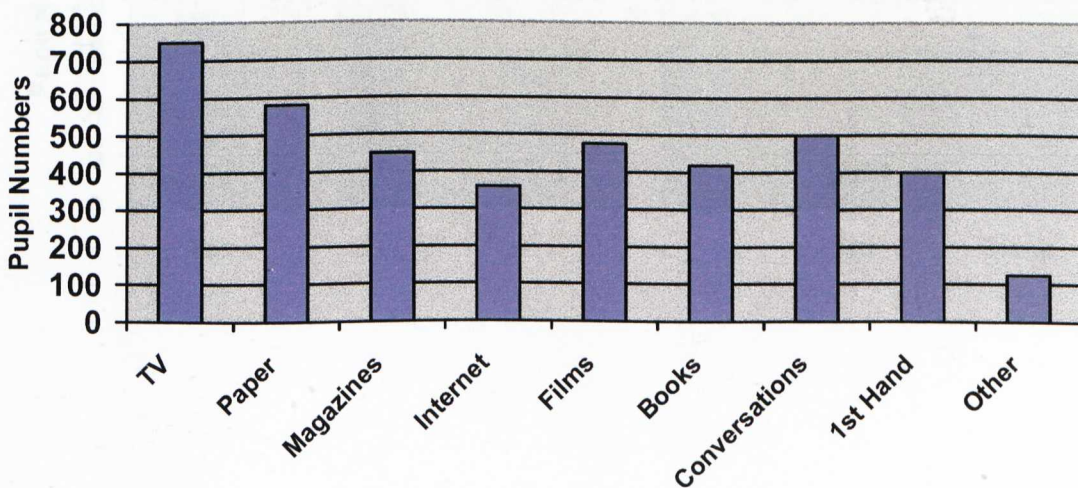
Question 5: Do you think that the internet and websites can help people to learn about different peoples, cultures and ethnicities?

