

Institutional Racism: the experience of teachers in schools

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This paper examines the position of ethnic minority teachers within the teaching profession. It begins by posing the question, does it matter if the teaching profession reflects the ethnic composition of society or not? Why do we need to have more teachers from the ethnic minorities? It then examines the current proportions of ethnic minorities in teaching (as far as this can be determined), and the way in which future members from these groups are being recruited into training (or not). Some demographic and professional characteristics of the current ethnic minority teaching force are examined, as are the perceptions of ethnic minority teachers themselves. There are insufficient teachers from these backgrounds in the profession; that insufficient people from these backgrounds are entering training; and that ethnic minority teachers appear to suffer discrimination in terms of promotion in their career in teaching.

Does it matter to have a teaching profession that represents the ethnic diversity of British society?

Why should the teaching profession be more representative of the ethnic minorities in the UK? We do not expect all professions (or all other workforce groups) to represent the ethnicities in the population. We have anti-discriminatory laws and policies on recruitment, training places and appointments, which should of course be upheld and enforced: but if this is done, and the teaching profession then has a smaller proportion of teachers from the ethnic minorities – does it matter? There are several arguments that suggest it is important. Most of these arise from some particular characteristics of the nature of education, and of the way we organise learning in our schools.

- Learning is a formative activity conducted through a variety of processes, some of which are explicit and very visible (for example, through the formal prescribed curriculum), and some of which are subtle, almost invisible and barely understood, even by practitioners. The processes of learning thus convey a wealth of meanings to young people at an impressionable and formative period in their lives: *who* conducts this process is an important part of the process.
- Learning is a social process: it takes place in the interactions between teacher and learner, and learner and learner. The people who take on the role of teacher play a critical part in determining the social relationships under which learning occurs. They are put very prominently in a position of authority, trust and power. Who teaches is thus critical for the learning process (and is as critical in its own way as who learns). Designating a person as a teacher is not undertaken lightly by any society, and important messages – to society and parents, and above all to children - are conveyed in deciding who shall be given the accolade of teacher.
- Learning is undertaken by all children/young people. Many of our other social provisions are episodic and accidental. We do not all use the health service, for example, and the use that most of us make of it tends to be transitory and intermittent. We do not expect in our lives to experience a health service in the same way that we experience educational provision.
- Learning is conducted over a long period of time. Disregarding notions of life-long learning, it is a process that we require all our young people to undergo for a period of at least eleven years.

Making sure that the teaching force is simply 'representative' could be seen as simple tokenism - making sure that there are enough black faces around. But these four characteristics of education make it very important as to whom we entrust to teach. Having a more representative proportion of teachers is critical because of the character, ubiquity, pervasiveness, duration and importance of teaching as a social activity. There are three specific reasons why we need more teachers from the ethnic minorities:

Firstly, teachers as a profession must have the capacity to reflect the full spectrum of cultural and social traditions and systems in their collective professional practice. Each individual teacher brings to her or his work a set of cultural norms and expectations. Good teachers are reflective and self-critically aware of this, but none of us can recognise all the culturally and socially determined mores that we carry. It is important the teaching profession as a whole can match the range of cultural and social varieties that our society contains. We have a diverse population, with a very wide range of cultures, customs, languages, faiths and beliefs. Our educational system needs to be delivered by teams of professionals who can match that range, in their explicit practice and in their subconscious behaviour and attitudes. Both the formal and the hidden curriculum need to be managed and delivered in a way that reflects the varieties of social practice in our society, and this in turn demands that the teaching profession is drawn fully and explicitly from that range of cultures and ethnicities in our society. With such a range of teachers, we can aspire towards delivering an education that has the subtlety and the nuance to make each individual feel that her or his cultural set is acknowledged and valued, thus empowering her or him as a learner. Without such a range of teachers, this cannot even be an aspiration.

Secondly, racism and xenophobia – individual, institutional and otherwise – continue to be major issues in contemporary society. Racism in schools needs to be very explicitly and forcefully confronted – partly because this is the moment in the development of personal value systems that it can be stopped and challenged, and secondly because of its effects on both minority communities and the majority community. Minorities will be disempowered and disenfranchised as learners, with all the social and economic wastage that this implies. The majority groups will develop attitudes of intolerance and an inability to value diversity. Tackling discriminatory behaviour is important in classrooms and schools: but racism is not always explicit and obvious - or even intentional. Racism is very properly an important concern for all teachers, but some of the subtleties of racist practice and behaviour will be more obvious and more capable of recognition by teachers who have themselves some direct experience of having suffered from racist behaviour. Teachers from the majority community, however well intentioned, trained and experienced they are in anti-racist work, will still be unaware of and unable to identify and analyse much of the xenophobia, chauvinism and racism in society.

