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AUTHOR Jones, Russell
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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the experiences of one beginning teacher, studying the ways issues of race and ethnicity are dealt with in a predominately white elementary school. Faced with issues of racism in the classroom, the teacher had no strategies to handle either overt or covert racism, both of which appeared to be condoned by those responsible for her training. It suggests that the gradual elimination of issues such as multicultural education from the teacher-training curriculum has meant that important aspects of professional practice are being left to chance. At a time when racially motivated violence is again on the increase, the drive towards classroom based training in the 'white highland' neglects issues of equality and ethnicity in favor of meeting the needs of the British National Curriculum. (Contains 15 references.) (JDM)

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Learning how to ignore racism: A case study of one white beginning teacher in 'the white highlands' and the two black boys in her care.

Paper given to the American Educational Research Association, University of New Orleans, April 2000

Russell Jones

This paper focuses on the experiences of one beginning teacher used as a case study during PhD research into the ways in which issues of 'race' and ethnicity were dealt with in predominantly, if not exclusively, white primary schools. This particular case study refers to a beginning teacher who found herself faced with 'race' issues as part of her training and began to realise that she had no strategies by which she could handle either overt or covert racism, both of which appeared to be condoned by those responsible for her training. It is suggested that the gradual elimination of issues such as multicultural education from the teacher training curriculum has meant that important aspects of professional practice are, at best, left to chance. At a time when racially motivated violence is again on the increase, particularly in rural, predominantly white areas of the country, the drive towards classroom based training in these 'white highlands' leaves issues of equality in general and ethnicity in particular stranded in the drive towards meeting the needs of the British National Curriculum.

There is little doubting that issues of 'race' and racism in Britain have become a focal point once again. In recent weeks leading up to the production of this paper, leading media reports have been full of race-related stories at local and national level, several of which relate specifically to the concerns of this research. At a national level there have been accusations of resistance within the police to deal with racist incidents (both in general terms and within their own ranks), (Hopkins, 2000, Hopkins et al, 2000, Travis, 2000), and accusations that government policies have begun to support racist practices (Waugh and Grice, 2000). At a more local level (and more tightly connected with the outcomes of this research, reports have been equally damning with regard to violent, racially motivated attacks in rural areas of the country (Arlidge, 2000, Chaytor, 2000, Wainwright, 2000, Williams, 2000).

The late 1980s were a period of educational upheaval in Britain. At this time I was professionally involved in a nationally funded multicultural education project aimed at challenging attitudes in exclusively white areas of the country, yet at the same time I was conscious that initiatives such as these did not reflect the beliefs of those who held the power to effect change;

In the inner cities - where the youngsters must have a decent education if they are to have a better future - that opportunity is all too often snatched from them by hard-left education authorities and extremist teachers. Children who need to be able to count and multiply are learning anti-racist mathematics - whatever that is.

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(Margaret Thatcher reported in Hughill, 1987 p12).

In 1991 I undertook a piece of action research towards a Masters degree and became immersed in the literature around the issues of 'race' and teacher training, and began to heed the warning signs already being pointed out;

Hitherto ... the structural decentralisation of the education system in England and Wales has permitted a degree of autonomy at the local level. It is within this 'space' that campaigns for racial equality in education have been waged, albeit with different degrees of commitment and vigour ... The ERA will almost certainly deny this 'space', a prospect which has deleterious implications for the promotion of anti-racism.

(Ball and Troyna, 1989 p24)

The PhD research I undertook between 1994 and 1997 involved a study of the ways in which these spaces denied by the Education Reform Act impacted on the reality of classroom life for children and beginning teachers. The groups of students I chose to study came from two separate institutions of initial teacher education, each offering Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) courses in primary education. One provided a school based model of training, the second a more traditional, university based model. Both institutions offered teaching experience over three counties using schools where there were predominantly, if not exclusively, white children typically in a rural or semi-rural setting. Neither course offered any form of contact with ethnic minority teachers, mentors or lecturers. All student members on both courses were white.