BOYS
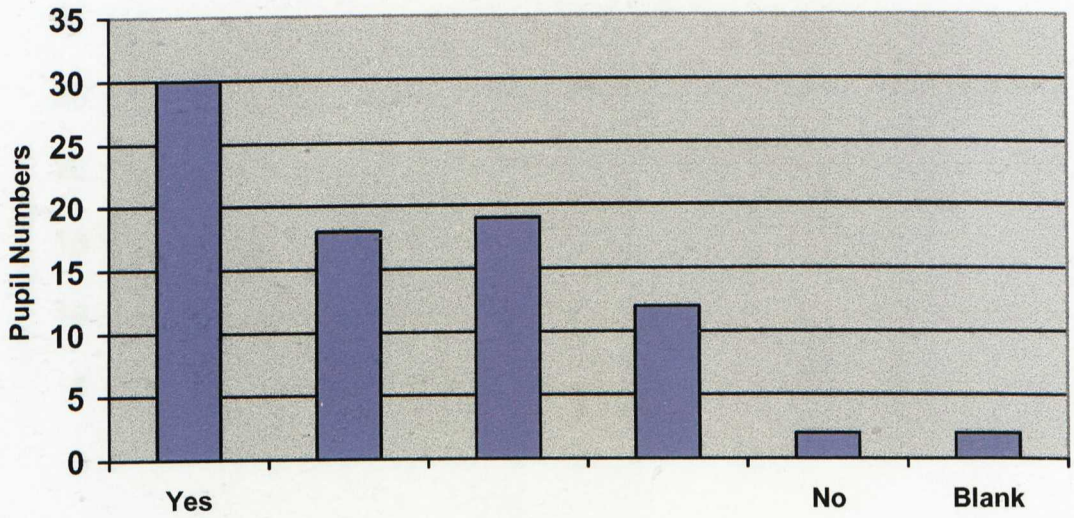
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Question 6: Do you think that a website specifically designed to challenge incorrect beliefs about different peoples, cultures and ethnicities would be useful?
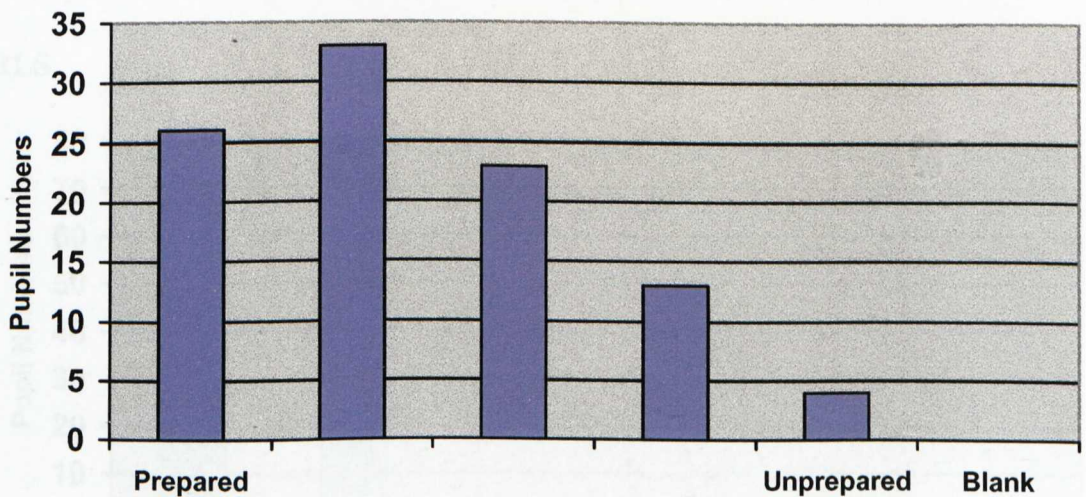
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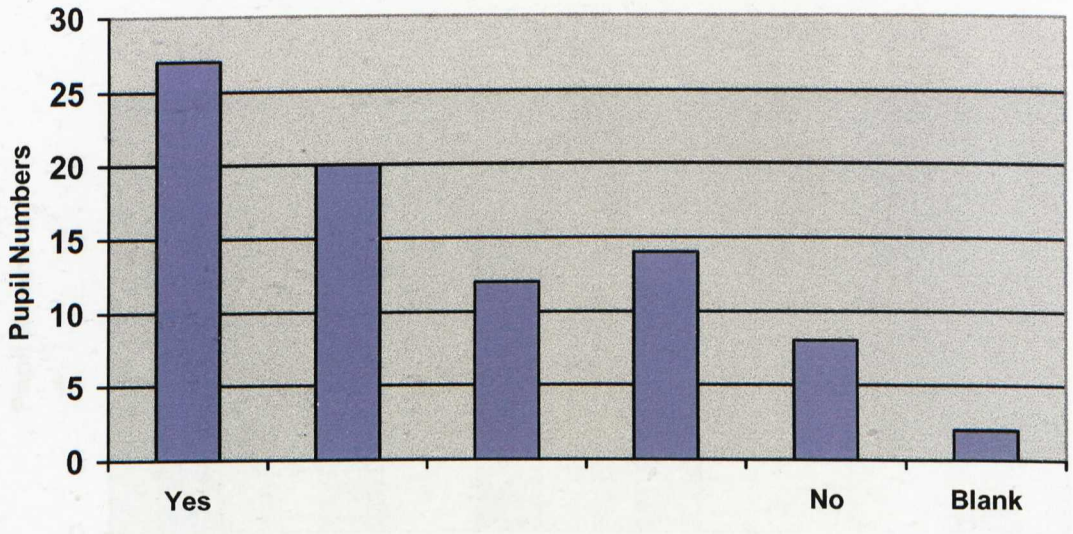