Thirdly, we need aspirational role models for our pupils, particularly our ethnic minority pupils. We know that our ethnic minorities are generally poorly represented in positions of power, authority and prestige in our society. We clearly need more police officers, social workers, accountants, politicians, senior civil servants, captains of industry (and so on), from the ethnic minorities. But teachers are a particular and special category: they are the one face of civil society that every child will meet, every working day, through the whole of their formal education. It is therefore particularly critical that this 'face' of civil power be seen, visibly and explicitly, to represent all of our society. This is where such inclusiveness is essential. The presence of teachers drawn from all the ethnic groups of our society (and equally, from all the ranges of disability, from all the sexualities, from all social classes) will mean that firstly, all pupils – white majority just as much as ethnic minority – will recognise that members of the minorities have as much power and prestige as any other citizen, and secondly, that pupils who themselves come from the ethnic minorities will recognise that they too can and should aspire to excellence, esteem and authority.

How representative is the current teaching force of ethnic minorities?

12.9% of the school population in England is of children who may be described as coming from an ethnic minority background (DfES, 2001) (Primary 13.4%, Secondary 12.3%), but it is not known how many of their teachers come from such a background: it is probably less than 5%. There have been concerns for many years at the low numbers of people from the ethnic minorities who are entering the teaching profession. A survey of eight LEAs in 1983-4 by the Commission for Racial Equality found that 2% of the teachers in its sample were from the ethnic minorities (Ranger, 1988). The sample was of LEAs that were in areas of fairly dense settlement by minorities, and might therefore perhaps be expected to have a higher proportion of ethnic minority teachers than the national level. Statistics have not been collected nationally on the numbers and distribution of ethnic minority teachers (Mahony and Hextall, 2000, p 110, reporting conversations with the CRE and the DfEE). Joint regional conference of the TTA and the CRE in 1998 promised that ethnic minority data would be collected (TTA/CRE, 1998, p 6), but this has not been done. The TTA does monitor ethnic minority teachers starting Initial Teacher Education courses (TTA, 2001), but there are no figures from any official source on the current level of teachers in post.

A survey conducted by the Institute for Policy Studies in Education for 22 LEAs found some 879 teachers who described themselves as one of a number of Black categories, or one as a number of Asian categories, or as of mixed ethnic origin (a total of 8.9%) (McCreith, Ross and Hutchings, 2001). These LEAs were not a random sample – 18 were in London, two in the north west and two in the south east. Given the known distribution of ethnic minority pupils (DfES, 2001), it can be estimated that these 22 LEAs would include about 30.8% of all the ethnic minority pupils in GB, and that about 42.9% of the pupils in these LEAs would be from the ethnic minorities.

Respondents were asked to identify specific ethnic categories using the UK 2001 Census categories, but for the purposes of much of this paper we have aggregated the Black responses and the Asian responses into two categories. Finer-scale categories would have led to some very small groups. In all the discussion and analysis that follows, information is generally limited to the longer established ethnic minorities - various Black groups (of Caribbean origin, of African origin, and others), of various Asian groups (Bangladeshi, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani and other), and groups variously defines as 'other' and 'mixed'. There is no England-wide accessible data on teachers from other important ethnic categories found in the population - Somali, Eritrean, Cypriot, Kurdish, Turkish, Vietnamese, from former Yugoslavia or Irish. All of these groups have sizeable populations in schools, and discussions on representation of particular ethnic minorities need to address these populations as well as the more established communities. Where possible, this paper has used the 2001 Census categories. There are, however, many difficulties with these, and there is often much 'missing data' from individuals who have 'hyphenated identities' (Carrington et al, 1999).

Figure 1: Ethnicity profile for all areas: percentage composition of each region

		Inner London	Outer London	London LEAs	North West	South East	Total
Ethnicity	White	86.2	91.6	88.7	98.3	93.6	90.0
	Black	6.0	2.0	4.2	0.5	1.0	3.5
	Asian	5.2	4.6	4.9	0.8	4.1	4.4
	Mixed	1.6	0.7	1.2			1.0
	Other	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.4	1.4	1.0
<i>N</i>		4378	3686	8064	1042	732	9838

