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Adolescent pupils' perceptions of teacher racism

Volume 1

by

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CONTENTS

Volume 1

<i>List of tables</i>	iv
<i>Abstract</i>	v
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
1 BACKGROUND AND CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS	1
<i>Statement of the problem: The rationale for the research on pupils' perceptions of teacher racism</i>	1
<i>The educational and employment life chances of first- and second-generation ethnic minority people in Britain: A historical account</i>	8
<i>Racism and related concepts</i>	31
<i>Being a person, social perception and interpersonal relationships: A theoretical account</i>	69
<i>Social interaction and interpersonal relationships with special reference to teachers and pupils</i>	100
<i>Why pupils' perceptions and experiences of teacher racism are important</i>	134
<i>Pupils' perceptions of teacher racism: A review</i>	157
2 THE RESEARCH METHODS USED IN THIS INVESTIGATION	197
<i>A comparison of quantitative and qualitative methods used in the social sciences</i>	197
<i>Why I chose to research the topic of pupils' perceptions of teacher racism</i>	214
<i>The research methods used in this investigation</i>	215
3 THE RESULTS OF THIS RESEARCH	251
<i>The synopses and results of the content analyses of the video films of the role-plays</i>	251
<i>The results of the analysis of the stratified random sample of 480 respondents to the video films</i>	287
<i>The results of the analysis of the data derived from the respondents to the film of Extract 2: 'Borrowing' using the bubble dialogue research tool</i>	309
<i>Summary</i>	326
<i>Conclusion</i>	332
4 A CRITIQUE OF THE METHODS USED IN AND A DISCUSSION AND AN INTERPRETATION OF THE RESULTS OF THIS INVESTIGATION	335
<i>A critique of the methods used in this enquiry</i>	335
<i>A discussion of the outcomes of the methods used</i>	371
<i>A summary and some brief comments about the triangulation of methods used and data derived from them</i>	425

5 CONCLUSIONS	429
<i>A brief summary of the methods and outcomes of this research</i>	429
<i>The educational implications of the findings of this research</i>	434
<i>Possible further lines of enquiry suggested by this research</i>	441
<i>Bibliography</i>	447

Volume 2

<i>Appendices</i>	475
I Specification for the production of the role-plays	475
II Letter requesting parental consent	477
III Film credits	479
IV Storyboards for the classroom interaction extracts	480
V Pupils' response form	511
VI Administrator's notes for video film showing	515
VII The personally addressed letter sent in a large-scale 'mail-shot' to headteachers requesting that the video films be shown in their schools	522
VIII Video film showing administrator's report from	524
IX 'Comic strips' for each of the extracts of classroom interaction	526
X The role-play devisers' stage directions and scripts	572
XI The written response total scores (maximum 20) and the biographical details of the stratified sample of 480 pupils	576
XII An estimate of the inter-rater reliability of the scoring of the survey data	586
XIII Testing the hypotheses that two population mean ages for each of the main effect variables are equal	593
XIV The inter-rater reliability of the categorization of the thought bubble responses	595
XV The number key for the thought bubbles in the 'comic strip' for Extract 2: 'Borrowing'	598
XVI Relevant published works	606

TABLES

1	The ethnic background and sex of members of the role-playing group	222
2	The sixteen cell matrix of pupil participants used in the sample	239
3	Categorization of responses to the video extracts	243
4	Descriptive statistics of the population and of the sample of ratee script total scores	587
5	Two-way classification analysis of variance without replications of the raters' ratings	589
6	Estimated variance and <i>F</i> ratios from the data in Table 5	591
7	Outcomes of <i>z</i> testing the mean ages of the two criterion groups of each main effect variable for Hypotheses 1, 2 and 4 and age data for Hypothesis 3	302
8	Mean total scores for the sixteen cells of the stratified sample of 480 pupil respondents	304
9	The relative deviation of the group mean from the grand mean for each of the variables listed in the subheadings	305
10	The results of the four-way analysis of variance of the total scores of the stratified sample of 480 pupils	307
11	Contingency table of the data obtained using the bubble dialogue research tool	324
12	Respondents' thought bubble categories	595
13	A network analysis revised model of the pupil role-players' perceptions of teachers' racist actions and behaviours towards VEMGM pupils	391
14	A network analysis revised model of the bubble dialogue respondents' conceptions of the racist teacher's thinking	399

ABSTRACT

Underpinning this research, is the belief that lying at the heart of the process of education, is the interpersonal relationship between the teacher and pupil. However, we have very little knowledge of this relationship from the view of ethnicity, particularly from the pupils' perspective.

It is argued that the revelation of these perceptions is fundamentally important in coming to an understanding of the effects teacher racism and ethnocentricity may have on pupils, why some of our schools seem to alienate so many ethnic-minority pupils, and why educational opportunity is not equal for all ethnic groups.

So, four 5-minute video presentations of actual classroom episodes, reconstructed for the purposes of the research have been produced. The films were scripted and role-played by a multi-ethnic group of twenty-one, Year Nine and Year Ten, comprehensive school pupils. Each film focuses on the behaviour of a white, female teacher towards pupils of visible ethnic minority groups. A drama teacher elicited performances from the pupils and faithfully interpreted their directions in her portrayal of each of their four devised teacher roles. Most of the pupil role-players subsequently provided their independent accounts of each of the role-plays. These accounts have been subjected to qualitative content analysis and systematic network analysis. These analyses have resulted in the modelling of the participants' perceptions of teachers' racist behaviours and actions. This

model suggests that the participants consider that racist teachers do not accord 'black' pupils standards of respect and justice which compare favourably with those which they accord 'white' pupils.

Beyond this, in an opportunity sample drawn throughout England, the video films have been shown to over 1000 adolescents (aged 10 to 20), differentiated by age, sex, academic attainment and ethnicity. A stratified random sample of 480 scripts has been drawn, and the responses to the four videos have been scored 0 to 5 on a Kohlberg-type scale. These scores have been used to test four hypotheses by ANOVA (for unrelated subjects). The main effects on the respondents' perceptions of teacher racism were significant for age ($F(1, 472) = 72.329, p < .001$); attainment ($F(1, 472) = 47.517, p < .001$); and, ethnicity ($F(1, 472) = 25.133, p < .001$).

Thus:

Older adolescents have been found to be more perceptive of teacher racism than younger ones.

Higher academic attainers have been found to be more perceptive of teacher racism than lower attainers.

Adolescents of visible ethnic minority group membership (VEMGM) have been found to be more perceptive of teacher racism than those of indigenous white group membership (IWGM).

However,

girls have not been found to be significantly more perceptive of teacher racism than boys ($F(1, 472) = 0.856, n.s.$).

Finally, an opportunity sample of sixty-one mid-adolescents

(Year Nine), differentiated by sex and ethnicity, have responded to one of the four role-play films, using a bubble dialogue 'comic strip' technique. The outcomes have been analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively. The testing of two hypotheses by Chi-square (X^2) suggests that:

VEMGM pupils are more perceptive of teacher racism than are those of IWGM (X^2 (1) = 8.733, $p < .01$).

Girls are no more perceptive of teacher racism than are boys (X^2 (1) = 3.723, n.s.).

Of course, these findings support the comparable outcomes of analyzing the survey data.

The qualitative analysis (content analysis and systematic network analysis) of the bubble dialogue data, has revealed a number of ways in which adolescents think that the racist teacher thinks. The participants in this research seem to be suggesting that, ultimately, the racist teacher's thinking is driven by the idea that '"white" people have a divine right to rule'.

Therefore, in view of the conclusion that adolescents do have a shrewd awareness of teacher racism, it has been proposed that there is a clear need for the further racism awareness training of teachers, and, in fact, of all adults who have work-based relationships with young people.

However, it has also been said that many lines of enquiry for further investigation have been suggested by this research.

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Lastly, I claim all of the shortcomings of this work for myself.

CHAPTER 1 BACKGROUND AND CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS

Section I Statement of the problem: The rationale for the research on pupils' perceptions of teacher racism

Britain's transition to a multi-ethnic society has had a major impact on teaching. Nationally, about one in six school children belong to a visible ethnic minority group (VEMG) (Cohen and Manion, 1994, p. 268) or speak at home a language other than English. (Donald (1993, p. 1) notes that 'children in London's schools spoke 172 different languages at the last count').

The experience of the last twenty-five years indicates that many visible ethnic and language-minority children enter a cycle of disadvantage that has its roots in a failure to exploit educational opportunities. The United States experience, and early work done in Britain, suggests that educational intervention that is in tune with the cultural experiences of minority children yields significant gains for them. It can redress a considerable amount of the disadvantage such children bring to school, in terms of their cultural distance from the usual content of education. It can help them penetrate barriers to progress after schooling. However, the Swann Report (DES, 1985) made clear that Britain has no national programme of this kind and little information on how to construct one.

The lack of a curriculum, formal and informal, for multi-ethnic education will allow the impression of

ethnic education will allow the impression of unfairness, and the fact of disadvantage to continue for minority children. It will allow a divided view of the community to grow unchecked among other children. Basic research is needed in order to understand how such a curriculum will be devised and implemented.

The research reported here, with its focus on classroom practice, is concerned with the implementation of such a curriculum. The relationships between teachers' attitudes, behaviours and actions, and classroom practices, are particularly important and this new challenge represents a research need of potentially great practical value and importance. There is very little knowledge of the detailed texture of school life from the view of ethnicity. What there is suggests that it is an important field of study. For example, a paper by Green (DES, 1985) outlines differences in detailed teaching methods used by teachers of 'West Indian', 'Asian', and 'European' children. He finds:

In those classes taught by teachers who are ethnically highly intolerant it is children of West Indian origin who are most seriously affected by this style of teaching and it is these children who record the lowest levels of self-concept (DES, 1985, Chapter 3, Annex B, p. 53).

and he concludes that:

boys and girls of different ethnic origins taught in the same multi-ethnic classroom by the same teacher are likely to receive widely different educational experiences some elements of which may be differentially related to the teacher's gender, the types of attitudes held about education and, when present, extreme levels of ethnocentrism (*op. cit.*).

There are likely to be many different ways in which schools

and teachers behave differently towards pupils of different ethnic backgrounds. We have some evidence for the earliest years (reported in Tizard and Hughes, 1984) showing such differences. The most significant recent research, however, is the DES-funded study of the experience of 'pupils from ethnic minorities': *The Educational and Vocational Experiences of 15-18 year old Young People of Minority Ethnic Groups* (Eggleston et al, 1986). Strong evidence was found that discrimination in English schools was holding back the achievement of 'young black people'. The pattern which emerged was that African-Caribbean pupils encounter, or feel that they encounter, racial prejudice on the part of teachers and, in about Year Nine (thirteen-to-fourteen years old) start to lose interest in their work. They tend to be allocated to lower sets and less demanding courses than their ability warrants.

While educationalists may be reluctant to believe that pupils are treated differently on the basis of their ethnicity, such research has indicated that they are. Further confirmation was provided by the Inner London Education Authority Junior School Project (Mortimore et al, 1986; 1988). This study showed that 'Caribbean children' were placed by their classroom teachers in lower 'general attainment bands' than their scores on independent verbal reasoning tests would have predicted. What is urgently needed however, is research to discover whether this, and similar discrepancies, are artefacts of visible ethnic minority group membership (VEMGM) pupils' performances or of their teachers' prejudicial attitudes towards such pupils.

Rattansi with Donald (1993, p. 25) have noted that after Rampton (DES, 1981), Swann (DES, 1985) and Eggleston *et al* (1986):

no debate on education as it related to Britain's black population could fail to address the question of racial discrimination. Neither Rampton nor Swann regarded racial discrimination as the prime explanatory factor in understanding the problems faced by the black population in education: both also focused on what they regarded as the inherent 'cultural' characteristics of Afro-Caribbean and Asian communities. The key point, however, is that from now on racism and its impact on black British minorities were inescapable items on the public agenda. The debate around education had been racialized.

This final point on the racialization of education is also commented on by Verma *et al*, (1994, p. 19). They do so in these terms: racism 'has consistently emerged as a power in education which cannot be ignored'.

In his report on the murder of Ahmed Ullah at Burnage School, Manchester in 1986, MacDonald (1989) revealed that pupils and teachers had suffered from racist attacks and abuse. They went on to say that 'what is really lacking is hard evidence of the size and extent of any racial problems which might exist' (Verma *et al*, 1994, p. 19).

Such research may well be necessary but I argue, however, that also detailed classroom studies are needed to establish if there are differences of approach by teachers towards children of different ethnicities. And this is despite the recent contributions in this field of Gillborn (1990; 1995), Mac an Ghaill (1988; 1989; 1994), Verma *et al* (1994) and Wright (1986; 1988; 1992) amongst others. The research I am

proposing might explore in a more systematic and detailed way than has previous work, the VEM pupils' own perceptions and responses. Results from such studies might inform and shape teacher education and training in multi-ethnic and anti-racist education, and help to ensure the preparation of all young people for full, and proper participation in all multi-ethnic societies.

The research reported here, attempts to address these issues. It is fundamentally concerned with attempting to reveal and understand, from the pupil's perspective, the interactional processes operating between teachers and pupils in classrooms and schools. It is premised on the belief that a knowledge and understanding of these interactional processes from the pupils' perspective, is the key to understanding why many of our schools seem to alienate VEMGM pupils, and to uncovering the reasons why educational opportunity is unequal for all ethnic groups. In short, I wish to cast some more light on why 'the school or the education system is "underachieving"' (Blair and Woods, 1992, p. 18).

This study arises from the work which I did for my MA dissertation on what pupils mean when they describe teachers as unfair (Naylor, 1986). This earlier study attempted to explore theoretically and empirically, the hermeneutical topic of pupils' constructs or, meanings, of their teachers' fairness towards them. This inductive investigation involved ten, volunteer, sixteen year old comprehensive school participants. The data were obtained using a modified repertory grid technique (Kelly, 1955) in which the

participants were encouraged to elaborate their elicited constructs; in essence, therefore, the method was one of structured interview. The participants' idiographic data were computer analysed in an attempt to reveal the organisational structure of their construct systems. The clusters of constructs thus identified constituted the data for the content analysis of the pupil-types perceived to be discriminated against, and the teacher treatments perceived to be unfair. Thus, an attempt was made to produce nomothetic or, generalisable data.

Although I tried to avoid overgeneralising the results of such a small, unrepresentative sample, it seems that adolescent pupils' construct systems of teacher unfairness are very sophisticated and highly individualistic. However, it was possible to draw out some common threads in the pupils' perceptions of teacher unfairness. The participants seemed to be most concerned for the 'less able', 'lazy', 'boy' pupil-types and to a less marked extent, 'black', 'white' and 'girl' pupil-types.

Regarding ethnicity, what is interesting about the revelations of the participants in this research, is that both VEMGM and indigenous white group membership (IWGM) (Cohen and Manion, 1994, p. 268) pupils perceived their teachers (who were all of IWGM) as acting unfairly towards VEMGM pupils in specific ways. Another interesting feature of the findings of this research, is that some of the IWGM participants perceived that their teachers act unfairly towards IWGM pupils by positively discriminating in favour of

VEMGM pupils when it comes to punishing them for their 'crimes', 'disorder' and 'rule infractions'; as one participant put it, unfair teachers are 'frightened of black kids, they don't want to get involved'. What these pupils seemed to be suggesting is that VEMGM pupils are unfairly indulged by some teachers. This may be done, as Denscombe (1979, p. 66) has suggested, although not in commenting specifically on teachers' relationships with minority group pupils, to avoid provoking 'the kind of confrontation which would expose the power relations in the classroom and explode the "facade" of friendliness'.

This research attempts to carry-on from where that master's research left off. It is most sharply focussed on the effect of teachers' attitudes, behaviours and actions on VEMGM pupils' educational opportunities and performances, and on children's implicit, or naive, theories of racism, of which there is little or no real appreciation. Although less centrally, it is also concerned with 'ambition' in VEMGM children on which a start has been made by Deem's (1980) study of some successful 'black women undergraduates', by Eggleston *et al*'s (1986) research and by Mac an Ghaill's (1988) study of some 'black school children'. This study also hopes to shed some light on the general relationship between Local Education Authority and school multi-ethnic education policies and pupils' actual classroom experiences. Although aspects of all these issues have been investigated and reported in the annex papers to the Swann Report (DES, 1985) and elsewhere, it is believed that there is still considerable scope and an urgent need for further work in the

field of this enquiry.

Section II The educational and employment life chances of first- and second-generation ethnic minority immigrants in Britain: A historical background

In an attempt to establish the extent to which VEMGM children do not share with their majority group peers 'equality of opportunity', this section considers the available evidence on levels of employment and education amongst members of ethnic minority groups in Britain and takes a comparative look at the life chances of first- and second-generation members. First, there is a clear need to clarify the concept of 'ethnic minority group'.

Whilst those who find themselves at the receiving end may be impatient with disputes about definitions, defining concepts in the field of this research is not an easy matter as Rattansi with Donald (1993, p. 11) have observed:

... it is as well to acknowledge ... that in studying terms like 'race', 'racism', 'racial discrimination', 'ethnicity', 'ethnic minorities', 'ethnocentricity', 'national community' and so forth, we are dealing with categories which have shifting and disputed meanings. These are performative categories. That is, it is impossible to fix a definition and insist that any other usage is wrong.

Bearing these warnings in mind, for Parekh (1991, p. 184), the most accurate description of contemporary Britain would be as:

a society consisting of ethnic communities, each with its distinctive culture or ways of thought and life.

He continues that:

the Asian and Afro-Caribbean communities are ethnic in nature, that is, physically distinguishable, bonded by social ties arising out of shared customs, language and practice of inter-marriage, and having their distinct history, collective memories, geographical origins, views on life and modes of social organization (Parekh, 1991, p. 184).

Many writers have questioned this sort of emphasis on shared descent rather than political consent as being what defines community and identity (for example, Sollors, 1986). Of 'ethnicity', Cohen and Manion (1983, p. 13) point up the political nature of ethnicity when they say:

... alliances based on ethnicity function as informal *interest* groups operating through shared customs and cultures (My emphasis.)

Both Parekh (1991, p. 184) and Cohen and Manion (1983, p. 13) suggest that there is a relation between 'ethnicity' and 'culture'. Culture, although a complex concept over which there is little agreement, we may take as being:

the typical patterns of social, emotional and intellectual behaviour deriving from a set of shared beliefs and values which are adaptive to the physical environment (Wolfson, 1976).

In short, 'culture' may be thought of as 'apolitical ethnicity'.

The term 'minority' not only refers to the idea that ethnic 'minority' groups (by comparison with ethnic 'majority' groups) consist of relatively small numbers of people, but also to the idea that the power relation of such groups is subordinate to the dominant or majority group. However, given the large number and diversity of ethnic minority

groups in Britain, there is a need to be pragmatic and adopt a more useable operational definition.

Many writers, such as Howitt and Owusu-Bempah (1994, p. 15) for example, use the terms 'black' and 'white' to differentiate between those people's who are the victims of racism (black), and those who are the benefactors of racism (white). I cannot however, entirely agree with them when they ask:

in the end does it matter what people are called if racism continues? Polite and considerate language on its own is not good enough (Howitt and Owusu-Bempah, 1994, p. 15, after Dummett, 1984).

Whilst I agree that of themselves, labels will not eliminate racism, I cannot agree that we should not use 'polite and considerate language' in this field. If we do not, we may 'risk riding roughshod' over people's feelings (Howitt and Owusu-Bempah, 1994, p. 15) through their inclusion in the category 'black'. Here, I am thinking of, for example, many people of Asian and Chinese heritage who object to being called 'black'.

Arguably more importantly, we might take exception to Howitt and Owusu-Bempah's (1994, p. 15) and Dummett's (1984) seeming dismissal of the significance of the labels that people adopt or are ascribed. For example, Rattansi with Donald (1993, p. 11) have observed that:

The important thing is to understand what *effects* ... terms have as they are used in different contexts - in legislation, in political argument, in educational discussions, and in academic research. (My emphasis.)

Thus, for me, labelling and its processes are part of the politics of the discourse of racism.

So, apart from where I am reporting the work of others, where I shall use the terms adopted by these writers, in this research, the term 'visible ethnic minority group membership' (VEMGM) will usually be used 'to denote the victims of racist social systems' (Howitt and Owusu-Bempah, 1994, p. 15).

Thus, it will be used to refer to those groups whose members are *politically 'black'* and so, in the context of present-day British society, its use will largely be referring to people whose heritages are the Caribbean and the Indian subcontinent. In using this generic designation, we shall not, however, be excluding 'black' Africans, Chinese people from Hong Kong and elsewhere, or Arabs from the Middle East. The term 'black' will, however, be used when referring to people of 'black' African heritage.

The generic term, 'indigenous white group membership' (IWGM) (coined by Cohen and Manion, 1994, p. 268), will be used 'to signify the primary benefactors' of racist social systems (Howitt and Owusu-Bempah, 1994, p. 15). It is hoped that the terms adopted in this study for referring to people's ethnicity, are acceptable to them all, irrespective of their skin colour. In short, it is hoped that the terms used are 'polite and considerate'.

The terms 'first- and second-generation' also need some elucidation. The first-generation is usually used to refer to those minority group members who migrated to Britain

having been born elsewhere; they are commonly referred to as 'immigrants'. Strictly, the minority group members who are British-born are referred to as the 'second-generation'.

Such a neat, tidy distinction between the first- and second-generation would be very convenient (if the data were available) but, in discussing their comparative 'life chances', it is inadequate. It is inadequate simply because it does not take into account the fact that not all immigrants, notably many children, received or completed their education before migrating to this country. Some immigrant children (those under school age) will have received no formal education in the homelands of their parents, all of it will have been received in Britain. Even more confounding is the fact that many immigrant children will have had some of their education overseas and some here in Britain.

In an attempt to sort out the untidiness of these categorical artefacts, and their likely confounding influence on the data, in 1972 the DES defined 'immigrant children' as those born overseas and those British-born children whose parents had not been resident in the UK for more than ten years (reported in Jeffcoate and Mayor, 1982, p. 6). In the light of the preceding discussion, this definition must be judged arbitrary and misleading. That said, there is nothing better with which to replace it, and so in this study the distinction will simply be made on whether the data relate to the early (for immigrants), or late (for the second-generation) post-War period, the 'watershed' being around

1970.

Why should we only consider the post-War period, after-all immigration into Britain is not a new phenomenon? In fact, Britain might be thought of as being predominantly peopled by immigrants and their descendants. Again, the need is to reduce the size of the task, and so the focus will be on 'recent' immigration and 'recent' trends in VEMGM people's educational and employment life chances.

Now, perhaps, we have some idea of whom we are attempting to compare. In principle, the task is straightforward enough, in practice, however, there are immense difficulties, simply because the 'evidence' either does not exist or, where it does, is not in appropriate and convenient forms. It is worth briefly looking at these 'evidence' issues through the use of some illustrative examples.

One major problem is that there are no accurate, complete, national statistics on the ethnic composition of Britain's population for any period including that with which we are mainly concerned in this study. Although in the 1971 and 1981 Censuses, heads of households were asked to name their own and (for the first time in a national census) their parents' places of birth, the accuracy of the data has been questioned both because of under-enumeration in immigrant areas (Peach and Winchester, 1974), and because they do not include many British-born VEMGM people. Although in the 1991 Census, heads of households were asked to name their 'ethnic origins' (reported in Gordon, 1992, p. 17), it is still

likely that the data are inaccurate, if only because of the under-enumeration of people of VEMGM.

Today, however, there are far more British-born VEMGM people. In fact, it has been estimated that only one in ten minority ethnic children aged under five were born outside the United Kingdom (Skellington assisted by Morris, 1992, p. 54). Further, in 1984 the third Policy Studies Institute (PSI) survey estimated that forty per cent of Britain's 'black population' was British born (Brown, 1984, p. 2).

However, these statistics are estimates of the ethnic composition of the United Kingdom rather than 'hard' data. Despite the requirement that with effect from September 1990, all education authority and grant-maintained schools collect ethnically-based data on their pupils and teachers (DES, 1989; Scottish Education Department, 1989), 'hard' data are still difficult to come by. Jeffcoate and Mayor (1982, p.7) have suggested one reason why this is the case:

... some employers and local authority departments ... do keep such statistics, others do not, and those that are kept are often incomplete or unpublished.

In large measure, these problems still pertain today.

Secondly, is the problem presented by the fact that the bases of categorization of the minority groups, and the indices or variables on which they have been classified or measured, are not common across studies. For example, the Labour Force Survey (LFS, 1981, p.22) classified Asians as 'Indian' or 'Pakistani or Bangladeshi' whilst Brown, in his survey

(1984), subdivided Asians into four groups, namely, 'Indian', 'Pakistani', 'Bangladeshi' and 'African Asian'. The situation has not improved during the intervening years since 'the Labour Force Survey, the 1991 census, the Metropolitan Police and the British Crime Survey' all use different ethnic or racial categories (Gordon, 1992, pp. 19-20). So even when data are available they are not easily comparable; this is another feature of the evidence which needs to be kept in mind.

A third problem, alluded to earlier, resides in the fact that where the statistical evidence does exist, often no attempt has been made to distinguish between that relating to the first-, and that to the second-generations as separate groups.

In spite of the inadequacies in the available data, we must now attempt to explore the substantive subject matter of this discussion.

The shortage of statistical evidence about the VEMGs in general is particularly true about their education and even more so for the first-generation; there are no more than a few snippets of information.

With regard to 'West Indian immigrants', Fryer (1984, p. 394) claims that

... of the men who came here, a mere thirteen per cent had no skills; of the women, only five per cent ... One in four of the men, and half of the women were non-manual workers.

Precisely what Fryer means by 'skills' and 'non-manual work' is unclear, but his statement does imply that most of the 'West Indian immigrants' had received at least a basic education and, for many of them, some specific occupational training. That being so, this is contrary to the popular stereotype which suggests that VEMGM workers were all non-skilled, manual.

Similarly, the 'data' presented by Allen and Smith (1974, p. 43) are suggestive of possible levels of educational opportunities in the immigrants' homelands, rather than offering 'hard' evidence of these life chances. These writers have observed that black immigrant workers fulfilled two types of labour requirements. In the period 1952 to 1965, Allen and Smith (1974, p. 43) say that black immigrants,

many at low levels of skill, status and rewards in particular industries ... and (also some) highly skilled and professional workers ... came from Asia and the West Indies to meet specific shortfalls in manpower.

Of this latter group, they continue, and again without citing any statistical evidence, there were

... doctors trained in the Indian subcontinent, businessmen and, in some cases, scientists ... there were fewer such middle class migrants from the West Indies but there were some teachers, journalists and many more nurses (Allen and Smith, 1974, p. 43).

In summary, the evidence we have of adult immigrants' educational life chances is of doubtful validity and offers only a very fragmentary picture.

But what of the educational opportunities of 'immigrant pupils'? Brown (1970), writing of educational provision in Bedford in the 1950's and 60's, said:

The academic standards of many immigrant children still leave them without the basic competence in English to permit further advancement" (Brown, 1970, p. 171).

Brown fails to define 'immigrant children' although he will probably have been speaking of Europeans as well as Asians and African-Caribbeans. Because of the time of which he was writing, we can quite safely assume that he was principally discussing the first-generation. Brown also fails to make it clear on the basis of what evidence, if any, he has made his assessment. And we can only surmise the extent to which his analysis is generalisable to other parts of Britain which also became populated with large numbers of immigrants.

However, some corroboration of Brown's assertion is obtained from Walker (1966/67) who, on reviewing Bedford's educational policy for immigrant children, said that it was guided by 'chance rather than design'. The design, Walker noted, constituted what he called 'first aid', by which he was referring to the hiring of interpreters, the institution of special small classes in English as a Second Language, and the funding of inservice training courses for teachers. The inference seems to be that there was a perceived urgent need to redress many immigrant children's lack of competence in English; a perception probably held by many other educationalists in Britain then (and now). It was as if the acquisition of English language was seen as a first step in immigrants' assimilation of English culture.

The early provision of help offered immigrant children in acquiring English was intended to ensure that they should have the same educational opportunities as the indigenous pupils. This is a point made by Walker (1966/67, p. 329), and also by central government documents of the time.

Whilst this may have been a laudable intention, Little (1978) has concluded, that in effect, and as implemented, the policies often failed to provide equality of opportunity. These policies are seen to have failed in that the teaching of English as a second language for the non-English speaking, VEMGM immigrant children, (mostly those of Indian subcontinental heritage), was most commonly provided through their withdrawal from the mainstream of educational provision. The effect of the withdrawal policy was that many of these pupils were often kept out of the mainstream for two or more years, and so often found themselves irrecoverably behind their IWGM age group peers when they did join the mainstream.

So, we are confronted with a situation in which well qualified immigrants have unskilled jobs, and their children were coming out of schools less skilled than their parents. Here, then, was institutional discrimination or racism of VEMGM children leading to their relative educational failure.

The African-Caribbean children fared no better under these policies. They were generally not recognised as needing specific help in overcoming their common lack of 'British' English. In short, their Creole dialect was generally not

seen to be sufficiently distinct and different from English for them to be given any special teaching. Coard (1971), amongst others, has argued that the education system, by a variety of mechanisms and practices, including inaction regarding the teaching of 'British' English, produced disproportionate numbers of West Indian children in ESN schools. Brittain (1976) also found evidence of large-scale stereotyping of West Indian pupils '... as of low ability and as creating disciplinary problems' which may be linked to the lack of a 'common' language between these pupils and their teachers.

In reality, therefore, the policies did not offer equality of opportunity and were assimilationist, that is, they were concerned to 'fit' the immigrant children into the 'British way of life' as quickly as possible.

In summary, the few shreds of 'evidence' reviewed here, are largely unsupported by hard data and cannot safely be generalised beyond the quite specific contexts which they describe; together then, they present a very incomplete story. It is only possible vaguely to say, that for adult immigrants, the educational opportunities offered in their homelands had been adequate enough to ensure that some of them could attain professional and entrepreneurial status, and that many of the rest had received some basic education. For the immigrant children, wholly or partly educated in Britain, the emphasis, at least in the early days of post-War immigration, was on the provision of resources to help non-English speakers overcome their 'deficit'.

When we consider the educational life chances of the British-born VEMGM children, there are more data available. Perhaps the most important feature highlighted by the data reported in several surveys, is the 'underperformance' of VEMGM children. The most disturbing feature of Little's (1978) findings of a ten-year survey of performance in Inner London schools, was the underachievement of children of West Indian heritage who had received all of their education in Britain, compared with white children from unskilled, working class backgrounds.

More comprehensive statistical data were presented in the Rampton Report (DES, 1981). These data came from a large-scale study of the attainment of 'black school leavers' in six Local Education Authorities (LEAs), representing almost half the VEMGM leavers in this country. These findings tend to confirm those of Little (1978), although they do provide a more detailed account. They show that:

... three per cent of West Indians obtained 5 or more 'O' levels or CSE grades 1 compared with 18 per cent of Asians and 16 per cent of other leavers, 2 per cent of West Indians gained one or more 'A' levels compared with 13 per cent of Asians and 12 per cent of other leavers, and one per cent of West Indians went on to university compared with 3 per cent Asians and 3 per cent of other leavers. These data compare with national maintained school figures of 21 per cent (5 'O' level/CSE passes), 13 per cent (one or more 'A' levels) and 5 per cent (university entry) (cited in Eggleston *et al*, 1986).

What is not clear from these figures however, is whether the 'West Indian' and 'Asian' school samples of this study are more, or less, representative of these populations nationally than the 'other leavers' are.

More recently, Nuttall and Goldstein (1991a) analysed the 1988 GCSE (General Certificate of Secondary Education) examination results. Their study showed that Indian and Pakistani pupils did considerably better than their 'white' classmates, but that Bangladeshi and African-Caribbean pupils did less well than ever compared with their peers. In 1991, Nuttall and Goldstein (1991b) conducted another study, this time for the Association of Metropolitan Authorities of six London boroughs' 1990 GCSE (General Certificate of Secondary Education) examination results. They found that Indian and Pakistani pupils out-performed those of African-Caribbean, English, Scottish, Welsh or Irish heritage.

If these statistics are representative, they suggest that the educational life chances of second-generation Indians and Pakistanis are probably better than those of their immigrant parents. Although, as we have noted earlier, there is no hard evidence on the education of these parents, and so this suggestion must be seen as speculative.

However, we must be concerned about the improvement of the life-chances, compared with those of their parents, of British-born Bangladeshi and African-Caribbean children; their education does not seem to be much of an improvement on that of their parents.

However, Townsend and Brittain (1971) found that 'West Indian immigrant youth were twice as likely as non-immigrants' to pursue education beyond the compulsory school leaving age. It has to be noted, however, that they were more likely to be

repeating GCE (General Certificate of Education) 'O' level and CSE (Certificate of Secondary Education) courses, unlike the 'non-immigrants' who tended to be following GCE 'A' level courses. Nevertheless, these data point up the determination of African-Caribbean children 'to succeed'.

In attempting to extrapolate within group changes over time from between groups data, as has been attempted here with, for example, the Rampton Report statistics (DES, 1981), it has to be recognised that there are dangers. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to suppose that the general improvements in the standard of living occurring since the end of the Second World War, have been enjoyed by all people. Thus, it is highly likely that all children, regardless of their ethnicity, have better educational life chances than their parents had.

What is at issue, however, is what seems to be the inequitable distribution of these general improvements in educational life chances across all ethnic groups, to the particular detriment of children of African-Caribbean or Bangladeshi heritage. Perhaps these children's persistence in education, which we have already noted, is their attempt to overcome the educational disadvantages that they suffer.

I shall conclude this historical analysis of VEMGM people's educational life chances by briefly considering the reasons for these disadvantages, and what must be judged to be the general and relatively poor rate of growth of these chances, for children of VEMGM when compared with those of IWGM.

Allen (1982, p. 32) has identified ways in which VEMGM pupils are at an educational disadvantage, some of which have been discussed above. They include:

the discriminatory attitudes, behaviour and actions of teachers and white pupils involving stereotyping and bullying;

the disparagement of their 'natural' language and culture;

the fact that many of them are not 'natural' speakers of English;

the physically impoverished environments of many of the inner-city schools which they most commonly attend;

their relative under-performance at school.

Whilst this list of disadvantages almost certainly still applies today, more recent research enables us to refine and extend the list.