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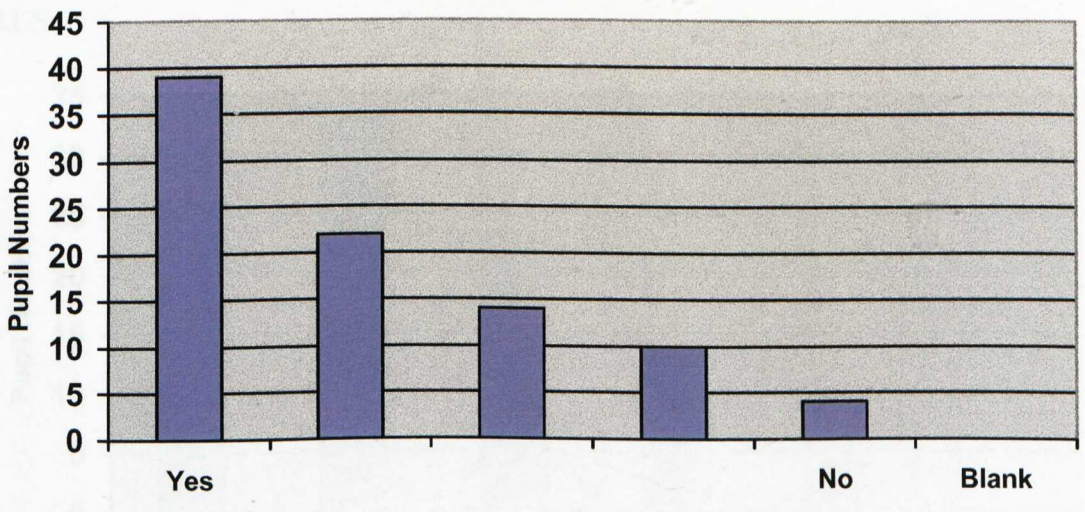
Question 7: If you moved to live in an area with a more diverse mix of peoples, cultures and ethnicities, how prepared and informed do you think you would be to live in such a different environment?
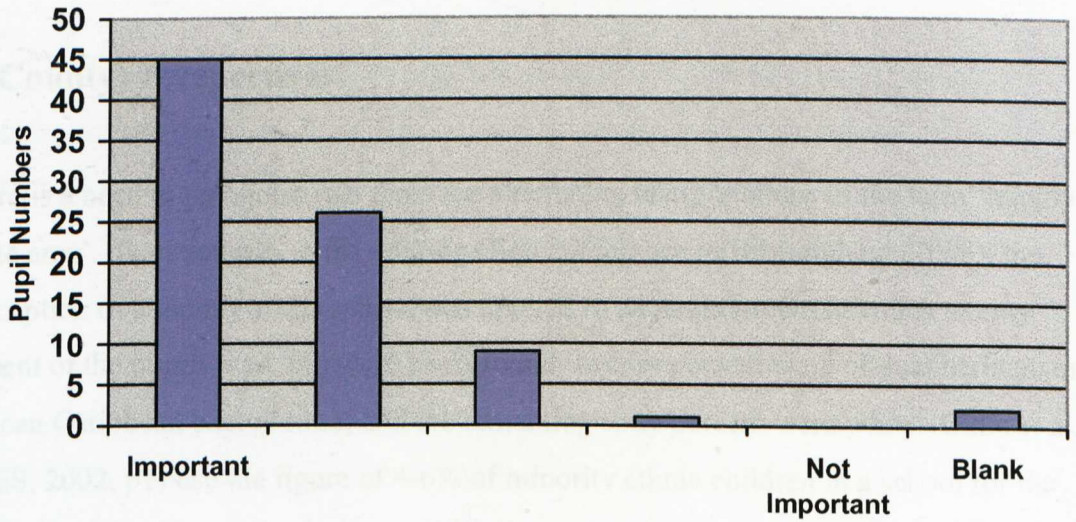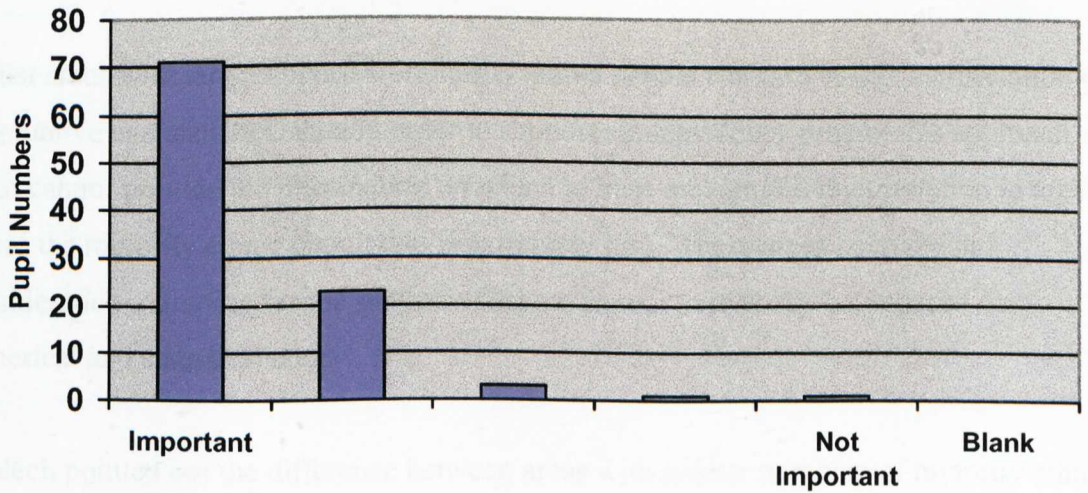
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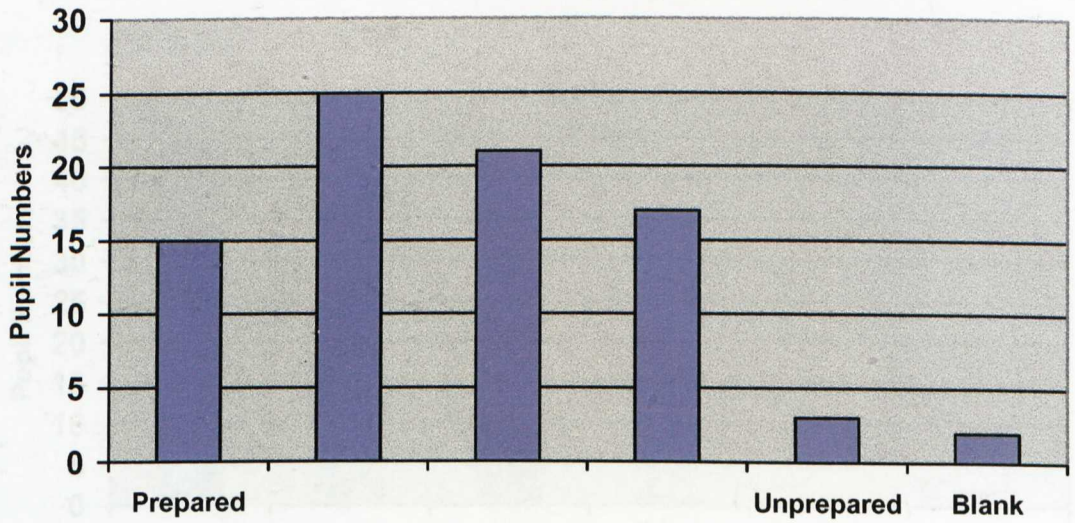
GIRLS