Source: IPSE survey of teachers in 22 LEAs, 2000 - 2001

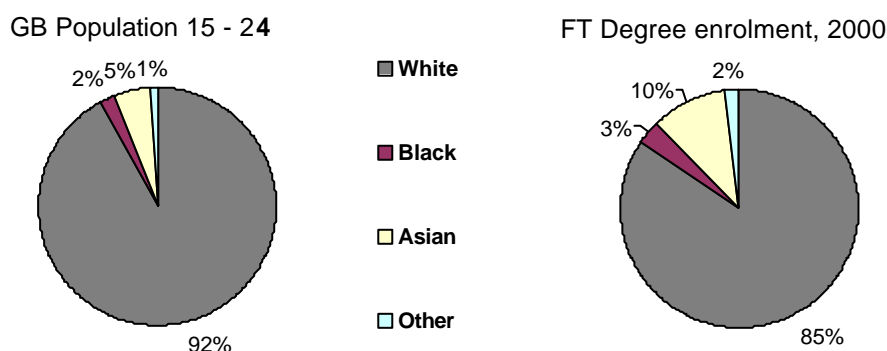
The distribution of teachers of ethnic minority origin is uneven across the LEAs that we surveyed (Figure 1), and uneven in terms of particular minorities. The highest concentration of all the various groups of ethnic minority teachers were found in Inner London, and the lowest in the North West, but teachers of Asian origin were more widely distributed than those who described themselves as Black, who were found predominantly in Inner London. 8.9% of our respondents categorised themselves in ethnic minority groups: this represents some 349 teachers who define themselves as Black, 434 who define themselves as Asian, and 96 who describe themselves as of mixed ethnicity.

Are more members of ethnic minorities entering the teaching profession?

The Teacher Training Authority is making nation-wide attempts to recruit more teachers from the minority communities, but it is noticeable that there are wide variations in the proportions attracted to different institutions. In 2000, only 6% of primary student teachers, and 7.5% of secondary student teachers, were from ethnic minority backgrounds: the TTA's target is for 9% of recruits to be from such backgrounds by 2005-6. The 6.7% of student teachers should be compared with the 15% of all (home) undergraduates who are from ethnic minority backgrounds. 8.57% of the GB population between 15 and 24 are from ethnic minority backgrounds: figures for ethnicity in England by age are not published, but it is possible to calculate that about 9.45% of the English population of 15 - 24 years olds are from ethnic minorities (Schuman, 1999). Recruitment to full-time Higher Education courses (figure 3) is predominantly from the 18 - 22 year old group, but the figures for the population in this slightly wider age range are sufficiently accurate for us to be able to point to the higher participation of ethnic minorities in HE than the white population. This does rather confirm that the conception of ethnic underachievement is in part mythical (Osler, 1998, p 19): some ethnic minority pupils can achieve relatively higher standards than their White counterparts. However, this current analysis does not take account of *which* Higher Education Institutions were admitting these students: it may well be that many of the ethnic minority students in Higher Education are concentrated in the less prestigious institutions.

Figure 3: Recruitment to First Degree courses in Higher Education for Ethnic Minority Groups

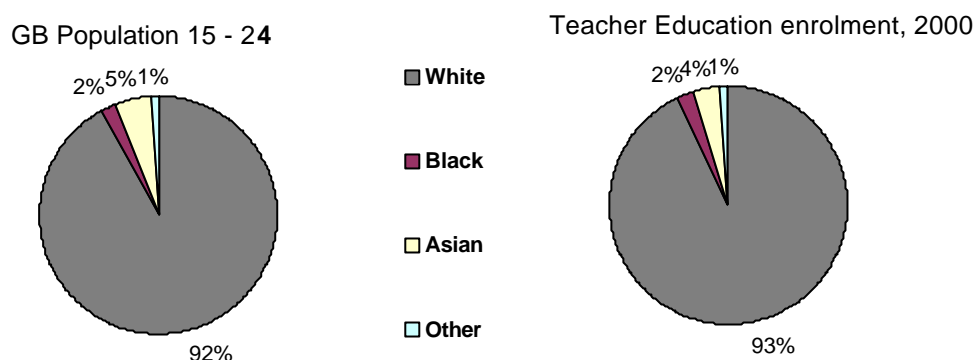
Source: ONS (Schuman, 1999); UCAS: First degree acceptances 2000 (2001)



This level of participation is not matched in participation in Initial Teacher Education courses. The overall under-representation of the ethnic minority population is about 70% of what might be expected (Figure 4).

However, participation by ethnic minority students is not evenly distributed between the minority groups. Table 5 shows the number and percentages of the GB population between 15 and 24 by ethnic minority, and then the figures for admission to full-time first degree study by each group (taking only home students with England as their country of domicile) in 2000, and then the figures for admission to Initial Teacher Education courses in England for 2000.