My data collection included examination of course documentation, interviews with course leaders and tutors, Heads, supervisory teachers, and mentors, alongside attendance at relevant lectures, workshops and field trips.

From the joint intake of fifty five I selected a sample of ten students from each course and traced their progress through the course of their training. This included regular semi-structured interviews using open ended questions, beginning in the induction weeks and working through to a final interview during the last ten days of the course. Each student interview was taped, transcribed in full and returned for respondent validity. I also arranged to teach alongside each student wherever possible at some point in their training to include some level of participant observation. I visited twenty four schools over the three counties and in total I conducted 157 formal interviews, (107 with students, 32 with supervising teachers, mentors and Heads and 18 with University staff).

Laura had studied educational psychology as part of her first degree and so had had more experience of being in schools than most of her colleagues on the university based course. She told me she had 'always wanted to teach', and was looking forward

to the possibility of eventually working as an educational psychologist. During our first interview we discussed educational inequality and she told me that;

When I was doing educational psychology I did a report on the comparison between educational services, and one school I went into was in a sort of disadvantaged area and it was horrendous (pause). A child had been expelled from eight different schools and they didn't have the advantage of the parents reinforcing the learning they'd had during the day, the parents just didn't care about them. That's my idea of disadvantage.

Laura also made the point that she felt equality issues were closely linked to individual curriculum areas, particularly in primary schools, suggested design and technology as a good example of a subject where gender issues might be raised and RE as a subject within which the teacher could look more closely at 'culture'. She went on to explain that she felt the National Curriculum was a good example of how inequality as an issue had been tackled;

You know, you've got to do more than one religion. I think it has leant itself more towards equality than it has towards inequality ... It has made them feel as though people respect their religion. You know (pause) there is nothing worse than going in to a school and being taught Christianity and when you go home you're a Hindu. It's (pause) you know (pause) I think it makes people (pause) especially children, have a more enlightened view of life.

She concluded that;

I think the inequalities of gender and cultural issues have been excellently covered by the National Curriculum but the special needs differences (pause). It needs to go a lot further.

Having started work in schools on her first attachment Laura expressed concern that some of the teachers seemed to be insensitive to the social backgrounds of some of the children. Laura talked emotively about being 'infuriated' and about not wanting 'to slag off children' and discussed the need for respect and equality, suggesting that teachers need to look to the National Curriculum to deal with these issues. For her, the issues of 'race' and gender were no longer on the educational agenda as they had been dealt with 'excellently' by the National Curriculum. The issue became one of 'respect' for individual children and how the example set by the National Curriculum could be put into practice.

It is at this point that it is possible to see where a more carefully structured social induction for beginning teachers into school life could be more beneficial. Rather than the 'throwing them in at the deep end' approach often exemplified in other areas of my research, it would perhaps have been more helpful if issues such as those outlined by Laura could have been discussed at her University before she had to experience

them first hand in the classroom and the staffroom. I was repeatedly informed by teachers that they felt students 'got a better idea of the real job of teaching' during their time working on school experience, but discussions in Laura's first staff room indicate that perhaps some detailed preparation is needed before that 'reality' is experienced. It is specifically areas such as this that have been the subject of calls for initial teacher education to 'confront the moral dilemmas of teaching in a more deliberate fashion' (Liston and Zeichner, 1987 p7) but again there was no indication that these sorts of challenges and explorations were part of any dialogue established between beginning teachers and their mentors in school.

For Laura's main placement she was given a school on the outskirts of a built up area where she explained there were 'quite a few' ethnic minority children. As I was able to observe a whole school assembly, 'quite a few' meant that each class contained either none, one or two children who could be considered as representatives of ethnic minority backgrounds. During her time in the school, Laura was told that she could attend staff meetings but that it would be 'not really worth it'. Over the nine weeks of her placement, she worked in two parallel classes, spending the first three weeks in one, and the remaining six weeks with the supervising teacher who was responsible for her practice. This teacher, Annette, was in her late fifties, had begun teaching in army schools but had spent the vast majority of her professional career at the same school. Despite her seniority and experience Annette had not previously been given the responsibility of a student. Laura perceived her as 'Very powerful, very disciplined, very organised, if you don't fit in with it then 'tough'', yet she also repeatedly described her experience in Annette's class as 'Heaven'. These two descriptions seemed to typify Laura's attachment to the school; she would readily and regularly criticise Annette for being unapproachable or confrontational, but equally admired her as a teacher for her strong minded, disciplinarian approach in the classroom. Laura spent three weeks on her own in the school, as Annette took sick leave, leaving Laura with the entire class and a full timetable.