Question 8: How important do you think it is to have some knowledge and understanding of different cultures, beliefs and ways of life?

BOYS

GIRLS

Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Minority Ethnic Pupils: Consultation Response Form
(DfES, 2003)

Response to Question 12: Do you have any other comments on the proposed strategy?

A (County) Perspective:

There is a need to recognise that there are alternative interpretations of the term 'mainly white area'. For example, at the Aiming High conference in Birmingham (2003), the description of a mainly white school was applied to an environment in which twenty percent of the pupils were of Asian background; twenty percent were of dual heritage or African Caribbean background; and the remaining sixty percent were white. Cline et al. (DfES, 2002, p1) use the figure of 4-6% of minority ethnic children in a school for the purposes of their research. In (county) however, the latest census data shows that only 1.6% of the population are from minority ethnic backgrounds (2.3% in the whole of the South West), and of those, 0.7% are classified in the 'mixed' category (County Staff Bulletin, 2003). More extreme absence of the minority ethic presence can be found in Berwick-upon-Tweed and Alnwick in Northumberland where the black and Asian minority is only 0.4%, and in Sedgefield, County Durham where it is 0.7% (Carvel, 2003).

Whilst areas with larger cohorts of minority ethnic people can turn to the interpretation of quantitative and statistical data in order to support strategy development, this approach alone cannot provide the information on which to base meaningful interpretation in areas where the minority ethnic population is extremely low. These areas have special considerations, funding for the support of which cannot necessarily be deduced from numerical and statistical data.

Dhalech pointed out the difference between areas with greater numbers of minority ethnic citizens, and the facilities available in comparison with the more rural areas of the South West when he stated that 'Asian women's groups, supplementary schools and youth

projects ... are not available in rural areas. In rural areas work on race equality has just begun. There is little infrastructure and similarly few support mechanisms which can assist Black and Minority Ethnic people in the region.' (Dhalech, 1999, p28). It is also the case in rural areas that the diversity represented is often extremely disparate, making it more difficult to cater for the specific needs of minority ethnic groups on the basis of numbers alone. This has resulted in 'Black and Minority Ethnic community members (being) more inclined to attempt to resolve issues within the circle or amongst friends.' (Dhalech, 1999, p8).