For example, Wright (1986) and Furlong (1984) found that a disproportionate number of African-Caribbean pupils were assigned to lower streams in schools, often on the grounds of behaviour rather than ability. Wright (1986) also showed how classroom life for African-Caribbean boys and girls tended to be much more conflictual in the comprehensive schools of her research than it was for IWGM or Asian pupils. This, Wright (1986) notes, created a vicious circle in which African-Caribbean boys tended to form sub-cultural groups which took delight in 'baiting the teachers'. In turn, research has shown that teachers tend to 'blame the victim' by using an explanatory 'deficit theory' along the lines of 'African-Caribbean pupils', 'particularly boys', 'underachievement' and 'unco-operative behaviour' are attributed to some cultural or

biological deficiency (Mac an Ghaill, 1988). The major problem, Mac an Ghaill concludes, is not with intrinsic cultural differences, but with racism, operating 'through the existing institutional framework' (1988, p. 186).

Taken together then, this seems to be a formidable list of important factors which still demand the urgent attention of teachers, educational administrators and researchers alike. We must now consider the employment life chances of VEMGM people compared with those of IWGM.

The early immigrants tended to occupy the least secure and least desired jobs. Smith (1977) found that no less than ninety-one per cent of all employed West Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis and eighty per cent of Indians, compared with only sixty per cent of people of IWGM were in unskilled and semi-skilled work. He has also suggested that the relative incidence of shiftwork amongst ethnic minority group men shows that they not only had lower job levels than whites, but were at a lower level on a number of other job criteria.

Although there is less information available for VEMGM women, it seems that their job levels are much lower than for IWGM women. Again for unskilled and semi-skilled work, the figures are forty-seven per cent for West Indians, forty-eight per cent for African Asians, fifty-eight per cent for Indians and only twenty-nine per cent for women of IWGM (Smith, 1977, p. 77).

But what of those migrants mentioned earlier, who came as highly skilled professionals to meet specific shortfalls in the national labour requirements? In 1971, Allen (1982, p. 10) reports, forty per cent of people of IWGM compared with eight per cent of West Indians and Pakistanis and twenty per cent of Indians were employed in professional and white collar jobs. Here then, the migrants were under-represented. What is more, those immigrants in professional jobs were usually to be found at the lower ends of their professional hierarchies.

Allen and Smith's survey (1974) shows that these disparities in job levels do not seem to result from any objective differences between VEMGM and IWGM people regarding, for example, qualifications. On the contrary, Smith (1977) found that thirty-one per cent of VEMGM men with degrees were working in manual jobs compared with none for those of IWGM. Similarly, seventy-two per cent of people of IWGM with no qualifications were in non-manual jobs compared with five per cent of West Indians! These data support Eggleston *et al*'s, contention (1986, p. 5) that often immigrants had to settle for lower status jobs than they had enjoyed at home and often for which they were qualified.

Taken together these data and others suggest, as Allen (1982, p. 10) has noted, that the gap between VEMGM and IWGM male workers did not close over the period up to 1971. The question is: 'Have things improved for the second-generation?'.

The 1981 LFS survey (LFS, 1981) revealed that for all groups of ethnic minority group women the proportions in unskilled and semi-skilled work were still higher than for women of IWGM (West Indians forty-three per cent; Indians thirty-nine per cent; Pakistani or Bangladeshi thirty-four per cent; IWGM thirty-one per cent). These data, when compared with those of Smith (1977) presented earlier, suggest that during the period there was a rise in job levels for VEMGM women.

Brown's data (1984) suggest that there has also been a rise in job levels for VEMGM men. He found that only thirty-five per cent of West Indians in employment were in unskilled and semi-skilled work. The comparable figure for Asians was forty per cent but, however, for IWGM men it was only sixteen per cent.

However, this closure of the gap between the job levels of the VEMGM people compared with IWGM people may have been due to the collapse of job opportunities in the lower socio-economic group categories, which was also accompanied by a reduction in the proportion who actually have jobs. And Smith's data (1977) also reveal that Asians and West Indians still occupied generally low level jobs, a finding which could not be explained by geographical distribution (Brown, 1984) or, as we have seen, lack of appropriate qualifications.

Overall, though, Brown's direct comparison of his 1974 and 1982 data suggested that the gap between VEMGM and IWGM people had closed a little and that there was a small but

noticeable amount of upward job mobility of the people of VEMGM.

Regarding more recent times, it has been observed that some:

advances were made during the 1980s, especially in public-sector employment where councils, despite severe financial constraint, developed positive action programmes, established race relations units, improved training schemes and introduced monitoring of recruitment and employment practices. At the beginning of the 1990s a more mixed picture can be seen in the private sector, with many employers proclaiming themselves committed to equal opportunities but substantial numbers still not keeping records to monitor the progress of their efforts (Skellington assisted by Morris, 1992, p. 133).

Further, the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) (1990) recently concluded that with regard to the employment opportunities of VEMGM graduates, there were few opportunities in the private sector for black and Asian people which 'forces' many Asians into self-employment and many African-Caribbeans into the public sector.

Other recent studies have found negative discrimination and racism, for example, in: the civil service (Janner, 1989); the armed forces (Runnymede Trust, 1989; *Independent*, 1989; Lashmer and Harris, 1986; Barwick, 1990); the Church of England (Sentamu, 1991); the London Underground Limited (CRE, 1991); the trade unions (Mills, 1988); London's equal opportunities and careers services (GLARE, 1989); and the government's Youth Training Scheme in Greater London (Mizen 1990).

Similar patterns of unequal life chances for people of VEMGM

compared with those of IWGM appear when one considers unemployment. Allen (1982, p. 8) reports that the economic activity rate (the proportion of the population sixteen years old and over which is in employment or seeking employment) for VEMGM people has been consistently higher than that of the general population (ninety-five per cent for minority men compared with seventy-seven per cent for IWGM men). It may appear then, that the people of VEMGM experienced low levels of unemployment, but much of this difference can be explained by the different age structure of the VEMG, compared with the IWGM population; the former having a higher proportion of working age people.

The pattern has not shown an improvement in recent years. The LFS (1991) analysis of the unemployment data for the years 1987 to 1989 found that the rate for VEMGM young people was nearly twice that for the young IWGM population. Among sixteen-to-twenty-four-year-olds, the highest unemployment rates were for Pakistani and Bangladeshi people (twenty-seven per cent) and the West Indian/ Guyanese group (twenty-five per cent). The overall unemployment rate for VEMGM people was fourteen per cent compared with nine per cent for those of IWGM.

Regarding VEMGM women, Phizacklea and Wolkowitz (1995, p. 7) say that:

not only are they over-represented in areas of occupational decline and under-represented in the growth sectors, but they are also likely to be working longer hours, in poorer conditions for lower pay than white women.

Furthermore, VEMGM women are at least twice as likely to be unemployed than IWGM women (Roberts, 1994).

Finally, the higher unemployment rates for both VEMGM men and women cannot be explained by differences in levels of qualification (Department of Employment (DoE), 1991, Table 9, p. 68).

Generally, then, the VEMGs have consistently experienced high levels of unemployment. During the period of high migration in the 1960's, unemployment was higher for people of VEMGM than it was in the rest of the population. It was estimated that in 1963 it was four times higher (reported in Jeffcoate and Mayor, 1982). The 1971 Census also showed that West Indian men were experiencing very high unemployment rates. In 1981 the unemployment rates for VEMGM minority group men were estimated to be twenty per cent for Asians, twenty-five per cent for West Indians but only thirteen per cent for IWGM men.

It is also likely that there has been and still is more unemployment of people of VEMGM than the statistics reveal, for there is a generally held belief amongst employment officers that a higher proportion of West Indians fail to register for benefit. This suggestion is supported by the results of a survey conducted in Lewisham on school leavers (CRE, 1978).

Over the last few years the true unemployment rate for people of VEMGM is unknown because the Department for Education and

Employment (DfEE) (formerly the DoE) 'no longer provides a breakdown by ethnic group' (Skellington *et al*, 1992, p. 144). However, the research of Ohri and Faruqi (1988, pp. 68-74) has shown that during the 1970s and 1980s as unemployment rose, the unemployment of people of VEMGM rose faster. This was particularly true for 'young black people and women'.

So, even bearing in mind the general increase in the unemployment rate of the last fifteen years or so, there seems to have been no real improvement in the VEMGM peoples' chances of obtaining and retaining employment compared with those of IWGM.

We can, I think, confidently conclude that the employment life chances of second- compared with first-generation VEMGM people, have shown little, if any, real improvement over the period of this survey. VEMGM people are still generally

... confined to the same areas ... of the economy ... (and so) ... we have moved, over a period of 18 years, from studying the circumstances of immigrants to studying the black population ... only to find that we are still looking at the same thing (Eggleston *et al* 1986, p. 18).

Probably the most important single cause of the lack of improvement in the educational and employment life chances of the VEMGs in Britain in the post-War period, is the negative discrimination exercised against them by the dominant IWGM majority. In short, 'racism is wasting some of the most talented people' (Moore, 1991). The section which follows examines these notions of discrimination in a discussion on the concepts of 'attitudes', 'prejudice' and 'racism'.

Section III Racism and related concepts

The last section concluded that the educational and employment life chances of second generation VEMGM children are little, if any better, than those of their 'immigrant' parents. The suggested reason for this was in terms of racial discrimination which for the moment we take to be, the unfavourable treatment in respect of access to resources, employment and the rights of members of ethnic minority groups. Racism in education is seen as a major social problem (DES, 1985; CRE, 1988; Ranger, 1988; Mac an Ghail, 1988, 1989; Wright, 1986, 1988, 1992a and b; Gillborn, 1990, 1995; Verma *et al*, 1994; amongst others).

Rattansi and Donald (1993, p. 29) ask:

Why has the combination of 'race' and education proved so explosive? One reason may be that educational institutions and processes act as vehicles for wider anxieties about the state of the nation. ...

Swann's recommendations that schools are a key to changing attitudes towards black minorities in a culturally plural and diverse society goes to the heart of the matter. It highlights the significance of education as both a guardian of, and a major formative influence on, definitions of the national culture. Education both preserves and recreates the past in the way it offers selective national images and narratives ... It embodies the future through its role in shaping the perceptions and attitudes of children.

This section seeks to explore and come to a theoretical understanding of 'racial discrimination', in order that we may begin to understand why 'racism in education' is frequently seen as a 'social problem'. In doing so, it aims to set out much of the conceptual basis of this study for, as we have already noted (pp. 8 and 10), although in different

terms, the categories and concepts used are:

highly significant to ways of thinking about 'race' and education, to the generation of educational policy and practice ... (and) ... to the collection of data (Demaine, 1989).

This discussion will then, entail the analytical and reasoned discussion of 'racism' and important concepts related to it, including 'race', 'ethnicity', 'attitude', 'prejudice' and 'stereotype'.

As a basis for this discussion, I propose starting from the definition of racism used in the Rampton Report (DES, 1981) which considered the educational life chances of African-Caribbean children in the English school system. This definition has been selected because it is an important example of a *type of definition* which continues to be influential in shaping thinking about the issue of racism amongst teachers, educators and policy makers. Also, it is essentially the same as the definition used by the Swann Report (DES, 1985), which presented the final report on the issues considered by the Rampton Committee (DES, 1981), except that it had the wider brief to consider the educational opportunities of all ethnic minority children.

The Rampton Report defines racism in the following terms:

In our view racism describes a set of attitudes and behaviour towards people of another race which is based on the belief that races are distinct and can be graded as 'superior' or 'inferior'. A racist is therefore someone who believes that people of a particular race, colour or national origin are inherently inferior, so that their identity, culture, self-esteem, views and feelings are of less value than his or her own and can be disregarded or treated as less important (DES, 1981, p. 12).

In attempting an analysis of the meaning of this definition, we shall begin by discussing the concept of 'race' as used, and thereby, attempt to identify the tradition from which this *kind* of definition of racism springs. Having identified this tradition, and attempted to analyse its implications for human relationships at a variety of levels, from the individual to the societal, we shall be in a better position to assess the usefulness of such definitions before concluding with a discussion of how it might be made more useful. In so doing, it is hoped that a more satisfactory definition will be derived.

'Race'

The biological concept of 'race' invokes the idea that it is possible to identify subgroups of humankind whose psychological behaviour can be attributed to obvious, distinctive inherited characteristics, 'visible' indicators of which typically include hair-type and skin colour. Type names are given to people who possess sets of socially-selected visible, or physical characteristics. Examples are: Caucasian (of white European appearance); Negro (black African); and Mongoloid (Chinese). As Cohen and Manion (1983, p. 12) have observed there is no general agreement on either the exact number or on the precise criteria by which 'races' may be discriminated from one another. Keeton (1980) has said that some categorizations (like those given above) recognise as many as thirty races while others use as few as three, and Lewontin (1987, pp. 199-200) says that some typologies included as many as a hundred 'races'!

Recent advances in genetics force us to call into question the legitimacy and utility of the concept of 'race'. Some of these arguments against the use of the term include the following:

It has been noted that biological characteristics, visible or not,

... do not cause the behaviour of the people these properties belong to. Therefore race cannot be a basis for explaining or inferring human conduct. In the light of these ... difficulties do we need the concept of race at all? (Parekh, 1982, p. 5).

It is now generally accepted amongst biologist's that an organism's genetic inheritance, and its environment are interactively or multiplicatively, rather than simply additively, influential in the genotype's expression. The major consequence of this finding, is that most biologists and psychologists now acknowledge the futility of attempting to assign weightings to the relative contribution of genetic and environmental factors, as expressed in the individual.

We now know that genetic diversity within, is as great as that between groups, and that even if there ever did exist 'pure' races, as a result of intermingling over the centuries, they are unlikely to exist today.

Allport (1954) has observed:

The concept of race so popular today is in reality an anachronism. Even if it were once applicable, it is scarcely so any longer, owing to the endless dilution of human stocks through cross-mating.

Following from this, it is argued that all people living

are members of the same species and are derived from a common stock.

All of us have the capacity to advance culturally and this is surely of greater significance than our biological and genetic evolution.

In view of these doubts about the psychological, social, economic and political validity of the concept of 'race', it is perhaps not surprising that Ashley-Montagu (1950) describes 'race' as a 'mischievous and retardative term in social science'. More recently, Parekh (1985, p. 5) has concluded that the concept of 'race ... has no explanatory value and only creates confusion and muddle'.

While this is a view now widely shared by most biological and social scientists, 'race', as a biological concept, is used by many people in their everyday lives, as though it has some legitimate, socially shared meaning. There are also still some scientists who maintain that there are genetic differences between 'races' which result in some races being, for example, intellectually superior to others (for example, Eysenck, 1971, 1973; Jensen, 1969; Rushton, 1985, 1988, 1989, 1990); these arguments constitute what has become called 'scientific racism'.

For such people, laymen and scientists alike, 'race' is an objective, scientific, self-evident 'fact' which can be used to explain the position of, for example, a 'black' minority in a predominantly 'white' society such as our own. However,

like so many 'facts', the concept of 'race' is socially constructed and is of dubious scientific worth.

That said, Rattansi with Donald (1993) say that:

The concept of 'race' presents us with a paradox. On the one hand, there are good (scientific) grounds for saying that 'there's no such thing as "race"'. And yet, on the other hand, the category of 'race' clearly has real effects. It continues to affect the lives of many people. We therefore need a definition that can take account of both sides of this paradox (p. 70).

Rattansi with Donald (1993, p. 70) argue that 'race' is best defined, in Omi and Winant's (1986) terms, as:

an unstable and 'decentered' complex of social meanings constantly being transformed by political struggle (Omi and Winant, 1986, p. 68).

This definition switches the field of the debate towards questions about meanings and power about which there will be more later.

If the concept of 'race' is of dubious scientific worth, is it not also true of its derivative, the concept of 'racism', at least as defined in the Rampton Report (DES, 1981)?

While we may reject the concept of race we may nevertheless, retain the concept of racism. It is not inconsistent to say that although humankind cannot be objectively and meaningfully categorized into races, some people *think* that it can be so categorized. This is the justification for the use of the concept of racism throughout this study. However, racism is undoubtedly an ambiguous and frequently loosely used concept and it is for these reasons that we must now

begin to question Rampton's (DES, 1981) definition of racism.

Ethnicity

Rampton's (DES, 1981) definition of racism broadly corresponds with what most 'ordinary' people would understand by the term in the sense of an ideology, that is, as a body of ideas, beliefs, values and affective orientations which are promoted, consciously or unconsciously, to maintain the privilege and position of a particular group in society. In fact, in social science, racism is often defined as a form of ideology and it exists as a range of competing definitions as to the 'sort of ideas' it comprises.

In Rampton's (DES, 1981) definition racism is conceived of as being composed of three sorts of ideas. Racism is seen as:

- being located within the minds and behaviour of individuals;

- requiring a combination of attitudinal and behavioural components;

- only being exhibited by *individuals* who perceive themselves to be inherently 'superior' to the target individuals or groups.

In this last idea, Rampton's (DES, 1981) definition (p. 32 above) is confused for, according to the second sentence, target individuals or groups include: 'people of a particular race, colour or nationality', whereas in the first sentence, only 'race' is specified. In this first sentence the possibility that 'race' is a social construction is recognised. The second sentence, however, uses the term 'race' as though it were a 'scientific fact'. Here, then,

there is an ambivalence about the scientific and popular conceptions of 'race'. We should also note that the concepts of race and nationality, rather than of 'ethnicity', are used. We noted in Section I (pp. 8-9) that the concept of ethnicity carries a more powerful, accurate and useful *political* idea than the simplistic biological ideas contained in the concept of race.

It seems, then, that there are some basic conceptual confusions in Rampton's (DES, 1981) definition of racism; we would do well to keep these in mind.

The definition of racism to be used in this study is:

to refer to a variety of attitudes, practices and types of behaviour, which may not necessarily be either overt or intentional, but which serve to discriminate against or marginalize people judged to be of 'another race' (The Course Team, 1993, p. 5).

We might also note that we can draw distinctions between racism at the *structural* (state), *institutional* and *interpersonal* levels and between *direct* and *indirect* forms of racism.

Throughout this study the term ethnicity, for the reasons we have discussed, will be used in preference to the term 'race', except where the context demands otherwise. Now we must turn to the more substantive conceptual and ideological 'sorts of ideas' contained in the definition.

Attitudes

According to the Rampton (DES, 1981) definition (and most others) racism is heavily dependent on 'attitudes' and so we need to explore this concept in some depth.

Almost all definitions of 'attitude' toward some significant aspect of a person's world involve a composite expression of what she thinks, feels and does with respect to that aspect of the world.

Thinking (the cognitive aspect) is based on knowledge but more importantly, it reflects beliefs (judgments about the truth or falsity of relations between objects and ideas) and how knowledge is selected and organised into belief systems. In turn, what somebody feels (the affective aspect) will be based on these selected and organised beliefs, rather than on her total knowledge about a topic. The relation between beliefs and feelings and what a person actually does (the behavioural aspect) is complex; we shall return to this later.

When particular systems of belief are sufficiently common in a culture they may make up a socially meaningful 'package'. They may be based on social values and culturally-accepted ways of looking at and interpreting the world. In some cases an over-simplified 'package' of beliefs becomes a stereotype. 'Humour' based on 'races' and gender and ethnic and national groups typically appeals to stereotyped images. Most accounts of racism, including Rampton's (DES, 1981), recognise the importance of the stereotyping of ethnic groupings.

Another rather different definition of 'attitude' is:

... an attitude is a predisposition to experience a class of objects in characteristic ways; and to act with respect to these objects in a characteristic fashion. In brief, an attitude is a predisposition to experience, to be motivated by, and to act toward, a class of objects in a predictable manner (Smith *et al*, 1956, p. 30).

This definition seems to place relatively little emphasis on the cognitive aspect. It is also worth noting that Smith *et al* (1956) carefully distinguish between the *topic* of someone's attitude, this being the commonly held and '... socially defined entities of history books and newspaper columns ...' (p. 30), and a person's unique view of the *attitude object* as it exists for her, therefore, a discriminable part of her personal view of the world.

What is certain is that it seems to be important for us to *hold* and to *express* attitudes towards people, events and things. It is important for us to organise the facts in a way that is appropriate to our wider knowledge and belief systems and values, and it is important to be able to summarize our position in terms of an overall favourable or unfavourable response. But why is this so? One common explanation is in terms of social comparison processes (Festinger, 1954). This thesis argues that it is only by comparing our own beliefs and feelings with those of other people that we can obtain feedback about what is happening, or establish a negotiated social reality, and discover what attitudes are appropriate to our personal identity and as markers of our social identity. But this still does not explain why or how our attitudes function as mediators

between ourselves and the environment. We examine this issue next.

In their study of attitudes, Smith et al (1956) aimed to discover what function a person's attitudes serve in her everyday life, and how these attitudes relate to personality. Their empirical study was based on an in-depth, multi-method approach with only a small and unrepresentative sample of ten American men; it is, nevertheless, a classic. It was begun in 1947 as these psychologists returned to 'proper theoretical' psychology after their war service as applied psychologists. In the introduction of their book *Opinions and Personality*, Smith et al, claim that attitudes serve the important function of enabling:

... man's attempt to *meet and master* his world. They are an integral part of his personality (p. 1; my emphasis).

The phrase '... meet and master the world' reminds us that our attitudes guide the *selectivity* by which we construct our own version of reality and, second, that our attitudes underlie the *overt expressions* (verbal and behavioural) by which each of us characteristically copes with and acts upon the world. For Smith et al (1956), it is both the *content* of attitudes, that is, what a person chooses to believe, and the characteristic degree of differentiation, organization, strength of feeling, and style of behavioural expression that are seen as contributing to the interdependence of attitudes and personality.

Having attempted to clarify the key concepts of 'race' and

'attitude' as they relate to 'racism', we must now consider various explanations of racism at each of the levels of analysis from the personal to the societal. We shall begin by considering the concept of 'prejudice'.

Accounts of prejudice: the individual level of analysis

Accounts of racism at the level of the individual are psychological in nature and are collectively described as 'syndrome theories'; they all have their origins in the work of Freud, particularly *Civilisation and its Discontents* (Freud, 1930). Central to the thesis of syndrome theories - and many others - is their invocation of the notion of 'prejudice'. So now we need to look more closely at what we mean by prejudice, how prejudiced attitudes relate to personality, and the range of alternative explanations for prejudice.

As a working definition, we may think of a prejudice as a set of stereotyped beliefs, associated with strong feelings (usually negative) which is resistant to new information and change. We all have some prejudices, for example, perhaps towards relatively 'non-consequential' objects or things such as 'life on Mars' or 'the taste of Californian wine' and we are all capable of prejudicial thinking. But what of those 'consequential' prejudices many of us have about people, and what about those of us who may be described as having a prejudiced personality?

Allport, in his seminal work on *The Nature of Prejudice*

(1954), defines prejudice as:

... an avertive or hostile attitude toward a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group (Allport, 1954, p. 7).

He continues that:

... ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalisation. It may be felt or it may be expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group (Allport, 1954, p. 10).

However, it is not clear from these definitions whether we should think of prejudiced people as having a *personality type* or, whether we should attribute prejudice to social and cultural values. According to the second view, prejudice can be seen as behaviour in accord with a 'norm'. And such a norm might be variably maintained during different historical periods, and in different cultures by the prevalent information environment, value systems and social structure. I shall turn to this second viewpoint later. Given definitions of prejudice such as those provided above, it is perhaps, understandable that 'the motor force of prejudice was searched for in the individual's psychology' (Husband, 1982a, p. 18).

Smith et al, (1956) identified three functions served by holding an attitude, they called them *object appraisal*, *social adjustment*, and *externalization*. The *first adjustive function* of object appraisal of a person's attitude is a ready-made way of sizing up and categorizing objects and events. Smith et al's (1956) case studies showed that there were considerable differences in the way the men in their

sample habitually appraised their environment. For example, they concluded that two of the men represented extremes in *openness*:

... one man (Chatwell) feels impelled to scan events and issues in order that he may assure a proper balance in his views. Another (Clark) who handles the topic of Russia and Communism as something to be avoided, operates with a dense filter rather than a scanner when it comes to appraising events (Smith *et al*, 1956, p. 261).

It seems that Clark possesses what we might consider to be a prejudiced personality. He consistently appears to 'meet' the world with a closed and narrow cognitive style which blunts differentiation of topics and serves to protect an apprehensive, conventional and stereotyped view of the world.

Variations amongst people in the cognitive styles they use to make judgments or categorize events, have been explored and in some cases, related to other cognitive abilities, notably intelligence and cognitive complexity, and patterns of values and beliefs. For example, Kelly's Repertory Grid method (1955) has been used to show the extent to which individuals vary in cognitive complexity (Bieri and Blacker, 1956); and Pettigrew (1958) found that individuals consistently use narrow, medium or broad category definitions.

A leading researcher in the field of cognitive styles, belief systems and personality is Rokeach. He devised a measure of narrow-mindedness where subjects were asked to define ten terms such as Catholicism, Facism and Democracy and then write a paragraph showing how the terms might be interrelated. Rokeach (1951) showed that a person's

narrow-mindedness, or 'intolerance of ambiguity' (Thomas, 1996, p. 322), is matched by a characteristic use of narrow category widths and by low cognitive complexity. Thomas (1996, p. 322) says that:

What follows is a controlling and often irrational orientation, in which the external world is mentally converted into something strong, simple and absolute ... This defensive system is often associated with stereotyped attitudes and racial prejudice.

Rokeach thus established a link between styles of making judgments about the world and the organization of knowledge. He concluded that people with high degrees of cognitive complexity are more likely to *have*, and to be relatively comfortable *with*, conflicting and inconsistent beliefs. This type of individual is less likely to have stereotyped 'packages' of beliefs, and less likely to have narrow and closed views. In other words, she is less likely to be prejudiced. Finally, it is important to note that Rokeach claims virtually no correlation between open/closed-mindedness and intelligence.

Another early researcher who attempted to relate cognitive style to personality is Frenkel-Brunswick (1949). He explored the idea that people differ in their ability to tolerate ambiguities, inconsistencies and surprises. Frenkel-Brunswick showed that those individuals who have difficulty in coping with ambiguity tend to fixate quickly on one concrete interpretation. This leads people, he suggests, to a preferred style of coping with problems, conceptualising the world and their interpersonal relations. However, unlike Rokeach's claim that dogmatism is not related to

intelligence, work on the 'tolerance of ambiguity' (Guilford *et al*, 1959) suggests that 'closed thinking' tends to be negatively related to other tests of thinking ability. The implication of this is that people with low tolerance of ambiguity may be less intelligent and less creative than those who can deal with ambiguous situations.

So far most of the emphasis in attempting to explain prejudice has been on the cognitive basis of attitude, but prejudice is much more than this. A prejudiced attitude, as well as being stereotyped, usually has a strong emotive component, and has implications for discriminatory behaviour. We need to consider another of Smith *et al*'s (1956) functions of attitudes, that of externalization.

Externalisation is seen to provide one explanation for the intensity of feeling and the goads to discriminatory behaviour that are associated with strong prejudice. Smith *et al* described externalization of affect and action as a form of displacement:

Externalization occurs when an individual, often responding unconsciously, senses an analogy between a perceived environmental event and some unresolved inner problem. He adopts an attitude towards the event in question which is a transformed version of his way of dealing with his inner difficulty (Smith *et al*, 1956, p. 43).

Here externalization is used as a broader concept than Freud's 'displacement' and 'projection'. The externalization function of attitudes suggests that prejudiced attitudes are the result of early experiences, although not necessarily in childhood. Some of the Freudian based, or syndrome theories,

will now be examined.

An early account of prejudice, developed by Dollard *et al* (1939), is known as frustration-aggression theory. This theory hypothesizes that prejudice (and aggression) increases as a function of frustration with, for example, personal unemployment, which results in its displacement onto an ethnic minority group. Such groups are used as scapegoats.

Although some support for scapegoating theory has been obtained (see for example, Dollard *et al*, 1939; Verma and Bagley, 1975; Wilson, 1973), a number of difficulties with the theory remain. These difficulties include:

The fact that a causal relationship between frustration and aggression has not been established; it is possible, for example, that frustration may be a result of prejudice rather than its cause;

The theory is most often based on *post hoc* explanations which makes validation impossible;

The theory provides a poor basis for generalising from attitudes that arise from frustrating experiences to the actual expression of aggressive behaviour.

Berkowitz (1962, 1965), on the basis of his research evidence, has suggested an important revision to the frustration-aggression theory. He claims that it is not sufficient to see aggression as being spontaneously displaced on to some outgroup. Rather, he says, it is essential to try to understand the circumstances under which scapegoating occurs. Berkowitz, like Billig (1976) stresses that explanations of prejudice which rely solely upon individual psychology are inadequate, and he has suggested that a more satisfactory explanation will benefit from taking into

account the social relations between groups.

However, before we consider some group level explanations, another important individual level explanation is based on Adorno *et al*'s research (1950) on the 'authoritarian personality'. In essence, this theory hypothesises that the political, economic and social attitudes of the individual are related, as if by a coherent, ideological framework in an enduring, consistent way of thinking about people and society. The pattern of the 'authoritarian's' strongly held attitudes was thought by Adorno *et al* (1950) to be underlain by personality characteristics derived from childhood experiences of authority-dependence, over-control of emotions and denial, resulting in a displacement of anger that might otherwise be directed at parents to less dangerous target-minority groups. This study then, used a psychodynamic framework to explain how some adults come to be both highly prejudiced, anti-Semitic and also to manifest a coherent set of personality traits. The basis of the explanation is a form of externalization of the overstrict upbringing of the 'authoritarian personality'. In summary then, this theory, would have us believe that 'racism is explained in terms of the personality problems of the racist individual' (Stainton Rogers *et al*, 1995, p. 86).

Adorno *et al*'s (1950) study and their theory have probably been more thoroughly criticised and reanalysed than any other in social psychology. Not the least reason for this is because the research in this tradition has been mostly correlational, and so it is possible that personality may not

be rooted in unconscious motivation but in, perhaps, the norms of the family through social learning, largely by imitation (Bandura and Walters, 1963). This is not to deny the possibility that the 'authoritarian personality' is also related to personality-type, since Bagley *et al* (1979), for example, have obtained some confirmatory evidence in that they found stable extraverts to be the least racist. And it is also possible, as in Berkowitz' revision (1962, 1965) of frustration-aggression theory, that the 'authoritarian personality' is associated with a common factor such as poor housing or low socio-economic status. Billig (1978) suggests that a combination of poor education, poor socio-economic status and low intelligence may well explain the 'authoritarian personality'. However, as Henriques *et al* (1984) argue, 'authoritarian personality' theory detracts attention away from institutional racism. Further, it does not explain why particular minority groups become the targets of racism.

Despite all of these criticisms, the Adorno *et al* (1950) study generated much research (over 400 papers were written in the twenty years or so following its publication, Kirscht and Dillehay, 1967) into anti-Semitism and colour prejudice in the United States of America, South Africa and Britain. This research consistently suggested that about ten per cent of those investigated could be described as 'rabidly prejudiced and appeared to fit the authoritarian mould' (Husband, 1982a, pp. 21-2).

Pettigrew, in his comparative, authoritarian personality

study (1958), carried out in the United States and South Africa, did not find that personality characteristics were a good predictor of an individual's attitudes toward black people. In fact, his research led him to conclude that social conformity, that is, a psychological need to act according to the norms of society, was a better predictor of whether or not an individual would be 'racially' prejudiced. Smith et al (1956) would have predicted the outcome of Pettigrew's research for they claim that:

... we would do well to think of man's attitudes as his equipment for dealing with reality ... it is, essentially, an apparatus for balancing the demands of inner functioning and the demands of the environment. One cannot predict a man's opinions by knowledge of his personality alone or of his environment alone. Both must enter into any predictive formula (p. 31).

Drawing together the loose ends of the individual level theories and the findings of their researches, the recurring implication is that learned cultural norms seem to be more potent determinants of 'racial' prejudice than are the personality characteristics or internal states of mind of individuals. So, although, as Husband (1982a, p. 22) concludes:

a personality variable ... cannot be excluded, individual level explanations of prejudice represent, at best, only a partial explanation.

Now we must turn to the second 'sort of idea' contained in Rampton's (DES, 1981) definition, that is, that racism can only be exhibited when the associated attitudes and behaviour occur in combination. Assuming that attitudes have a knowledge component of which people may be *consciously* aware, the implication of this idea is that an individual can only

act in a racist way if she *knows* that her attitude is racist and that it is directing her behaviour. There are serious problems with this contention which centre on the relation between attitudes and behaviour. We shall now address this issue.

Although the concept of attitude was central - at times hailed as the key concept (Allport, 1954) - to the beginnings of social psychology and despite enormous research effort on the topic, there is still no clearly established causal link which suggests that attitudes *predict* behaviour. On the contrary, LaPiere's classic empirical field study (1934) showed quite clearly that attitudes, as measured, do not predict what people do. Despite this early contra-indication, research which assumed that attitudes underlie behaviour continued. Using a set of strict criteria for inclusion, Wicker (1969) reviewed forty-seven attitude studies completed between 1934 and 1969. He came to the conclusion that:

... the review provides little evidence to support the postulated existence of stable, underlying attitudes within the individual which influence both his verbal expressions and his actions (Wicker, 1969, p. 75).

In essence, the question 'Do attitudes predict behaviour?' is not simple and clear cut (McGuire, 1986). There is no 'yes' or 'no' answer. There also remains the possibility that in some circumstances our attitudes are caused by our behaviour. We have all been in the situation of having to choose between two courses of action and have found, after committing ourselves to one of the options that the unchosen one

suddenly seems much less attractive; we often rationalise our decision after-the-event. Our attempts to maintain consistency between our beliefs and behaviour have been the subject of extensive but largely inconclusive investigation, most notably by Festinger in the development of his cognitive dissonance theory (1957) which seeks to explain how we cope with dissonant or 'non-fitting relations' amongst our attitudes and behaviour.

However, Stainton Rogers *et al* (1995, p. 125) have said that:

... Festinger and his colleagues achieved no more than to demonstrate ... that they shared a set of understandings with the subjects about how we are supposed to conduct ourselves

Undoubtedly, one of the main reasons for this failure of all the research effort (Stainton Rogers *et al*, 1995, p. 112), is the grave difficulty psychologists have experienced in defining and measuring attitudes, certainly in ways which deal with the complexity of 'real life'.

Surely, however, in terms of our social behaviour, our attitudes are important only to the extent that they are *revealed* in observable behaviour and actions in the social world? What really counts in the social world is the ways in which we behave and act. In fact, there is evidence that racist attitudes, as they have been measured, are likely to be suppressed when to do so would result in criticism (Husband, 1982a, p. 8). And ultimately, do we have to be *consciously* aware of our racist attitudes, as Rampton (DES, 1981) suggests we should, before we can be accused of racism?