Figure 4: Recruitment to Initial Teacher Education courses for Ethnic Minority Groups



Source: ONS (Schuman, 1999); TTA, Performance Indicators 2000 (2001)

Table 5: Ethnic minority groups in the GB population of normal university age, enrolments in HE FT undergraduate courses, and enrolment in Initial Teacher Education courses

	total population GB (15-24)		University FT degree 2000		ITE entrants 2000	
	000s	%	n	%	n	%
Black Caribbean	60	0.89	2,609	0.93	219	0.86
Black African	48	0.71	4,604	1.63	178	0.70
Black Other (non mixed)	51	0.75	1,697	0.60	124	0.49
All Black	159	2.35	8,910	3.16	521	2.05
Asian Indian	143	2.12	12,253	4.35	360	1.41
Asian Pakistani	115	1.69	6,486	2.30	261	1.03
Asian Bangladeshi	41	0.61	2,051	0.73	83	0.33
Asian Chinese	29	0.43	2,746	0.97	50	0.20
Asian other (non mixed)	26	0.39	3,453	1.23	122	0.48
Other - (non-mixed)	53	0.79	5,112	1.81	304	1.19
All Asian	354	5.24	26,989	9.58	876	3.44
All EM	580	8.57	41,011	14.55	1701	6.68
White	6351	93.92	222,046	78.79	22822	89.65
Total population			18,752	6.65	934	3.67

Sources: TTA Performance Indicators 2001; UCAS admission data 2000; Population data for 15 – 24 year olds based on QLFS data (as analysed by Schuman, ONS, 1999)

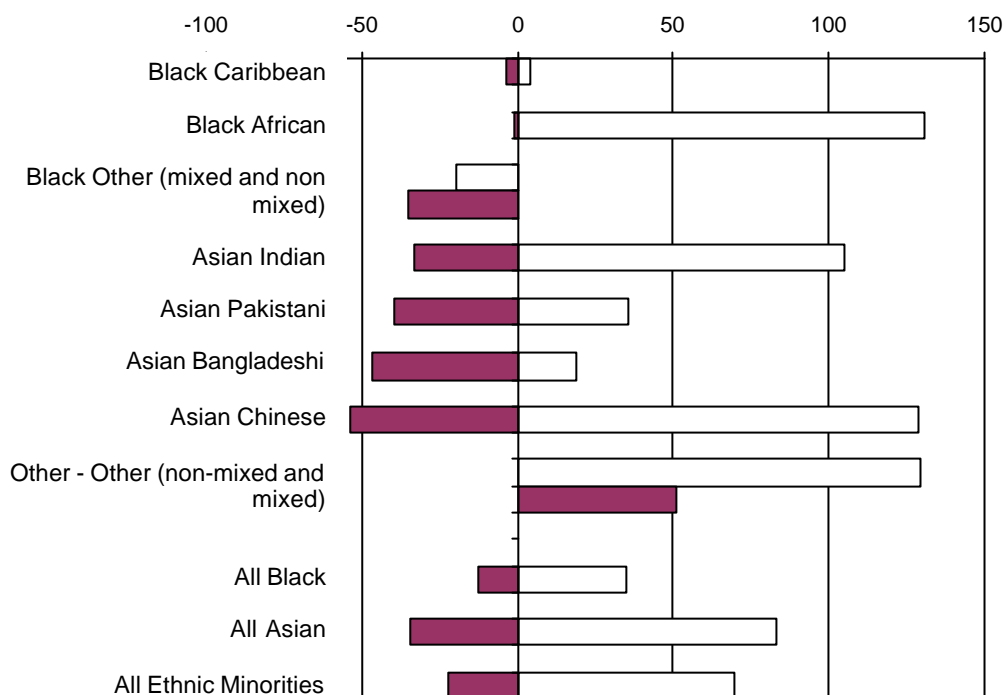
From this data, it is possible to calculate the degree of over- or under-representation that a particular ethnic group has in Higher Education/Initial Teacher Education, based on the variance in participation rate from the representation rate in the population of HE-going age. Figure 6 shows this: the dark bands show University enrolment, the light band ITE enrolment. Note that for almost every ethnic minority group, a higher proportion than might be anticipated are enrolled in HE fulltime courses. Conversely, they are nearly all under-represented in Initial Teacher Education courses. This data has not been analysed for gender effects within this (the TTA goes not publish cross-tabulated data for ethnicity and gender).

Simply comparing the levels of ethnic minority teachers located in the 1983/4 CRE survey (Ranger, 1988) and the IPSE survey in 2000/2001 (Ross, 2001), it is clear that there has been a rise in the number and proportion of ethnic minority teachers in areas where there are large numbers of pupils (from c 2% to around 9%). This change, over a period of 17 years, has

resulted in a population of teachers from these ethnic minorities that differ in certain characteristics from the White teaching force.