In respect of racism and attitudes of the white majority which hamper and depress the circumstances of minority ethnic people in these areas, (and therefore directly or indirectly affect their social and educational experiences), Jay restated earlier findings in his own research conducted in the SouthWest in 1992 when he quoted Swann, stating that there was '...widespread evidence of racism in all areas covered - ranging from unintentional racism and patronising and stereotyped ideas about ethnic minority groups, combined with an appalling ignorance of their cultural backgrounds and life-styles and of the facts of race and immigration, to extremes of overt racial hatred and National Front-style attitudes.' (DES, 1985, quoted in Jay, 1992). (Although this quotation was restated in 1992, it should be noted that as recently as June, 2002, the Rural Race Equality Project [RREP] reported that the British National Party in the South West had recently made the statement that '...a line should be drawn stretching from Bristol to Bournemouth and that everywhere South of this line should be regarded as a multicultural free zone.' [RREP, 2002]. The RREP pointed out that the qualities of this statement were '...akin to a veiled policy of ethnic-cleansing.' [ibid. 2002]) Furthermore, at a conference convened by the RREP in 2002, a delegation of minority ethnic young people were forward and vocal about their experiences to the extent that the day culminated in a presentation to the conference of their own proposal to set up a regional anti-discrimination project led by young people, with the aims of 'establish(ing) a network of supporters involving schools, youth clubs, youth councils, youth MPs and individuals' in order to counter and address their experiences of isolation and racism within communities in the South West (South West Youth Against Discrimination, 2002).

It is these circumstances that need to be taken into account in any strategic planning in relation to the funding and development of initiatives to assist in the achievement-raising

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of minority ethnic pupils in areas in which there are extremely low numbers of these particular groups of citizens. Attitudes encompassed by a 'No Problem Here' mentality (Gaine, 1987, 1995), or a 'One size fits all' approach (Cline et al. 2002) are wholly inadequate; and as Cross has pointed out, treating all children as the same and ignoring difference as a strategy, no matter how good the intentions, will not work (Cross, 1991). Furthermore, serious attention needs also to be given to the positive development and education of majority white attitudes and perceptions towards issues of diversity in these areas, so that in seeking to raise the achievement of minority ethnic pupils, the forces which may hamper and impede their attainment are not ignored.

Finally, the point must be reinforced that funding initiatives cannot rely solely upon statistical data in terms of raising the achievement of minority ethnic pupils in areas with extremely low concentrations of diverse representation, and the careful analysis of qualitative data must also be considered. In this respect, the (county) Post (OFSTED) Inspection Action Plan should have the last word. Under the heading of 'Measures to Combat Racism - monitoring the performance by ethnic group', (County) LEA has made the statement that:

> The main limitation on meaningful analysis of results by ethnic groups within (county) is the very small numbers of ethnic minority pupils within any one cohort. Only 74 pupils sitting the 2002 Key Stage 2 tests can be identified as coming from the ethnic minorities. Just 42 of these can be allocated to a specific ethnic category with the biggest of these being a mere 13 strong. The figures of 2002 GCSE are still smaller at 55, 34 and 11 respectively. While Black pupils at Key Stage 2 appear, for instance, to be under performing as a group (as they do nationally), when the populations are as small as those in (county's), caution is necessary before drawing any statistically valid conclusions.
> ([county] LEA, 2003).

Despite the lack of statistical validation provided by these figures therefore, it can be seen that the figures themselves do in fact support the need for the more qualitative perspectives described above to be taken into account in order to develop meaningful strategy for areas in which there are extremely low numbers of minority ethnic pupils, whose needs, due to the lack of relevant infrastructure and appropriate support, may be considerably greater than statistics alone can demonstrate.

Pam Carroll
May, 2003

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The question posed here is of how the apparently essentialist and structuralist concepts of Cross and Maxime (in relation to the importance of a strong sense of racial identity), are compatible with the more post-structuralist ideas of Bhabha and his notions of hybridity and hybrid identities, and Hall's ideas of the shifting nature of culture and cultural representation in relation to the individual.