So the question becomes: 'Taking racism as defined by Rampton, what are the effects of racist acts and behaviour on the individual?' Rampton (DES, 1981) seems to envisage that such effects of racism entirely consist of those arising from highly localised incidences such as the verbal abuse of individuals; this is what we might term 'personal racism'. Parekh (1982, p. 5) describes this sort of racism as:

dislike for or antipathy to another race ... it may simply be an emotional attitude.

Rampton's (DES, 1981) definition identifies some of the potentially damaging effects of individual racism on the target person's self-esteem (one's evaluation of one's worth as a person).

However, it does not seem to be envisaged by Rampton (DES, 1981) that the impact on the self-esteem of the target person of such personal racism will depend on the power differential between the people concerned. Where the target person has less power and social status, for example, a pupil, than the perpetrator of the racial abuse, a teacher, we can predict that the psychological damage will be greater than if the power relation is one of greater equality. This possibility that the effects of individual acts of racism may be related to the way in which the power resources of the racist and may, therefore, be widely felt by all members of an ethnic group, does not seem to be considered as a possibility by Rampton (DES, 1981).

The third 'sort of idea' contained in Rampton's (DES, 1981)

definition is that the only qualification required of a racist is that she believes herself to be 'superior' to people of a particular race, colour or nationality (even, presumably and ridiculously, her own!). Again, this 'sort of idea' also makes the definition inadequate in two ways.

Firstly, an issue which we have discussed above, it contains no specification that the belief must be somehow actualized in discriminatory behaviour. Secondly, it means that *everybody*, irrespective of ethnicity, colour, creed, social class and so on can be racist. In this idea Rampton (DES, 1981) seems to be confusing and even equating *racism* with *racial prejudice* or *racialism* (Bourne and Sivanandan, 1980, pp. 345-6). On the basis of the earlier discussion on prejudicial attitudes, we can conclude that everybody has the *capacity* to be racially prejudiced but now we must consider whether it is possible for everybody to be racist. Before doing this, however, we need to summarize the discussion of Rampton's (DES, 1981) definition.

This definition contains two major related weaknesses. Firstly, it ignores the possibility that there are types of racism other than those couched in terms of the individual and secondly, it ignores the idea that racism fundamentally concerns the power relations between ethnic majority and minority groups. We must now explore the limitations of Rampton's (DES, 1981) definition and suggest ways in which it might be made more useful.

In attempting to construct a more satisfactory definition of

racism, we need to consider the ways in which group and societal levels of understanding and explanation have illuminated the issues of prejudice and racism.

Group level explanations of prejudice and racism

What is required in an adequate definition of racism is an understanding that the 'objective' lowly status, in terms of, for example, employment, housing and education, of the VEMGM British people, takes on the 'subjective' meaning of 'racial inferiority' which the IWGM dominant majority brings to the situation of VEMGM people. In considering the evidence on the effects of people's intergroup perceptions and behaviour on their thinking about 'races', we shall be going some way to meeting this requirement of constructing a more adequate understanding of racism.

In turning to the intergroup relations between people we need to define the concepts of ingroup and outgroup. Those social units of which one feels psychologically a part can be described as one's ingroups. Those units of which a person does not feel a part and from which she wishes to distinguish herself constitutes her outgroups. We might legitimately conceive the term 'group' to include small primary groups such as the family, as well as larger one's such as religious, ethnic and national groups.

An early theory of the roots of prejudice stems from Freud's ideas on intergroup behaviour which he saw as arising from ingroup over-evaluation and hostility toward outgroups

which was a necessary consequence of the nature of the bonds within a group as, he argued, in the family. The difficulty with this idea, as with so much of Freud's work, is that it is not falsifiable, except on the basis of phenomenologically testing his account by either constructing an alternative which is equally comprehensive and plausible, or by 'thinking away' the one which he proposes. That is, by asking ourselves to manage a conceptualization of reality which does not include the cited constituents. Billig (1976, p. 24) has dismissed this Freudian account thus:

it is not a social theory but a reduction of complex social phenomena ... to an individual or interpersonal psychology, in which the family becomes the prototype of the social group.

Nevertheless, psychologically, identification with an ingroup is often created or strengthened by rejection or discrimination from powerful outgroups. For example, in this country, many Commonwealth immigrants arrived considering themselves to be British but they have too often felt the need to retreat into a stronger identification with their country of origin because of the social categorizations imposed upon them by the host IWGM community. This treatment is perhaps particularly hard for the United Kingdom born children of immigrants who feel rejected and do not have a strong affinity with the their parents' homeland. As a possible consequence, African-Caribbean children in Britain often adopt a dialect, Black English, which strengthens their identity with the Caribbean (Hewitt, 1982).

This sort of rejection experienced by ethnic group members is

based on Freud's notion of ingroup over-evaluation or *glorification*. By this is meant:

the ... invidious comparison in which the symbols and values of one group become objects of attachment and pride while the symbols and values of another become objects of disparagement and contempt ... it is a form of minimal racism (Cohen and Manion, 1983, p. 13).

The power of ingroup identification and glorification has been demonstrated in a classic series of experiments which focussed on small groups of boys (who had no or little previous knowledge of one another) at summer camps (Sherif and Sherif, 1953; Sherif, White and Harvey, 1955; Sherif *et al*, 1961). Despite the fact that the boys at these camps were randomly or arbitrarily allocated to groups, it soon became noticeable that each group developed strong ingroup feelings. It was also found that each group quickly developed *unfavourable attitudes and stereotypes* about members of the other groups. Another consequence of these groupings was an *over-evaluation of the in-group* and *animosity towards the outgroup* increased. One conclusion which we can draw from these experiments is that hostile attitudes and behaviour seem to *follow* from the situation and not the other way round. Here then, we might argue that the reduction of cognitive dissonance can occur when attitudes and beliefs are brought into line with behaviour already engaged in. In Durkheim's terms (1897), intergroup behaviour is seen as being 'grounded' in the 'social facts' of competition and cooperation arising from group membership rather than being based on the pre-existing attitudes of individuals.

In summarizing the individual level accounts of prejudicial attitudes, we noted that both Smith *et al* (1956) and Pettigrew (1958) said that we need to take into account environmental factors including those which look on prejudice or overt hostility as a reflection of the 'behavioural norms' and 'collective representations' of society. We shall do this now by considering some of the available research evidence.

In a study of a West Virginian coal-mining community, Minard (1952) showed the interplay between socio-cultural and individual attitudes which deviated from the social norms. At the time of this study, the social norms required the segregation of black and white people. Underground, however, the ethnic groups had face-to-face contacts, shared danger and hardship and did the same work. Minard estimated that sixty per cent of the white miners 'integrated' below ground but 'discriminated' against their black workmates above ground; in essence, they conformed to the prevailing norms of social behaviour. About twenty per cent of the white miners segregated themselves both below and above ground, that is, they did not adopt the social norm. The other twenty per cent attempted integration in both situations; these miners deviated from the prevailing above-ground norm. Those white minorities who did not conform to the social norms may have had personal reasons for not doing so. Alternatively, like Sherif's boys, they may have developed new attitudes as a result of their new experiences.

In a comparative study of the differences between racial

attitudes in the North and South of the United States, Pettigrew (1958; 1964) also showed the powerful effect of the prevailing social norms and the relatively minor part played by personality differences.

So far in this discussion of intergroup relations, we have seen that the attitudes people hold may *precede* interactions between members of different groups. As well as that, they can develop as a *consequence* of social interaction. Now we turn to consider some provocative studies which show that intergroup discrimination may occur with the mere *perception* of the existence of different groups.

The arbitrary division of people into groups has been found by Tajfel and his colleagues to be a sufficient condition for discriminatory behaviour to occur (Tajfel, Billig and Bundy, 1971; Billig and Tajfel, 1973; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel and Turner, 1979). In a series of carefully designed experiments using artificial groups of fourteen and fifteen-year-old Bristol schoolboys, these researchers eliminated the variables of face-to-face contact, conflict of interests, the possibility of any previous hostility or instrumental link between subjects' responses and their self-interest. Their hypothesis was that the act of social categorization *alone*, therefore, into these 'minimal' groups, leads to intergroup behaviours which discriminate against the outgroup and favour the ingroup. The startling outcome of these studies is that Tajfel and his colleagues verified their hypothesis.

So,

one of the central messages of the minimal group research is that any dimension, however trivial, can serve as the kernel for generating intergroup division and conflict (Rothbart and Lewis, 1994, p. 367).

Tajfel and Turner's (1979) account of this result in terms of the concept of social identity (Tajfel, 1974) will assist us in the construction of a more adequate definition of racism.

Social identity is:

that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership (Tajfel, 1974, p. 69).

According to the 'social identity theory' of Tajfel and his colleagues, each individual is seen as subjectively constructing her existence in terms of the values and meanings derived from belonging to a particular group; and it is through an analysis of the relative power and status of different groups that the objective context of an individual's existence can be constructed. But how is this thought to work?

The sense we have of 'group belongingness' depends on our cognitive abilities to make social categorizations and social comparisons.

Thus, it is claimed that categorization, an essential element in concept formation, is the cognitive process through which individuals reduce, to manageable proportions, the vast array and complexity of perceptual data available to them. Social categorization allows individuals to classify and order the environment, and it enables them to define their own place in

society. In short,

social categorization is an inevitable feature of our 'social perceptual apparatus' - we see individuals as members of particular groups with particular attributes (Stainton Rogers *et al*, 1995, p. 86).

The problem with categorization, however, is that it inevitably generates a degree of distortion of the 'real' world which often results in stereotyping. This process of stereotyping simplifies and orders our impressions and perceptions. As Berger and Luckmann (1967) have argued, social reality is not 'out there' simply to be seen and assimilated, but is a construction based on our preconceptions, as well as reflecting the actual events and people which we observe and whose behaviour we interpret. Stereotyping is not only a cognitive process of simplifying and structuring social reality, it also has the function of differentiating ourselves from outgroups and of justifying our actions against such groups. Interestingly then, it seems that stereotyping is a universal feature of humans; we all, as we have observed earlier, have the *capacity* to be 'racially' prejudiced, if not racist. Thus, it seems that the metaphor is still of an individual disorder:

In modern racism the overt symptoms have changed, but the underlying disease remains (Brehm and Kassir, 1990, p. 176).

Tajfel (1974) argues that social comparison processes take place in groups; this is similar to the proposals regarding individuals put forward by Festinger' (1954) which we considered earlier. According to Tajfel (1974), social comparison not only maintains the distinction between ingroup

and outgroup members, it is also a basis for generating conformity within the group, through providing a focus upon the valued group characteristics. Social comparison is an active process of identity construction, not just a passive observation of behaviour. It arises from competing with, and by discriminating against members of other groups. Through these processes, individuals can create the required positive image of their own group, and hence themselves.

In these ways, social groups provide their members with an identification of themselves in social terms (Turner, 1982b), and group behaviour may be conceived as dependent on, and arising from, the functioning of such shared social identifications. Through the process of identifying with a particular group and categorizing oneself as a member, one may be said to develop a social identity. Therefore, it is reasoned, a powerful group maintains its social identity, consisting of its material and perceived inherent superiority, through force and/or the ideological domination of inducing acceptance of inferiority in other groups. From this, racism or negative discrimination, we can argue, fundamentally concerns perceived social identities of and power relations between socially constructed notions of 'superior' and 'inferior' groups. Therefore, the implication of Tajfel's 'social identity theory' is frightening since it seems to argue that:

If intergroup hostility is natural and built into our thought processes as a consequence of categorization, racism, conceived as a form of intergroup hostility ..., may also be construed as natural (Howitt and Owusu-Bempah, 1994, p. 49).

Although the theory leaves a substantial legacy of influence in social psychology, we would do well to bear in mind that it has been criticised on the grounds that its methodological basis, the minimal group paradigm, is seriously flawed (for example, Turner, 1988; Howitt and Owusu-Bempah, 1994) and so, perhaps, we should treat it (along with all other theories) with a healthy scepticism.

Societal level of analysis

If social identity has its possibility in the cognitive processes of social categorization and social comparison, its specific content and structure is determined by mechanisms of a more sociological nature. Hence a more useful definition of racism than Rampton's (DES, 1981) would take into account a macro-level analysis of the organization and structure of society.

An important element in the content of social identity in the context of 'race relations', is what it is to be 'white British'. A thorough account of the historical roots of white British social identity will not be presented here, but it has been argued that it arises from colonialism (see Rex and Tomlinson, 1979; Rex, 1970) and carries with it notions of 'white superiority' and of 'this is our country'. It is further suggested that these notions arise from a sense that the disadvantaged position of ethnic minorities is a natural state of affairs. Thus, racism of this kind is conceived of as a moral and political doctrine. What analyses of racism in terms of colonialism fail to explain, however, is why the

British treated the peoples of India and Africa differently. For example, the British bought and sold black Africans as slaves, but did not do so with Indians.

Another postulated societal level explanation of racism, from the ranks of Marxist scholars (for example, see Tierney, 1982), is that it is the product of capitalism. While this is an important point, it cannot represent a total explanation since racism, for example in ancient Greece and Rome, pre-dates capitalism and it exists in modern communist states, for example, between the Azerbaijanis and Armenians in the Nagorno-Karabakh region of the then USSR in the early 1990s.

Nevertheless, it is analyses such as these that inform definitions of racism in terms of social representations. According to Moscovici (1981) a social representation of some aspect of the world is a systematic body of knowledge, beliefs, values and affective orientations which together provide a 'theory' with which to make sense of the issue concerned, and a language with which to communicate the theory to others. In other words, it provides a means for constructing reality and a guide for behaviour compatible with that view of reality (van Dijk, 1993, p. 38).

Definitions couched in such terms speak of:

... state racism as the official equation of blackness with second-class and undesirable immigrant (Ben-Tovim and Gabriel, 1982, in Husband, 1982b, p. 146)

And, of 'institutionalised racism' which exists irrespective

of, or even despite, the intentions of those who appear to be responsible, in the over-representation of people of VEMGM in poor quality housing, in schools for the educationally subnormal, and in low-paid, dirty, unskilled and semi-skilled work (Rex, 1982).

There remain problems, however, with the incorporation of these ideas into a definition of racism. One such problem is that beyond appealing to commonsense, the veracity of these propositions of state or institutional racism cannot be proved. Another problem is that social representations work has been criticised for taking an overly consensual view of social reality (for example, Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Stainton Rogers, 1991).

A further problem of most of these types of definition resides in the fact that they implicate *all and only* white people. On the basis of arguments presented earlier, such an exclusive implication is in itself racist. However, if one claims that racism is not a personal characteristic but a socially shared ideology - a social representation:

... the charge would only be racist if it maintained that white Britons can only ever be racist in the same way as ... blacks can only ever be inferior to whites (Husband, 1982a, p. 46).

There also exists the problem of how racism displayed by one relatively powerless ethnic minority toward another can be understood and explained, or, is this something other than racism?

A further problem with propositions which allege that all whites are racist because it is they, as the dominant social group, who have most control over the power resources, is that they overlook the fact that the same argument can be applied to relatively powerless sections of the white community, including the National Front! (Husband, 1982a, p. 55).

Constructing a satisfactory, comprehensive definition of racism is clearly fraught with conceptual difficulty. What is clear, however, is that such a definition needs to be informed by all the social and some of the biological sciences for it:

is a product of situations, historical situations, economic situations, political situations, (and) it is not a little demon that emerges in people simply because they are deprived (Schermerhorn, 1970).

Further, Gilroy (1981, p.208) argues:

... different racisms are found in different social formations and historical circumstances.

Hence, Barker (1981) and others (McConahay and Hough, 1976; Kinder and Sears, 1981; Weigel and Howes, 1985; Rattansi with James, 1992) have spoken of the 'new racism' of the 'New Right' (for example in the UK, Flew, 1984; Honeyford, 1983, 1984; Scruton, 1986; Scruton et al, 1985). 'New racism' has been defined as:

It is a theory that I shall call biological or better, pseudo-biological culturalism. Nations on this view are not built out of politics and economics, but out of human nature. It is our biology, our instincts to defend our way of life, traditions and customs against outsiders, not because they are inferior but because they are part of different cultures (Barker, 1981).

Here then, Barker is arguing that racism is now frequently rationalized, by many teachers, researchers and policy-makers, in terms of cultural difference rather than cultural superiority/inferiority. This 'new' racism has been examined by critical social psychologists like Billig (1982, pp. 218-19) who have argued that there has been a subtle and cynical shift in political rhetoric over racism.

Critical social psychologists argue that the study of rhetoric involves not just a shift in methodology towards a 'discourse analysis' approach, but also a shift away from the notion of racism as being located within the individual psyche towards the notion of racism as discursive (specifically argumentative) practice. Thus, for example:

the conditions in which the social psychology of racial prejudice was progressive have been superseded. The racist *status quo* is maintained to a large extent not only through coercive and blatant practices, but through the liberal position which criticises these as aberrations (Henriques *et al*, 1984, p. 88).

Shotter (1993, pp. 2-3) argues strongly against 'individualistic' understandings of issues such as racism in these terms:

knowing ... is not to do with our discovering actualities individually, but with our realising the possibilities we make available to ourselves, between ourselves socially ... It is this kind of knowledge ... that is the special kind of knowledge embodied in the world of a civil society.

That said, and notwithstanding the adopted definition of racism for this research (p. 38), throughout the rest of this study, I feel that we should constantly have in mind the various conceptions of racism that we have encountered, and

we should be prepared to bring an eclectic approach to the problem of thinking about and defining racism, and to the exploration of children's theories of racism.

Before continuing, however, we shall conclude by considering the 'cultural difference' research of Wetherell (1982) on 'minimal' groups which offers some hope regarding the inevitability of racism and intergroup conflict. Wetherell conducted a series of experiments with Polynesian and white New Zealand school children. Although she found that both groups showed an ingroup bias in the allocation of rewards, the Polynesian children displayed much greater generosity towards the outgroup than the white children. These findings were explained by pointing out that Polynesian New Zealanders have maintained their native cultural institutions which are largely based on cooperation (Wetherell, 1982). Furthermore a person's status amongst these people is associated with the extent of her generosity. This research showed, therefore, that the discriminatory behaviour found in Tajfel's minimal group situation can be influenced, against his original expectations, by cultural norms.

We might then speculate that discrimination towards outgroups is not inevitable for whatever of the possible reasons we have discussed. It seems that we might reduce racism and intergroup conflict by becoming more co-operative and through changing our social institutions and structures to reward co-operation rather than competition; there are clear implications for changes in education here.

Certainly, this study is inspired by a desire to develop our knowledge and understanding of racism, so that we might identify some of the changes in education which would help to reduce racism in our schools, as experienced by VEMGM pupils.

We now need to begin the task of discussing the theoretical ideas which underpin the empirical investigation of this study.

Section IV Being a person, social perception and interpersonal relationships; a theoretical account

Bearing in mind that the main purpose of this study is to explore pupils' perceptions of teacher racism, in this Section I intend discussing the theoretical basis of the ideas and concepts which underpin the purpose of the empirical investigation.

First, however, from what theoretical perspective are we to work? Since this study is essentially concerned with the social relations between pupils and teachers, it would seem to be within the realm of what social psychologists would take to be their discipline.

A very recent group of authors of a book on what they call 'critical social psychology' (Stainton Rogers et al, 1995, p. 1), begin by assertively saying:

Many a textbook in social psychology begins by defining its subject-matter, by setting out its mission or by leaping into a sales pitch about how reading it will transform your life. We are not going to do any of these - at least, not in the conventional sense. For a start, ... we see our job as not to define things but to

un-define them! ... In a sense then, this book is a 'savage' attack on the conventional mainstream of social psychology ... its purpose is to be rhetorical and disputational.

For an unconventional text, such an opening statement may be acceptable, but it does not help us greatly except to point up the fact that social psychology is not an 'unproblematic' academic discipline.

In another recent exploration of what social psychology is and should become, Howitt *et al* (1989) fight shy of providing, or even discussing, their definition of what it is until almost the end of their book. There, they point up the 'problematic' nature of social psychology when they say that attempting to define the discipline has 'inherent risks', partly because its boundaries with other disciplines are 'fuzzy', and partly because it is likely to 'create more problems than it solves'. They continue:

it seems unlikely that a terse phrase or two can adequately encapsulate the scope and nature of an entire discipline (Howitt *et al*, 1989, p. 169).

That said, these writers go on to attempt a sketchy, vague definition about the content of the discipline:

Social psychology seems to be about relationships between people and groups of people (p. 169).

Another more recent and confident definition of the discipline is:

We believe the essential subject-matter of social psychology to be the meanings through which each of us makes sense of the social world and acts within it. Such meanings are personal and social constructions which need to be understood in the context of both

individuals and the interactions and social practices in which they engage (Stevens, 1996a, pp. vii-viii).

In essence, although Stevens' definition is more specific than Howitt *et al*'s, they express broadly similar views about the subject-matter and purposes of social psychology.

Interestingly, however, Stevens' 'non-mainstream' definition, unlike Howitt *et al*'s, speaks of a concern with understanding the 'meanings through which each of us makes sense of the social world and acts within it'. Thus, Stevens stresses the significance in social psychology of 'meaning'.

Whichever of these two definitions is more acceptable, and it may be better to combine them, they both provide us with some idea of the flavour of social psychology. Given the aim of this research, it seems reasonable to claim that it is largely social psychological in nature.

One of the problems facing anyone attempting to study the meanings we have of the social behaviour and experience of ourselves and of others, however, is the variety of social psychological approaches and theories which can be used. Unlike Stainton Rogers (1995, Ch. 11) but like Bruner (1990, p. 30; 1996, pp. v-vi) and Stevens (1996b, pp. 32-33), I suggest that it is difficult and unwise to adopt a single theoretical or methodological paradigm. I reason that few disciplines, not least social psychology, are in a position to produce an overall synthesis in terms of a single theory. Even physics, arguably the most advanced science of all, apparently is not in such a position. For, although some time

ago now, the theoretical physicist, Feynman said that:

...our theories of physics...are a multitude of different parts and pieces that do not fit together very well (1965, p. 30).

More recently, a radio discussion between a theoretical physicist and an embryologist (Wolpert and Berry respectively, 1983) on how modern mathematical physics copes with attempting to explain 'chaos' in 'non-ideal states', 'complexity' and 'non-predictability', and gives new meaning to the 'uncertainty principle' through 'catastrophe theory'. Ideas such as these about physics force social psychologists, and other social scientists, to rethink their claim that the social world, behaviour and experience are different because of their complexity and holism.

Kuhn (1970) has suggested that the different paradigms (perspectives) used in the natural sciences tend to exclude each other. Whilst that may be true, perhaps what is required in the social sciences is a willingness to adopt a 'multiple-perspective approach' (Stevens, 1996a, p. vii) in which issues are considered from a variety of theoretical and methodological viewpoints. One reason for adopting such a 'multiple-perspective' approach in the social sciences is that it is unwise to assume (Berger and Luckmann, 1967) that knowledge can be regarded as absolute, as something 'out there' which has only to be discovered. It is wiser to adopt the view that, individually and collectively, we create knowledge (as I hope to show later). A 'constructivist' view tries to make positive use of the different perspectives, accounts and findings of theories and researches. There is a

fuller discussion of 'multiple-perspectivism' in Chapter 2, however, I shall attempt to adopt a 'multiple-perspective' approach here and throughout the remainder of this study.

One important way in which I shall be attempting to use a 'multiple-perspective' approach is through using different 'levels of analysis'. Most often I shall use the personal level of analysis which is centrally concerned with how each participating individual in social interaction perceives and attributes meanings to the other(s). I shall also make considerable use of analysis at the interpersonal level, that is, a concern with what people create between them. Also relevant, is analysis below the level of the person. This focusses on what goes on inside the individual and is largely the domain of psychology and, at the biological level of analysis, the brain sciences. On occasions, I shall also have recourse to the socio-cultural level of analysis, traditionally the home ground of sociologists and anthropologists, in which the focus is on the relationships between individuals, groups and social classes to the broad economic and social structures of society.

Another sense in which I shall try to use a 'multiple-perspective' approach is through attempting to integrate, or, at least, make tenuous links between, what are sometimes regarded as distinct, unrelated or even competing and conflicting ideas and theories from both within, and beyond social psychology. Now we must begin to investigate the meaning of the term what it is to be a 'person'.

Being a person

One of the central aspects of being a person, is a 'consciousness of identity'; your and my awareness that each of us is a particular individual with specific characteristics, a past and a future. Stevens has said of these features that they are:

... underpinned by a profound sense of mystery ... How did you or I come to inhabit the particular world that we do? (Stevens, 1984a, p. 12).

We also probably feel that we experience some degree of control, albeit small, over the course of events in our lives. There is a 'sense of personal agency' about our beings, we have 'the ability to initiate thought and actions' (Stevens, 1996b, p. 16).

Together both of these aspects of our social being, that is, 'our consciousness of identity' and our 'sense of personal agency', Stevens has termed 'our personal worlds' (1984b, p. 3). These worlds are premised on our abilities to acquire and develop 'meanings', by which we mean the capacity to make sense of, and predictions about, our behaviour and the social world in which we live.

Recently, there have appeared some important position statements which argue that the ultimate purpose of social psychology is the exploration of the meanings people have of their social lives and how they come by them (for example, Harré and Secord, 1972; Shotter, 1974; Open University, 1984, 1996; Billig, 1987). I suggest that our 'meanings' are

learned and acquired through interactions with other persons.

But how do we know that this is so?

In attempting to answer this question, we need to consider certain aspects of what happens intrapersonally, that is within persons or minds and, what happens interpersonally, that is between persons or minds and, importantly, how they interactively create our notions of reality or meaning. And we need to begin by addressing the fundamental question: 'How do we know that reality, specifically, in the present context, 'social reality', exists?'.

Perception and social Perception

The simple answer to this question is: 'Through the processes of perception'. But what, exactly, does this mean? The problem of how perception should be defined has baffled philosophers since they began thinking about it. Doubtless, some of this difficulty arises because:

in our attempts to observe and to think about perception, we are dependent upon the very knowledge and the process for its acquisition which we are attempting to explain (Roth, 1976, p. 10).

However, some kind of definition will be helpful. Social perception, as I shall be arguing later, is a special type of perception which may be defined as concerning those processes of acquiring and utilizing information about ourselves and others - characteristics, qualities and inner states - which enable us to make sense of and interact in the social world.

Essentially social perception consists of our judgments of people, including ourselves, and it involves a diverse array of perceptual activities including, seeing, hearing, identifying, recognising, understanding, selecting, classifying, attending and so on; it is then an 'umbrella' term. All of these perceptual activities have the important function of contributing to the structured, organised and meaningful quality of what is perceived. The essential point about perception is that it is fundamental to how we come to 'know' and make sense of the reality which exists both outside and inside ourselves. Perception, it seems, is basic to what it is to be a person and to be able to have interpersonal relations. Crane (1992, p. 1), the philosopher, has pointed up the importance of perception in the following terms:

Any full understanding of the mind must give a central place to perception, since it is through perception that the world meets the mind.

We might say then, that what is perceived provides the basis for the perceiver's interaction with the environment.

The source of all perception is sensory data. Each of our different sense organs (for example, eye, ear) is stimulated by a different physical energy (light, sound respectively, in our examples). Each sense organ is a part of a complex receptive system which is responsible for transforming the physical energy received by the sense organ in a number of ways, and transmitting a signal based upon these transformations. Far from being a simple, direct, passive translation of the sensory stimuli, perception seems to be a

process in which the perceiver is *actively* and *constructively* involved in *making sense of* what is 'out there'. All seeing is 'seeing as'. This is Wittgenstein's (1953) phrase which suggests that we do not just 'see'. We see things 'as' a rainbow, a child, a computer or whatever.

There are two types of evidence which suggest that perception is an active, constructive process which results in a *structured* and *organised* perceptual world. One kind of evidence is neurophysiological and the other concerns the perception of visual illusions and ambiguous figures. In considering the neurophysiological evidence, however briefly, we may be thought to be straying too far from 'social perception' concerned as it is with the 'software' rather than the 'hardware' of the perceptual system. But however complex the connection, psychological processes are accompanied by neurophysiological changes and our social cognitive models of perception have to take account of what is known of the structure and function of the nervous system. In short, the 'hardware' sets limits to perceptual functioning.

From a neurophysiological viewpoint the problem of perceptual representation is as follows. If we consider the human eye, its most important component is the retina, the light sensitive surface at the back of the eye. The retina consists of some 130 million receptor cells containing chemicals which are continually bleached and regenerated when light falls on them. The extent of bleaching is the basis for the signal which an individual retinal receptor cell can

transmit to other levels within the nervous system. Given this mode of action, each individual nerve cell can transmit only two kinds of information: the intensity and the duration of the light which falls upon it.

Now consider the kind of information which our perceptual representation of the world contains: we know the sizes, shapes and colours of objects, their relative positions in space, and how and when they have moved; we know about the order in which events occur and so on. The problem lies in explaining how the 'gap' between the information available from individual light-sensitive cells, and the information available to the observer, is transcended at the neurophysiological level. In simple terms, the perceptual system is adapted to carry out 'coding', that is, selecting, refining and abstracting information so that it is represented in an economical and cognitively manageable manner.

Cognitive psychologists (such as Broadbent, 1958; Treisman, 1964; Deutsch and Deutsch, 1973) studying topics such as subliminal perception and memory, realised that, as we can only attend to a limited amount of incoming information at any one time, we have to be selective and ignore some aspects of the information with which we are dealing. This idea of the limited information processing capacity of the brain and its responsibility for the selectivity of perception, is a basic assumption commonly held by psychologists today (for example, Halliday, 1992, pp. 83-93). It is an assumption in the sense that perception cannot be observed directly but is

inferred on the basis of any information which *can* be obtained from observation - hence people's behaviour is important as we shall discuss later.

Neurophysiological findings obtained from studies on cats and frogs are also significant. Although we need to be wary of the dangers of anthropomorphism (the assumption that an attribute found in one species exists in another), these findings suggest that 'different components of the sensory and perceptual mechanisms are *selectively* responsive to different aspects of the physical world and, what is more, that these mechanisms play a role in shaping and modifying the messages of the sensory data as it is transmitted' (Roth, 1976, p. 13) (see, for example, Hubel, 1963; Hubel and Wiesel, 1959, 1961, 1962, 1979; Hernandez-Peon *et al*, 1956; Lettvin *et al*, 1959; Kandel and Schwartz, 1985). Gregory (1990, p. 48) says:

Hubel and Weisel's findings are of the greatest importance, for they show that there are specific mechanisms in the brain selecting certain features of objects. Perceptions may be built up from combinations of these selected features.

Neurophysiological studies further suggest that the human retina itself, far from supplying a direct copy of the real world, is already acting to select, refine and extract information. The retina is itself a perceptual system, a conclusion reached by Gibson (1966) on the basis of the different kind of evidence obtained from his work in cognitive experimental psychology.

Another kind of evidence for the idea that perception is an active, constructive process is to be found in the study of

perceptual illusions and ambiguous figures. Research on perceptual illusions, in which human beings commonly make mistakes, suggests that perception frequently, and probably pervasively, involves a kind of 'guesswork', in which the perceiver goes beyond what is 'given' or what philosophers call the 'data'. Helmholtz (1866) named this guesswork, '*unconscious inference*', a term currently in favour with experimental and artificial intelligence psychologists.

One artificial intelligence psychologist, Oatley (1978, p. 11), has defined inference as reaching a conclusion about something which cannot be apprehended directly but only on the basis of assumptions, beliefs and various bits of incomplete evidence. And, he says, it is unconscious in the sense that we think we do 'see' directly what is 'out there'. Philosophers refer to these inferences as 'constructs'. Confusingly, perhaps, it is possible that the constructs of one inference may form the data of another.

What we need to bear in mind, however, is that the distinction is a relative not an absolute one since perception may be regarded as consisting of a hierarchy in which the constructs at one level of the hierarchy form the data for the next level of the hierarchy (Halliday, 1992, pp. 110-112). So where 'data' ends and 'constructs' begin is elusive, any search being based on the epistemological misconception that we can speak of the ultimate data of perception or what philosophers have referred to as 'raw uninterpreted data'. Nevertheless, some psychologists distinguish between 'perception' and 'sensation', the latter

being considered equivalent to the unprocessed sensory input or data. But since we never experience a 'pure' sensation, the distinction is nowadays seldom made and we shall not use it here. The better view to take is that the distinction between 'data' and 'constructs' is relative and cannot be taken as denoting 'reality' and 'experience' respectively.

To summarize the position so far, Gregory (1990, p. 221) says:

The large brains of mammals, particularly of humans, allow past experience and anticipation of the future to play a large part in augmenting sensory information, so that we do not perceive the world merely from the sensory information available at any given time, but rather we use this information to test hypotheses of what lies before us. Perception becomes a matter of suggesting and testing hypotheses.

Thus:

Perceptual experience is subjective. Each one of us is able to reflect upon the nature of that experience, and to describe it to others. While the experience is subjective and inaccessible to others, the descriptions of what we can perceive can be shared with others (Wade and Swanston, 1991, p. 27).

Up to this point, it may be assumed that the features of perception are universally common in humans. However, there is also substantial evidence that within broad limits, the individual's perception is idiosyncratic and subject to bias (Taylor et al, 1994, p. 71). There may be biased variations, according 'to pet theories or stereotypes' (Taylor et al, 1994, p. 75) in the *selection* which is made from any available range of stimuli, and in the *kinds of inferences* which are drawn. There may also be differences in the way events are *structured*, in the extent to which

stability is preserved, and in the *meanings* which are assigned to experiences. A number of individual and social factors responsible for perceptual variation in individuals have been identified. Among these factors are *experience*, *mood*, *personality* and *motivation*. These factors may account for differences in perception between individuals as well as for variations in the way the individual perceives her world from one time to another. In addition, *context* and *expectations* influence the individual's perceptual experience.

There is a large body of research evidence on the way in which *experience* shapes perception. Much of this has involved comparisons of the ways in which people from different cultures perceive the world, or, more accurately, perceive visual illusions. For example, while it is usual for people in European cultures to experience the Ponzo perspective illusion, people from some African cultures do not (Segall, Campbell and Herskovits, 1966). Other studies of illusion susceptibility confirm that people from different cultures vary in their perceptual inference habits (for example, Deregowski, 1967; Hudson, 1960; 1967; Jahoda, 1966).