Figure 6: Percentage divergence in University entrance and in Teacher Training entrance rates from the distribution of ethnic minorities in the population (2000)

Light band: University degree entrants 2000 Dark band: Teacher Training entrants 2000



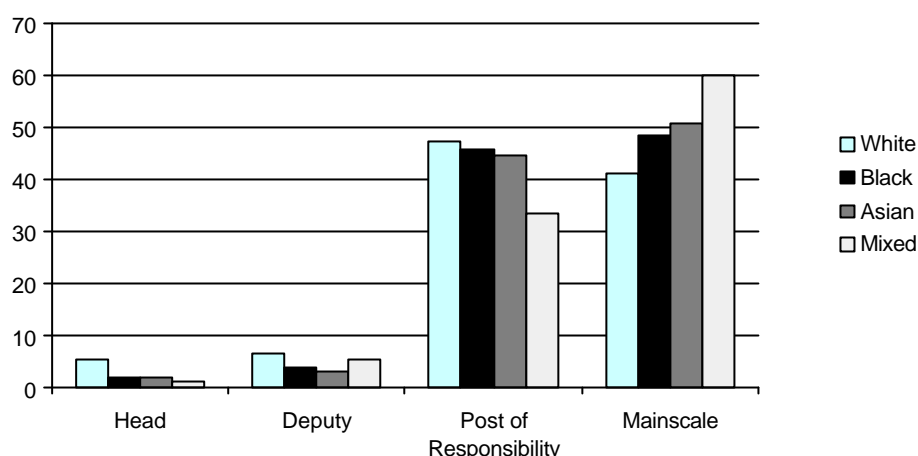
Sources: TTA Performance Indicators 2001; UCAS admission data 2000; Population data for 15 – 24 year olds based on QLFS data (as analysed by Schuman, ONS, 1999)

Note of explanation: If the proportion of any ethnic minority group that entered either University or Teacher Training was the same proportion as that group is found in the population as a whole, then the representation would be zero in the diagram. If a higher proportion enters than expected, then a positive percentage is shown - twice as many as expected would be 100%. Conversely, if a lower percentage enters, then a negative figure is shown.

One of the reasons that teachers may leave the profession is lack of opportunities for promotion and progression, or a feeling that promotion would not be possible (see examples of this in Osler, 1997, Ghuman, 1995, and - at a much earlier time - Ranger, 1988).

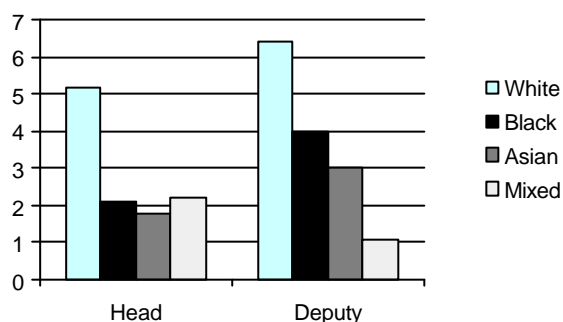
We analysed our data to see how ethnic minority teachers were represented in the various stages of career development that are open to teachers. The first point to examine was what proportion of each ethnic group filled the various levels in the teaching hierarchy - headteacher posts, deputy headteacher posts, the various "posts of responsibility" (i.e. posts that have additional points attached to them, for specific responsibilities within the school), and mainscale posts. Figure 7 shows this distribution, and Figure 8 shows the position for headteachers and deputy headteachers more clearly. These graphs show the percentage of each ethnic group that is found at each level in the hierarchy: for example, of all the Black teachers, 48% are on mainscale posts, 45% in posts of responsibility, 4% are deputy heads, and 2% are heads. The corresponding figures for the White teacher population are 41% mainscale, 48% posts of responsibility, 6.4% deputy heads and 5.2 heads.

Figure 7: Proportion of teachers within each ethnic group by grade



Source: IPSE survey of teachers in 22 LEAs, 2000 - 2001

Figure 8: Proportions of each ethnic group who are Headteachers or Deputies



Source: IPSE survey of teachers in 22 LEAs, 2000 - 2001

It is clear that there are a preponderance of teachers from the ethnic minorities on the mainscale grades. Disparity is also found at the higher levels of responsibility. It should be noted that these percentages are *of the particular ethnic group*: because there are generally so few ethnic minority teachers, the actual disparity is much greater; our survey found 442 White headteachers, 7 Black headteachers and 7 Asian headteachers.