A possible solution to this potential compatibility is offered here in the form of an extension and adaptation of Maxime's original diagram illustrating the relationship between the *racial* and the *personal* identities.
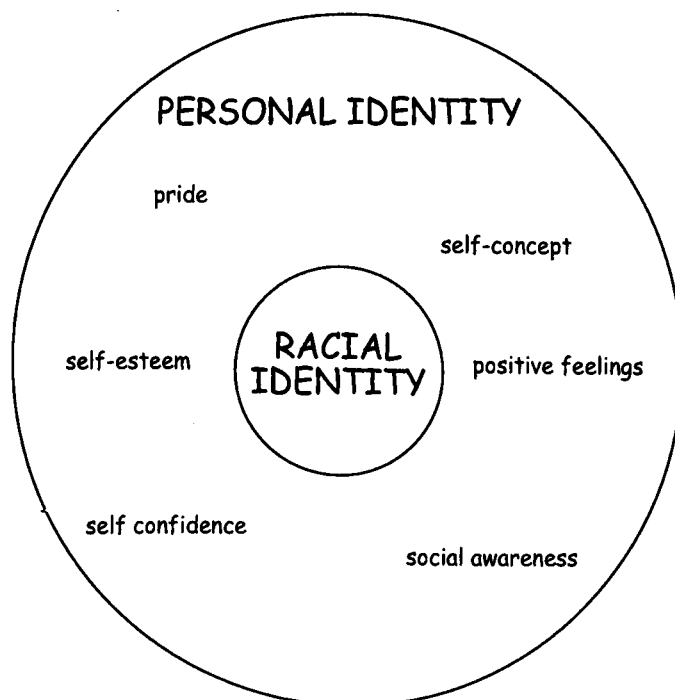

Diagram 1: (Maxime, 1986, in Funge and Williams, 1996)

Diagram (1) demonstrates Maxime's original formulation. Diagram (2) (below) offers an extension of these ideas in relation to the *Cultural Identity*.
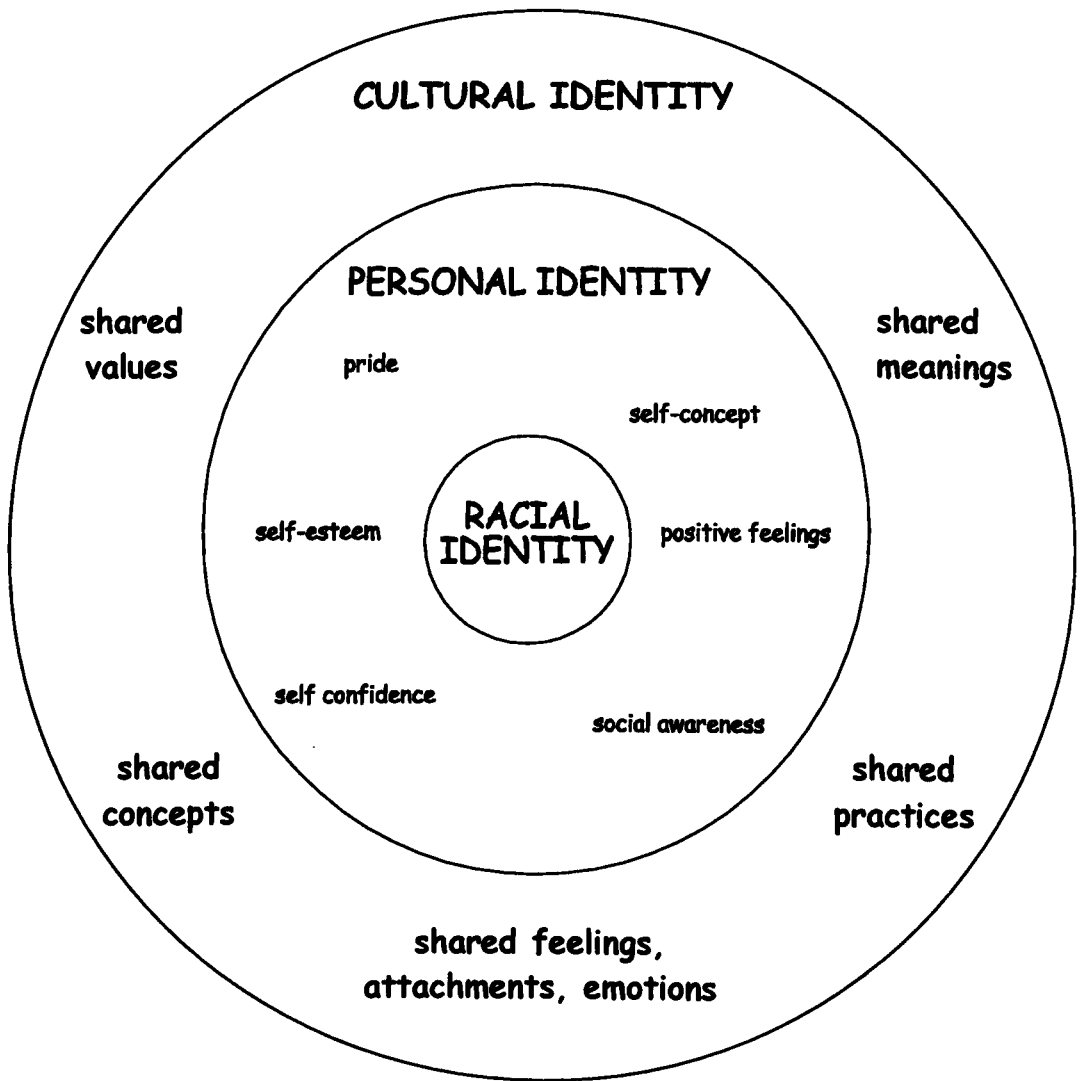
Diagram 2: Adaptation (Carroll, 2003) from Maxime (1986, in Funge and Williams, 1996)