A well-known experiment by Schafer and Murphy (1943) showed that perception is affected by *motivation*. These researchers showed subjects a simple, ambiguous drawing and rewarded them when they saw one of the two possible interpretations of the figure, but money was withdrawn when they saw the other. Over time, further reward increased the likelihood that subjects would see one, rather than the other interpretation.

The effects of motivation on perception are also illustrated in another famous series of experiments on *perceptual defence* (for example, Bruner and Postman, 1947). When words are tachistoscopically flashed very briefly onto a screen so that they are barely recognizable (that is, they are at the *threshold* of recognition) it has been found that people are less able, or less willing, to recognise words with unpleasant emotional connotations such as obscenities.

There is also much evidence that context affects perception. Most of this evidence comes from studies of the perception of form, colour and other physical attributes. Nevertheless, there are some studies which show that context affects social perception too. For example, Mintz (1966) showed that judgments made of people when they are seen in a pleasant room differ from those made when they are presented in less favourable circumstances.

In summary, the human creates a *coherent perceptual world* out of 'the blooming, buzzing confusion of the real world' (Taylor et al, 1994, p. 81); this perceptual world is, within limits, culturally and individually idiosyncratic and created. As Epting (1984, p. 24) has observed:

although there is a real world external to our perceptions of it, the way we ... come to know the world is by placing our interpretations upon it.

We should recall that this is one of the main reasons for recommending a 'multiple-perspective' approach in 'social scientific' enquiry. Now we must look at 'selection' and 'inference', specifically in the context of social

perception.

Earlier it was suggested that perception of the physical world is selective. In our social perceptions too, there is evidence that we select from amongst the bewildering array of data provided by those around us. The selectivity of perception seems to hinge on the fact that not all of the available data is relevant to us (Taylor *et al*, 1994, pp. 71-101). Schutz (1970) has suggested that we employ 'systems of relevances', such as the demands of the situation and what we are 'interested in', in making choices from the available data. Memory, that is, information about the world stored in the head, or a schema (Taylor *et al*, 1994, p. 81), guides our search for information. In other words, stored information guides our perception and perception is also the source of new information.

Clearly, memory and perception are intricately interrelated and both consist of internal representations of the real world. In short, our perceptual selections are based on inferences of what we think is useful to us, in our present context. More than this, however, and as we noted in the last section on racism, Smith *et al* (1956) maintain that attitudes (type of schemas) help us 'to meet and master the world'. This reminds us, first, that the *selectivity* by which we construct our version of reality is guided by our attitudes and opinions and, second, that our attitudes possibly underlie the *overt expressions* (verbal and behavioural) by which each of us characteristically copes with and acts upon the world. In addition, in making

categorizations of things or events we should note that we are implicitly making *predictions* about them (Bruner, 1958), so our perceptions are also future and action oriented.

Tajfel (1969) has also shown that we tend to select and use conceptual categories or dimensions, such as 'warm', 'friendly', 'sad', 'happy', in describing people. It seems likely that the categories we use are those with 'functional significance' (Tajfel, 1969) by which he means those which are useful to us in organising and structuring or 'schematizing' our world. The categories of which language is made up enable us to select in a way which meets the limited capacity of perception and memory. They provide a means of economizing or simplifying (even oversimplifying and stereotyping as we saw in the last section) and, in fact, Bruner (1958) refers to this aspect of perception as 'recoding' in the 'interests of economy'.

With regard to these categorizations, however, we should bear in mind the possibility that our descriptions of our perceptions may be inaccurate, that is in our own terms, for it is philosophically questionable whether we can talk of 'accuracy' in perception. Also, we may not even be able to describe, accurately or not, to our own satisfaction, some of our perceptions (a point to which we shall be returning in later sections of this study). Of course, this is not to deny that we do use categories in our perceptions.

Although more than forty years ago and in the United States, Sarbin (1954) obtained the rather striking finding that women

differed from men in that they tended to use 'personality' variables in describing people, such as 'aggressive' or 'pleasant', whereas men tended to employ 'role' categories such as 'doctor' or 'chairman', in describing stimulus people. These data suggest differences between men and women in the way they see people when there is no specification about the terms in which they *should* see them.

This finding of a possible gender difference picture is complicated by the research of Campbell and Radke-Yarrow (1956) when, again in the United States, they asked children at a summer camp to describe one another. They found that the boys were more likely than the girls to describe children in terms of aggressive, rebellious and non-conforming behaviour. The girls were more likely than the boys to stress nurturant relationships. Furthermore, these researchers were able to identify two types of child perceiver. There were, they said, the 'observers' who carefully watched others and there were the 'provokers' who consistently set about testing their hypotheses by 'trying out' others. There may be other important differences between groups of people in the way in which they see and describe others but we have no knowledge of any other possibilities. And, of course, we should not forget the earlier discussion of the personal and social factors that result in the idiosyncratic nature of people's perceptions.

Three conclusions can be drawn from research into 'person perception', that is, the impressions people form of other people when they first encounter them (Taylor et al, 1994, p.

35). First, people consistently use a rather limited number of perceptual categories even when describing very different kinds of people (for example, Albright *et al*, 1988). Second, Hastorf, Richardson and Dornbusch (1958) found that there is a strong positive correlation between the categories people use in describing others and describing themselves. Third, Hastorf, Richardson and Dornbusch (1958) concluded that the person has a core of generally consistent categories which are used in describing all people, and a set of more particular categories which depend more on situational factors. We may add a fourth conclusion. It is that the findings of researches on perceptual categorization quite clearly suggest that we do not all use the same types of conceptual categories or dimensions (Taylor *et al*, 1994, pp. 46-47). Thus,

Categorization enables us to act upon the world, and the refinement and complexity of our category systems in a particular domain crucially depend upon what we need to do with them (Lalljee, 1996, p. 101).

A moment's thought will perhaps confirm that the conceptual categorizations we use are inferences that we make about people. The inferences we use in social perceptions tend to be different in kind, however, from those we use in our perceptions of the physical world. By and large, inferences about people concern their abstract properties such as fear and friendliness, whilst the world of objects is concrete and 'observable' and, thereby, tends to demand 'lower level' inferences.

From what has been said so far, it seems that the inference

process in social perception commonly relies upon behaviour for its data. However, different theories of social perception accord different status to behaviour as we shall now see.

In theories of impression formation (from within the broader field of person perception) which seek to uncover the processes by which we 'see' others, and on what we base our initial impressions of them, behaviour may be just one of the sources of data upon which the 'static' impressions of personality are based (for example, see the work of Asch, 1946; Kelley, 1950; Luchins, 1957). Although there are serious criticisms which can be levelled at these studies, they make it quite clear that the formation of impressions based on *prior expectations* is extremely relevant to the actual formation of social relationships.

Another viewpoint, that of attribution theory, set off a new stream of thought in social psychology by asking the fundamental question - 'How do people understand others' actions?' (Heider, 1958). The approach derives from the idea that social perception is driven by a desire to know what causes things to happen (Heider and Simmel, 1944). Thus, through the use of linguistic categories we tend to *assign meaning* to our perceptions. For example, to call someone 'sad' is to provide an explanation for, or assign meaning, to her behaviour. According to Heider, the task of the 'ordinary explainer' or 'naive scientist' (that is all of us in our everyday lives), is to decide whether a given action arises from something within the person who is performing it,

or from outside environmental pressure; this remains the core of attribution theory. Heider's concern was that 'ordinary thinking' had to be understood on its own 'surface' terms so that, for example, the hidden significances of the Freudian unconscious were to be avoided; the emphasis then was on understanding observable behaviour. We might note that Piaget (1930) has suggested that children have a firm idea of causality. They tend to explain every event, including the going down of the sun, by attributing to someone the responsibility of 'causing' it.

Icheiser (1949), who was influential on Heider, suggests that the discrepancy between expressions and impressions, is the reason why individuals strive to *control* their behaviour and thus, the impressions that others form of them. This dramaturgical model treats social behaviour 'as if' it were a drama where 'performances' are always subject to scrutiny and, possibly, rejection. The essence of this perspective is captured in Goffman's maxim that 'life is not much of a gamble, but interaction is.' (1959, p. 243). This statement makes it quite clear that in this approach behaviour plays a centrally important role in social perception.

A softer line within this dramaturgical perspective is taken by McCall and Simmons (1966) who think of interaction being based on 'improvisation' rather than 'formal drama' as proposed by Goffman. The improvisational model emphasises the continual interpretation of a partner's performance and the improvisation of one's own, to 'fit in' with that interpretation. Again, in this model there is a clear role

for the use of behavioural data in social perception.

In other studies of 'dynamic' dyadic interaction processes, such as those of Argyle (1973), one participant's non-verbal behaviour is seen as being the major source of 'data', or 'cues', for the other participant and *vice versa* who together, behave according to a set of 'rules' on the basis of their 'definition of the situation'. This model emphasises the selective perception of information and its translation into expressive action. Further, this model suggests that we should view an interaction as involving the planning of social behaviour towards the achievement of the interactors' goals, and as taking account of what the other is up to in order to do this. The interactor is thus involved in complicated cognitive activities involving her partner's behaviour and the translating of this into decisions about how she herself may best behave.

The interactional approach (for example, see Bateson, 1972; Haley, 1976; Jackson, 1957; Watzlawick and Weakland, 1977) similarly sees the behaviours and negotiated, shared perceptions and understandings of interactors as interdependent (and system-like). This approach points up that the meaning of a message is not simply that *intended* by the sender, but that which is *constructed* by the receiver in a *context*. Further, Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson (1967) stress that when we are in the presence of another person *all* of our behaviour can be seen as communication:

... behaviour has no opposite ... there is no such thing

as non-behaviour or, to put it even more simply: one cannot not behave (pp. 48-9).

Phenomenological-type theories of social perception, however, accord behaviour a smaller role compared to that of experience. Laing (1967) exemplifies this view in the following terms:

The other person's behaviour is an experience of mine. My behaviour is an experience of the other. The task of social phenomenology is to relate my experience of the other's behaviour to the other's experience of my behaviour. Its study is the relation between experience and experience: its true field is interexperience (Laing, 1967, pp. 15-17).

Other phenomenological psychologists, such as Romanynshyn (1982), see 'psychological life' as elusive and indirect metaphor which are, nevertheless, for Jaynes (1990), taken from our experience of vision and three-dimensional space. For Romanynshyn, metaphor is a subjective reality based on reflection, in that through it we deepen our grasp of one situation through its reflection in another:

When I look in the mirror I never see merely the double of myself on this side of the mirror but rather a figure in a story, ... It is character that I see when I look 'in' the mirror, a figure who may be a saint or a sinner (Romanynshyn, 1982, p. 10).

Romanynshyn maintains that people only exist as *experienced* and what is experienced will be a reflection dependent on the perspective of the observer as much as on what is observed. He claims that the way we understand others is by an act of imagination whereby we place them in some kind of story; such stories go far beyond the behavioural data presented to us.

What is important about all of these theories of social perception is that they all acknowledge the role of behaviour as a 'source of data' in the inferences which we make about people, including ourselves. What all of these ideas overlook, however, is the possibility (probability?) that much of our behaviour is 'mindless'. The emphasis in social psychology on cognition probably derives from attribution theory which we discussed earlier. However, it is possible that rather than learning to think more and more carefully, we actually learn to cope in interactions with less and less thought - sparing conscious thought for important decisions or problems we have to deal with. Langar (1978; Langar *et al*, 1978) suggests that people may believe that they have been behaving in a thoughtful way in interactions, but that often they are acting in accordance with well-learned, well-rehearsed and even automatic or routinised scripts, possibly of the Goffman-type. If this so, the role of behaviour in conscious social perception is much reduced!

Nevertheless, having considered the selection and inference characteristics of social perception, we must now consider a number of other important characteristics of the process. Social perception mechanisms also tend to emphasise the *invariances* in our world. In other words, we tend to 'smooth-out' our perceptions 'seeing' people as being the 'same' from meeting to meeting with them despite 'obvious' differences in their mood, appearance and so on. Studies of impression formation tend to emphasise the invariant aspects of person perception (Taylor *et al*, 1994, p. 39).

However, studies of dyadic interaction emphasise the moment-to-moment changes in people's behaviour. And the work of phenomenologists, such as Laing (1967), whose focus is on the subjective awareness of how a person experiences his world and himself, tends to emphasise the instability which human interaction confers on our experiences of one another. These two views of the stability of our social perceptions are not necessarily in conflict, they merely reflect their proponents' different focuses of enquiry. One view arises out of a focus on the relatively static unchanging features of others such as personalities, attitudes and abilities, while the other tends to focus more on the relatively dynamic, changing features such as thoughts, emotions and moods. Used in combination, these views suggest the probability that perception is both *stable and unstable*!

Another important characteristic of social perception which we discussed earlier, deriving from the fact that perception is an active process of transforming inputs from the environment, is that the *individual* is the author of her experience. We are faced then, with the seemingly bizarre possibility that no two views of the world need be, or even can, completely correspond. Inference, for example, may be regarded as a dimension along which people differ. Two people may arrive at the same impression of a third, but do so on the basis of different selections of data, or on entirely different premises (beliefs). Alternatively, they may select the same data, but arrive at very different conclusions if their prior knowledge and beliefs are different. Also, there are marked differences between

individuals in terms of the categories they use in perceiving the world. We noted earlier that these dimensions or categories are used in the construction and structuring of our perceptual worlds. We shall be returning to the idiosyncratic nature of social perception again.

Following from this, as we briefly discussed in the preceding section on racism, there is evidence that some individuals consistently employ more conceptual categories than others (Bieri and Blacker, 1956; Crockett, 1965), and as we have noted earlier, this difference may be explained in terms of 'functional salience'. However, it has been pointed out that an individual may use more categories without using them independently of one another. This observation has led to the notion of 'cognitive complexity' which carries with it the idea of the degree of 'sophistication' with which a person perceives the world. It has been suggested by some psychologists that the concept of cognitive complexity should be used to refer to the number of categories which are used *independently* of one another. The most involved viewpoint of cognitive complexity assumes that the two qualities of categories, relative number and independent usage, are connected in some instances and not in others; this is the viewpoint adopted by Kelly (1955), whose work we shall shortly be considering.

Now we need to summarize what has so far been said about social perception. We have described social perception as an *active, constructive* process which *selects* from the available range of *contextual* environmental stimuli and cues and 'goes

beyond what is given' in such a way that our perceptual worlds are *structured, organised, stable and yet unstable* and uniquely *individual* or personal.

Possibly the best known work which takes into account all of these facets of social perception is the personal construct theory of Kelly (1955). This theory is formally stated as a fundamental postulate from which Kelly derived eleven corollaries. It is phenomenological in that it works from the standpoint of the *individual*, and in that it attempts an understanding of the individual by the direct observation of her conscious awareness. The theory is also existential, in that it assumes an awareness of being intrinsically involved in the process of existence, and of the 'sense of personal agency' which we discussed earlier. It is also humanistic, in that it focuses on the 'whole person' rather than on how specific psychological processes work, and, in this sense, it is much more than a theory of social perception.

Kelly's own philosophical label for his theory is 'constructive alternativism'. By this he means that what we perceive in life:

we are capable of construing ... in as great a variety of ways as our wits will enable us to contrive (Kelly, 1970, p. 1).

Kelly's philosophical stance derives from the combination of two of his simple, but fundamental ideas. First, the idea that each person can only be understood when seen 'against the background of his time on earth' and second, the notion that each person construes the universe - the 'course of

events - in a very personal way:

Man creates his own way of seeing the world in which he lives, the world does not create them for him (Kelly, 1955, p. 12).

Kelly's theory seems so simple that it appears to be nothing more than a statement of the obvious and amounting to little more than has already been said about perception.

Kelly's contribution, however, is the novel conclusion he draws. He says that to understand human behaviour we should adopt the model of 'man-the-scientist'. Thus, the suggestion is that in their everyday lives people behave like scientists. Ordinary people (or, to use the attribution theory term, explainers) and acknowledged scientists:

... both seek to anticipate events. Both have their theories, in terms of which they attempt to *structure* current experiences. Both hypothesise. Both observe. Both reluctantly revise their predictions in the light of what they observe, on the one hand, and the extent of their theoretical investment on the other (Kelly, 1980, p. 24).

There are, however, at least two important differences between acknowledged scientists and ordinary explainers. Typically, scientists seek refutation of their hypotheses whereas ordinary people usually seek confirmation of theirs, in which they take the risk that their hypotheses will be self-fulfilling. A second difference is that scientists are concerned with building up a body of generalisable knowledge about the world. Ordinary people, however, are much more concerned with developing an adequate model for their own use in coping with their personal worlds.

Kelly suggests that it is by building a system of interrelated constructs as a framework, or *organised structure*, within which to view her environment, that each person anticipates events or makes predictions; in short, develops an adequate model for coping with the world. An example of a construct which I might have about people I know is, that they are 'likeable - enigmatic'. For Kelly, a construct is 'a way of categorising similarities and differences' (1955). More recently he has elaborated this statement by saying that a construct is:

... a reference axis devised by man for establishing a personal orientation toward the various events he encounters. It is not itself a category of events ... Man can ... use this portable device for ordering symbols along scales, for placing events into categories, or for defining classes in the various familiar ways that suit his needs ... the construct is more clearly a psychological guidance against which objects may be referred, than it is either a limited collection of things or a common essence distilled out them (Kelly, 1979, p. 11):

Constructs, then, are not simply ways of labelling events; they are not concepts. A concept divides the world into two parts, those things which are examples of the concept, and those things which are not. A construct assumes that similarities can only be understood in the context of differences. A construct partitions the world three ways: dividing it into those things which are like the left side of the construct, or similarity pole (in my example, likeable); those which are like the right side, or contrast pole (enigmatic); *and*, those to which the construct does not apply. So I might be able to apply my construct to politicians and animals, but not to clouds, flowers and bread, these items or elements lie 'outside the range of

convenience' of my construct.

What we should note is that Kelly's use of the term 'construct' is related to, but different from, the sense in which it was used in the discussion of inference. Kelly's dichotomous conception of the nature of constructs has caused much misunderstanding. It is not to imply, as some people seem to think, that the world really is partitioned into things which are, for example, 'good' or 'bad'. In speaking of constructs, Kelly is not speaking of actual objects, events or people, but of the ways in which people make sense of, or *inferences*, about these things (and in this respect, the concept is related to the concept of construct we used in discussing inference). For example, for me to say that 'Jane is likeable' does not mean that Jane *is* likeable, but that *I* am using the construct 'likeable' to interpret and categorise her behaviour as *I* 'see' it.

Further, construct theory does not imply that constructs are necessarily conscious. While construct theory asserts that people are able to make choices, it recognises that the extent to which alternative choices are *consciously* scanned is a different matter. For example, I often arrive somewhere having driven there by car and wonder how I got there, that is, I cannot remember having consciously decided which route to take nor, of course, can I recall having made conscious decisions about many of the routines of car driving, such as gear changing. Here, we might recall an earlier discussion, it is as though much of my car driving is 'mindless' behaviour. Perhaps we need to view

'consciousness-unconsciousness' as a continuum rather than as a dichotomy.

These are clear illustrations, as we noted earlier, that it is philosophically inappropriate to speak of 'accuracy' in perception. Another way of conceiving Kelly's constructs has been suggested by those attitude theorists, such as Smith et al (1956) who assert that a person's view of the world is made up of *beliefs*. These beliefs, it is claimed, can be thought of as constructs. In Romanyshyn's terms (1982), a person's subjective experience may be regarded as being composed of a system of constructs. If constructs are metaphors, and elements are aspects of the world to which they are applied, then conscious experience itself can be thought of as the emergent reflection resulting from their interplay, rather than as consisting of the constructs or the elements in themselves. We can think of construct theory then, as describing one possible way in which people construct models of the world to guide their perceptions and understandings.

On this basis, as we might expect, an important tenet of Kelly's position is the idea that no construction is ever finally 'the right one' (again, the notion of 'accuracy' is an inappropriate concept here). Since the universe is *dynamic* we need to be able to restructure continually our constructs and our construct system. In other words, we are always able to learn from experience and revise our ideas according to the changing environment. For Kelly then, and in agreement with what we have noted earlier, our

constructions can be *stable and unstable*:

... man is a from of motion ... (who need not be) ... a victim of his biography (1955).

Summarizing our latest position, we seem to have people each acting in the light of their own models of the world. But, if this is so, how can we ever understand each other sufficiently well to enable us to communicate and to function as the social beings we unarguably are? We now need to 'change tack' by moving from the *intrapersonal* perspective of our discussion so far and adopt a more *interpersonal* perspective; this we shall do in the section which follows.

Section V Social interaction and interpersonal relationships with special reference to teachers and pupils

From what has been said so far about social perception, and particularly about Kelly's personal construct theory (1955), it may seem that a person's social behaviour and action is conducted entirely on the basis of her own, unique model of the world. We now need to consider how social interaction and the development of interpersonal relationships, particularly regarding those between teachers and pupils, is possible.

Kelly's theory has been criticised for its heavy emphasis on individualism. It was not Kelly's intention, however, to produce a heavily individualistic theory, in fact at one stage he considered calling it 'role theory'. Perhaps, then, Kelly's theory will repay further consideration.

The 'commonality corollary' of Kelly's theory states, that although we do differ from each other to some extent in the way we 'see' and think about things, there is nonetheless, usually much that is in common. The probability of a good grasp of the other person's construct processes, is heightened to the extent that the two individuals are similar to one another. The emphasis here falls on the similarity of *constructions* of experience, rather than upon similar *behaviours* or experiences. It is possible, then, given similar experiences, that people will construe things similarly, and the fact that such similarities do exist, provides a shared framework within which to interact and

negotiate the finer details of shared worlds.

However, when we do acknowledge that other people do construe things differently from the way we do, it becomes important to find out about these differences, if we are to communicate effectively.

Personal construct theory, however, goes beyond the idea of the commonality or the simple overlap of construct systems. This brings us to the corollary which Kelly considered to be at the heart of his theory, and to have the most far-reaching implications (and which, incidentally, is why the theory is used in social psychology and why Kelly considered calling it 'role theory'). It is the 'sociality corollary'.

This corollary states that:

To the extent that one person construes the construction processes of another he or she may play a role in a social process involving the other person.

We now need to unravel some of the ideas contained in this corollary.

The emphasis here is not on describing, predicting or understanding someone else's *behaviour*, but on grasping the way the other person thinks, hypothesizes, anticipates and construes.

The term 'role', a concept we shall look at in more detail later, is commonly used in sociology where, broadly and typically, it means 'the patterns of behaviour expected by

others from a person occupying a particular status' (Weeks, 1972, p. 57). We need to distinguish between the terms 'formal' and 'informal' role. Informal roles, unlike formal roles, are not culturally or formally defined. They originate in specific encounters and may be shared only by the participants involved.

Kelly's use of the term, however, is different from such conceptions of role, it is much closer to Mead's concept of 'role-taking' (1934). For Mead, role-taking is the process by which each individual is able imaginatively to cast herself in the roles of others, and thereby anticipate their actions. Taking the role of another also involves viewing one's own actions and situation, from the point of view of the other person. Role-taking is a cognitive activity which does not involve *formal acting*, as suggested by some dramaturgical theorists (for example Goffman, 1959), nor does it involve the simple adoption of another person's point of view.

There is much more than this in Kelly's idea of 'role'. For Kelly, it is not so much the roles of others I am casting myself into by saying: 'What would I be doing in her place?' but rather 'What would I be doing if I saw the world the way I think she does?' Kelly says it is:

... an on-going pattern of behaviour that follows from a person's understanding of how others who are associated with him in his tasks think
(1955, pp. 97-8).

Perhaps it sounds as though all that was involved in social

interaction, was my observing others and using my observations as the basis for drawing a number of tentative conclusions about them. But what is going on is much more complicated. For example, in a social context some of my constructs will take the form of acting in a particular manner as an experiment to test my hypotheses; I might smile to see if it is reciprocated and thereby confirm or reject my hypothesis that the other person is friendly. From what we have said about role-taking, it follows that interpersonal relations are also *interactive*, that is, extending our example, the other person will also be testing her hypotheses about me and so I will be gathering information about her actions, about the sort of person she is, and the way she construes me. In short, in social interaction there is what has been called a 'spiral of perspectives' (Laing, 1972).

This idea has been expressed by Feffer and Suchotliff (1966) in the following terms:

Effective social interaction is a function of each participating individual's ability to consider his behaviour simultaneously from different viewpoints.

It has been suggested that maladaptive social behaviour may arise because of an individual's inability to take simultaneously her own role and the role of the other person she is attacking.

Laing's idea that my experience of another is a function of the other's experience of me, and *vice versa* (1972, p. 52), and Cooley's idea of the 'looking-glass self' (cited in Webster and Sobieszek, 1974, p. 8), by which he means that it

is from the reactions of others in our social relationships, that we find out what we ourselves are, both stress the interactive nature of social behaviour.

If the two corollaries (of commonality and sociality) are put together, then we could say that the more similar one's constructs are to those of another person, the easier it will be to grasp the other person's psychological processes and interact socially with her. In fact, Duck (1973) has produced considerable evidence that we like people who construe things in much the same way as we do. Stevens (1996c, p. 165) suggests:

this is probably because the fact that they do so helps us to validate our model of the world and, as our construction of the world to a large extent constitutes our identity, the latter also receives support.

Since constructs are structured as levels in a hierarchical system, it is reasonable to assume that support for the various levels will be sought sequentially, one at a time, either as these levels develop in individuals as they mature, or as a relationship unfolds, to penetrate deeper levels of the partner's personality. In fact, some psychologists have shown that some constructs may be developed mutually, for example, between couples (Duck, 1982) or in families (Dallos, 1991).

These ideas of the similarity of construct systems and the 'depth' of relationships have been pointed-up in a useful distinction made by Schutz and Luckmann (1974). We 'see' each other, they say, as 'consociates' or as

'contemporaries'. Consociates are people with whom we interact directly in a 'we-relationship'. Such people we know as unique individuals: our constructions (or perceptions) of them are complex and always changing. The better we come to know them, the more sophisticated our constructions of them become, and the more likely we are to engage with them in an informal role relationship. Contemporaries are those people we do not know as individuals, and whom we tend to think of as types of person, or those occupying a status and playing a formal role. Contemporaries are known in the context of 'they-relationships'. It appears that the extent to which we are able to 'take the role' of another, is in part dependent on the social structural relations of which we are both a part, and thereby the extent to which we are *allowed* to get to know one another. For example, because of the characteristics of the formal role specifications of teachers and pupils, which we shall be considering in Section VI, it may be difficult for them to treat one another, other than as contemporaries and also to take the role of the other.

Now, perhaps, we are in a better position to appreciate the significance of the statement made much earlier that: 'meanings are learned through interactions with other persons'. In other words, it is because others act as *if* a person means and intends what she does that the person is able to develop and engage in meaningful and intentional behaviour and come to appreciate herself as an 'agent' in a social world.

Furthermore, it is also through the 'meanings' we acquire in our social interactions that we have a 'consciousness of identity', or, what is more commonly called, a 'self-concept'. Mead (1934) views the self as an 'internalized social dialogue'. Meltzer (1964), has said of Mead's concept of the self that it '... is formed ... through the "definitions" made by others' (Meltzer, 1964, p. 10). Similarly, McCall and Simmons' (1966) improvisational model of social interaction, which we briefly discussed in the previous section, implies that the self-concept is a relational construct rather than an absolute entity. What I am, they say, is a mutual creation generated by interaction of cognitive and expressive processes of myself and those I relate with. These views are clearly in accord with those of Kelly and many of the other theorists whose work we have discussed.

For Mead, the importance of the 'self' is that it is one of the key elements which makes society possible. He assumes that the organization of social life arises from *interaction* between members of society, and he looks at the social world as a 'negotiated' rather than as a 'stable' order:

... society is constantly being organized and reorganized. Its arrangements are constantly being 'worked at' by those who live within them ... The members of society are, therefore, constantly involved in a process of 'negotiating' with one another as they make agreements on how they will conduct themselves and as they reaffirm, revise and replace these agreements over time (Cuff and Payne, 1979, p. 109).

So, to summarize the position so far, although consciousness is personal and private and it is not possible to experience

another's consciousness, we assume that other people have a consciousness similar to our own. It is 'this assumption of consciousness, understanding and self in others which is referred to as "intersubjectivity"' (Stevens, 1996c, p. 169). Thus, it is this 'intersubjectivity' which makes social interaction and social relationships possible.

The social constructionists (for example, Bruner, 1990; Gergen, 1985; Harré, 1986; Shotter, 1993) go one step further. They argue for a merged view of the person and her social context where 'the boundaries of one cannot easily be separated from the boundaries of the other' (Wetherell and Maybin, 1996, p. 222).

For social constructionists, the social world - social history, current social practices, social structures, and social divisions, the patterning of everyday conversations and social interactions - should be at the heart of psychological investigation (Wetherell and Maybin, 1996, p. 222).

Thus, we may say that it is through the operation of our perceptual processes, particularly, but not exclusively, in our social interactions, that we exist as individuals and we have *some* control over our lives. The conjoining of the idea of 'self-as-interpreter' with that of 'self-as-agent' in a socially constructed world, has recently been the subject of a major theoretical statement in the form of what is called hermeneutical psychology (Gauld and Shotter, 1977; Harré and Secord, 1972) and is reflected in the emerging and important social psychology of 'discourse analysis' (for example, Billig, 1987; Edwards and Potter, 1992; Potter and Wetherell, 1987).

Discourse analysis:

explores the organization of ordinary talk and everyday explanations and the social actions performed in them' (Cohen and Manion, 1994, p. 214).

As we shall see in later sections of this study, the concepts of 'intersubjectivity', 'discourse' and 'negotiation' between teachers and pupils, are fundamental to their interpersonal relationships. For now, however, we need to focus our discussion much more specifically on the relationship between pupils and teachers.

Social interaction and interpersonal relations between teachers and pupils

In light of the preceding general theoretical discussion, we now need to be more specific by considering the social perceptions that pupils and teachers have of one another, and their interpersonal relationships, as they are carried on in the formal settings of classrooms and schools.

The preceding discussion has asserted, through a number of perspectives, that in every form of social interaction, the participants communicate, perhaps implicitly and unconsciously, with shared understandings and meanings; that is, they have shared 'intersubjectivities'. We have also shown that the behaviour of each participant is a response to the meanings, in terms of intention and motive, she imputes to the behaviour of the other. In other words, one participant's experience of an interaction and the experience of the other participant(s) is a 'joint action' (Shotter, 1993).

While teachers and pupils are individuals who attribute meaning to the behaviour of one another, they play or perform roles in the organizations that we call schools. Earlier, we defined the term 'role' as it is typically used in sociology, but I should now like to take up the idea in more detail.

Schools are organizations in that they are formal arrangements of people designed to make it possible for work to be done. All of the work done in schools, by teachers, pupils and others, is intended, formally at least, to be of benefit to the pupils. One of the 'design features' of schools, therefore, is that teachers and pupils have identifiable functions to perform which we may call 'positions'. Burnham (1969) has identified a position as a

collection of rights and duties, distinguished from ... (others) ... and designated by a title.

What a person *actually does* and *is* comprises the 'role performance' associated with the position or 'office', and 'role' is the dynamic aspect of a 'position'. It is important to note, however, that role performance is not so much a question of interpreting and acting a role, as it is of *improvising* and *constructing* the behaviour we call role performance: it is what Turner (1962) has called 'role-making'.

Linked with the idea of 'role-making' is Thomas' (1928) concept of 'the definition of the situation', wherein he argued that:

if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences.

This conception of the 'situation' draws attention to the impact of the individual's definitions and meanings on the structure of specific human interactional episodes (Harré, 1978). In this, we should remember, each participant enters social interactions equipped with her own construct systems and purposes. Also, as we have already seen social interaction can only proceed satisfactorily when, to a large extent, the participants share a common definition of the situation which 'spring largely from various cultural recipes' (Hargreaves, 1972, p. 106).

Apart from learning about roles, all of us must learn to be sensitive to the behaviour of specific individuals, in order to understand their particular versions of a role performance, and the informal role being expressed. In terms of the improvisational model of social interaction (McCall and Simmons, 1966), our improvisations are interdependent. The degree of interdependency makes the task of being sensitive to the role performance of others easier. To the extent that the other person's behaviour is dependent on one's own, an awareness of the nature of one's own performance provides another source of information which may be helpful in interpreting the other's actions. The other's behaviours are also easier to understand if one can infer her intentions.

Thinking more of the school or classroom, some elements of the definition of the situation are given, and come to constitute the general, overall definition of the situation. For example, the pupils and teachers in a classroom know when the lesson is timetabled to end. Some elements are, however,

unique to the participating individuals, each having her own idea of what the definition of the situation ought to be. An example of such a unique idea might be about what constitutes 'an interesting lesson'. There may be some 'commonality' or overlap in the definitions about this matter, but it is unlikely that they will be identical for all of the participants in the lesson. Furthermore, in the initial encounters between the teacher and her pupils, the pupils need a facility for 'reading' the perceptual cues 'given-off' by the teacher. The pupils need to be able to 'read' such things as:

... the level of noise the teacher will tolerate; the method that they are allowed to use in addressing him or her or attracting his or her attention; the amount of work that is demanded of them and the level of risk involved in this; the acceptable form of presentation of work and numerous other features of the teacher's organisation and management of the classroom ... much of this will be on the basis of speech, accent, tone of voice, gesture, facial expression, and the teacher's location in the classroom (Ball, 1980, p. 144).

As yet, we know little about the social knowledge that pupils employ in recognising these cues as relevant, or about the interpretative procedures they employ in making sense of them (this is the central concern of this research). If, however, the interaction between the teacher and her pupils is to proceed satisfactorily, the individuals' definitions of the situation need to be negotiated and, implicitly at least, agreed. But how is the teacher's and her pupils' definitions of the situation 'negotiated and agreed'?

Specifically with the classroom in mind, Woods (1983) has defined negotiation as:

an ongoing and changing process as both sides shift their interests; seek out strengths and weaknesses; win a point here, lose one there; and devise new strategies ... (p. 128).

The discussion of negotiation so far implies that social relationships involve Laing's (1972) 'spiral of perspectives' which we discussed in the previous section. The participants or actors, are interactively engaged in trying to uncover one another's meanings, or intentions and purposes, in order that they may come to a shared meaning or definition of the situation. Argyle's discussion (for example, 1969; 1972) of the part played by nonverbal behaviour in social interaction, emphasises that not all of the negotiation will be based on what is said. And of course, this perspective fits in well with the improvisational view and with the social constructionist position both of which were discussed in the previous section.