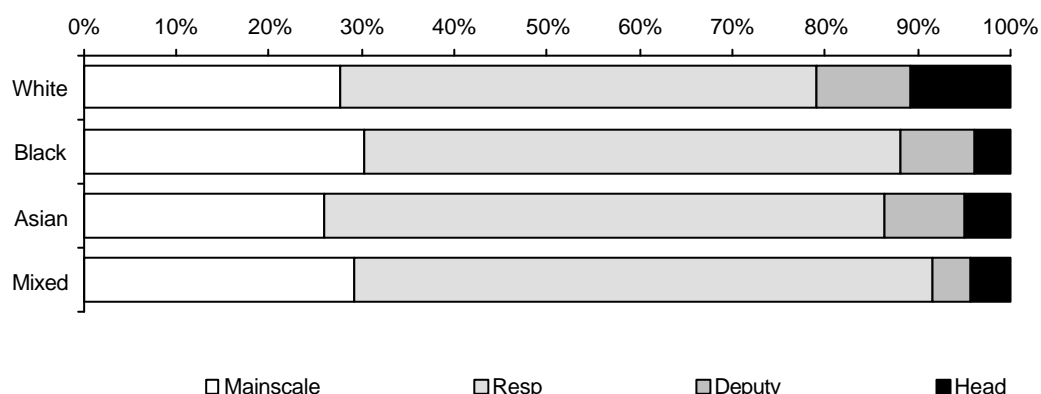
These disparities are not evenly distributed. Examining the figures on the basis of gender, it appears that the lower proportion of ethnic minority teachers in promoted posts is particularly evident amongst male teachers. 53.5% of White males hold posts of responsibility, while only 47.9% of Black and 47.6% of Asian teachers do so. Conversely, while only 31.1% of White male teachers are on the basic main grade, 46.3% of Asian male, and 43.8% of Black males are in this lowest category. Amongst female teachers, the distinctions are much less evident. 45.7% of White females are in posts of responsibility, 43.4% of Asian females and 44.2% of Black females. A higher proportion of female ethnic minorities are on the mainscale grade – 50.8% of Black females, and 52.2% of Asian females, compared to 43.9% of White females – but this is a much smaller margin than found in the male teaching force. It appears that, in respect of these two levels, male ethnic minority teachers are disadvantaged to the same degree as White female teachers are disadvantaged in comparison to White male teachers. At headship and deputy level, while the numbers are small, White males and females dominate, with a much higher proportion of teachers in these positions.

Less than 35% of all secondary school teachers are on mainscale grades; while 50% of primary school teachers are at this grade. But in both sectors, there are more ethnic minority teachers at this basic grade than there are White teachers. The exception is that Black primary teachers are slightly more likely to be in positions of responsibility than their White colleagues. But 55.9% of Asian primary teachers are on the mainscale grade (47.4% of White primary teachers), and 43.6% of Asian secondary teachers and 44.7% of Black secondary teachers are at this grade (32.9% of White secondary teachers). Again, at the headship and deputy headship levels, a far higher proportion of White teachers can be found in these grades than can ethnic minority teachers.

Many ethnic minority teachers are relatively recently qualified. It could be argued that this is why there is the promotion disparity, and that when these teachers had acquired more experience, they too will be promoted to more responsible posts. To test this hypothesis, the following analyses select only those teachers who have had substantial experience since qualification, excluding the more recently qualified teachers.

Figure 9 shows teachers who qualified before 1986. Amongst even the youngest of these, we would expect to see teachers moving into deputy headship and even some headship positions. Indeed, we find that of the White teaching population, some 10.7% are headteachers, and 10.1% are deputy head teachers. But only 4.9% of Asian and 3.9% of Black teachers are heads. There are a further 7.9% of Black teachers who are deputy heads, and 8.6% of Asian teachers are deputies.

Figure 9: Pattern of positions in school hierarchy held by teachers with fifteen or more years teaching experience