When I asked for the school's policy on either equal opportunities or multicultural education I was told that the school 'did not have one at present'. Laura explained that the school was due for an Ofsted inspection and the staff were 'trying to get them reeled off at the moment'. I asked if she knew if there had been a policy at her previous school, she replied 'Not that I ever saw, but then (pause) I didn't need (pause) I didn't go and look for it'.

The two parallel classes fitted into my earlier calculation by containing one ethnic minority boy in each; Assan and Steven. Whilst I was in school interviewing Laura I was aware that the two boys appeared to have been perceived in completely different ways by both the student and the teacher. Laura first began to discuss Assan, who was in her current class, and told me that;

(He) gets some terrible stick. He is a Pakistani lad and he is always crying. You know, he can't really speak very good English anyway

(pause) he gets very upset and the kids call him 'Paki', but what...*(can you do?)* (silence)

I asked what happens about this and I was told;

Nothing. They say he is as bad as they are...it really upset me when I first started because he was getting quite upset and these kids were right little nasty pieces of work.

Laura gave me examples of the ways in which she had seen other children name-call and deliberately provoke Assan then 'play innocent' to the teachers when they were questioned. She told me 'I said 'Assan, just ignore them, you know you are worth more than them' and all that, but he still gets it now'. She went on to say that there seemed to be some doubt regarding Assan's attendance on the class residential trip in July as his mother did not want him to go at all, whilst his father was keen that he did attend at all costs. Laura was aware that this might be directly related to 'the fact that he is abused, you know, racially abused' then added 'He does give as good back. He's a little pain'.

Steven was a boy in the second of Laura's parallel classes. His father was from Mauritius and his mother was from the Philippines. Laura described him as 'Afro-Caribbean' and as;

More socially adept (pause) he gets on a lot better with the children than the other one does. The other one, I don't think he's got any social skills because he can't speak English properly anyway. Whereas Steven, he's straight in there with the other kids; 'Come on we're going to play soccer' and you know, he's loved by the other children.

In examining these statements it is again possible to see that several processes are at work. Laura is in no doubt about what is happening in her classroom. At first she calls it 'terrible stick', she then calls it 'abuse', then redefines it as 'racial abuse'. It is noticeable and significant that when Laura goes into a discussion about Steven, Assan loses his identity in the discourse as she refers him twice as 'the other one'. She explains that she has not only been witness to the way Assan has been racially abused but also to the way in which his abusers have been able to avoid any repercussions, yet she is unable to confront the situation other than to tell Assan he is 'worth more than them'. This can not be much comfort for Assan when the situation is seen through his eyes. Firstly he has the reality of the abuse to deal with. Secondly he has the recognition that the abusers have no regard for the sanctuary of the classroom as it has taken place unchecked in front of the adult in charge of the class, meaning that thirdly he has the indignity of knowing that the teacher has awarded tacit approval of the abusers' actions. Finally he is all too aware that the outcome of this knowledge is that he will have to face exactly the same abuse again in the future, as Laura herself acknowledges 'he still gets it now'.