Also in the previous section, we discussed Schutz and Luckmann's (1974) idea that in social life, people relate to and perceive one another either as 'consociates' or as 'contemporaries'. As with so many dichotomies, it might be more appropriate, however, that we conceive of this distinction as poles of a continuum rather than as a dichotomy. That being so, at first sight, we might think that teachers perceive pupils more as consociates. However, in coping with the complexities of classroom life, particularly in most secondary schools, where each teacher typically teaches between one hundred and fifty and three hundred pupils a week (Bird, 1980), and in my experience,

this is still largely true today, it is likely that teachers perceive and treat many of their pupils more as contemporaries, typifying them, for example, as 'slow' or 'disturbed' or 'good'. In other words, the spiral of perspectives teachers share with many of their pupils are poorly developed.

The extent to which teachers' and pupils' views of one another are interactively connected through their spirals of perspectives, is partly dependent on the teacher for it is she who usually takes the leading part in the relationship. Pupils who see teachers more as contemporaries are also likely to typify them as 'strict' or 'soft'. So, it seems that while pupils and teachers may prefer expressive relationships with one another, the demands of classroom life often ensure that such relationships are uncommon for most pupils.

Aronson and Lindler (1965), in support of Duck's (1973) finding that we like others who construe similarly to ourselves, have suggested that experimental social psychology has demonstrated in a number of studies, that one person's feelings towards another will be affected by whether she thinks that the other likes or dislikes her. They also note that a person's liking of another is related to whether or not any shift has been perceived in the other's attitude towards her. We might hypothesise, therefore, that the extent to which a pupil perceives her teacher's liking of her is a function of the degree to which they have a consocial relationship. Further, as pointed out by Aronson and

Lindler, it has been found that a shift in evaluation from an originally negative to a more positive view, generates a more favourable reaction, than when a positive attitude is expressed from the beginning. Again, we might hypothesise that such a shift of views on the part of teachers and pupils, might arise from a shift in the quality of their relationship across the contemporary-consocial continuum.

There are other factors which are likely to affect the types of relationships teachers and pupils can have with one another. We shall now consider three of these factors in some detail for they constitute three of the variables hypothesised (formally stated and tested as described in Chapter 2) to have an impact on pupils' perceptions of teacher racism. These variables are: cognitive ability, age and sex. (The fourth variable, concerning ethnicity, will be discussed in the next section of this Chapter.)

These three variables will now be discussed. Before we begin however, there are two general points which I should like to make which apply to all of these variables and their associated hypotheses. First, all of these variables and hypotheses concern 'person perception' or, what has become known as 'social cognition' which has been the focus of this and the previous section. Leyens and Fiske, (1994) say that there are many definitions of social cognition but 'ordinary people's perception of other people is central to the enterprise, whatever it is' (p. 39). Second, I feel that this research is essentially concerned with tapping a moral judgment dimension of social cognition. Now we can consider

each of the three variables.

Cognitive ability

One important factor, suggested by the enduring thesis of Piaget's life's work, is that children think in a way that is intrinsically different from adults. Perhaps one of the most important implications of this suggestion is that we need to guard against 'adultomorphism', that is, the reduction of childhood to merely 'pre-adulthood'.

Like Elkind (1971) and Brown (1965), Feffer (1969) is interested in the social implications of Piaget's cognitive developmental theory. Feffer and others, have found that there is a relationship between the level of cognitive ability and the ability to 'role-take' (a concept which we discussed in the previous section). Thus, Feffer sees 'role-taking' as a cognitive skill. He suggests that role-taking represents a social version of the Piagetian *decentring* or *refocusing*, which is a part of the gradual shift from egocentricity which takes place during development.

The development in the greater sophistication of adolescent judgment across a wide range of social and intellectual problems has been empirically investigated by Peel and his co-workers (1971). These studies have consistently shown that the quality of the judgments made by adolescents is related to mental age (Peel, 1971, pp. 45-48).

Specifically with regard to moral issues, Piaget (1932) saw the child's development of the concept of moral justice, like non-social cognition (from concrete to formal operations), as progressing developmentally. Although Piaget's stage model of cognitive and moral development has been criticised (see for example, Donaldson, 1978; Light and Perret-Clermont, 1989), much subsequent work has been concerned with developing a more rigorous formulation of Piaget's stages of children's moral development. Perhaps the most influential figure here is Lawrence Kohlberg, who Emler (1983, p. 145) says, has argued that:

moral reasoning develops directly as a function of intellectual development and that moral reasoning reflects the application of logical principle, derived from the intellectual domain, to moral problems ... Moral development is a self-generating process which springs from the internal logic of thought (Emler, 1983, p. 145)

Within a different research paradigm, other studies have shown that in making perceptual judgements of others, a number of factors have been found to influence the 'accuracy of judgement'. In one of these early studies (Bruner and Tagiuri, 1954), judges were put into groups according to a certain factor, such as intelligence (high and low) or sex (men and women). Then the subjects were asked to make personality judgements and the researchers looked at which group was the most accurate. Of relevance here, Bruner and Tagiuri concluded that intelligence was a significant aid in making judgements of others.

These ideas seem to be in accord with the implications of other researches for the types of relationships teachers and

pupils can have with one another. In a series of studies of the constructs used at different points in the acquaintance process, Duck (1973) shows that adults use significantly fewer psychological constructs to describe people they have only just met, than to describe people they have known over a longer period. A similar pattern in the use of constructs has been found to occur in children as they grow older. Duck (1975) reported that the number of factual and physical constructs that children used decreased with age, whilst the number of psychological constructs increased with age. Similar findings have been reported by Little (1968), who found that up to about the age of eleven years, children use primarily 'physicalistic' constructs to describe people, whereas in mid-adolescence, psychological constructs prevail.

Therefore, this brief discussion of theory and research evidence suggests that it is reasonable to suppose that a pupil's intelligence (as measured by academic attainment), is related to her perception of teacher racism. This is one hypothesis which will be formally stated and tested as described in Chapter 2.

Age

Zebrowitz (1990, p. 11) has suggested that it 'is reasonable (to make the) assumption that children become more socially adept with increasing age'. Apart from one's personal experience confirming Zebrowitz' assumption, it can be argued that the basic stage logic of Piaget's theory of cognitive development can be applied to the child's social and

emotional development.

In fact, Kohlberg (1987, p. 273) says that the fundamental factor in the:

structuring of a moral order is social participation and role-taking ... the child must implicitly take the role of others towards himself and toward others ... Moral role-taking involves an emotional empathic or sympathetic component, but it also involves a cognitive capacity to define situations in terms of rights and duties, ... of reciprocity and the perspectives of other selves.

We might suggest, therefore, that the ability to take the role of others and thereby become 'socially adept' is partly a function of experience and thus, of age. Is there any evidence, however, to support this claim?

Albeit in the context of studies of adults, in their investigations of the perceptual judgment of others, Bruner and Tagiuri (1954), found that a significant factor in making 'better' judgments was being 'socially skilled', which for children and adolescents, we might reasonably take to be, in part at least, a function of age.

Researchers of child and adolescent structures of thought have adapted a neo-Piagetian framework to the study of social issues. They have tended to propose discrete age-related stages of development in reasoning about social domains (Damon, 1977; Damon and Hart, 1982; Kohlberg, 1969; Lapsley, 1990; Peel, 1971; Selman, 1980; Youniss, 1980; Youniss and Smoller, 1985).

Seiffert and Hofnung (1991, p. 557), in their summary of developmental psychologists' thinking about adolescent growth, say that 'the new cognitive skills of adolescents have important effects on their social cognition - their knowledge and beliefs about interpersonal and social matters'. Regarding adolescents, Seiffert and Hofnung continue that:

... early in adolescence, they still have only limited empathy, or the ability to understand the abstract thoughts and feelings of others and to compare these thoughts and feelings with their own. ... much of adolescence consists of developing these skills. adolescence serves as a time when most people begin to learn to consider other viewpoints in relation to their own (1991, p. 558).

Thus, it is felt that it can reasonably be hypothesised that pupils' perceptions of teacher racism will become more sophisticated with increasing age. This is a second hypothesis which will be presented in Chapter 2.

Sex

McCelland (1975) notes that:

sex role turns out to be one of the most important determinants of human behavior; psychologists have found sex differences in their studies from the moment they started doing empirical research ... (psychologists) ... have tended to regard male behavior as the 'norm' and female behavior as some kind of deviation from that norm (p. 81).

This idea harks back to Freud's notion that women are 'a "dark continent" for psychology' (1926, p. 212). However, since the 1980s, researchers have felt freer to explore gender diversity (Ashmore, 1990). Some scholars have argued

that gender difference research has 'furthered the cause of gender equality by reducing overblown stereotypes so that we can accept and value gender diversity' (Eagly, 1986).

Hence, there is now some evidence that girls and women make superior social judgements compared with men and boys probably because girls take more notice of others and are more empathic. For example, in a study of the behaviour of 9 year-olds at the University of Denver, Colorado (Hodson, 1984) it was reported that:

boys ignored each other as people. They displayed no personal curiosity. They did not look at each other's faces. They didn't ask personal questions. They didn't volunteer information about themselves ... in every essential respect, the boys stayed solitary and played by themselves (Askew and Ross, 1988, p. 24).

Perhaps it is not surprising therefore, that Zebrowitz (1990, p. 24) notes that 'females outperform males in the ability to read facial expressions of emotion' and that Chodorow (1978, 1989) and Gilligan (1982; 1990) claim that women more than men give priority to relationships . Also, women have been found to be far more likely to describe themselves as having empathy and when shown slides or told stories, girls react with more empathy than boys do (Hunt, 1990).

Explanations for these gender differences are typically located in socialization (rather than anatomy) with the emphasis on childhood experiences. For example, Chodorow (1974), says that there is 'the reproduction within each generation of certain general and nearly universal differences that characterize masculine and feminine

personality and roles' and she attributes these sex differences to 'the fact that women, universally, are responsible for early child care' (Chodorow, 1974, pp. 43-44). The studies of Chodorow (1978; 1989) and Gilligan (1982; 1990) lead them to suggest that boys define their identity in separation from the caregiver whilst girls define their identity through their social connections. More recently, Myers (1994, p. 129) argues that 'the variety of gender roles across cultures and over time show that culture indeed constructs our gender roles'. Thus, the argument goes, because the:

early social environment differs for and is experienced differently by male and female children, basic sex differences recur in personality development ... (as a result), in any given society, feminine personality comes to define itself in relation and connection to other people more than masculine personality does (Chodorow, 1978, p. 44).

However, what evidence is there for these differences in gender socialization? There are a few pointers.

Boys' play often involves group activity whilst girls' play occurs in small groups, with less aggression, more sharing, more imitation of relationships, and more intimate discussion (Lever, 1978). Other studies indicate that male friendships are characterized by shared activities while female friendships are more likely to involve shared feelings (Caldwell and Peplau, 1982; Rubin, 1980). Adolescent girls spend more time with their friends than boys do (Wong and Csikzentmihalyi, 1991). Both adolescent boys and girls describe girls' friendships as more intimate than boys' (Bukowski and Kramer, 1986). In adolescence, intimacy is

more commonly mentioned in girls' talk about their friendships than in boys' talk, and ratings of their same-sex friendships are, in general, more intimate (Sharabany *et al*, 1981). It has been found that in countries everywhere, girls spend more time helping with housework and child care, while boys spend more time in unsupervised play (Edwards, 1991).

On the basis of such findings and theorizing, Gilligan (1982, p. 11) says that 'boys and girls arrive at puberty with a different interpersonal orientation and a different range of social experiences'. And Zebrowitz (1990 p. 24) concludes that women are more attuned than men 'to their social interactions and feelings about themselves'. She continues that 'any tendency for women's impression of other's feelings to be more accurate than men's may reflect the fact that women are more often in a subordinate role' (p. 24). This is also a conclusion reached by Chodorow (1974; 1978; 1989) and Gilligan (1982 and 1990).

According to the welter of research on gender differences in schools and classrooms, there is significant evidence of the subordination of girls by boys here, too (for a recent review see Deem, 1992). The early work of Brophy and Good (1970, p. 373) in the United States showed that 'boys have more interactions with the teacher than girls and appear to be more salient in the teacher's perceptual field'. More recent studies, many of the situation in the United Kingdom, also point to the domination by boys of the classroom in both primary and secondary schools (Clarricoates, 1978; Fuller, 1980; Walkerdine, 1981; Stanworth 1983; Stantonbury Campus

Group, 1984; Mahony, 1985; Askew and Ross, 1988). Specifically, boys have been found to occupy more teacher time than girls; they answer and ask more questions and are generally more likely to demand help from teachers (Buswell, 1981; Stanworth, 1983; Mahony, 1985). Boys also cause more continual disruption of lessons than girls (Sandra, 1985; French, 1986) and they tend to control the classroom by dominating girls physically as well as verbally (Mahony, 1985). We might also note that much of the sexism of classroom interaction is compounded by racism (Riley, 1985; Brah and Deem, 1986; Wright, 1988).

To summarize the argument, girls, compared with boys, have different socialization experiences, which results in them being more aware of others and of their needs and in defining themselves 'in relation and connection to other people' (Chodorow, 1978, p. 44). This, in turn, it is hypothesised by Chodorow and Gilligan, leads to girls being more dominated by boys and men in the home and at school and so girls will be more perceptive of teacher racism than boys. Again, this hypothesis will be formally presented in Chapter 2.

At this point, we might also note that there are important cultural differences to consider. Argyle and Henderson (1983) examined the rules which people apply to behaviour in various types of relationship. Many of the rules which they established were found to be specific to the indigenous 'white' British culture; they reported different rules in Italy, Hong Kong and Japan. For example, in both Hong Kong and Japan, compared with Italy, they found that there is less

emphasis on the expression of emotion and opinions in relationships. Cousins (1989) found that the Japanese students in his study tended to describe themselves in terms of social roles, whilst the American students tended to describe themselves in more abstract ways. Similar differences have been found for Moroccan and Dutch children in Amsterdam (Van den Heuval, 1992). The Dutch children tended to describe themselves in terms of psychological traits and attributes, whereas the Moroccan children's self-descriptors were more often in terms of social characteristics such as group membership. Although we have no supporting evidence, there is no reason to suppose that there are not important differences in the types of relationship preferred by teachers and pupils of the different ethnic groups represented in our schools.

Now we need to return to our discussion of teacher-pupil relationships.

The teacher-pupil relationship

However, despite the shortcomings in and limitations on their relationships, teachers and pupils do have expectations of one another and so we need to refine our account of 'role theory'. Gross *et al* (1958, p. 63) observe that every position is associated with others' expectations of what a person occupying that position *should do* and/or *should be*. They continue that what a person *should do* is represented by her behaviour and that what a person *should be* is represented by her attributes.

We might say, then, that teachers and pupils not only perceive one another, that is, 'see' what one another *is* and *does*, but that they also have expectations in terms of what they believe one another *should do* and/or *should be*. Thus, it seems that perception concerns the actual and the here-and-now and that expectations are a special class of perceptions concerned with the ideal, the hypothetical, with what might be, and with what should be.

Negotiation is even more complicated than this. Schutz (1932) distinguished between what he called 'expressive acts' and 'expressive movements' in social interaction. More commonly today, this distinction is described in terms of 'action' and 'behaviour' respectively (for example, Shotter, 1974, p. 58). Action occurs when an actor intentionally communicates or seems to communicate her subjective experience. In behaving there is no communicative intent, even though the actor's subjective experience may be indicated to others. This distinction may be seen by comparing the actor's intentionality and meaning of winking, eyelid fluttering and involuntary blinking. Involuntary blinking illustrates Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson's (1967, p. 49) assertion, noted in the previous section, that '... one cannot *not* behave', a point further reinforced by Argyle's (1969; 1972) work on non-verbal behaviour which we also briefly considered in the previous section. Garfinkel (1967) too, suggests that 'members of a society do interpretative work on the smallest and most fleeting fragments of behaviour'. All of this suggests that social interaction is a risky business in that errors are often made

impressions which we 'give-off' and in the perceptions which are constructed by others. And this is despite all of us being concerned, as Goffman (1959) has suggested, with our 'self-presentations', in which, in effect, we each ask ourselves, 'what do I want the other to think of me?'.

Successfully negotiating the definition of the situation, also calls for the exercise of, and subjugation to power, that is, the attempt to ensure that others act in certain ways even when they do not wish to do so. Teacher-pupil interactions are typically asymmetrical in terms of the power resources available to the participants (Hargreaves, 1972, p. 139). Denscombe (1980, p. 55) notes,

... the situation in classrooms is one which institutionalises the authority of the teacher to guide and control events and requires pupils to react, in whatever manner, to a situation not instigated by them.

Further, Jackson (1968) and Foster (1990a) have observed that one of the major features of the hidden curriculum to be learnt by pupils is that there is an unequal distribution of power in classrooms. Pupils need to learn to cope with this fact and acquire and develop strategies by which they can negotiate their classroom situation. For example, Jackson identifies the 'strategy of detachment' as being one way in which many pupils come to terms with their situation. This strategy emphasises pupils' acquiescence at the expense of their involvement. There are other pupil coping strategies used by pupils and also 'counter-strategies' such as 'messing and mucking about' (Woods, 1977).

So, although pupils have learned to take the role of the other:

... they still like to maximise their own interests. Being able to put themselves in the other's position adds sophistication to their negotiative skills, a keener sense of when to press harder, when to give way, what gratifies their opponent, what displeases, how to make the best out of a situation, how to turn loss to gain, disadvantage to advantage (Woods, 1980, p. 15).

Pupils do then, possess some power in contributing to defining the situation. By comparison with teachers, however, pupils' power resources are informally held through their numbers (Delamont, 1983), their behaviour is much more contingent on the teacher's behaviour, often being 'a product of, and a response to, the teacher's interpretation of his role, his teaching style' (Hargreaves, 1972, p. 139), and his definition of the situation.

Despite the power differential between teachers and pupils, in favour of the former, not everything always goes the teacher's way. In the negotiations between teachers and pupils about the mismatches in their definitions of the situation, dispute and conflict often arises. When teachers resort to excessive use of their power resources or coercion (Beynon, 1985) in attempting to resolve conflict with their pupils, the outcomes can be counter-productive. Instead, conflict between teachers and pupils is often resolved through 'doubtful bargaining' (Geer, 1968) or, what Goffman (1961) has called, 'pseudo-concord'. An example of a teacher's attempt to resolve potential conflict in the classroom through 'doubtful bargaining' might be: 'Work quietly in today's lesson, and I won't give you any homework

to do tonight'.

Woods (1977, p. 281) notes that another prominent teacher 'survival strategy' is:

... to work for good relations with pupils, thus mellowing the inherent conflict, increasing the pupils' sense of obligation, and reducing their desire to cause trouble.

In other words, what Woods is arguing is that teachers should endeavour to have 'consocial' relationships (Schutz and Luckmann, 1974) with their pupils.

In one way or another, however, the most powerful figure in negotiating the definition of the classroom situation and, thereby, the roles of the teacher and the pupils is the teacher herself.

Broadly, teachers define their roles in terms of maintaining order and control in the classroom so that they may instruct their pupils. The teacher's definition of the pupils' role carries with it the expectation that they conform by readily accepting the instruction offered, in conditions which require the exercise of minimal control. Numerous researches confirm the view that the pupils who support teachers in this definition of their role are perceived more favourably (for example, see Bush, 1942; Williams and Knecht, 1962). Kelly (1955) also stresses in his theory the importance of mutuality, of both partners' understanding and providing support for the other person's construct system. He describes one-sided understanding as less valuable than

mutual support. Such imbalanced 'understandings' by teachers has led Calvert (1975) to suggest that:

... existing definitions of the situation appear to consider teaching as more important than learning, and the teacher's activity as more important than the pupils' despite the official rhetoric of educational writing and debate that makes claims for the pupils' welfare as the central focus.

Taken together, Calvert's analysis and our earlier discussion of the notion that 'role-taking' ability is related to cognitive ability and that children's thinking is fundamentally different from adults' (Piaget), perhaps we can begin to understand why so many pupils often fail to provide teachers with role support. For Piaget, the challenge that faces the teacher is that of achieving a reconciliation between respect for adult authority and cooperation among the children. The teacher's goal, Piaget claims, should be to seek to reduce the morality of constraint and to transform it into the higher stage of autonomy.

But what of the pupils themselves, how do they see their role, their teachers and the definition of the situation? They also have viewpoints, perceptions and expectations which we might do well to take into account. More than two decades ago now, Hargreaves (1972, p. 162) recommended that:

we find out the sort of teacher that pupils like ... (so that) ... we might infer those definitions of the situation of which pupils approve and also the roles they prefer to perform since both of these are strongly dependent on the way the teacher conceives his own role.

Many researchers have taken up Hargreaves' recommendation during the last few years but before we consider the headway

which has been made, I should briefly like to look at the background to the research on pupils' views of their teachers and schooling.

A major stimulus to the growth of British research in the 1970's and 1980's on pupils' views of schools and teachers was the injection into the sociology of education of interpretive approaches, notably those deriving from symbolic interactionism and social phenomenology. These theoretical approaches, were perhaps heralded in Britain with Young's (1971) publication, *Knowledge and Control*. They placed an emphasis on identifying the meanings embodied in actions (Blumer, 1969) and on considering the perspectives of those 'low in the hierarchy of credibility' (Becker, 1967). Thus, some researchers were led to treat the investigation of pupils' experience of their schooling and teachers as a major research topic.

Two broad approaches in the research are discernible. There are those studies which have tended to categorize pupils as belonging, with varying degrees of strength, either to the anti-school or the pro-school culture. The early British works of Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1970), following the pioneering of Cohen (1955) on some delinquent boys in the United States, are in the mould of the 'polarization of cultures model' and they sought explanations in terms of the organizational structure of schools. Later British workers using this type of model, such as Willis (1977) and Corrigan (1979), differ in that the explanations they offer, deriving from Marxist 'conflict' perspectives, are couched in terms of

pupil subcultures being a product of wider-acting social and economic forces which are exhibited in, and learned from, the social class cultures of the home and the neighbourhood.

There have been other studies which have invoked different kinds of typifications of pupil responses to their schooling and different levels of explanatory analyses. For example, Dale (1972) typified the pupils in his study as 'planners and drifters', whereas Wakeford's (1969) were 'conformists, colonists, rebels, intransigents and retreatists'. All of these different career typifications

... might be ... regarded as modes of adaptation which pupils might shade in and out of, they might also represent the major orientation of certain pupil careers (Woods, 1980. p. 13).

Ball (1980, pp. 156-7) argues critically that the conflict model and anti-school pupils may not be the norm but are a sociological product of what is interesting and with what may be seen as a concern with 'the under dog'. Whether or not this is so, the roots of an alternative, and sometimes conflicting, approach are to be traced back to the work of Werthman (1963). He specifically criticises explanations of pupils' behaviour which attribute it to membership of particular social classes or the organizational structure of schools. His main criticism seems to be that analyses in terms of dichotomies and crude categorizations of pupils and society, can only provide over-generalized accounts of what 'real-life' is actually like for most pupils. Certainly, the validity of Werthman's suggestion that we should adopt a lower level of analysis if we are to obtain a more realistic

portrayal of pupil life, is supported by the findings of many researches.

For example, Furlong (1976) found no evidence in the London comprehensive school of his research of anti-school and pro-school subcultures or in fact of any consistent pupil grouping. He was more impressed by the transient pattern of interaction among pupils which seemed to depend on time of day or who was present. These are factors which are much more likely to be linked to the vagaries of the secondary school timetable which typically dictates that pupils belong to a number of what Furlong termed 'interaction sets'. He maintains that there is no pupil culture as such. It is individuals who construct their own actions and it is not the group that dictates them. The key point, he argues, is that it is the individual pupil who defines each specific 'classroom situation' and that this is particularly related to his or her evaluation of the teacher.

In another study, this time of pupil transfer from primary to secondary school, Measor and Woods (1984b) found that all of the pupils they interviewed aspired towards the concept of the 'normal child', although they did recognise that this might be different for different individuals and groups of pupils. Turner (1982), in his interview-based study of some older secondary pupils, suggests that they may wish to conform to the ideal in terms of their major expressed aims as long as the school provides them with the appropriate resources, such as a 'good' teacher, to achieve that aim. This hypothesis suggests that pupils' conformity is

conditional on the school meeting their instrumental aims and that this conformity is based on the rational appraisal of their individual situations. Such an 'economic theory' of interpersonal relationships, premised on 'cost-benefit analysis', has been proposed by a number of social psychologists. McCall and Simmons (1966) and other theorists adopting an improvisational model (for example, Weinstein and Deutschberger, 1964) emphasise, like exchange theorists (for example, Homans, 1950), the goal-oriented nature of social behaviour, and refer to the concepts of rewards, costs and outcomes in their conceptualization of interaction.

It does seem then, that pupils do not *have* to belong to pro-school and anti-school subcultural groups and that they can act more as unique persons and can make individual responses to their schooling and their teachers.

A review of the literature relating to the central issue of this study, pupil perceptions of teacher racism, is provided in the section which follows. Before turning to that review however, I should briefly like to summarize the main arguments of this theoretical account of the interpersonal relationship between teachers and pupils.

The classroom negotiation of the definition of the situation or 'what goes on' between teachers and pupils is to a very large extent based on their interpersonal perceptions of one another. Often, however, these definitions are not in accord because of fundamental differences in the cognitions of

teachers and pupils. Factors involved in these differences in perception and cognition include intellectual maturity and cultural experience. Nevertheless, because of the teacher's superior power resources, it is she who usually dominates the negotiating processes of defining the situation in the classroom. While that may be so, it has been argued that in order to understand schools and classrooms better, we need to reveal, and take into account, the sense pupils make of their school experiences and, particularly, of their teachers' behaviour towards them.

In the section which follows we specifically consider why pupils' perceptions of teacher racism are important.

Section VI Why pupils' perceptions and experiences of teacher racism are important

In the last analysis the arguments against racism must be moral arguments. Kureishi (1986) has powerfully expressed the moral arguments against racism in the following terms:

The evil of racism is that it is a violation not only of another's dignity, but also of one's own person or soul; the failure of connections with others is a failure to understand or feel what it is one's own humanity consists in ... a society that is racist is a society that cannot accept itself, that hates itself so deeply that it cannot see, does not want to see - how much people have in common with each other. And the whole society and every element in it, is reduced and degraded because of it (p. 31).

Tomlinson (1986, p. 1) too has said that it is in the interests of

social and racial justice, that ethnic minority pupils have equal opportunities to achieve academic and vocational qualifications ...

I would like to think that there are few people who would find disagreement with the sentiments and implications of Kureishi's and Tomlinson's statements, for racism degrades all of us, the oppressors as well as the victims, as human beings. Nevertheless, as we have seen in Section II, the life chances of second generation VEMGM children are little if any better than those of their immigrant parents. Simply, the available evidence indicates that VEMGM children do not achieve in education as well as those of the IWGM majority. The issue of VEMGM educational achievement is, therefore, a political and economic as well as a moral, social and racial question.

There is heated debate and disagreement about the factors leading to VEMGM underachievement which will doubtless remain one of the major issues in multicultural and anti-racist education for a long time. Nevertheless, one factor about which there is little disagreement, and which we have identified in Section II, is 'the discriminatory attitudes, behaviour and actions teachers display towards their pupils', that is, through their racism.

Much of the verbal and written evidence reported to the Rampton Committee (DES, 1981), confirms the contention that one of the most important factors involved in the underachievement of VEMGM pupils, particularly those of African-Caribbean origin, is racism. Many of the African-Caribbean people who presented evidence saw this as the major reason (reported in DES, 1985, p. xix).

The Committee, believed, however, that only a very small VEMGM of teachers could be described as racist 'in the commonly accepted sense' (DES, 1981, p. xix) (it is not made clear what this means; I assume that it refers to overt discriminatory practices and the revelation of racial prejudices). In fact, the Committee did claim that a teacher's attitudes towards, and expectations of, VEMGM children, may be subconsciously influenced by stereotyped, negative or patronising views of their abilities and potential, and that they may prove a self-fulfilling prophecy. (A self-fulfilling prophecy occurs when a prediction so influences events that it comes true, simply because it was made.) Such attitudes and expectations, the Committee continued, can be seen as a form of 'unintentional racism' which 'cannot be said alone to account for the underachievement of West Indian children'. They did concede, however, that racism 'can and does have an important bearing on their performance at school' (DES, 1985, p.xix).

But how might teacher racism result in VEMGM pupils' underachievement?

As we have seen in Sections IV and particularly V, the relationships between pupils and their teacher is a major factor in determining the pupils' learning both about the world in general and about herself. It is, we noted, the teacher who dominates the 'definition of the situation'. We might also recall Cooley's notion that in large part, our 'selves' are socially constructed (Wylie, 1961, p. 121; Mead, 1964, p. 246). This awareness of a socially constructed self

becomes an increasingly influential element in the child's learning as she grows older. Furthermore, the most rapid growth in a person's self knowledge occurs during the childhood years (Piaget, 1977, pp. 157-8.; Rogers, 1961, pp. 163-98) and one of the most important influences on this growth is the teacher, who has most of the power resources for 'defining the situation', including that of defining, in large part, pupils' selves.

The interaction which takes place within the classroom between the teacher and individual boys and girls is, then, highly likely to be influential in the development of the child's self-concept. Although the causal relationship between attitudes and behaviour is far from convincingly and unequivocally established, as we have seen in Section IV, it is probable that the teacher's social behaviour in the multi-ethnic classroom is likely to reflect those attitudes which are stimulated by 'ethnic factors'.

So here lies the theoretical basis for the thinking of the Rampton Committee (DES, 1981) about the importance of teacher expectations of and attitudes towards pupils in respect of their achievement. This theory is supported by some empirical evidence which we must now consider.

Brownfair (1952) claims to have shown that a child's self-concept is associated with her level of academic achievement. Similar conclusions were drawn by Davidson and Lang (1950) who showed that during the primary school years, there is a positive correlation between the child's

self-concept, and the child's perception of her teacher's attitudes towards her. Some more recent empirical evidence (Davey and Mullin, 1980) also suggests that the school experience of some pupils does affect their confidence and self-esteem which may then affect their educational performance.

However, comparatively little research has been carried out on teachers' attitudes towards VEMGM pupils, or, on the more controversial question, of the extent to which a teacher's expectations of a pupil can directly affect her achievement or behaviour. There are nevertheless, a few studies, albeit some rather small in scale, which have been undertaken on the existence of teacher stereotypes of VEMGM group pupils, in both Britain and the United States. Many of these researches were probably instigated by Rosenthal and Jacobson's famous and controversial study on the creation and impact of positive self-fulfilling prophecies, *Pygmalion in the Classroom* (1968). We shall now examine some of the researches which consider this self-fulfilling prophecy proposition, as revealed through teachers' classroom organisation, and through their differentiated classroom interpersonal behaviour towards pupils, on the basis of their ethnicity.

In the United States, the findings of Rist (1970) highlight one way in which teachers discriminate against their VEMGM pupils. He observed a single all-black cohort of pupils for almost three years, through kindergarten, Grade One and Grade Two. All of the teachers and administrators in the school

were black. He noted that after only eight days of working with the class as a whole, the teacher had assigned the children to 'ability groups' at three tables. Furthermore, the proportion of children from low-income, large families was greater at the lowest-ability table than at the highest-ability table. Also, Pedersen (1986, p. 64), writing of Rist's findings, observed that:

... there seemed to be more children with very dark skin at Table Three, despite the fact that the teacher, herself black, was an active civil rights worker! (One of the effects of racism can be that even the victims of negative stereotypes may behave as if those stereotypes were true).

Confirmation of Rist's findings is provided by the studies of some other researchers working in the United States.

Gottlieb (1964), in an investigation of the effect of the 'race' of teachers on their pupils, found that the IWGM teachers in his sample disliked teaching inner-city black pupils more than the black teachers. In another study conducted by Clark (1964), half of the IWGM teachers in the sample considered that black pupils were innately inferior to white pupils and were unable to learn in school. Following their classroom observation study, Rubovits and Maehr (1973) concluded that 'in general, black students were treated less positively than whites' (p. 120) and 'were given less attention, ignored more, praised less and criticised more' (p. 217).

These conclusions are supported by those of Gay (1974, pp. vii-x). This researcher found that both black and white teachers interact differently with black and white students,

in the United States' desegregated social studies classrooms that she observed. Teachers were 'more positive, encouraging, and reinforcing towards white pupils'. Black pupils' verbal interactions with teachers were primarily 'nonacademic, procedural, critical, and non-encouraging'.

Turning to research conducted in Britain and regarding secondary schooling, the research of Eggleston *et al* (1986) suggests that banding and streaming in the fourth and fifth years (now Years Ten and Eleven) of secondary school relate more to teacher expectations than they do to pupil attainment.

That these expectations of pupils may often be based on teachers' stereotyped thinking about pupils is illustrated by some other British studies. Townsend and Brittain (1972), for example, showed the consistency with which secondary head teachers commented on the manners, courtesy, keenness to learn and industriousness of Indian and Pakistani pupils. Regarding these same ethnic groups, Stewart (1978) found that the teachers of his sample held the positive stereotype of Asian pupils, as industrious, responsible and keen to learn, and that they were seen to have none of the behaviour problems associated with African-Caribbean children.

This suggestion, that many teachers hold a particularly negative stereotype of African-Caribbean pupils, is confirmed by other researches. Brittain (1976) found that more than two-thirds of the teachers he sampled held unfavourable attitudes towards African-Caribbean pupils. In another study

of how pupils become designated educationally subnormal (ESN), Tomlinson (1979) found that head teachers were more likely to respond at length about African-Caribbean pupils, and to have more generalised views about Asian children. Tomlinson also found that these head teachers tended to express strong feelings that the learning process was slower for African-Caribbean pupils, that they lacked long term concentration, and that they would tend to underachieve and be 'remedial'.

Perhaps the research of Green (1983 and summarised in DES, 1985) is the first real attempt to study in detail, the influence of teachers' attitudes towards pupils on the basis of their ethnicity. Green's research focussed on the teaching style used by different teachers in relation to pupils of European, Asian and African-Caribbean heritage.

In particular, Green looked at the influence which the personal characteristics of teachers seemed to have on their interactions with pupils from the different ethnic groups. Green was centrally concerned with teachers' levels of 'ethnocentrism', which he defined as

... the tendency to consider the characteristics and attributes of ethnic groups other than one's own to be inferior (DES, 1985, p. 25).