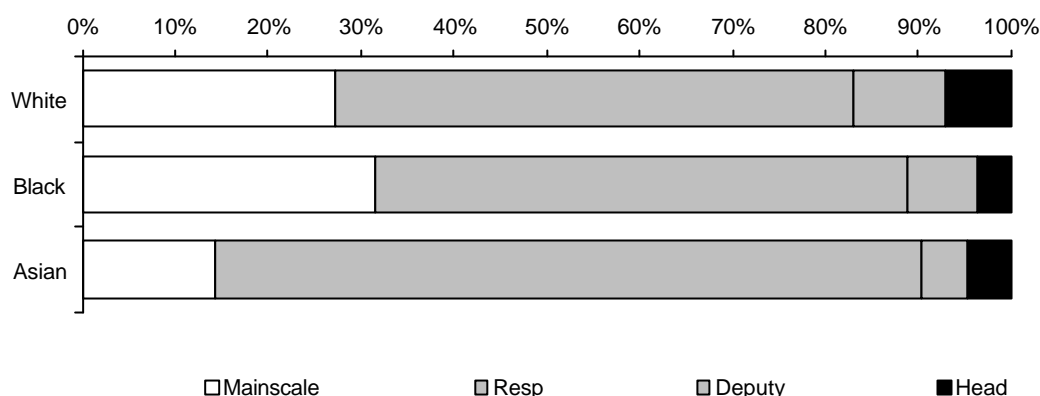


Source: IPSE survey of teachers in 22 LEAs, 2000 - 2001

It is still possible the groups being compared differ in terms of experience. Some of the white headteachers may have had considerably more experience – given the age profiles, a higher proportion than is so for the ethnic minority teachers. Figure 10 therefore compares the positions in the hierarchy of only those teachers who have had between 15 and 25 years experience, that is, teachers who qualified between 1976 and 1986.

The position is the same for those teachers who qualified between these two years. 7.1% of all White teachers are Headteachers compared with only 3.7% of Black and 4.8% of Asian teachers. This parallels the situation described by Ranger in the early 1980s (1988).

Figure 10: Pattern of positions in school hierarchy held by teachers who qualified between 1976 and 1986



Source: IPSE survey of teachers in 22 LEAs, 2000 - 2001

We do not know how many teachers from each ethnic group apply for posts of responsibility. It is possible – though unlikely – that Black and Asian teachers only apply half as often for posts of Head and Deputy that do their White peers (the evidence from Ranger in 1988 was that they applied for promoted posts *more often* than their White peers). If they do apply for promotion less often, it is a serious cause for concern that they do not feel that they can take on management roles in our schools. It is more probable that they are applying, and not being appointed. Appointments were largely made by the 932 school governing bodies represented in our survey, and even if it were possible to collect any ethnic monitoring data on applicants, there would be insufficient cases of appointment to the positions of Head or Deputy in any one school to show that discrimination had taken place.

It is most unlikely that there is such a substantial difference in the rate of applications between White and ethnic minority candidates for these posts to an extent that would explain the differences noted above. The conclusion has to be drawn that, taken as a whole, the appointment process in a proportion of these schools works in such a way that Black and Asian teachers are significantly less likely to assume positions of authority than White teachers. This outcome arises despite the fact that all the LEAs concerned have Equal Opportunity policies that require their schools to manage appointments in a non-discriminatory manner. Although there may be no conscious policy on the part of governing bodies to operate in a discriminatory way, the outcome that can be observed by aggregating all their individual acts of appointment must suggest that we are observing institutional racism in the career development process. It must be emphasised that institutional racism does not mean that conscious or deliberate acts of racism are necessarily taking place, but that the systems operate in such a way that the outcomes are discriminatory.

The experiences of ethnic minority teachers

This quantitative analysis can be supplemented and confirmed from the growing literature based on qualitative evidence from ethnic minority teachers. One of the first such accounts was the biographical narrative of Beryl Gilroy (1976), who described her personal encounters with the English educational system as a black teacher. More recently, Osler has conducted a series of detailed case histories of ethnic minority teachers (1997), and Ghuman has presented an analysis of the careers of Asian origin teachers (1995).

The narratives that are recounted present evidence of the difficulties teachers from ethnic minorities face in schools. For example, some report that they feel that they have to be better than their White counterparts in order to be equal to them (Osler, p 80). Ethnic minority teachers are often called in to 'deal' with parents or children from ethnic minority backgrounds, and find themselves being expected to legitimise school decisions, or the actions of White colleagues, which they suspect may have discriminatory origins. Another remarked that they were expected to translate at parents' evenings in what they felt was an exploitative and tokenistic manner. Promotion may take longer: one has to "serve time" to be promoted, and this time is longer than White teachers are perceived to serve. Many of Osler's sample found that promotion was not possible in their specialist subject: they did achieve promotion if they were willing to take up posts in multicultural education, or in English as an additional language - although some reported that they then met hostility from some White colleagues when they were in such advisory units. Both Black and Asian teachers remarked that they were expected to specialise in certain areas - Asian teachers in particular are sometimes disproportionately found in teaching science and mathematics in secondary schools. Promotion may be possible in those departments, but promotion out of them - to year head or deputy level - is much more difficult (Ghuman). Such subject stereotyping to the sciences and mathematics was also noted by Ranger in the early 1980s (1988).

Barriers to joining the profession have been examined from two broad perspectives. There has firstly been several analyses of the TTA's objectives and processes (Mahony and Hextall, 2000; Carrington et al 2000; Hextall et al 2001). The TTA's objective to increase the proportion of ethnic minority recruits has always been qualified: for example, the Agency's chief executive referred in her annual lecture to the Agency's desire "to increase the diversity of entrants to teaching and teacher training, *consistent with maintaining quality*" (Millet, 1996, p 7: emphasis added). The implicit assumption appears to be that if more ethnic minority recruits are admitted, somehow the overall quality of the profession will be diluted. Mahony and Hextall quote one of the higher education lecturers they interviewed who was asked at interview 'How do you recruit more black students without affecting quality?'