In diagram (2) we will identify the **inner location** of *Racial Identity* with the positions (relatively essentialist, structuralist and 'fixed') of Maxime and Cross in relation to the formation of a *positive sense of Racial Identity* in the individual. We might tentatively define this position as an acknowledgement of who the individual is in terms of their 'blackness', their African-ness', their 'Asian-ness' etc. (i.e. in the sense described by Cross and Maxime).

The **outer location** of *Cultural Identity* we will ascribe to the position of Hall in identifying the shifting and post-structuralist nature of 'culture'; its various qualities or properties blending, fusing and co-creating in a constant sate of flux in the ascription of *meaning* (Bhabha himself stating that 'all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity' [Rutherford, 1990: 211, in Meredith, 1998]).

The **middle location of** the *Personal Identity* therefore, we will ascribe to Bhabha, particularly noting that Bhabha did in fact 'develop(ed) his concept of hybridity from literary and cultural theory to describe the construction of *culture* and *identity* within conditions of colonial antagonism and inequity.' (ibid. emphasis added). Situating the ideas of Bhabha in this **middle location** does therefore, ideally place them between the **inner location** of the *Racial Identity*, and the **outer location** of the *Cultural Identity*.

What I propose therefore, is that *the Personal is the level at which hybridity takes place in the individual as a result of the 'tension' created between the Racial and the Cultural.*

This implies a position where a dialectical interplay occurs within the individual at the level of the *Personal*, and through this blending (or sometimes collision) between the relatively fixed (racial), and the shifting (cultural), the negotiation of the *hybrid identities* of Bhabha's Third Space take place.

Using this model, we may now consider the extent to which it may have implications for the formulation of identity in the 'mainly white' or 'majority white area'.

Bhabha has stated (quoted above) that his concepts of hybridity have been developed 'to describe the construction of culture and identity within conditions of colonial antagonism and inequity', and it is this element of Bhabha's work that provides a connection with, and relevance to, the circumstances of *post*-colonial 'antagonism and inequity' that may be found in the UK today (described in the work of the many writers whose research has permeated and supported this thesis, often particularly in relation to the *geographical* locations [i.e. mainly white areas] in which such 'antagonism and inequity' operates).

We might consider therefore, that in a majority white area the qualities or 'properties' of the cultural (see diagram 2) will normalize the 'white', the 'local', the 'ways in which things have always been done around here' in the sense of a discursive system which promotes (however unwittingly), the shared values, feelings, attachments, emotions, concepts, meanings and practices of a majority white environment. Such a discourse will inevitably enforce fairly intractable qualities into the realms of this particular 'geographical' cultural location.

Under these circumstances, if the **inner location** is occupied by a 'majority white' *Racial Identity*, the **middle location** of the *Personal* (Hybrid/Third Space) *Identity* will not be brought into conflict, or be forced to 'negotiate' or engage in the dialectical interplay of the 'blending (or sometimes collision)' of the relatively fixed (racial), and the shifting (cultural) identities. The experience of this location in fact, will simply be that it is 'normal and natural', since there will be little, if anything, with which to confront such a perception.