He showed that teacher behaviour in classrooms differed significantly towards ethnic groups and boys and girls. This research also strongly suggested that teacher behaviour was more negative towards African-Caribbean boys and Asian girls in that they were likely to be given the least educational

help in the classroom. Asian pupils, Green notes, were more likely to receive praise and encouragement from teachers while African-Caribbean pupils, particularly boys, seem to receive more attention, but mostly of a critical kind. The main conclusion which Green came to was, children of different ethnic origins taught in the same multi-ethnic classroom by the same teacher, are likely to receive widely different educational experiences.

We might add that the work of Rist (1970) on the grouping of primary school pupils in the United States, and of Eggleston *et al* (1986) on the streaming and banding practices used in English secondary schools, which we discussed earlier, shows another way in which pupils' self-esteem may be affected and how these practices may lead to self-fulfilling prophecies.

As Pedersen (1986, p. 64) has said of Rist's findings:

... the teacher's early judgment becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy ... teachers influence the academic achievement of their children by linking their estimates of the pupils' academic potential to their socio-economic or racial affiliations, and then by offering more effective instruction to those whom they expect to succeed.

The question remains, however, does assignment to low-ability groups have lasting impact on subsequent social-status achievement, and, more generally, is the teacher's influence necessarily negative on the subsequent life chances of their pupils?

Pedersen and Faucher (1978) set out to investigate this question. They measured the socio-economic status of a sample of young adults who had formerly all been pupils in

the same inner-city, elementary 'problem' school. The school's records for these former pupils were also examined to determine the 'antecedents of upward social mobility'. Of the three major predictors which emerged, rather alarmingly, the strongest was the Grade One teacher to whom the adult had been exposed at school! Those adults who as pupils had been exposed to a particular Grade One teacher - Miss A, were significantly more likely to have relatively higher socio-economic status than those exposed to the other Grade One teachers.

Further analysis of the school records revealed that:

Miss A's former pupils had achieved substantially higher mean academic grades and had received higher teacher-estimates of personal qualities such as effort, leadership and initiative on their report cards in *all* subsequent elementary grades than had the former pupils of other Grade One teachers during the same eleven year span. It was concluded that Miss A had done a superior job of teaching reading and other subjects, and in addition had treated her pupils in ways that had developed in them good work habits and self-respect (Pedersen, 1986, p. 65).

So yes, it appears that the way in which the teacher treats her pupils does have a lasting, perhaps life-long, impact on them as persons, as well as on their life chances. It seems that pupils do perceive the way in which they and their classmates are treated by teachers. But is there any evidence that this is so?

As we have seen, investigations into teacher perceptions and behaviour and the effect these may have on certain pupil variables such as their self-concept and educational achievement, are quite commonplace in educational research.

However, the sense pupils make of their school experience and, particularly, of their social relationships with their teachers, have been a relatively neglected area of research. Few people have attempted to grapple with the 'obvious and direct' question, 'what, precisely and in detail, do the pupils 'see' in their relationships with teachers?'. In the absence of an adequate answer to this question, our ideas about, for example, the influence of the teacher's attitudes and behaviour on the pupil's self-concept, and, in turn, on her educational achievements and life chances, can only have the status of conjecture, supposition and speculation.

Nevertheless, some attempt has been made to reveal pupil perceptions of teacher behaviour and action towards them, and so we must now review these explorations. Specifically, we shall review those studies which have not used ethnicity as a variable. These studies should, however, shed some light on teacher behaviours which are likely to have some impact on pupils' self-concepts, including VEMGM children's. These researches concern pupil perception of the generic issue of teacher 'unfairness'. The term 'unfairness' concerns the ways in which teachers are seen by pupils to discriminate between them. These discriminations are also those which are seen by pupils to have negative effects on them both as learners and as persons. The focus of the review will then be shifted in the following section (Section VI) onto the more narrow aspect of ethnically-based unfairness, or racism.

Almost certainly the first work on pupils' perceptions of an aspect of teacher unfairness is the interpretive,

interview-based research of Werthman (1963). This study concerned the grading of the schoolwork of a 'delinquent gang' in a United States' secondary school and is, therefore, 'once removed' from actual behaviour in which both parties are physically present. Nevertheless, Werthman showed how the 'gang' made decisions about whether to accept or reject the authority of the teacher on various criteria related to how the teacher treated the gang members, and specifically, how fairly the marking of the pupils' work was done. This research shows how the marking characteristics of teachers were established jointly by the pupils, through the selection and analysis of their work, and of the grades they had each been awarded. Having conducted their 'scientific' research, the gang members had their evidence about whether or not the teacher was fair and, therefore, about how they should treat him or her.

Werthman's research stresses the rational appraisal which pupils make of their situation, their teachers and of the resulting contextual variability of their behaviour. Whether or not deviance occurs depends, Werthman argues, on the pupils' assessment of the fairness of the teacher's treatment of them.

The rationality of pupils' appraisals of teachers has since been demonstrated in some observational studies of classroom interaction in the United States (Geer, 1968). Geer shows that pupils establish through listening, a consensus about their teacher's academic and disciplinary standards. She argues that the pupils then transform what the teacher says

and does into 'rules' for her to follow which must be strictly adhered to, and applied equally to them all.

In a British study of some secondary school pupils, Rosser and Harré (1976), using an ethogenic or phenomenological 'free interview' method, also revealed the rationality of pupils' appraisals of teachers. They found common ground in the reactions to teachers of two radically different groups of pupils, the 'pro-school' and 'anti-school' groups. Some very clear rules and principles were shown to underpin, what might seem on first examination to be pupils' irrational misbehaviour. It was found that pupils reacted to certain offences of teachers which they saw as undermining their dignity and self-esteem (the evaluation of one's worth by oneself). Teachers *should*, said the pupils, be 'human', be able to 'teach', make you 'work' and keep 'control'. A teacher's failure to do these things, the pupils saw as 'forms of contempt' which were punishable with 'disorder'.

With regard to keeping control, pupils felt insulted by weakness on the part of those in authority who they expected to be strong. However, according to Rosser and Harré, for the pupils, there are degrees of control, and teachers may be 'too strict', which they see as 'unfair', a finding which accords with the results of research conducted by Nash (1974) and Naylor (1986).

Rosser and Harré also uncovered ways in which teachers are seen by pupils to be unfair to them in groups, or as individuals. Pupils consider it unfair to be compared with a

sibling, being 'put down', being 'picked on', and having to suffer penalties unrelated to particular rule-infractions. As well as personal victimisation, the cultivation of favourites and 'pets' was also found to be generally despised and deprecated by pupils. As with Geer's (1968) and Nash's (1974) studies, Rosser and Harré also found that pupils expect teacher behaviour to be consistent and predictable.

There are other studies which have revealed pupils' dislike of teachers who 'pick-on', 'show-up' and 'put down' and 'make pets' of some of them. For example, Woods (1975) has shown the deep sense of humiliation felt by pupils who have been 'shown up' by teachers. Some of these pupil dislikes have also been suggested in another study by Woods (1979). In this ethnographic study (one in which 'life is observed as it goes on') of some fourteen-to-sixteen year old 'top-exam' and 'non-exam' groups in a secondary school, Woods (1979) found that regardless of their grouping, the two items most generally opposed by pupils in their teachers' unfair behaviour, were 'having pets' and 'being picked-on'. Morgan, O'Neill and Harré (1979) and Davies (1984a) have also found that pupils resent teachers who forget their names, or use offensive nicknames, and who show them up, or mock them, when they have difficulty with the work, and who reprimand them unfairly.

The potential seriousness of 'name calling' has been pointed up by Smith, 1985, p. 38) in the following terms:

For most of us, a name is much more than just a tag or a label. It is a symbol which stands for the unique combination of characteristics and attributes that

defines us as an individual. It is the closest thing that we have to a shorthand for the self-concept.

Turning to being 'picked-on', in his studies of the social world of primary schools, Pollard (1985) found that this behaviour was felt particularly deeply by pupils as a personal attack:

... it was regarded as unfair because it was seen to arise from unusual levels of teacher surveillance and from particular attention being directed towards them ... being shown up was recognised as a specific act of depersonalisation intended to set an example (p. 87).

Similar findings were also found in another study which used a different methodology. In this study, Nash (1974) used a repertory grid technique (Kelly, 1955). Nash individually interviewed each member of a class of twelve to thirteen year old pupils. Each pupil was presented with three cards on each of which was the name of one of her teachers. The child was then asked to sort the cards into two sets according to those teachers she 'got on with', and those she did 'not get on with'. Analysis of the conversations revealed six constructs which were more or less commonly held by all of the pupils. One of these constructs - 'Fair-Unfair' - was mentioned by all of the pupils. By this, Nash suggests, the pupils meant that they expected teachers to be firm, but not strict, but in doing so they should behave fairly to everyone, that is, they were not expected to have favourites or to 'pick-on' pupils.

The results of another repertory grid based study (Naylor, 1986) of a small group of sixteen-year-old pupils'

perceptions of teacher 'unfairness' in a Nottingham comprehensive school largely confirm the findings of those studies we have so far reviewed. These pupils too were concerned about teachers who are 'too strict' and 'ill-tempered' with pupils and who 'show them up'. According to this research, however, the most frequently mentioned 'form of contempt' teachers can show pupils is 'ignoring them'. It seems then, that these pupils were concerned that they should be shown 'respect' by their teachers.

Two other examples serve to demonstrate the importance to pupils of being treated with 'respect'. In their study of pupil transfer from middle to comprehensive school, Measor and Woods (1984b) found that all of the twelve year old boys opposed teachers who did not 'treat them as adults'. In a study of gender and comprehensive schooling, Davies (1984b) notes that 'difficult' pupils, both boys and girls, were better with teachers who,

saw them as unique individuals rather than as stereotypes, with teachers who had the flexibility to call up a range of responses to deal with personalities rather than fall back on stylised responses (pp. 60-61)

Again, this finding accords with the idea discussed earlier that teachers should try to have 'consocial' relationships (Schutz and Luckmann, 1974) with their pupils.

In an interview survey of 330 unsuccessful British pupils who had recently left school, Maizels (1970) seems to have found that teachers generally fail to establish 'consocial' relationships with their pupils. He found that teachers were

negatively rated for the most part. Only a minority of pupils felt that their teachers had encouraged them, listened to what they had to say, praised them when they did well, or kept their promises. Although it is not clear how Maizels categorised the pupils' responses, only about a third of them felt that teachers had treated them like 'human beings'. Although they are based on retrospective perceptions, these findings again suggest that pupils rationally appraise their situation.

One of the most significant works on pupils' perceptions of teacher fairness, certainly for the present study, is the research of Silberman (1969; 1970). This research was an attempt to discover whether some of the students in an American primary school (in the Third Grade) were aware of differences in the 'behavioural expression' of their teachers' attitudes towards them.

Silberman's hypothesis is important because it challenges a commonly held assumption of many researchers into the 'self-fulfilling prophecy effect' which we have already discussed. As we suggested earlier, the teacher is in a powerful position to create self-fulfilling prophecies about her pupils. Furthermore, for each individual pupil these prophecies, and their associated expectations, conscious and intentional or not, may be positive or negative. As we have argued earlier, negative prophecies contain great potential for damaging pupils' self-concepts and educational chances; in short, they may be unfair. However, like many of the studies which we have already reviewed, this thesis makes the

important assumption that teachers' expectations are communicated to and perceived by pupils. Silberman's research set out to investigate this hypothesis of whether or not pupils do perceive teachers' expectations of them. He did this in the following way.

Silberman asked ten female teachers to name pupils who fell into each of four groups in terms of 'attachment', 'concern', 'indifference', and 'rejection'. Pupils about whom the teacher felt 'attachment' were defined as those who initiated contact with the teachers more often and who received more praise. The 'concern' group consisted of those pupils with whom the teacher initiated more private conversations and who were praised for their successes and criticised less often for failure. The 'indifference' group tended to be passive, initiating few contacts with the teacher, while the 'rejection' group sought teachers frequently, often 'calling-out', and they often received disciplinary responses.

Six children in each of ten classes were so identified. The children were interviewed individually and each was asked to compare him or herself with the five other identified members of his or her class on four questions concerned with 'contact, positive and negative evaluation and acquiescence'. The accuracy of the pupils' predictions of the teacher behaviour they would receive, was measured by correlating their predictions with scores derived from the observed classroom behaviour of the teacher. Silberman found that the pupils were generally able to predict better than chance the

relative amount of contact, negative evaluation and acquiescence they received. The pupils did not, however, predict the relative amounts of positive evaluation, but, as Nash (1976) has suggested, this may be due to its low frequency of occurrence and small variance. Students were also able to predict the relative amounts of negative evaluation and acquiescence received by their classmates.

From the point of view of the present study, what is interesting about Silberman's research, is the finding that whilst neither teachers nor pupils seemed uneasy that a teacher was 'concerned' about certain students and 'indifferent' towards others, both parties seemed to have reservations about the teacher's 'rejections' of some students and even greater qualms about his or her 'attachment' toward other students. Although as Silberman points out, such speculation needs to be supported by further empirical work, this idea is interesting if one accepts that the 'attachment' and 'rejection' groups are similar to Nash's (1974), Rosser and Harré's (1976) and Woods' (1975; 1979) 'pets' and 'pick-ons', which their researches showed pupils to consider unfair teacher treatment. What is even more interesting about Silberman's suggestion, however, is the idea that teachers, as well as pupils, are concerned about the different treatment the two groups receive at the hands of teachers. Also, as Nash (1976, p. 21) points out, it would be interesting to know whether pupils' awareness of their teachers' attitudes towards them affected the way they did their schoolwork.

That pupils do perceive teachers' attitudes towards them, as suggested by Silberman's work, is supported by the findings of research conducted by Nash (1973). Thirty-four twelve-year-olds and their teacher were asked to rank order the ability of pupils in a classroom. The rank orders obtained correlated which, as Nash observes, suggests that within every classroom there is a considerable degree of shared perception between teacher and pupil. However, with regard to this research we must not rule out the possibility that it was the pupils' attitudes about their ability which influenced the teachers' or, possibly even more likely, that the pupils' and teachers' attitudes towards one another were interactively influential.

As we have seen, some of the researches we reviewed early in this section have considered ethnicity. However, none of the studies have considered gender. As Llewellyn (1980, p. 24) remarked, much of the literature on youth and education systematically neglects the question of gender, thus making it invisible; this is certainly true of many of the studies we have considered so far. There are even writers who argue that singling out gender as a variable for particular attention cannot be justified on the grounds that it may reinforce sex-typed labels.

However, there are, as we have seen in Section V, other writers who disagree (for example, Ashmore, 1990; Eagly, 1986). During the last decade or so, there has been a burgeoning interest in the school experiences of girls. Much of this research has already been reviewed when we considered

the factor of sex in perception in Section V. However, there are some other studies which have specifically looked at schoolgirls' perceptions of their unfair treatment, compared with boys, at the hands of teachers.

For example, as a result of her ethnographic study in a girls' secondary school, Davies (1978) concludes that where there is marked differentiation between the sexes by teachers, there is likely to be a corresponding difference of viewpoints by the sexes. Furthermore, the evidence of the feminist, Deem (1978), clearly suggests that at the secondary stage, schools can exert harmful influences on both girls' self-concepts and their life-chances.

The research of Davies (1984a) concerns a deviant subcultural group of sixteen-year-old girls - the Wenches - in a large Midlands comprehensive school. In this study there is then, little comparative data of the views of both boys and girls. As in many of the other studies we have reviewed, however, most of the concerns the Wenches expressed about their teachers centred on the infringement of their 'dignity and respect'. Thus, they castigated teachers who,

shouted at them, used insulting nicknames ... bawled ... or never said please (Davies, 1984a, p. 28).

Stanworth's research (1983) attempted to shed light on the practices of pupils, and especially of teachers which actively reproduce a hierarchical system of gender divisions in the classroom. The research is based on detailed, individual, in-depth interviews with teachers and a sample of

their male and female pupils, in seven 'A' level classes in the humanities department of a college of further education.

According to the pupils' reports, Stanworth's findings suggest that boys are twice as likely to be seen as 'model pupils'. Boys are slightly more likely to be the pupils for whom teachers display most concern, twice as likely to be asked questions by teachers, twice as likely to be those with whom teachers 'get on best', three times more likely to be pupils whom teachers appear to enjoy teaching and five times more likely to be the ones to whom teachers pay most attention. Stanworth found no marked differences in the reports of boys and girls on these dimensions:

the implication ... is that *both* boys and girls experience the classroom as a place where boys are the focus of activity, and attention - particularly in the forms of interaction which are initiated by the teacher - while girls are placed at the margins of classroom life (1983, p. 38).

These findings generally confirm those obtained by Good *et al* (1973) in their interaction analysis study of some Seventh and Eighth Grade secondary school classrooms in the United States.

Nearly all of the pupils interviewed by Stanworth mentioned instances in which male teachers were, in their eyes, substantially more sympathetic or more attentive to boys than to the girls.

Although it is uncertain from Stanworth's research, simply because she did not ask the pupils the question, it seems

reasonable to suppose that the pupils who reported the findings discussed above, find it unfair that boys generally receive 'better' treatment from their teachers than do girls.

Whether or not this general finding of the more favourable treatment of boys compared with girls is confirmed for multi-ethnic classrooms and schools, in due course, we shall consider.

However, what all of these studies make clear is that pupils rationally appraise the way in which they are treated by their teachers and they make it clear that one of the most important 'interests-at-hand' for all groups of pupils is 'retaining their dignity' (Pollard, 1985). It seems that:

Children do not like teachers who threaten their dignity, for such a threat represents a direct attack on their self-image (Pollard, 1985, p. 86).

It was on the basis of the kind of evidence which we have now discussed, that the predominant view held in the 1970s about the possible explanation of the relative educational underachievement of VEMGM children was expressed in terms of their low self-esteem. More recently, however, the relation between self-esteem and educational achievement has been questioned and in the early 1980s one African-Caribbean writer began repudiating the idea (Stone, 1981). Another writer has even gone so far as to say that:

... further research into West Indian under achievement, to be productive, must relinquish the premise that teachers' expectations are chiefly responsible (Short, 1985).

Possibly quite rightly, these writers seem not to be equating

the teacher's classroom organizational practices with any impact on her pupils' self-concepts. Whatever lies behind the reasoning of these writers however, it is clear that the argument regarding the influence of teacher behaviours, actions and expectations on the educational underachievement of VEMGM pupils is far from concluded.

Although the research evidence may be far from unequivocally established, on balance, it does seem that many teachers do hold negative stereotypes of African-Caribbean pupils and, possibly, more positive ones of pupils of Asian heritage:

... those of West Indians tend to be more uniform, more firmly established and more strongly held (DES, 1985, p. 23).

Thus, we might conclude this section, by saying that the nature of pupil-teacher classroom interaction, largely determined by the teacher's 'definition of the situation', is likely to influence the development of the child's self-concept, and that this in turn, probably has a bearing on her level of scholastic achievement and on her subsequent life chances. In the section which follows, we shall consider the findings of researches which have looked at VEMGM pupils' perceptions of their teachers' behaviours and actions towards them.

Section VII Pupils' perceptions of teacher racism: A review

So, what of the perceptions of VEMGM pupils with regard to the issue of teacher unfairness, or racism?

Despite the recent efforts of Foster (1990a), Gillborn (1987; 1990; 1995), Green (1983 summarized in DES, 1985), Mac an Ghail (1988; 1989; 1994), Mirza (1992), Tizard and Phoenix (1993), Troyna and Hatcher (1992), Verma *et al* (1994) and Wright (1985; 1986; 1987a; 1987b; 1988; 1992a; 1992b), we still know remarkably little about how VEMGM pupils perceive their schooling and their teachers, particularly when it comes to racism. The only clues we have come from a relative handful of research studies, some of which have not even specifically considered ethnicity as a variable. Much of the little we know is pieced together from pupils' comments reported in studies which have some other focus. Nevertheless, in piecing together this account, it is as well to begin by noting that we are most often:

Examining the encounter of white professionals and black working class students of African-Caribbean and Asian parentage (Mac an Ghail, 1988, p. 1).

In one of the earliest studies, Saint (1963) looked at the attitudes to school of Punjabi Sikh adolescent boys in Smethwick in 1962. He interviewed a small sample of boys, some of whom criticised their teachers for inattentiveness to their needs and work, or for expressing favouritism towards IWGM boys. These would seem to be clear references to what these pupils saw as teacher racism, although we have to bear in mind that we do not have the views of IWGM pupils against which we can assess this hypothesis.

In another early study, Hill (1968; 1970) interviewed over 400 fourteen-to-fifteen-year-olds in six secondary modern schools, about their attitudes to school and teachers. In

general, he found that African-Caribbean pupils had favourable attitudes towards education, but although the girls had favourable attitudes towards school, they did not feel similarly about their teachers. The African-Caribbean boys, in contrast, generally regarded their teachers as people to emulate, although it is not made clear why this is so. It does seem, however, that these boys cannot have had unfavourable attitudes towards their teachers and, therefore, that they did not consider them racist. A similar pattern of results was obtained by Evans (1972) in his interview study of 150 African-Caribbean sixteen-to-twenty-four-year-olds in Birmingham.

Generally more positive perceptions of school and teachers were also obtained by Dove (1975). She interviewed and questionnaire surveyed 545 fifteen and sixteen-year-old, first- and second-generation 'immigrant' pupils in three London comprehensive schools. Thirty-one per cent of Dove's sample were of African-Caribbean or Asian heritage whilst the remainder were 'White' British or Cypriot. Most pupils thought that, on the whole, they 'got on well' with their teachers (African-Caribbeans - sixty-five per cent, Cypriots - seventy-four per cent, 'white's - seventy-eight per cent, and Asians - eighty-four per cent). In contrast to the findings of Hill (1968; 1970), Dove found that girls, in general, tended to be more positive about their relationships with their teachers, whilst it was the African-Caribbean boys who were the least positive.

John (1971) obtained rather different results from his study.

Sixty per cent of the 200 sixteen-year-old African-Caribbean young people he interviewed, were 'disillusioned' with what they had learnt at school, and the type of jobs they were likely to find available to them. Although these pupils' teachers are not specifically mentioned, it seems that they were suggesting that they suffered unequal opportunities in their schooling which reflected on their educational qualifications and employment chances. In short, it seems that they perceived that they had suffered from the effects of their teachers' racism.

These findings are in general accord with those obtained by Rex and Tomlinson (1979) in their study carried out in Handsworth, Birmingham. Twenty-five Asian sixteen-to-twenty-one-year-olds (mostly Indians) and the same number of African-Caribbean young people, were interviewed. Two-thirds of the African-Caribbean young people, but only about one-third of the Indians, said that they did not believe that their teachers were interested in them, or in their schoolwork. Many thought that they had not been 'pushed hard enough'. In other words, these pupils felt that their teachers did not have high enough expectations of them.

Of course, what the findings of these researches tell us about pupils' perceptions of teacher racism, is again, not clear. In terms of educational success what, for example, 'does getting on well' with teachers actually mean. Also, what is not clear from Rex and Tomlinson's study, is the extent to which these VEMGM young people, and their IWGM classmates, hold shared perceptions about the levels of

'teacher interest' accorded the different ethnic groups of pupils.

In her study of African-Caribbean children in London, Stone (1981) found that they were generally highly antagonistic towards teachers, although not necessarily towards school or education: 'they perceive teachers as hostile and authoritarian, using their power in an arbitrary way'.

Ratcliffe (1981) recorded a similar response among a group of twenty-five African-Caribbean young people, aged sixteen-to-twenty-one, in Handsworth, Birmingham, none of whom had progressed beyond CSE (Certificate of Secondary Education which was of lower status than the GCE 'O' level) level. Not only did they voice resentment at teachers' exercise of authority, but,

... there appeared to be a distinct mood of dissatisfaction with the interest which the teachers had shown in them ... Many ... said that their teachers had effectively prevented them from studying O-level courses which they thought they could have passed (Ratcliffe, 1981, p. 301).

Again, however, these studies have failed to explore explicitly the 'no difference' hypothesis in teachers' treatment of VEMGM compared with IWGM pupils.

Some research by Kelly (1988) is unique in that it made a deliberate attempt to capture both VEMGM and IWGM pupils' perceptions of their experiences of racism. This research into racism in schools, was commissioned by the MacDonald (1989) inquiry into the murder of an Asian pupil by an IWGM boy in a Manchester school. A survey method, involving 902

pupils in three, multi-ethnic Manchester secondary schools, was used. A few of Kelly's fifteen-year-old respondents volunteered some examples of what they considered racist teacher behaviour:

The way they carry on at you, telling you to do this and that, looking at you like dirt, giving you the wrong grades, telling you your work's like sh.. when it's perfectly alright.

They are nice to white groups of people and then if the black people say anything, they get sent out or get into trouble.

By when the teacher called my friend as he was walking past.

If they call people racist names, if they pick on them only, if everyone is messing about, they get told off.

They talk to the other kids in a kind way and when we say something they talk to us as if we are idiots (Kelly, 1988, p. 26).

Unfortunately, Kelly fails to identify the ethnicity of the authors of these comments, nevertheless, in them we can sense the sophisticated perceptions, and deep resentment, of a wide range of ways in which pupils' perceive that they are unfairly treated on the basis of 'race', by some of their teachers.

In my own small-scale, repertory grid research (Naylor, 1986) of ten, sixteen-year-old pupils' perceptions of the general issue of teacher unfairness, I obtained some 'elaborated constructs', which revealed some of these pupils' concerns about what they saw as teacher racism. The following two constructs come from a Sikh boy:

Strict, racist perhaps, unfair on kids who are a different colour from white.

Treats you unfairly because of your colour or creed.

Blacks are punished more for the same crime as whites
(Naylor, 1986, p. 86).

Interestingly, the other VEMGM participant in this research, a Muslim girl, made no reference to teachers' racist behaviour.

Thus, it may be that the variables of sex and gender confound the Sikh boy's perceptions. He may misconstrue his teachers' unfair treatment of himself as resulting from racism or racial prejudice whereas, in reality, it arises from his being a boy. Although this boy expresses views which accord with those of some of Kelly's (1988) respondents, on the basis of such a small sample of data, my interpretations of this boy's perceptions can be nothing more than speculations. There is then, a clear need for careful research which attempts to unravel the likely interactive effects of race and gender (and class) on the pupils' perceived treatment of themselves by teachers; this is a theme to which we shall be returning later in this review.

As in Kelly's (1988) and Tizard and Phoenix's (1993, p. 63) researches, I found that IWGM pupils also have perceptions of teacher racism. Speaking about IWGM teachers, one girl in my study observed that:

He prefers blacks. He treats them a lot better, let's them off the hook more (Naylor, 1986, p. 83).

And a boy said:

They prefer white kids, they're frightened of black kids, they don't want to get involved (Naylor, 1986, p. 96).

In these last two constructs, the IWGM participants suggest that VEMGM pupils, compared with their IWGM classmates, tend not to be so readily punished by teachers for their 'crimes', 'disorder' and 'rule infractions'.

Interestingly, Tizard and Phoenix (1993, p. 63), in their comparative study of 'white', 'black' and 'mixed-parentage' fifteen and sixteen-year-olds in London and Home Counties schools, found that 'white' teachers were often not felt to be strict enough with 'black' children. One pupil said:

A lot of black kids get away with it when they go to a school where it's all white teachers ... say a black boy has had a fight, and he had broken someone's ribs or something. A lot of teachers would think, oh well I've heard his mother's really rough, and she knows how to give you a mouthful ... we can't suspend him because his mother's going to come up ... When you've got black teachers, it's more stricter, cos they are trying to teach you not to do wrong, they are trying to lead you, you know, in the right direction (Tizard and Phoenix, 1993, p. 63).

As we noted earlier (Section I, p. 7), these pupils, like those in my study, seem to be saying that VEMGM pupils are unfairly indulged by some IWGM teachers which may be, as Denscombe (1979, p. 66) suggests, to avoid provoking:

the kind of confrontation which would expose the power relations in the classroom and explode the 'facade' of friendliness.

Again, however, more data is required before we can have any real confidence in these suggestions.

Kelly's (1988) research focussed on the teasing and bullying that pupils suffer from in school. In attempting to meet these aims, Kelly collected evidence on the nature and extent

of 'racial name calling'. Her findings indicate that this type of racism is not the sole preserve of the pupils themselves; teachers, it seems, are not entirely blameless in this matter. Of the 902 pupil respondents, Kelly found seventeen (nine African-Caribbean/Asian and eight 'white') who stated that they had been called 'offensive' names by teachers. Thirty-four pupils (seventeen African-Caribbean/Asian, seventeen 'white') also reported that they had heard teachers use 'racial names' (Kelly, 1988, p. 25). Although the incidence of such behaviour by teachers appears to be uncommon, this does not excuse any of it.

The studies we have reviewed so far, suggest that VEMGM pupils' perceptions of their teachers are very similar to those of the 'unsuccessful' pupils studied by Maizels (1970), which we discussed earlier in Section VI. It seems that many of these young VEMGM people, particularly those of African-Caribbean heritage, perceived themselves, in Silberman's terms (1969), to be teacher 'rejectees'. They felt rejected on the basis of their ethnicity which then resulted in their unequal access, compared with IWGM pupils, to educational opportunities.

Some other, more recent studies focus much more closely on VEMGM pupils' experiences of IWGM teachers. We now need to turn to these researches, and we shall begin by examining the experiences of VEMGM boys. We should note, again, however, that these studies make no attempt to compare the views of VEMGM and IWGM pupils.

In one of these studies, the African-Caribbean female researcher, Wright (1985; 1986; 1987a; 1987b; 1988), conducted some intensive ethnographic classroom studies and statistical surveys of some African-Caribbean Year Ten and Eleven girls and boys, in two multi-racial comprehensive schools between 1982 and 1984. She posed the question: 'What influence do school processes, procedures, and organization exert on the educational outcome of black adolescent pupils?'. Wright's research led her to suggest that:

behind the quality of interactions which exist between teachers and their ... students were the generally adverse attitudes and expectations which the teachers held regarding these students (Wright, 1987a, p. 111).

She continues that pupils' constructions of some classroom encounters demonstrate:

the degree to which adversities experienced at the hands of certain teachers become firmly fixed in the minds of these students and influence their perception of schooling (Wright, 1987a, p. 111).

Wright (1987a) asked a group of eight African-Caribbean boys about their school and classroom experience. The conversation revealed that these boys suffered racism at the hands of some of their teachers. Much of this racism seems to have been in the form of 'jokes' about the colour of these pupils' skin. For example, Wright reports a conversation between a pupil and a teacher which went as follows:

Teacher: Why have you got a tan?

Pupil: I've been like this all my life.

Teacher: Well you should go back to the chocolate factory, and be remade ... (Wright, 1987a, p. 119).

In a similarly senseless and insensitive way, another pupil of dual heritage was asked by a teacher, 'Why are you coffee coloured?' (Wright, 1987a, p. 119).

The boys were asked in what ways they thought that such treatment of themselves by teachers affected their academic progress. One of these boys cogently explained:

You're not really given the opportunity to learn. Most of the time we're either sitting outside the Head's office or we are either fighting or either arguing with them. It's just we got no time, as you sit down to work they pin something on you (Wright, 1985, p. 213).

In these and other incidences reported by Wright (1985; 1986; 1987a; 1987b; 1988), it appears that some teachers are constantly seeking ways of goading and inciting the VEMGM pupils, mainly, it seems, African-Caribbean boys, in the expectation that they will react with rudeness, disorder and disruption, the teacher will then have an excuse for excluding the 'picked-on' pupil, and presumably, any of his defendants, from the lesson.

When Wright (1985) asked some African-Caribbean boys why they thought the Asian pupils were not treated as badly by some teachers as themselves, one of them replied:

Because the Asians ... just keep to themselves to themselves ... Asians don't speak their minds, they keep it all in because they are afraid (p. 121).

And another added:

Asians aren't the ones who go around causing trouble (p. 121).

In attempting to explain the nature of the antagonistic relationships which existed between some teachers and themselves, Wright suggests that the pupils were 'forced into a stimulus-response situation' (1987a, p. 121) by their teachers' mocking of their skin colour. As Kevin, one of these African-Caribbean boys reflected:

We are treated unfairly, because we are black. They (teachers) look after their own flesh not ours.

Wright then asked these boys how this sort of treatment makes them behave; their unanimous response was 'bad'. One of these boys elaborated this conclusion in the following way:

... we try to get our own back on them. We behave ignorantly towards them, and when the teachers talk to us and tell us to do something we don't do it, because we just think about how they treated us (Wright, 1987a, p. 122).

As we discussed earlier, in Section V, in these pupils' reflections we are seeing the 'spiralling of perspectives' - in these cases, downwards - that people employ in their social interactions with one another. Wright (1985, p. 122) confirms this suggestion in the following terms:

The teachers' anxiety served only to accentuate their negative attitudes and behaviour towards ... (these) ... students which resulted in these students 'getting their own back'.

In responding in this way, (and who can blame them?), these pupils entered into a self-fulfilling prophecy, which, in turn, led to the further downward 'spiralling of perspectives'.

We must hold the teachers largely responsible for the origins

and development of these antagonistic relationships between themselves and their VEMGM pupils, simply because, as we have discussed in Section V, it is the teachers who hold most of the power resources in 'defining the situation'. In reviewing studies of ethnically undifferentiated pupils' perceptions of teachers (Section VI), we noted their deep resentment of teachers who 'show them up', 'pick on them' and 'put them down'. From what VEMGM pupils tell us about their perceptions of 'unfair' teacher behaviour, it seems that they often suffer in these respects much more so than their IWGM classmates. Perhaps then, in these VEMGM pupils' attempts to protect their dignity, we should not be surprised to find that they frequently respond with such hostility towards some of their teachers.

Making matters worse, however, as we have discussed earlier in this Section, the impact of teacher stereotyping and ill-treatment of African-Caribbean pupils particularly is, sadly, that they are disproportionately represented in the lowest streams and examination groups of our secondary schools. This fact has not gone unnoticed by African-Caribbean pupils themselves as the following reported comment of two of them vividly illustrates:

We came here because our brother and sister went to this school. They got on badly. They were unhappy with the school, so they didn't try. They were also put in the 'B' band. The headmaster would not allow them to go into the sixth form here. Anyway, they're better off there. They are both doing 'O' and 'A' levels. Since going there my brother has got 'O' level Grade A in Maths. He never did any good here (Wright, 1985, p. 212).

Some further insight into the reasons for the poorer response

of the African-Caribbean adolescents, especially of boys, to their schooling and teachers, compared with other ethnic groups, is provided by the ethnographic studies of the sociologist, Mac an Ghaill (1988; 1989; 1994). The anti-school group of African-Caribbean adolescent 'Rasta Heads' Mac an Ghaill (1988) studied, reveal remarkably similar perceptions of their teachers' unfair treatment of them to the African-Caribbean boys studied by Wright (1985; 1986).