... I really wanted to say to her, think it through, how would you feel ..., say we can't recruit enough men so let's recruit women, but that will reduce quality. Wouldn't you feel that as an insult?

(in Mahony and Hextall, p 110)

Similar TTA barriers are suggested in an investigation of the way in which the Agency's 'skills tests' in mathematics and English apparently discriminate against ethnic minority recruits (Hextall et al, 2001) : the investigators conclude by cautiously suggesting that "the outcomes of the 1999/2000 numeracy test suggest that the effect will be particularly undermining of the Agency's aspiration ... to increase the proportion of entrants into the profession from minority ethnic groups" (p 236).

The second set of perspectives on the barriers to entering teaching lies in the career motivations and ambitions of young people. Osler reports some Asian female teachers as choosing teaching because it was acceptable to their parents: it often involved training locally, was a socially acceptable occupation, and did not (like, for example, nursing) involve undue proximity to males. Another respondent pointed out that going to train as a teacher enabled her to defer her parents' plans for her marriage (Osler, p 86). On the other hand, there are also many accounts that suggest that teaching is not seen as a prestigious profession - either by the older generations of Asians recalling the status of teachers in the sub-continent, or by younger people looking at the teaching profession in England today. Carrington and Tomlin report similar findings: an Asian male considering primary teaching as a career was told he was "taking a hundred steps backwards" (2000, p 146). Carrington and Tomlin also suggest that this attitude may be more prevalent towards Asian young men than to young women. This would be supported by the training figures for Asian women reported above. Ghuman reports

similar attitudes as being quite widespread (1995, p 129). There are fewer accounts of Black pupils seeing teaching as not having sufficient status.

Another potential reason that is offered for young people from the ethnic minorities not wishing to become teachers themselves is their own experiences of the English educational system. Osler reports that some young people feel that the racist experiences that they have had at school themselves can be a deterrent to taking up a position where they will be part of this system, and where they expect to be racially harassed by pupils. On the other hand, these sorts of experiences can also act as a spur, as reported variously by Osler, Carrington and Tomlin and Ghuman. Several of those who do select teaching as a career refer to wanting to act as ethnic role models, or for other altruistic reasons (Carrington and Tomlin, 2000, p 144). Another possible deterrent is the nature of the curriculum which teachers are required to deliver. Some of both Osler's and Ghuman's samples report on feeling caution about having to transmit a highly euro-centric curriculum, which they feel does not relate sufficiently to their own culture or to the culture of those ethnic minority pupils they will teach (Osler, p 195; Ghuman, p 125).

Finally, there is also some evidence that students training to be teachers encounter behaviour that they find difficulties in coping with, or in being supported in dealing with by the still largely White teacher-training establishments. Siraj-Blatchford's study found ethnic minority students encountering racism particularly during teaching practice (69%) and from fellow-students (64%). In her study of 70 students, only 5 responses did not refer to incidents of racism during training (1991, p 40). Showunmi and Constantine-Simms found very similar perceptions, and suggest that there is insufficient consideration of equal opportunity issues or policy issues in this area (1996. p 165).

Necessary principles underlying recruitment and retention

This paper has argued that the teaching force needs to be more representative in terms of ethnic minorities. It has suggested policy initiatives that will address this. It has also argued why this is an important issue: and it is argued the case in terms of the needs of all pupils, not only for the needs of pupils from the ethnic minorities.

It is therefore just as important that schools in the north east of England have a representation of ethnic minority teachers as do schools in Inner London. Indeed, it could be argued that, for the future health of our society, the need is *greater* in such areas.

Given that we currently do not even have enough ethnic minority teachers to match the range of ethnic minority pupils in areas of high concentration of minorities, such as inner London, this creates a certain dilemma. How can we simultaneously address the issues in areas where there are high levels of ethnic minorities (from which we will recruit most of our future ethnic minority teachers, and in which areas most of such recruits will probably choose to work), and at the same time ensure that pupils in areas where there are very few ethnic minorities see ethnic minority teachers in their schools?

The answer will have eventually to be that we recruit more than their proportion in the population into the profession. We probably need to be attracting ethnic minorities to be filling 15% to 20% of the places for teacher training, over a sustained period of a decade or two, in order to effectively address this situation. This would allow both the areas where there are many ethnic minority pupils to have a teaching force that attempts to represent their local community, and areas where there are few ethnic minority pupils to have a teaching force that represents the national community.

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