It is interesting to examine how Laura appears not only to have come to terms with this situation personally, but has entered into a dangerous situation where she appears to find justification for the repeated abuse by the 'right little nasty pieces of work', apparently placing at least some of the blame on Assan himself. She explains that she was 'really upset' by these incidents 'when I first started', but implies that this is no longer the case firstly through her implicit approval of the abuse, secondly because she twice recognises that this is partly because 'he can't speak very good English anyway', thirdly she claims he has no 'social skills' and, unlike Steven, he is not 'loved by the other children'. Finally, she takes refuge in the claim that 'He does give as good back. He's a little pain'. By examining Laura's statements more closely, therefore, it appears to be the case that whilst she clearly understands the abuse is both ongoing and of a racial nature, she is not only unprepared to confront the issue but also attempts to excuse the abuse and blame the child for his own social 'weaknesses'. This clearly sits very uneasily with Laura's earlier concerns for 'respect' and the way the six year old boy in the big shirt was 'slagged off' by his teachers. It sits even more uneasily with her repeated descriptions of her time in the school as 'Heaven'.

I asked if Steven was also abused by the other children. Laura laughed and said 'They wouldn't dare give it to him. He is very respected by the other children. Very respected'. Referring back to Assan, Laura added that he;

Can't ... mix properly with the other children. He just can't ... you see him looking at children dead longingly and it is really sad, because he can't mix with them, it's just sad.

When I again asked what was done about this, Laura replied that she had been told by the teacher that she should just 'Watch and don't take everything he says' and 'Don't take any notice of him, he gives as much back'. These instructions from Annette clearly support the adopted stance taken by Laura and further indicate that Assan's situation was not likely to improve during his time with this beginning teacher. Although I was not aiming to increase tensions in any way between the teachers and learners involved in my study, and although I had not asked this question directly of any other student, I felt I had to address Annette's advice more openly. I therefore asked if Laura felt Annette's behaviour might be interpreted in any way as racist. She replied;

No, I wouldn't, because she likes Steven, but I think that is because he works well. Steven is the one who everybody loves. He is a lovely lad, you know and Assan can drive you mad at times because he'll go (affects accent) 'Oh Miss' and he'll mumble stuff to you and you'll go 'What? I can't hear you', and then when he is participating in class he seems as though he doesn't understand what you are talking about, but when he produces his written work he does! I think he just lacks social skills, Assan. It's quite sad.

It is interesting that Laura defended her teacher in this way and further qualifies the distinctions she has established between the two boys. Again several issues are raised to which there are no simple explanations. It is possible that Assan does not comply with Laura's conception of 'disadvantage' because he does not display physical evidence of parental neglect and therefore does not fit into her category of disadvantage. Similarly, it is possible that Laura does not want to acknowledge Assan's situation as being racism (despite having admitted that this is in fact the case), because she has already stated that issues of 'race' have been dealt with 'excellently' by the National Curriculum. If Laura's teacher is able to deal with Assan's abuse by ignoring it, and the National Curriculum somehow deals with racism effectively, then again Laura can remove herself from the responsibility of tackling the issue herself.

It could be argued that Laura's understanding of racism was questionable in the sense that she felt it was not possible to be racist if there was a black child you liked. It was interesting then, that she linked the two issues when I asked if there had been any other ethnic minority children in Laura's experience at her previous school. She replied that there had been one, and in describing him she referred to him as a 'nightmare' and a 'little monster'. She went on;

He was a right little swine. It was nothing to do with his colour because I am not racist (pause) but he used it as an excuse. Do you know what I mean?

Realising that there seemed to be some discrepancy between the distress she had witnessed with Assan and the lack of direction offered by her supervising teacher, I asked Laura to go into detail about the kind of discussions she had with Annette about the children in her class. She replied;

She says things to me like 'Well you see him now, he's as thick as pig shit' and I think 'Don't get involved' because I get really (pause) I've been told off by one of my tutors for this, for trying to think that you can have success with every child (pause) She says 'I'll tell you what' she says 'For the first few weeks I'll put you with the thickos', and it is that sort of attitude and I really don't like it.

Laura later explained that this conversation took place on the first of her observation days prior to the start of her attachment. She remembered the incident as;

We went swimming in the afternoon. She said 'You can come swimming if you want'. We went in for observation on the Thursday and the Friday, and we were due to start on the Monday and she said 'Oh we've got an odd bunch' and this kid was swimming past and she just went 'See him there, all I can say is that he is as thick as pig shit'.