The Rasta Heads felt that they were seen by their teachers as refusing discipline and, therefore, as being 'troublesome'; a problem which the teachers assumed lay in the VEMGM youths themselves. On the other hand, these boys saw the teachers' stereotyping of them as being the real problem. The consequence, Mac an Ghaill (1988) maintained, was

that inside classrooms they were confronted by white adults who treated them as inferiors (p. 103).

The boys' perceptions of these teacher interpretations and treatments of them are graphically illustrated in the following conversation between Mac an Ghaill and Kevin, one of the Rasta Heads:

Kevin: It's lowness, you feel lower than the other man, done it?

M: So what?

Kevin: What do you mean, so what? Already yer looked down upon as more inferior right. Not just us lot, all, all black men. The Indian kids are treated better than us, so it don't make no sense to make yourself look more inferior than you're already claimed to be (Mac an Ghaill, 1988, p. 103).

Like Wright's boys (1987a) and those studied by Rex and

Tomlinson (1979), the Rasta Heads clearly felt that African-Caribbeans were the most 'rejected' by their teachers of all the ethnic groups.

The group of Asian adolescent boys - the Warriors - studied by Mac an Ghail (1988), seemed to possess a particularly acute perception of the racially-based stereotypes used by their teachers and they seem to confirm those of the Rasta Heads and Wright's African-Caribbean boys. The Warriors felt that their teachers' stereotypes were not based upon any significant differences in the behaviour of Asian and African-Caribbean boys. Instead, they felt that it was the teachers' classification and labelling processes, to which both groups differentially reacted, which determined teachers' perceptions of students. Mac an Ghail (1988, p. 122) notes, that in conversation with himself, the Warriors challenged the teacher stereotype of the 'ignorant African-Caribbean', by pointing out that it was often 'high-ability' African-Caribbean students who were involved in the anti-school groups:

Aswin: White people, teachers look on Asians as kinda quieter an' think they accept their ideas more, agree with them. They think they won't make trouble. It's things like that.

For the Warriors, the effect of these racist stereotypes and labelling processes, shared by the teachers and police, was to 'criminalise the behaviour of African-Caribbean youth' (Mac an Ghail, 1988, p. 124).

There is a similarity in these Asian boys' perceptions of the

Rasta Heads response to their schooling and teachers, with Willis' (1977) speculations about his 'lads', the counter-school group, and Davies' (1984) about her Wenches. Willis argues that most students accept the relationship between themselves and the teacher as one of 'fair exchange' - (this represents an exchange theory conception of interpersonal relationships as proposed by Homans, 1950). Teachers, says Willis, exchange knowledge and qualifications for respect and good behaviour.

However, Willis' 'lads', Wright's (1987a) African-Caribbean boys, and Mac an Ghaill's Rasta Heads, seem to have seen through this basic teaching paradigm. We might say that their rational appraisal of the exchange is that they do not receive fair and equal opportunities regarding 'knowledge and qualifications', and so, therefore, they cannot see why they should respond with 'respect and good behaviour'.

The small group of Asian and African-Caribbean sixth-form (Years Twelve and Thirteen) girls Mac an Ghaill (1988) engaged to help him validate his studies of the Rasta heads and the Warriors, have also revealed some valuable insights into teacher racism towards boys. These girls said that African-Caribbean males were more 'visible' to teachers than other anti-school students. They observed that they were most likely to 'get picked on' because of the system of racist stereotyping in operation in schools, which led to African-Caribbean boys being perceived as the main 'troublemakers'. The African-Caribbean young women said that many boys internalized the dominant racist image that they

are 'good at sport and music' and in being so, they fulfilled their teachers' low expectations of their academic performance. This, these girls saw, resulted in a self-fulfilling prophecy. So it seems that when we take these girls' ethnicity into account, these perceptions challenge the conclusions of many feminists (discussed in Section V) that it is boys who teachers treat more favourably, at least in terms of giving boys more of their time and attention. We shall return to this matter again.

Mac an Ghaill's (1988) finding that Asian pupils are regarded by teachers more highly than African-Caribbean pupils, may be related to Rex and Tomlinson's (1979) and Thompson's (1981) suggestion that Asian pupils have relatively more positive attitudes towards teachers and schooling. In his study, Thompson used a sample of 271 adolescent pupils in five multi-ethnic schools in Bristol to investigate the attitudes of Asian, West Indian and English pupils to certain figures of authority. Using a repertory grid technique within a framework of personal construct theory (Kelly, 1955), Thompson found that Asian adolescents, unlike the 'white' and African-Caribbean pupils, had positive attitudes towards head teachers and deputies, as well as to both men and women teachers. Similarly, on the basis of his ethnography of a multi-ethnic comprehensive school, Gillborn (1987, pp. 284-92) has argued that the commonly held idea that African-Caribbean pupils frequently challenge the authority of teachers, is a 'myth'.

Thus, in general, the weight of the evidence we have so far

discussed about VEMGM boys' perceptions of their teachers, confirms Rex and Tomlinson's (1979) and Wright's (1985; 1986; 1987a) conclusions that the racist typifications with which teachers work, tend to be reinforced rather than negated by student responses. Now we need to consider adolescent girls' views and experiences of teacher racism.

In the previous section, we noted Llewellyn's (1980, p. 42) comments regarding the invisibility of gender in much of the research in education up to about 1980. Mirza (1992, pp. 13-15), in her combination of a longitudinal survey with a school-based ethnographic study of sixty-two 'black sixteen-to-nineteen-year-old women', also comments on this issue. The invisibility of gender is certainly true of many of the studies we have reviewed so far. We should also be aware that there are only a very few studies which have specifically looked at VEMGM girls' perceptions of their schooling and teachers; it is to these that we now turn.

Regarding African-Caribbean girls, Dove (1975), Sharpe (1976), Riley (1982) and Mirza (1992) found that they were strongly motivated to obtain qualifications, even if they were critical of school itself. These findings confirm those obtained by Fuller (1980) in her research at Torville School. This small-scale study exposes a number of important views of eight, sixteen-year-old African-Caribbean girls about their teachers and their relationships with them. These well-motivated girls believe that other high-aspiring pupils placed too great an emphasis on teachers' opinions in relation to pupils' success. They felt that they would pass

their examinations on the quality of their work rather than on the quality of their relationship with the teachers who taught them. As Fuller (1980) says:

... in coming to a sense of their own worth the girls had learnt to rely on their own rather than others' opinions of them. Their weighing up of the potential relevance and importance of teachers was part of a more general stance towards others. The girls were relatively sophisticated in judging who did and who did not matter in their pursuit of academic qualifications, for example, so that one could say they adopted a 'strategic' political stand in relation to other people, including whites generally and white authority in school specifically (Fuller, 1980, p. 281).

Having said that, Fuller continues that some of these African-Caribbean girls indicated that they greatly admired some of their teachers who they would like to emulate. These teachers tended to be those who demonstrated

qualities (of persistence, struggle against convention and so on) which have a particular resonance with the girls own current situation (Fuller, 1980, p. 285).

Similar conclusions were drawn by Tomlinson (1983) in her interview study of young African-Caribbean women in higher education. These women were also somewhat critical of their school education, though they all mentioned particular teachers who had encouraged them in their academic careers.

As revealed through her conversation with a small group of African-Caribbean fifteen-year-old girls, Wright (1987a) was more critically forced to wonder,

whether there is anything more to classroom activity for them than insults, criticisms and directives (p. 116).

Teacher racism took a variety of mostly verbal forms. Like

Wright's African-Caribbean boys, one of these forms of racism included making 'jokes' of these girls' skin colour. For example, one teacher said to a black girl who was 'upset':

What's wrong with you? ... I'll have to send you back to Cadbury's to let them wipe the smile on your face (1987a, p. 120).

There were also reported incidences in which teachers mocked the cultures of both Asian and African-Caribbean pupils. For example, regarding ethnic cooking one teacher said:

Oh, well the coloured people and Asian people always cook their things differently (therefore, from us) ... (Wright, 1985, p. 118).

Wright's (1987a) girls reported some examples of the ways in which teachers 'picked-on' them and other black pupils. These examples ranged from finishing a piece of work too early, to a situation in which there was a misunderstanding about wiping some glue from a pair of scissors.

In another discussion of these 'black' girls' perceptions of their schooling and teachers, Wright (1987b) notes that the African-Caribbean boys and girls, in particular, received a disproportionately large amount of the teacher's attention, even though most of the attention was negative, or often a case of being 'picked on' (p. 183). Mirza (1992, p. 55) too, comments on this issue of teachers' 'picking on' 'black' girls. One of her African-Caribbean female informants, in comparing her treatment by a teacher with that of a 'white' classmate, said:

He never tells her off. She goes and talks to the other pupils but when I get up he starts to shout at me ... then I say, 'Why don't you tell her'. He always picks

on mostly the black girls (Mirza, 1992, p. 55).

These observations of 'picking on' girls, also challenge the notion of some writers (reviewed in Section V) that girls are generally found on the margins of classroom life, receiving little attention from teachers.

As mentioned earlier, Mac an Ghaill (1988; 1989) has conducted some important studies of the schooling of VEMGM girls in British secondary schools. He acknowledges the difficulties of a 'white' male researcher, which he is, investigating the personal worlds of VEMGM females and he has attempted to take this into account in his research (for a discussion of these issues see Meyenn, 1979; Lawrence, 1981, p. 9).

Mac an Ghaill involved a small group of Asian and African-Caribbean sixth form (Years Twelve and Thirteen) girls - the Black Sisters - to help him validate the research on the Rasta Heads and the Warriors which we have discussed above. Like these boys, the Black Sisters maintained that a system of racial stereotyping informed the racist processes in operation within their schools. These young women saw that IWGM students were treated differently, they were paid more respect and higher expectations were made of them than of VEMGM students. Like the boys, they interpreted this racism as teachers' ethnic identification with students of the same colour. As with the boys, teachers were seen by the girls to differentiate between Asian and African-Caribbean students, the former tending to be perceived as of higher-ability,

harder-working and more cooperative, compared with the African-Caribbeans, who were seen as low-ability, troublesome pupils.

Similar findings regarding 'expectations' and 'respect' have been obtained by Mirza (1992, p. 55). For example, in describing a 'predominantly black fifth-year class designated as of "low ability"', one teacher said:

These girls have absolutely no motivation. They feel you are here to think for them.

'Yet', Mirza continues, 'these same black girls said of their teachers:

They hold you back. Teachers always put you down, then they say, 'You can't manage. ... (Diane: aged 16); 'When you came to sit a test and then after that they never give you a chance to prove yourself' (Tony: aged 16) (Mirza, 1992, p. 55).

Mirza (1992) maintains that many of 'the young black women' in her study were aware of the 'teachers' negative feelings towards them'. Two of these girls said:

You feel the discrimination, they try to hide it but you can see it. They try to say, 'We're all equal', but you can tell: they talk to you more simply.

Some teachers show that they wouldn't like to teach you. I feel this attitude is absolutely wrong. They are paid to teach pupils, not to pick and choose who they would like to teach (Mirza, 1992, p. 55).

Mirza (1992, p. 55) comments that despite the 'black girls' resentment at being treated by teachers in such discriminatory ways, 'there was little evidence that they were psychologically undermined by this differential treatment'. She also notes that often these girls challenged their teachers'

assumptions about their ability, as illustrated by this girl's account:

My maths teacher really treats us differently. One day I was stuck on a question, I called him over he said, 'Oh, you know how to do this. ...' Afterwards this white girl which he likes quite a lot, she was stuck on the same question as me, she did not understand it then he really did explain it to her and he said, 'Selma you can listen now if you want to.' Then I said, 'Never mind'. (Selma: aged 16) (Mirza, 1992, p. 55).

In another school with a majority Asian population, Mac an Ghaill (1988) records that two Asian girls pointed out that their teachers worked with negative stereotypes of the Asian community. These stereotypes were expressed in terms of teachers assuming that there were intrinsic cultural differences between Asians and 'whites', with the former 'negatively caricatured as alien, sly and over-ambitious' (Mac an Ghaill, 1988, p. 16). For the Black Sisters then, the system of racist stereotyping in operation in schools consists of both negative and positive elements.

As for their own treatment by teachers, the Black Sisters perceived a number of decision-making processes that:

on the surface appeared to operate on the basis of objective, value-free, technical criteria, but that in practice were informed by subjective common-sense value judgments that tended to work against the black working-class young women's interests (Mac an Ghaill, 1988, p. 18).

For example, there is some evidence that stereotypes informed the 'careers advice' these girls perceived others and themselves receiving. In their sixth form studies African-Caribbean girls tended to be directed to 'office work and child care'. Asian boys were offered 'high-status

scientific' subjects, Asian girls 'low status' subjects, often of a practical nature, and it was assumed by their teachers that they would complete their schooling at sixteen. The principal image that their teachers seemed to work with was that they were 'awaiting arranged marriages'.

Furthermore, the Asian girls objected to what they saw as:

... the school's overconcern with selected aspects of their culture, such as marriage arrangements and religious practices. They argued that the teachers' tokenism led to Asians being caricatured as 'aliens from a backward country' ... (and that) ... it was especially the girls who were treated as 'immigrants' (Mac an Ghail, 1988, p. 24).

Providing some support for the findings we have discussed about 'careers advice' Mirza (1992), in her study of 'black women' in the schools that she researched, concluded that:

these young black women often chose from a limited range of occupations because they were not given the opportunity to explore other avenues. Not only were standards of education questionable in the two schools studied, which led to a lower level of educational attainment than was possible, but careers advice was also poor and ineffectual. ... inadequate access to information and poor resources did contribute substantially to the reproduction of inequalities (Mirza, 1992, p. 115).

Further support for the stereotyped discriminations that teachers make regarding VEMGM girls' careers is provided by Hanson (1985) in her interview and classroom observational study of a small group of sixteen-year-old Muslim girls in a Sheffield comprehensive school. Hanson observes that these girls felt that their culture was inadequately understood and was undervalued by IWGM teachers (Hanson, 1985, p. 38).

Like many VEMGM pupils, Mac an Ghaill's Black Sisters were pro-education but critical of school. And, as with Fuller's girls (1980) and unlike many pro-school students (for example, Hargreaves, 1967), they did not see most teachers as 'significant others' (Mead, 1934). Nor did they simply reject them. Their response was 'quite instrumental'. Teachers provided the means to acquire academic qualifications but the teachers' assessment of them did not appear to affect them greatly. Similar conclusions were drawn by Wright (1987b) in her discussion of the conversations that she had with some African-Caribbean girls about their responses to school and teachers. This researcher, like some of the others whose work we have considered, observes that African-Caribbean girls:

... at one and the same time appeared apparently disaffected from schooling yet were committed to aspects of it. They were generally hardworking in class and expressed a commitment to acquiring good qualifications. Their commitment was such that they were prepared to behave in a conciliatory manner towards a teacher following a heated classroom exchange with that teacher (Wright, 1988, p. 183).

Mac an Ghaill's Black Sisters (1988) explained that they were not subject to the same self-fulfilling prophecy processes as their black brothers. They reasoned this in the following way. They felt that they were less influenced than boys by their peer groups, and so had greater freedom of choice about how they responded to school and teachers (Mac an Ghaill, 1988, p. 33). Clearly, these conclusions find resonance in those researches (Hill, 1968; 1970; Dove, 1975) which have suggested that VEMGM girls respond more positively than VEMGM boys towards their teachers, and in those which suggest that

African-Caribbean girls *choose* to have instrumental relationships with their teachers (Fuller, 1980; Tomlinson, 1983; Wright, 1987b).

The research so far reviewed shows that though African-Caribbean or VEMGM British children (Fraser, 1986 has warned that distinctions of birth place are rare in the literature) may express negative attitudes to school, they regard education highly, stay on at school longer and often follow examination courses after they have left school. Also, according to the first ethnic monitoring exercise for public sector institutions of higher education, significantly more VEMGM young people are more likely to apply for a 'poly-technic or college place' than IWGM would-be students (Times Higher Education Supplement, 1990). In brief, it seems clear that many VEMGM boys show great determination in attempting to overcome the unequal opportunities of their schooling. And, as we have already discussed, we can make the same point about the girls; they may be critical of school but they also regard working hard for qualifications as very important.

Some of the more recent researches, however, also suggest that there are some important issues of racism for adolescent VEMGM pupils (undifferentiated by sex).

One seemingly significant issue for many VEMGM pupils is IWGM teachers' ignorance and lack of understanding of cultures other than their own. For example, Tizard and Phoenix (1993) asked dual heritage young people about whether they thought their school experiences would have been different if they

had more black teachers. These researchers found that forty-eight per cent thought they would. One reason 'often given' to Tizard and Phoenix (1993, p. 63) was that:

they believed that black teachers would have a greater understanding of how racist abuse affected them.

One of their informants (of unspecified ethnicity) said:

I think in some situations they would have been more understanding, like a couple of kids can be really racist in class, and you can get really angry and het up about it, and an argument can start up easily, and the teachers don't understand why you get so angry. Black teachers would understand exactly, because they would know, maybe have had those experiences before (Tizard and Phoenix, 1993, p. 63).

Similarly, Verma et al (1994, p. 101), in their 'mixed' method study, involving large-scale questionnaire and ethnography of ten multi-ethnic schools, say that:

Occasionally, students, both black and white, argued that their teachers were 'racist'. Examples given by students to support this often suggested it was more likely to be ignorance, insensitivity or what Swann (*op. cit.*) called unconscious racism.

On the basis of his research, Gillborn (1995) more directly, has also commented on VEMGM pupils' resentment of IWGM teachers' cultural ignorance in the following terms:

Students ... are angered by actions that they feel betray a lack of understanding on the part of some teachers. *This is especially the case where teachers seem to adopt what, to the student, is a simplistic view of minority communities as homogeneous groups, neither changing nor internally differentiated.* ... All of this points to the need always to question taken-for-granted assumptions about ethnic minority students and their communities; especially essentialist and reductionist perspectives that gloss over important internal differences (Gillborn, 1995, pp. 158 and 159).

Another important issue of racism, noted in the discussion of

some of the earlier researches already reviewed, is teachers' 'picking on' VEMGM pupils.

For example, in his ethnography of a multi-ethnic comprehensive school, Gillborn (1990), has shown that, as a group, African-Caribbean pupils perceived that:

they were sometimes exclusively criticised even when peers of other ethnic origins shared in the offence ... (and that) ... the teacher's ethnocentric perceptions led to actions which were racist in their consequences: ... Afro-Caribbean pupils experienced more conflictual relationships with teachers; they were disproportionately subject to the school's reporting and detention systems; they were denied any legitimate voice of complaint (Gillborn, 1990, pp. 43 and 44).

Tizard and Phoenix (1993) confirm Gillborn's (1990) findings in these terms:

The racist incidents involving a teacher described to us most often were instances of unfairly singling out black pupils for blame or punishment, or not caring as much about black as about white pupils (Tizard and Phoenix, 1993, p. 96).

What is more, Gillborn (1987, p. 275; 1990, p. 31), in some confirmation of Verma *et al*'s (1994, p. 101) observation, found that the African-Caribbean pupils' views about their victimisation by teachers were often 'confirmed by their white peers'.

Another significant issue for VEMGM students is the finding that they believe that their teachers have low expectations of them (Verma *et al*, 1994, p. 101). For example, a 'black girl' claimed that:

she and her black friends were always given the 'easy worksheets' to do by a particular teacher 'because of our appearance'. She explained, 'the teacher wouldn't

say why we couldn't do the harder ones. I think it was because of racism' (Verma et al, 1994, p. 101).

The researches considered so far have focussed on the perceptions of adolescents. However, in the early 1990s, these researches have been complemented by work on primary school children (Troyna and Hatcher, 1992; Wright, 1992a; 1992b). We shall now briefly consider the relevant findings of these researches.

Using a 'mixed' method approach involving discussion, interview and ethnographic observation in three primary schools, Troyna and Hatcher (1992) investigated 'racism in the lives of mainly white children'. Regarding pupils' racist name-calling, they found that:

Many black children were critical of the failure of class teachers to take effective action. They were also critical of lunchtime supervisors for not responding to racist behaviour (Troyna and Hatcher, 1992, p. 163).

They also found that 'some' children thought that:

the staff's lack of action in dealing with children's racist behaviour showed that they were biased against black children. Not only did they not deal with racist incidents, they tended to blame black children more than white children (p. 164) ... As Leanne at Greenshire School said:

'I don't tell teachers because I've been learnt since infants at my old school every time you try and tell the teacher they say "Stop telling tales"' (Troyna and Hatcher, 1992, p. 166).

Troyna and Hatcher (1992) note that these perceptions of 'bias' were also 'held by a number of the white children we spoke to as well as some of the black children' (p. 164). This, of course, provides some confirmation of Gillborn's

(1987, p. 275; 1990, p. 31) and Verma *et al's* (1994, p. 101) findings which we noted earlier.

The other recent study of racism in primary schools is that of Wright (1992a; 1992b). This researcher completed an ethnographic study of four, inner-city multi-ethnic schools, in one Local Education Authority (LEA). She found that in her conversations:

Many Afro-Caribbean and Rastafarian children identified their relationship with teachers as a special difficulty. More specifically, these pupils complained about unfair treatment, or being 'picked on' (pp. 24-5) ... In addition to their perceived regular experience of reprimands, Afro-Caribbean children felt that the teachers discriminated against them in the allocation of responsibility and rewards (Wright, 1992b, p. 26).

Like Gillborn (1987; 1990), in his study of adolescents, and Troyna and Hatcher (1992), in their primary school study, Wright (1992b) notes, that African-Caribbean pupils' perceptions of unfair teacher treatment were often confirmed by their 'white' classmates.

We would do well to bear in mind, however, that, as with some of Tizard and Phoenix' (1993) and my own (Naylor, 1986) informants, one of Troyna and Hatcher's participants, Scott, expressed a cautionary note in uncritically accepting the interpretations of VEMGM pupils' perceptions of teacher racism. Scott (of unspecified ethnicity, but I assume that he is of IWGM) suggested that:

some teachers and other staff were actually biased against white children (Troyna and Hatcher, 1992, p. 171).

In considering the researches so far reviewed, Scott's warning suggests that there is the possibility that we may be misled into believing that IWGM teachers' racism towards VEMGM pupils is widespread. The works of Smith and Tomlinson (1989), Tizard and Phoenix (1992), Foster (1990a) and Verma *et al* (1994) suggest that we need to be more cautious in coming to such a conclusion. Thus, in order to establish a more balanced perspective of the available research evidence on the issue of teacher racism, we now need briefly to consider these researches.

The scale of teacher racism is indicated by Tizard and Phoenix' (1993, p. 96) finding that three-quarters of their sample of some 180 fifteen and sixteen-year-olds, differentiated by ethnicity, said that:

their teachers were never involved in racism, and no one said that teachers were often racist.

Similarly, although Verma *et al* (1994), in their quantitative survey of over 2000 pupils in ten multi-ethnic schools, did not set out to investigate teacher-pupil relationships, they found that:

When students did speak about their teachers it was generally with approval or even affection (p. 100). ... There were also differences in the patterns when analysed by ethnicity. In general, ethnic minority students were more likely than others to mention 'the teachers' as something they liked about school and less likely to mention teachers in general as something they disliked (p. 101).

It seems then, from the pupils' perspective, as though teacher racism is a relatively (but nevertheless, an unacceptably) 'rare event'.

In fact, Smith and Tomlinson (1989), in their quantitative study of twenty multi-ethnic schools, even went so far as to conclude that:

there was little indication of overt racism in relations among pupils or between pupils and staff ... there is no evidence that racial hostility at school is an important factor for 12 and 13-year olds. (Emphasis added.)

However, in light of the researches so far reviewed, Smith and Tomlinson's emphasis on overt would appear to have been unwarranted.

Further, Gillborn (1995, p. 44) has observed that:

It is not safe ... to assume that the *lack* of evidence of racism can be interpreted as *evidence* of a lack of racism. Put another way, the study did not set out to investigate racism, so we should be careful about how we interpret its failure to find it.

A major conclusion of another ethnographic study of a multi-ethnic secondary school by Foster (1990) was that 'ethnic minority students enjoyed equal opportunities with their white peers' (p. 174).

Smith and Tomlinson (1989, p. 63) obtained some support for their own findings in Foster's (1990) study and Woods (1990) provided some defence of it. Perhaps in consequence, since 1990 Foster has systematically criticised the recent 'racism research'. Amongst others, Foster has criticised the works of Wright (1986) (Foster, 1990b), Mac an Ghail (1988) (Foster, 1990b, p. 94) and Gillborn (1990) (Foster, 1992). Interestingly, however, Mirza's (1992) ethnography, to which we have referred earlier, has not (yet) come under attack.

In essence, these critiques concern the interpretation and generalizability of ethnographic data. In this project of a methodological and epistemological critique of ethnography, Foster has been joined by Hammersley (1990; 1991; 1992) and Gomm (Hammersley and Gomm, 1993).

In turn, however, Foster's study has come under severe attack on a number of accounts: first, over the selective interpretation of his data (Connolly, 1992), second, regarding his inexperience as a researcher (Hannan, 1993, p. 96), and, third, over his epistemological, methodological and politico-ideological stances (Gillborn, 1995, pp. 50-62). Ultimately, whatever the rights and wrongs of the feud, we would do well to bear in mind that no aspect of research, least of all, the interpretation of data, is value-free. So, the essential message is, the findings and interpretations of all researches need to be treated with caution, perhaps even, a healthy scepticism.

Notwithstanding this 'health warning', as we have seen, there is some ethnographic evidence that IWGM pupils also perceive teachers' racist behaviour and actions towards VEMGM pupils, there is no conclusive evidence about how well IWGM pupils perceive such behaviour and action compared with those of VEMGM. However, there are some indications regarding this hypothesis which we must now consider.

These findings come from the burgeoning field of enquiry of 'social cognition'. Before we go any further, it is worth noting that most of the research on social cognition has been

conducted in the United States and within the paradigm of experimental social psychology.

Some of the earliest of these studies were those conducted by Bruner and Tagiuri (1954), referred to earlier, on the perceptual judgments of others. These researchers drew five general conclusions from the vast amount of information produced by these studies. Three are particularly pertinent here.

One of these conclusions was that similarity of the judge to the person being judged improved the accuracy of judgement, regardless of whether the similarity was due to sex, age, background or a range of other factors. The implication being that we are better at judging others who are like us, rather than those who are unlike us. Thus, it might be supposed that those who suffer racism are more likely to perceive when others are suffering from it.

Another finding of this research was that much of the inaccuracy of judgment occurs due to systematic errors. One such error-type is the 'leniency effect' or the 'rose-coloured spectacles' syndrome. We might suppose that this effect may account for many white people's inability to 'see' black people suffering from interpersonal racism.

A third significant finding was that empathy between judge and judged improved accuracy. In other words, being able to see things from the other person's point of view and being able to comprehend their experiences, seems to increase the

accuracy of social judgment perception. Not unreasonably, we might expect, therefore, that people feel more empathy for the ingroup. That being so, in this research we would expect pupils of IWGM to have more empathy for fellow IWGM pupils and the teacher, and that the converse would apply for pupils of VEMGM.

Some more recent studies have been reviewed by Fiske and Taylor (1991). These will now be presented and discussed. Before we begin, however, there is a need to clarify an important concept used in the field of social cognition, that of the 'schema'. Fiske and Taylor (1991, p. 98) say that a schema:

may be described as a cognitive structure that represents knowledge about a concept or type of stimulus, including its attributes and the relations among these attributes ... schemas are influenced by a person's organized prior knowledge and that people give more weight to information about another person when it is relevant to their own self-schema (p. 168).

One significant research finding on schemas is that people tend to categorize themselves much as they categorize others and with similar effects (Markus and Sentis, 1982).

Further significant findings relate to 'self-schemas' which are defined as:

cognitive-affective structures that represent one's experience in a given domain. They organise and direct the processing of information relevant to the self-schema (pp. 182-3) ... (They) provide people with interpretive frameworks for understanding both their own and others' schema-related behavior (p. 188) (Fiske and Taylor, 1991).

Thus, 'self-schemas' are very similar to 'self-concepts'. Be

that as it may, one of the most fundamental findings regarding self-schemas is that people are generally self-schematic 'on dimensions that are important to them' (Markus, 1977). Following this finding is the suggestion that people who are members of a particular social group probably develop self-schemas so that they become 'experts on the ingroup' (Linville, 1982; Linville and Jones, 1980), a finding which would appear to support Bruner and Tagiuri's (1954) regarding empathy.

All of the research reviewed here on social judgment and schemas would seem to suggest that pupils of VEMGM are more perceptive of teacher racism than pupils of IWGM. This is another hypothesis which has been subjected to formal test in this research (see Chapter 2 for the methodological details). Now it is time to conclude this chapter.

In view of all of the evidence which we have reviewed of pupils' perceptions of teacher racism, the question remains: 'Why are so many VEMGM youngsters so determined to succeed in a system which they see as handicapping them?'. Possible answers to this question are at least partially illuminated by some other studies.

As suggested by some of the studies reviewed earlier, Cottle (1978) reveals that many young VEMGM people find teachers refusing to treat them in the same way as other pupils, although often neither encouraging nor criticising them. Jamdagni *et al* (1982, p. 7) provide evidence from interviews which confirm these impressions, as does the Afro-Caribbean

Educational Resource project (ACER, 1982) document.

Therefore, it seems that VEMGM pupils are neither encouraged nor discouraged from doing well at school.

Dhondy *et al*, (1982) offer another explanation which is connected with the relatively depressed economic climate of the time (and which, we might say, has persisted ever since). They say that those pupils who consciously reject school do so because they realise its futility. It is as if these pupils are asking:

'What is the point of working hard, acquiring qualifications, if these cannot be translated into jobs?' (Dhondy *et al*, 1982, p. 52).

Clearly, the ambitious VEMGM pupils we have encountered in this review, do not 'reject school' probably because they are much more optimistic about their employment and other life chances.

Another factor which may be implicated in many VEMGM pupils' instrumental attitudes towards school and teachers (Saint, 1963; Rex and Tomlinson, 1979; Fuller, 1980; Tomlinson, 1983; Wright, 1985; 1987b; Mirza, 1992), is because this is the way the teachers, possibly through racial antipathy, 'define the situation'. Some slender evidence for this hypothesis comes from the informal evidence obtained from the report of a sixth-form conference in a Southall school. 'This report expressed a wish for an improvement in teacher-pupil relationships which the pupils perceived to be 'impersonal, formal, lacking in mutual respect and even communication' (Gillespie, 1981). In short, it seems that these pupils were

stating their wish for 'consocial' relationships (Schutz and Luckmann, 1974) with their teachers.

Whatever the reasons for the instrumentalism of so many VEMGM pupils, even in the face of teacher racism, Stone (1981) summarizes well a common judgment made of their British schools by African-Caribbean pupils'. She says:

As far as most West Indian parents and children are concerned, the schools do not even begin to offer anything like equal opportunity; they suffer all the disadvantages of the urban-working-class and the additional ones of prejudice and racism ... it is widely believed ... that all the most successful West Indians in this country were educated in the Caribbean, at least for most of their school life (Stone, 1981, p. 158).

Perhaps however, one of the most powerful and poignant statements of pupils' perceptions of teacher racism, however, has been made by the African-Caribbean academic, Mullard (1973). Quoting the following passage seems an appropriate way to bring this review to a close:

In an extremely subtle way school taught me to consider the colour of my skin as ugly. My teachers never mentioned my colour. Instead they mentioned the customs of black people in far off lands ... They made me learn nationalist songs, recite poetry enraptured with the glories of imperialism, the Empire; they taught me British etiquette, how to be nice to everybody and how to doff my hat to my superiors. All in all I was a little white boy in a black skin ... School reinforced my half-baked belief that, providing I could forget my colour, I would manage to get on quite well in the world (Mullard, 1973, p. 14).

In conclusion to this review, briefly I should like to summarize our findings. Although the picture we have of VEMGM pupils' perceptions of teacher racism is incomplete, tentative and contains some contradictions and serious inconsistencies, in general, it does suggest that VEMGM

pupils do 'see' a number of ways in which they are treated unfairly compared with IWGM pupils.

As we have seen, however, few of the studies have directly confronted the question: 'What teacher behaviour and action directed at minority pupils do pupils, in general, perceive to be racist?'. The few studies which have been concerned with this important issue, have found that VEMGM pupils principally perceive their teachers' racism in terms of stereo-typing and the associated labelling processes which, in turn, they see as being related to their teachers' expectations of them. The picture we have, albeit an inconsistent one, also suggests that VEMGM boys and girls may be treated differentially by teachers and that this may, in part, be a result of these pupils different responses to schooling and teachers. Taken together, what these researches suggest is that any educational underachievement of VEMGM pupils, especially those of African-Caribbean heritage, 'may be better understood in terms of "educational disadvantage" or "inequality"' (Wright, 1985, p. 126).

We would also do well to bear in mind that class, race and gender are not separate and independent from one another. Amongst others, Parekh (1985) and McCarthy (1989, p. 3) have argued against 'essentialist' or single cause explanations of racial inequality in education for:

All three divisions (class, race and gender) have an organizational, experiential and representational form, are historically produced and therefore changeable, are affected by and affect each other and the economic and political and ideological relations in which they are inserted. Relations of power are usually found in each division and thus often the existence of dominant and

subordinate partners. They are all therefore framed in relation to each other within relations of domination (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1983, p. 65).

However, we know very little about the effects of the variables of sex, ability and age on pupils' perceptions of teacher racism. In this regard, as we have seen, we also know little about the effect of ethnicity and of IWGM pupils' perceptions of teacher racism, that is, if and what these pupils perceive in teachers' unfair treatment of VEMGM pupils. If education in Britain and other 'white' dominated societies, is going to have the major impact on reducing intergroup conflict and racism, which I suggested it might in the conclusion to Section III (pp. 68-9), these gaps in the research evidence must be considered serious omissions.

Thus, the effects of these four variables (sex, ethnicity, age and ability) on pupils' perceptions of teacher racism have been investigated in this study. To that extent, the challenge laid down by Parekh (1985), McCarthy (1989), Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1983) and others, has been met in this research, that is, in so far as the variables of ethnicity and gender have been given consideration; (the variable of class has been omitted).