However, if the **inner location** is occupied by a Black or minority *Racial Identity*, a conflict will have been set up between the 'outer white cultural', with its discursive set of intractable properties of 'whiteness', and the **inner location** of the black and minority racial identity.

Such a situation would inevitably lead to a degree of 'forced' engagement in the negotiation of *Personal* (Hybrid/Third Space) *Identity* in terms of a dialectical interplay, (although such dialectical tension may not always be conceptual; and may be negotiated – sometimes forcibly - through the verbal, and even the physical).

We may speculate that such an opposition between two interacting forces or elements (the *Cultural* and the *Racial*) would result in a conflicting sense of the qualities ascribed at the level of *Personal Identity*. We might also consider that as Maxime has asserted, this may be further compounded if the individual is lacking in a strong sense of their own *Racial Identity*. Conversely, if the strong sense of racial identity promoted by Maxime and Cross has been cultivated, this may lend the resilience to challenge and maintain a strong position at the level of personal identity, and allow the positive qualities of the personal (pride, self-esteem, self confidence etc.), to be protected, nurtured, and even feed into and possibly effect change at the level of the cultural. Thus, the negotiation of the personal is no longer 'enforced', and becomes (at least to some extent) a process of choice and agency.

We may also take the mirror-image of this model, and speculate that within a cultural environment more representative of the Black and minority ethnic identity, the qualities of such an environment would resonate with the individual sense of *Racial Identity*, and

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would therefore nurture and encourage the positive qualities ascribed at the level of the personal, thus minimising conditions of conflict and negotiation.

The proposition given here is early and tentative, but may provide a potential resolution to the relationship between identity, hybridity, and culture.

GLOSSARY:

ARE: Anti-racist Education

BERA: British Educational Research Association

BME: Black and Minority Ethnic

BNP: British National Party

CARF: Campaign against Racism and Fascism

CAT: Cognitive Ability Test

CEO: Chief Education Officer

CRE: Commission for Racial Equality

Crick Report: refers to *Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools*. The Final report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship, 22 September 1998

Culture: referred to by Dadzie (2000, p92) as 'the shared rituals, symbols and practices that give a group or individual their sense of who they are and help them make sense of the world they live in.'

DES: Department of Education and Science

DfEE: Department for Education and Employment (now the Department for Education and Skills)

DfES: Department for Education and Skills

e pluribus unum: 'one out of many'; unity from combination of many parts

EAL: English as an Additional Language

EMAG: Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant

EMAS: Ethnic Minority Achievement Service

ERA: Education Reform Act

ERE: Education for Racial Equality

ESG: Education Support Grant

Ethnicity: defined by Dadzie (2000, p90) as 'a person's distinct sense of cultural and historical identity based on them belonging by birth (or in some cases by marriage) to a particular ethnic group.'

GCSE: General Certificate of Secondary Education

HMI: Her Majesty's Inspectorate

IEP: Independent Education Plan

IEP: Islamic Education Project

ILEA: Inner London Education Authority

INSET: In Service Training

IT: Information Technology

ITE: Initial Teacher Education

ius soli: the rule of birthplace, and thus, the automatic acquisition of citizenship by birth

Key Stage: employed in the organisation of the National Curriculum in England and Wales, Key Stages 1-4 refer to age ranges 5-7, 7-11, 11-14, and 14-16 respectively

LEA: Local Education Authority

Macpherson report: refers to the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report.* (1999)

NACAB: National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux

NQT: Newly qualified teacher

OFSTED: Office for Standards in education

PLASC: Pupil Level Annual School Census

PSE: Personal and Social Education

PSHE: Personal, Social and Health Education

PSP: Pastoral Support Programme

QCA: Qualifications and Curriculum Authority

RAM: Refugees, Asylum seekers and the Media

RAT: Racism Awareness Training

REC: Race Equality Council

RRA: Race Relations Act

RRAA: Race Relations (Amendment) Act (2000)

RREP: Rural Race Equality Project

SEN: Special Educational Needs

SENCO: Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator

TA: Teaching Assistant

TD: Teacher Development (Day)

TTA: Teacher Training Agency

UNHCR: United Nations High Commission for Refugees

UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund

Visible Minority: defined by Dadzie (2000, p91) as being 'used increasingly as an alternative to Ethnic Minority. Some people see it as a less ambiguous way of identifying non-white groups.'

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