Looking back over the data, the direct advice Laura received from her supervising teacher included:

Just ignore it

Don't get involved

It will be his own fault

It's their problem, let them sort it out

I don't think we should do anything about it, because it will only cause confrontation.

It should be remembered that these statements were made in reference to the most disadvantaged children in the two classes. Similarly, the conception of children as 'thickos' and being 'as thick as pig shit' does nothing to lift the professional aspirations of those entering the profession, nor does it suggest that these people can be afforded the privilege of educating new entrants merely by virtue of their status as teachers.

In interview, Laura criticised Annette for taking the stance of 'I'll just get my job done and that will be it', yet this seems to be precisely the lesson that Laura herself has learned. In many ways, this situation mirrors research carried out into conflict during 'teaching practice' which identified the dominant student strategy of 'strategic compliance' (Sparkes and Mackay, 1996 p18), but there were also moments of considerable congruence. On the one hand, Laura felt unable to question Annette's professional judgement and resigned herself to the state of just getting through the school experience, on the other hand there were points where the practice of both the teacher and student merged, such as their conception and treatment of Assan and their readiness to apportion blame back on him for his own abuse and his lack of social success. Similarly, any shortcomings in the performance of the disabled boy were seen to be his own fault as the response by both the teacher and the student was to leave the boy to his own devices.

It is important to emphasise that none of these incidents were ever discussed with the student's University tutor.

I began my interview with Annette by asking her to describe the school's social mix. She said 'Well I don't think you would call it Tory heartland'. Another member of staff added 'You could put Mickey Mouse up for Labour and he'd get in'. Annette replied 'Yes. There *are* a lot of special needs'. Hoping to bring the conversation around to Assan and remembering that he had difficulties with his spoken English, I asked about any ESL (English as a Second Language) children in the school. She immediately made reference to Steven, (whose English was perfect), stating;

His father is from Mauritius and his mother is Filipino but I don't know what they talk at home. I would think English because father is a clinical psychologist, he's not stupid at all.

I again tried to bring the conversation around to children who had specific language needs, but again Annette spoke only of Steven. At no stage during the interview did Annette ever make mention of Assan.

If I were to deconstruct this exchange I would suggest that it brings several issues into sharp relief. Annette appears to maintain an unproblematic relationship whereby Assan is somehow subsumed within Steven. Although Assan has difficulties with spoken English this can be ignored because Steven's English is perfect. Whilst Assan is regularly mocked by the other children, this can be ignored (yet another silence) as the children 'love' and 'respect' Steven. It is interesting that Annette found other ways to conceptualise and dismiss ethnicity. Remembering that other aspects of my research had indicated that both students and experienced teachers felt able to dismiss ethnic identity because of parental occupation (Jones, 1998, 1999), it is significant that Annette attempts the same process yet takes it further. Initially, it would seem that Annette simply dismisses Steven's ethnic identity because his father is a clinical psychologist, but she takes this further with the qualification that 'he's not stupid at all'. This seems to imply firstly that it is natural to expect members of ethnic minorities to be stupid, secondly that intelligence is measured in the ability to speak English, and thirdly that Assan is dismissed because he qualifies (for her) within the categories of black, stupid and unable to speak English.

Laura did not seem to be aware of the issues she and her supervising teacher generated. As far as she was concerned there was only the issue of the individual child. For Laura, the child was the issue, not racism because he did not seem to want to make the effort to learn the language, to be sociable, to play football, to be loved by the other children. In our final meeting together, reminiscing over the incidents that Laura had experienced in school, she still believed that the National Curriculum brought about a state of equality in the classroom and added 'I think multicultural issues are not the sort of thing you address today'. Again I find it difficult to negotiate between the conceptual spaces illustrated by this beginning teacher at the end of her course. She feels that the National Curriculum is a vehicle by which equality can be achieved in the classroom, whilst supposing that this happens without dealing with issues such as multicultural education which is perceived as an outdated issue that no longer needs to be addressed. When I asked Laura to be more specific about this issue and to illustrate exactly what she meant, she alluded to the National Curriculum's reference to clothing in PE.

In retrospect, perhaps this confusion is related to Laura's inability to conceive of and articulate a wider social philosophy about teaching as a profession. In our final interview at the end of Laura's course, and remembering her initial enthusiasm for the job, I asked her to define the role of the teacher. She replied;

Erm (pause). I don't know because (pause). My philosophy of teaching is still the same, but you find that your role as a teacher, when you are actually in practice, especially when you are working with other people, is their philosophy, working within their philosophy and I would say (pause). Well, from what I've done so far, it's basically to teach, and that's it.

Whilst this case study is not meant to suggest that Laura's experiences are typical of other beginning teachers, it does indicate that there are significant issues for consideration. I would suggest that there are clear concerns about the quality of mentoring and training that need to be addressed by government policy and ITE institutions. There are 'race' issues which remain untouched in the 'white highlands' and which need to be addressed openly and as a matter of urgency. At a philosophical level it would be interesting to study in more depth the ways in which (white) teachers treat black children from different ethnic backgrounds, the ways in which English as a second language plays a part in this process, and of course the ways in which beginning teachers can enter the profession with some understandings of the importance of these issues and some strategies to employ in the classroom.

When teachers such as Laura in the middle of their initial training are receiving seriously misguided advice in the classroom it is understandable that there have been sustained demands for the return of some form of social and philosophical theory of education onto the ITE curriculum, yet this is not the way in which governmental policy has developed over recent years. When the (outgoing) Secretary of State for Education was asked if she thought there was still a place for educational theory as traditionally taught by University education departments, she replied;

I certainly think the balance is switching, and probably rightly, to skills and competencies (sic) in the classroom. I am sure that is right. I think that education theory, of course, is important as background, but it's not much help on a wet and windy Friday afternoon with class 4B.

(Gillian Shephard interviewed in Ribbins and Sherratt, 1997 p225).

I cannot help but find the evidence somewhat disheartening. Issues related to 'race' have not played any significant part in local or national policy making for some time, as the drive towards meeting the needs of an already overcrowded National Curriculum has taken precedence. The momentum of this change has left beginning teachers such as Laura untouched in terms of her professional ability to deal with racism in the classroom. She is expected to either take advice from her colleagues (who in this case are significantly misguided) or to simply learn on the job, at 'the deep end'. Her strategic compliance in the classroom means that she deals with racism by either ignoring it (and pretending it doesn't exist), excusing it (and claiming that the child in some way 'deserves' it), or accommodating it as part of her process of learning to be in a classroom (and using the models of teaching she sees as

justification for inaction). She conceived of racism as an issue which had been dealt with at national level, and now needed to be addressed by the child rather than by either herself, the class teacher, or the school's own policies. It was the child's own responsibility, in effect, to be more like Steven.

Remembering Ball and Troyna's warning from ten years ago that space for discussion and promotion of issues such as anti-racism on teacher training courses was under threat, it is sobering that we are now advised that:

Recent upheavals in the state education system have adopted a deracialised discourse that has all but obliterated race equality issues at the national policy level.

(Gillborn, 1996 p175)

The point must be made; if the issue is not perceived to be sufficiently important to feature at the national policy level, how much more difficult is it to convince teacher educators in the 'white highlands' that it is of value?

From the evidence presented, it would appear that there is little in Laura's training at a local level that will enable her to break free of these misconceptions, and there is little commitment at national level that seems to suggest anything is likely to change. At a time when racial tensions appear to be heightening the commitment to multicultural education has never been weaker. The immediate future for children like Assan does not look promising.

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Address for correspondence:

Russell Jones
John Moores University
I M Marsh Campus
Barkhill Road
Liverpool
England
L17 6BD

tel 0151-231-5259

e-mail r.jones@livjm.ac.uk



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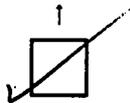
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