The design of the empirical work of this study will now be described and justified in Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 2 THE RESEARCH METHODS USED IN THIS INVESTIGATION

In this Chapter my purpose is to provide an account of how I have attempted empirically to investigate pupils' perceptions of teacher racism. Accounts will be provided of who the research participants and subjects were, how they were selected and from what populations, and what they were asked to do and why. Before beginning these tasks, however, it is necessary critically to discuss, briefly and in broad terms, approaches to research in the social sciences. There are three reasons for doing so. Firstly, this discussion will help to locate the methods used in this research within the range of possible strategies or approaches. Secondly, it will aid an understanding of why the methods used were chosen, and, thirdly, it will provide us with some conceptual tools which can then be drawn on throughout the remainder of this report.

Section I A comparison of quantitative and qualitative methods used in the social sciences

Typically, scientific research is an activity which seeks generalisable answers to questions. It goes beyond the intuition and commonsense of individuals' everyday experience in establishing answers to the questions that it asks. It searches for publicly defensible and acceptable answers.

In attempting to meet these challenges, a wide variety of research strategies has been used to study social phenomena. This variety ranges from the quantitative 'true' or 'ideal'

experiment (Kish, 1959) with its emphasis on testing hypotheses generated from pre-existing theory, through to the qualitative ethnographic styles, such as participant observation, which attempt to observe and interpret 'life as it goes on', without 'disruption', out of which theory may be generated (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Let us now evaluate these two 'ideal' positions against the criteria of philosophical basis, validity, reliability and ethics before assessing the possibility of using these approaches in combination.

'True' experiments are nomothetic procedures in that they are concerned with testing hypotheses (*a priori* stated conjectures about relationships between concepts) in an attempt to establish general laws; that is, they are 'positivist'. Essentially, positivism is the belief that the research methods of the natural sciences are appropriate to the social sciences (although we would do well to bear in mind that Halfpenny (1982) has identified twelve different versions of positivism).

Paradoxically, in view of the goal of generating generalisable statements, the individual is at the centre of attention in quantitative research; the individuals' responses being aggregated to establish the 'norm'. Thus individual differences in responses are deleted by statistical analysis. Harré (1993, p. 103) sees this as the 'loss of data problem of the classical psychological experiment'. Thus, he says 'aggregation psychology' reifies the social world which is seen as separate from the individuals who are

instrumental in its creation (Harré, 1986). This stress on individualism at the expense of the social world has been pointedly challenged:

In psychology generally, we must take account of the fact that remembering, reasoning and expressing emotions are part of the life of institutions, of structured self-regulating groups, such as armies, monasteries, schools, families, businesses and factories (Harré, Clark and De Carlo, 1985, p. 6).

A further serious implication of the beliefs enshrined in positivism is that we can ignore the facts of human cognition, affect, social interaction and relationships; 'feelings' and 'subjective experience' are of no interest since they cannot be directly or indirectly observed.

Ethnographic approaches, on the other hand, derive from naturalism, 'the philosophical view that strives to remain true to the nature of the phenomenon under study' (Matza, 1969, p. 5). Ethnography typically involves the detailed study of single cases and so is described as idiographic. Bryman (1988, p.46) describes qualitative research as '... the study of the social world which seeks to describe and analyse the culture and behaviour of humans and their groups from the point of view of those being studied'.

The rationale for this position is well exemplified by Schutz (1962):

The world of nature as explored by the natural scientist does not 'mean' anything to molecules, atoms or electrons. But the observational field of the social scientist - social reality - has a specific meaning and relevance structure for the beings living, acting, and thinking within it. By a series of common-sense constructs they have pre-selected and pre-interpreted this world which they experience as the reality of their

daily lives. It is these thought objects of theirs which determine their behaviour by motivating it. The thought objects constructed by the social scientist, in order to grasp this social reality, have to be founded upon the thought objects constructed by the common-sense thinking of men, living their daily life within the social world (p. 59).

Schutz is making the important point that the subject matter of the social sciences is fundamentally different from that in the natural sciences. Secondly, he is making the point that understanding social reality must be grounded in people's experience of that social reality. For Schutz, if we do not recognize and capture the meaningful nature of everyday experience we run the risk of losing touch with social reality and imposing instead 'a fictional non-existing world constructed by the scientific observer' (Schutz, 1964, p. 8).

What unites the styles of this range, however, is their attempt to refute, refine or create theory, the ultimate aim of science. Theory has been defined by Kerlinger as 'a set of interrelated constructs (concepts), definitions, and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables, with the purpose of explaining and predicting the phenomena' (Kerlinger, 1970).

It has been argued that 'some theories, like those in the natural sciences are characterized by a high degree of sophistication; others, as in education, are only at an early stage of formulation and are thus characterized by great unevenness' (Cohen and Manion, 1994, p. 15).

However, Harré (1993) challenges the reification of natural science theories as the benchmark model, in these terms:

The discourse of physicists and chemists is not about reality - how could it be? It is about models of reality. Experimental set ups are virtual worlds, models of the real world, while theories describe the way the world is imagined to be, a conceptual model of that real world, which is the ultimate project of science to understand ... in our construction of the virtual world of a model for some aspect of human psychology the 'resemblance' question, which is at the heart of the methodology of model use in physics, may be fatally misleading (p. 96).

The essential point that Harré makes, is that the natural science model of theory construction and ways of 'doing science' are inappropriate in the social sciences.

That said, the most valuable theories are those which are generalisable to all cases of the phenomenon, not just to those studied, whether they are atomic particles under acceleration or teachers' conceptions of the head teacher's role. Research then is typically about making generalisable statements or theories which 'invite refutation' (Popper, 1961).

The question is: 'How can research attempt to produce irrefutable theory?', after all it is not possible to study every atomic particle or even every teacher and, as was suggested in Section IV of Chapter 1, how can we be sure that what we think we are observing we are actually observing, given that perception is such an active, constructive personal process? Let us begin our answer to this question by looking at the extreme research strategy of the 'true' experiment in more detail.

The application of the 'true' experiment in the social sciences typically means that individuals or groups of people are given different treatments under carefully controlled 'laboratory' conditions and any differences in the resulting behaviour are measurable, thereby allowing conclusions about cause and effect to be drawn. For Popper (1961), the essence of 'true' experiments is that they submit hypotheses derived from theory to the most rigorous tests of falsifiability.

In 'true' experiments the issue of falsifiability is intimately bound up with the validity (or appropriateness) of the methods used to obtain data for the purpose of testing hypotheses. Since in all styles of research, to some extent, the investigator is concerned with the relationships between concepts, often expressed as variables, the question of validity hinges on how successfully concepts are measured.

Another feature of 'true' experiments is that variables are often measurable attributes or behaviours of human subjects. The behaviours of interest (dependent variables) are caused by the treatment subjects receive (independent variables). The extraneous variables (those not hypothesised to be causally related to the independent variable but which may, nevertheless, threaten the legitimacy of accepting the hypothesis under test) are held constant or are in other ways controlled, most often by being 'randomised out'. The independent variables are manipulated by the investigator which typically means that one group of subjects receives a different treatment from the other(s).

'True' experiments, then, tend to be very strong on internal validity, that is, on being able correctly to assign the cause and effect relationship between variables in a given piece of research. But how do investigators who use 'true' experiments, attempt to ensure that the results can be generalised beyond the context from which they have been derived? That is, how do researchers ensure that their data and interpretations of them are generalisable beyond the context from which they have been obtained? This is the issue of external validity to which we now turn.

Two types of external validity may be identified, population validity and ecological validity (Bracht and Glass, 1968). Population validity has to do with generalisation to the population from which the research sample has been drawn. Ecological validity has to do with the generalisation of the research findings to other settings, causal factors, researchers and measures of effect.

In conducting 'true' experiments, researchers attempt to ensure that the sample is representative of the larger population to which they hope to be able to generalise their results, by using a rigorous sampling design; ideally one which randomly selects and allocates the subjects to the different treatments. The extent of the population validity can often be assessed by the methods of statistical inference, especially estimation.

We will remember that science attempts to produce universally applicable laws. Typically, however, the extent to which the

results of 'true' experiments can be generalised is left undefined. Further, the extent to which the passage of time or the significance of space affects the generality of research findings is given scant attention. Freeman (1986) has commented on the tendency to obtain samples opportunistically rather than according to random sampling procedures. In fact, much experimental psychology is based on undergraduate students (Bryman, 1988, p. 37) and it is for this reason that psychology has been called the 'science of the sophomore'. Apart from being unrepresentative of the general population in many significant respects (such as age, level of education and experience of life), these students are often volunteers who have been shown to be different from non-volunteers in a number of respects (Rosenthal and Rosnow, 1969).

It is perhaps with regard to ecological validity that 'true' experiments, at least in the social sciences, are at their weakest. Given the contrived, 'laboratory' conditions from which the results are usually obtained, it is difficult to see, with any confidence, how they might generalise to other people in 'real-life' settings. Social scientific 'true' experiments seem to be situationally very specific and, therefore, are arguably of doubtful use.

So, how well do the ethnographic research styles fair on the criteria by which we have just attempted to assess the validity of the 'true' experiment?

Since ethnography studies social life in its natural

settings, in an attempt to understand how behaviour, action and meanings depend on interaction with others, it is usually very strong on ecological validity. However, since resources and time often limit ethnographers to observations of single cases, difficulty arises in determining the extent to which each case is typical of all the other supposedly similar cases. Thus ethnography tends to be weak on population validity. Ethnography also tends to be weak on internal validity because typically it makes no attempt to control and manipulate variables and specify, beforehand, precise relationships between variables. However, Rist (1980) objects to the way in which research foci are decided in advance. Similarly, Whyte (1984) sees ethnographic research as 'deriving much of its strength from its flexibility, which allows new leads to be followed up or additional data to be gathered in response to changes in ideas'.

Nevertheless, another serious concern expressed by some theorists about the internal validity of ethnography, both inside and outside the qualitative approach, is whether researchers really can provide accounts from the perspective of those whom they study. As Geertz (1973) puts it: 'ethnographers are engaged in interpretations of other people's interpretations'. Similarly, Schutz (1964, p. 8) explains that 'the social scientist is in the business of creating second order constructs of social actors' comprehension of social reality'. The question is, therefore: 'How can we evaluate the validity of the interpretations of the ethnographic perspectives?' One strategy that can be used to check these interpretations is

to use 'respondent validation'. This involves submitting the interpretations to the critical evaluation of the participants. We shall shortly be considering another strategy for checking these interpretations. For the moment, we need to consider the possibility of experimenter bias in 'true' experiments.

It is often assumed that experimental methods are less open to bias (or are more 'objective') than ethnographic methods in the sense that greater efforts are made to 'neutralise', or 'distance', the experimenter's personal role. What this thinking overlooks however, is that all researchers bring a particular set of values to every task in which they engage, and so the interpretations of their observations are essentially subjective. Also, the conclusions they draw and the implications they see in their observations for practice, are as open to ideological bias as anyone else's.

Another source of bias, and thus an important validity threatening variable, occurring to some extent in all styles of research, is 'reactivity' (Webb *et al*, 1966). This idea refers to the effects the observer (personal reactivity) and her methods (procedural reactivity) have on what she is studying. These effects are unintended, usually uncontrolled and, particularly by experimental researchers, unconsidered. We now need to consider the issues of bias and interpretation in ethnography and experiments.

An issue related to that of validity, which all research has to grapple with is that of reliability. This concerns the

idea that another observer, using the same methods with similar subjects, should obtain very similar results to those obtained in a similar study. The implication of this idea is that the ultimate check on the reliability of a study is that it should be replicated to see if the same or similar results can be obtained. Replication provides a check on the researcher's biases (Kidder and Judd, 1986, p. 26).

In reality, however, as Bryman (1988, p. 38) notes, 'replications are relatively rare in the social sciences'. He argues that replication is often seen as an 'unimaginative, low status activity' among researchers. However, he maintains that 'it is not replication that is important so much as replicability'. By this Bryman means that it should be technically feasible for a study to be replicated. There are serious implications here for the detail and accuracy of researchers' accounts of their methods. Now, however, we need to turn to the ethical issues of social scientific research.

It is perhaps with regard to ethical considerations that the use of a particular method in the social sciences is often decided. Ethics has been defined as:

... a matter of principled sensitivity to the rights of others. Being ethical limits the choices we can make in the pursuit of truth. Ethics say that while truth is good, respect for human dignity is better, even if, in the extreme case, the respect of human nature leaves one ignorant of human nature (Cavan, 1977).

One of the most important ethical problems alluded to by Cavan's definition is what is known as the 'cost-benefits

ratio' (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992). This 'requires researchers to strike a balance between the demands placed on them in pursuit of truth, and their subjects' rights and values potentially being threatened by the research' (Cohen and Manion, 1994, p.347).

Thus, ethical issues arise from the kinds of problems investigated by researchers and the methods they use to obtain valid and reliable data. Cohen and Manion (1994, p. 348) say that:

In theory at least, ... each stage in the research process may be a potential source of ethical problems. Thus, they may arise from the nature of the research project itself (ethnic differences in intelligence, for example); the context of the research (a remand home); the procedures to be adopted (producing high levels of anxiety); methods of data collection (covert observation); the nature of the participants (emotionally disturbed adolescents); the type of data collected (highly personal information of a sensitive nature); and what is to be done with the data (publishing in a manner that causes the participants harm).

It might be argued that once the research is published (in a manner that does not harm the participants), the researcher can be absolved of any further responsibility. I cannot accept this and would add to Cohen and Manion's list: 'how is the publication going to be used and by whom (the data and the researcher's interpretations of them, are misused and misinterpreted, intentionally or not, by, for example, 'the ordinary person in the street' or the politician)'. It is not uncommon for social research to carry implications about how people should live their lives. Thus the researcher must be aware of the implications of her work and she should articulate the ethical problems of a proper interpretation of

her findings, and enter into the debate about them.

There are a number of other ethical problems facing the social researcher which I should now like briefly to consider.

Social research also often requires the consent, ideally, informed consent, of subjects or participants. Informed consent has been defined as 'the procedures in which individuals choose whether to participate in an investigation after being informed of the facts that would be likely to influence their decisions' (Diener and Crandall, 1978).

Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1992) note however, that the stringent requirements of this definition 'should not be made an absolute requirement of all social science research'. For example, in the non-interventionist observational study of personal space on a beach, it would be impossible to seek informed consent.

Earlier, we noted that in psychology experiments students have often been the subjects. One suspects that these students have rarely given their *informed* consent, if only in the sense that they have not been adequately informed about the true purposes of the research in order to protect the validity of the data collected. Philosophers of psychology such as Harré (1974) and Shotter (1974), go so far as to say that the idea of treating people as experimental subjects for producing data is fundamentally wrong. They claim that doing so treats human beings as mechanisms and ignores the fact that each person is a unique individual who is at the mercy

of the experimenter, rather than a person who is an autonomous free agent, capable of 'conscious awareness' and who has a 'sense of personal agency', and who can, therefore, make choices about her own destiny. These philosophers thus hold the view that people can only give their informed consent to their involvement in research which treats them as persons.

For all research strategies, however, the idea of informed consent carries with it researchers' assurances to individuals and institutions involved in research, that their privacy (concerning the sensitivity of the data collected), and anonymity (that data should in way reveal the participant's identity) or, in those research situations where anonymity is not possible, confidentiality (the identity of the participants will remain secret) will be protected. Thus, in these ways, it is expected that research participants' rights as people will be protected.

Another type of ethical dilemma might arise in an educational experiment, for example, which may require depriving some pupils of a potentially, or even, *believed to be*, beneficial treatment, such as a new teaching method, which can only be allocated to the experimental group whilst the control group is allocated the traditional method.

The extent to which the research strategy used intrudes into the lives of people also has to be taken into account. For example, in comparison with some experimental treatments such as Zimbardo's Stanford Prison Experiment (see Zimbardo, 1975

for a discussion), where researchers studied interpersonal dynamics in a simulated prison setting, the intrusion into people's privacy by the presence of an ethnographer may seem slight. However, for sensitive areas of investigation, such as sexual behaviour, ethnography may well be considered intrusive.

Another type of ethical dilemma, although already alluded to, arises in deciding whether or not to deceive research participants. This is a frequently used ploy in social psychological research (deception was a cornerstone of the design of Zimbardo's prison experiment), and in covert ethnography where great secrecy is attached to the fact that the research is going on (such as in the study of personal space on a beach). From what has been said earlier, it will be appreciated that deception is a tool used by researchers to protect the validity of their data.

Thus, the list of ethical problems facing the researcher is a formidable one. However, the distinction between ethical and unethical is not dichotomous, (except as Cohen and Manion (1994, p. 384) note, in the researcher's abuse of her data which is always *categorically wrong*), rather it is a continuum. Therefore, provided that the investigator is acting within the guidelines of a professional body such as the British Psychological Society (BPS, 1978; 1985; 1993) or the British Sociological Association (BSA, 1982) the ethical acceptability of the research style ultimately depends on the subject-matter of the research and on the personal ethical commitments of the researcher.

To summarize this discussion of two sharply contrasting research styles, it is suggested that there is often a trade-off between experimental control and precision, on the one hand, and naturalness and the variability of real-life behaviour and actions, on the other. 'In practice', Kish observes (1959), 'we cannot solve simultaneously all the problems of measurement, representation and control, rather one must choose and compromise'. We have also noted that there are no easy solutions to all of the ethical problems posed by all research styles.

But is choosing and compromising, in the way that Kish implies we must do, essential? Whilst we would do well to bear in mind that 'certain questions cannot be answered by quantitative methods, while others cannot be answered by qualitative ones' (Walker, 1985, p. 16), is it not possible to integrate approaches?

Other than for the problems of time, money and inclination, it is technically possible to combine approaches (Bryman, 1988, p. 107). Having said that, Bogdan and Biklen (1982) warn that research which combines the two approaches 'is likely to produce a big headache' (p. 39), because of the practical problems of producing both a good quantitative and a good qualitative design. Also, although the technical problems of integrating strategies may be surmountable, there remain major epistemological problems (these concern what constitutes warrantable knowledge) of doing so. As we have witnessed, quantitative and qualitative approaches are often seen to represent incompatible views about the way in which

social reality ought to be studied. Nevertheless, Bryman (1988) pragmatically asks 'whether it is necessary to get bogged down in epistemology?' (p. 124) because 'the application of philosophical ideas to social research must not lose touch with the practices and aims of social researchers' (p. 174). Bryman therefore advocates greater use of triangulation.

Denzin (1970, p. 310) sees triangulation as an approach in which 'multiple observers, theoretical perspectives, sources of data, and methodologies' are combined. Briefly, he continues that by combining quantitative and qualitative approaches, 'a researcher's claims for the validity of his or her conclusions are enhanced if they can be shown to provide mutual support'.

Nonetheless, in order to tackle a research problem a choice of research style or a combination of styles has to be made. And, as we have seen, making a choice of styles involves making some basic, value-laden decisions about the nature of science and the nature of the person.

In the sections which follow the case will be made for using the strategies used in this research. Accounts of how they were used will also be provided. In doing so, I shall be developing the ideas of the simple, two 'ideal-types' model of research strategies and of triangulation that have briefly been examined in this section. Also, the discussion of ethical issues will continue.

Section II Why I chose to research the topic of pupils' perceptions of teacher racism

My reasons for choosing to research pupils' perceptions of teacher racism are five-fold. First, although I have taught in multiracial secondary schools for most of my working life, an important spur for me to research the topic of this study was Lou Cohen's 1984-5 MA module course on 'Multicultural Education'. This course raised my awareness of much of the theory and evidence in the field.

Second, and allied to this first reason, some of the findings of the small-scale research that I did for my Master's dissertation on 'Some pupils constructs of their teachers' fairness towards them' (Naylor, 1986), forced me to suspect that teacher racism is a significant issue for many pupils, both 'black' and 'white'. Although I do not wish to over-indulge in the restatement of what has already been said, I shall briefly recap on the significant findings of that research which have been reported earlier (see pp. 162-64). For the present purpose, the essential finding was that I elicited a number of constructs from two of the ten pupil participants which revealed that they were aware of teachers' racism towards 'black' pupils. One of these participants was 'black' and, interestingly, the other was 'white'. Thus, it seemed to me that pupils' perceptions of teacher racism would be a fruitful and potentially important line of enquiry, particularly since there had been so little research done in this area. (I think that this is still very true today.)

Third, I felt that I had no real choice but to choose a topic for which I could collect data and continue to pursue my career as a full-time teacher; there were not likely to be any real opportunities for me to collect data during formal school hours. Fourth, I wished to make good use of my studies in psychology, particularly in social psychology. And fifth, in Lou Cohen I found a willing supervisor of my work.

Section III The research methods used in this investigation

Rather than pretend that the data collection strategies used in this research were planned in meticulous detail from the outset, I propose telling the story as it unfolded. This is partly because I have experienced Whyte's observation (1984), noted in the previous section, that research 'derives strength from flexibility' and 'responds to changes in ideas'. I am also suspicious that the neat, orderly way in which much research is reported is not the way in which it generally actually happens. A refreshing admission that research can be a 'messy' business is provided by Mac an Ghaill (1994, p. 112) when he says that he 'under-theorized the ... complex power structure of heterosexism' in his study of how schools 'make men'. This, he admits, caused him to change the focus of his research as he was engaged in it.

So, in this section, I shall present a chronological account of the methods used in this research, beginning with the video film production of role-played classroom interaction.

A. Why produce a video film of role-played classroom interaction?

Teaching is a difficult task at the best of times, and one of the many factors which contribute to this is its isolation. Once a lesson begins and the door is closed, the teacher is alone with the pupils. One result is that there are few opportunities to observe colleagues teaching. Except in rare situations, for example, where team teaching is possible and promoted, it is unusual for teachers to be able to teach together, or to share ideas and perceptions directly.

The direct classroom investigation of sensitive issues such as the topic of this research is even more problematic. Unless one is prepared to deceive teachers about the real focus of one's enquiry, it is not possible to investigate teachers' racism through the direct observation of their teaching. Furthermore, there are good reasons for suspecting that attempting to do so, even using deception, would so seriously disrupt classroom reality as to corrupt and invalidate the data that one collected. In short, when teachers are under close scrutiny, they almost certainly 'clean-up their acts', that is, they exhibit 'reactivity' to the presence of 'outsiders' in the classroom. In addition, this research was to be concerned with accessing the personal classroom worlds of pupils, not as filtered through the eyes of the researcher. Simply, the research focus made an 'outside perspective' inappropriate.

Thus, a way had to be found of meeting two related criteria

in the collection of the data.

Firstly, the method had to meet stringent ethical standards to me both as a person and as a researcher. Given the specification of the data that I was interested in collecting, I was immediately confronted with two ethical problems. One problem was that I had to ensure that I could protect the identity of the participants' school and the second problem was that the anonymity, including to myself, of the teachers who the pupils perceived as having exhibited racism in the classroom had to be assured.

Secondly, as far as possible, the methods had to access internally valid data. That is, the data obtained had to correspond as closely as possible to pupils' perceptions of what goes in *real-life classrooms*. Pupils had to provide their own accounts of the actions in some of the 'social episodes' (Harré, 1993, p. 56, for example), or coherent fragments of social life, that occur in classrooms. In order to meet the internal validity demands of this phase of the research it was important that the pupil participants were treated 'ethogenically' (Harré, 1974). This is a term which encompasses a view that the human being is a person, that is, a plan-making, self-monitoring agent, aware of goals and deliberately considering the best ways to achieve them. Harré (1978) further notes that the ethogenic approach is concerned with speech that accompanies action. That speech is intended to make the action intelligible and justifiable in occurring at the time and place it did in the whole sequence of unfolding and co-ordinated action. Such speech,

he says, is accounting. Therefore, I was not only interested in pupils' reports of what teachers say but also in how those pupils say teachers simultaneously act; I wished to capture the 'speech that accompanies action'.

In order to fulfil these two criteria, and 'to get the research underway', the idea was given to me (Billig and Cohen, PhD supervision discussion, May 1987) that a video film should be produced of role-played classroom episodes in which the teacher displayed racism towards some pupils. The initial specification was that two or three short (3-5 minute) extracts or episodes of such classroom life should be produced. In the context of the present research, despite the severe criticisms which have been levelled at role-playing by some positivists (for example, see Ginsburg, 1978), the major advantage of the method was that there would be no deception of teachers or pupils. Apart from the unacceptability of deception on ethical grounds, it is argued that it is also epistemologically unsound because of the model of the subject as a person that it carries with it. In Harré's term, the subject is not treated 'ethnogenically', that is, we will remember, as a 'plan-making, self-monitoring agent' (1978). Another advantage was that using the method would enable the capturing of, hopefully, real-life classroom action on film which would, in turn, thereby permit the investigation of the topic of this research with a wide range of pupils in addition to those directly involved in its production.

However, we shall be picking-up the debate on role-playing

versus deception when we discuss the results of this research (Chapter 4). I now need to discuss how access to the pupil participants in this research was negotiated, who they were and the population from which they were drawn and how the role-plays were devised and produced. I shall also be explaining how and why the role-played teachers were chosen and by whom they were played.

B. Gaining access to the role-playing pupil participants

The way in which most research involving human participants is written-up seems to suggest that negotiating access to the subjects is a minor practical problem worthy of little more than passing mention. This was one of the most difficult aspects of this research and so I shall describe the process in some detail.

In December 1989, I asked Alison Dimbleby, a drama teacher and friend, if she would help me to produce the role-played classroom extracts. Alison readily agreed. Later in that month, I approached Alison's head teacher for his consent to allow me to proceed with the work on the role-plays and their filming. He gave me his consent but he expressed concern that his school should not be presented in the finished video film as if it were 'a racist institution'. I assured him that this would be done, if only through ensuring the school's confidentiality.

I subsequently discussed with Alison a fuller written specification of what the extracts should reveal and the

criteria by which they should be produced (*Appendix I*).

Within the limits of my specified ethnic and gender composition of the group, and because Alison had some knowledge of the pupils' acting abilities, she was left to select and invite likely pupils to our initial meeting where together we would present and discuss with them what we hoped to produce. We also agreed that the invited pupils would be drawn from Years Nine and Ten (fourteen and fifteen-year-olds) because these were the year groups which follow courses in drama and also, we supposed, such pupils would be most interested in taking part in the research. Further, we felt that this age group would be sufficiently mature to cope with the sensitive and emotive topic of the research and with the regular after school meeting commitments that would be required. Year Eleven pupils were excluded from participation because of their expected increasing commitments to their GCSE courses in the run-up to the external examinations in June.

So towards the end of February 1990, we gathered together a group of some thirty likely pupil volunteers. At that first meeting the purposes of the role-playing were explained to the group. The term 'racism' was frequently and deliberately used but it was at no time, during this session or in any other, defined by Alison, myself or any other adult. It was explained to the pupils that one of the main purposes of the research was to discover what pupils mean and understand by the term and that, therefore, it was important that we did not influence their thinking on the subject.

I also asked the pupils not to reveal to any outsiders of the group, the precise nature of the task that we would be working on. I explained that there was nothing sinister under-lying this request but that it was necessary because an important subsequent phase of the research process was to assess the external validity of the extracts, possibly by involving other pupils from within the school and the locality. It was also made clear to the pupils that under no circumstances were they ever to reveal to us, or to any other professional, the identities of the teachers they had in mind as they discussed, devised and developed the role-plays. At the end of the meeting, each pupil was given a copy of a letter (*Appendix II*) to take to their parents. This letter set out the purpose of the research and it asked parents for their written consent to allow their children to participate in it. All of the parents subsequently submitted their consent although five pupils, largely because they did not find the project 'interesting' or, maybe, because they felt that it was going to intrude into their lives too much, chose not to take any further part in it.

C. The role-playing pupil participants

We might recall (Section I of this Chapter) Rosenthal and Rosnow's (1969) observation that volunteer subjects are different from non-volunteers. From what has already been said, it will be clear that the participants in this research were volunteers; no attempt was made to use the 'ideal' of a 'random sampling' design. Also, of the original thirty pupils who attended the initial meeting, through self-elimination,

only twenty-one saw the project through to the filming of the role-plays. Thus, it is unlikely that the role-players were representatives of their gender and ethnic groups, of the school's cohort population and even less so, of the region or of the nation as a whole. In fact, because of the nature of the research, it was necessary to ensure that there would be representatives of as many VEMGs as possible. Also, as far as possible, it was felt that there should be male and female representatives of each of these minority groups.

Table 1 The ethnic background and sex of members of the role-playing group

	Ethnicity		
	Visible ethnic group	White ethnic group	Totals
Male	4	5	9
Female	5	7	11
Totals	9	12	21

By definition then, and in practice, as Table 1 shows, this meant there was, by comparison with the ethnic composition of the school, an over-representation of pupils of VEMGM. Having said that, care was taken to ensure that the group would, as far as possible, appear to be a naturally occurring class of pupils.

However, the main reason for using volunteer subjects in this research arose from the need to obtain the highest possible levels of co-operation and commitment from the participants. In his research on adolescent values, Kitwood (1977)

rationalised his use of volunteers in these terms:

In research with adolescents ... one of the main practical problems is that of obtaining willing co-operation ... Thus ... it may be necessary to obtain what data one can by whatever methods are feasible, and compensate by as careful and critical interpretation as possible (p. 320).

Also, of importance in this research, where one was attempting to elicit the pupils' perspective, is the hope and expectation that volunteer participants would see themselves as equal partners in the research enterprise. If that is so, we also might expect volunteers to be open and honest in their revelations about the task which they are set.

D. The role-playing pupils' school

This school, to be known as Goldcrest School, which the role-players attended is located on the suburban fringe of a large industrial English city. It is a co-educational, comprehensive school for Years Seven to Eleven (eleven-to-sixteen-year-olds). At the time of the video production there were some 700 pupils on roll.

About eighty per cent of the pupils were of IWGM. The other twenty per cent were roughly equally divided between those of Indian sub-continental or African-Caribbean heritage, although there were also very small proportions of pupils whose ethnic heritages were Africa or China.

The school's catchment area consists of a truncated wedge extending, at its widest, from the fringe of the city

towards, but not quite into, the city centre. Housing within the area is very varied in size and quality. The school serves a number of large housing estates of both privately and local authority owned properties. Most of these estate houses are modern or have recently been modernised. However, one of the council estates houses some of the most deprived and 'difficult' families in the city. As one approaches the city centre the housing increasingly consists of Edwardian and then Victorian terraces. These houses are generally not so large or as well maintained as the estate houses. However, generalisation is difficult because within this predominantly deprived area there is an enclave of some of the most exclusive residential property within the city. Overall, then, the school was very broad in terms of its pupils' responses to schooling and in the levels of support they received from their parents.

On completing their compulsory schooling, some sixty per cent of the pupils continued their full-time education in one of the city's sixth form colleges or colleges of further education.

For those pupils who did not continue their full-time education, and particularly for those who did not possess formal qualifications, employment opportunities available to them within the city, were bleak. The city's unemployment rate was significantly above the national average.

E. The role-played teachers

As well as eliciting from the pupil role-players the different classroom events, Alison Dimbleby also role-played the parts of each of the different teachers in the extracts. The teacher in each extract was to be played by a woman. This decision was made to remove the variable of teacher gender and thereby, to simplify and make more manageable the design. It was also felt that to have male teachers in some, or all, of the role-plays would have possibly produced a confounding variable in that the teachers' unfair behaviour may have been interpreted by 'cold' viewers of the video film as sexist rather than as the intended racist. Clearly, the complexities of trying to control or eliminate the variable of sexism whilst manipulate that of racism are formidable and, I suggest, require far more resources than are available to the independent researcher.

The idea of involving a different woman to play each teacher's part in each role play was considered but was decided against. The main reason being that I did not wish to increase the number of people involved in this sensitive work, which may well have been drawn to a halt at any time by the school's headteacher, any more than was absolutely necessary. I reasoned that given the minimum number of people required to complete the task, the fewer the people involved the better.

Similarly, the decision was made that the teacher in each extract should be of IWGM. I reasoned that it would be

difficult, if not impossible, for teachers of VEMGM to portray racist behaviour towards pupils of VEMGM. Furthermore, using teachers of VEMGM would have introduced another complex web of confounding and uncontrollable variables.

So, for all of these reasons, it was decided that Alison, the pupils' drama teacher, should play each of the different teachers in each of the classroom extracts. Alison faithfully interpreted the pupils' directions in her portrayal of their devised teachers' roles. The extent to which this aspect of the extracts as a whole is successful, is, I feel, limited. This is an issue to which I shall return in presenting and discussing the results.

F. The developmental processes of producing the video film

Having established a suitable group of role-players by the end of February 1990, Alison and I planned to film the finished extracts early in the summer term of 1990. This plan assumed a one-hour after school meeting, each week during term time.

However, the over-ambitiousness of this plan soon became apparent. Alison and a number of the role-players were involved in another school production which continued until well into March. This significantly reduced the number of meetings that we could have during the spring term. The final shooting of the role-plays was also delayed by two protracted and concurrent school events in June 1990 which involved all of the role-players. These intrusions into our

scheduled meeting time were compounded by four pupils 'dropping out', by pupil absences and by an underestimate of the number of hours the pupils required to devise and rehearse the extracts.

Following our initial meeting with the pupils, Alison suggested that we ask Bal Johal, an Indian teacher colleague, if she would be willing to participate in our drama meetings. Alison made this suggestion because she was aware of the difficulties of two white teachers attempting to investigate teacher racism with a multi-ethnic group of pupils. Bal's principal role would be to monitor the proceedings and to ensure that Alison and I did not consciously or unconsciously ignore, over-rule, misrepresent or inhibit the voicing of the views of pupils of VEMGM. Bal readily agreed to this suggestion and she attended every meeting with the pupils and all of the planning meetings that we had.

Because the pupils that Alison had invited to participate were not a naturally occurring teaching group, the second meeting was devoted to trying to develop a spirit of 'group identity'. Similarly, the third meeting was designed to give every pupil an opportunity to present him or herself briefly to the group and to the video camera for immediate playback. We felt that it was important to provide pupils with this early opportunity to be filmed and see themselves on film. This was done to reduce any inhibitions that the pupils may have had about being filmed. All of the subsequent meetings and rehearsals were filmed. This was done partly to record

the events but also to familiarise the pupils with the idea of being filmed so that they would accept it as nothing-out-of-the-ordinary; in short, we hoped that the pupils would act 'naturally' when the finished role-plays were shot.

It was not until the fourth meeting that we began to ask the pupils to explore, through whole group and small group discussion, the issue of 'the racist ways in which they saw themselves and others being treated by teachers'. To reiterate the point made earlier, at no time did the adults amongst us define racism or contribute to the discussion other than to take on the roles of organisers, time managers and seekers of clarification and elaboration.

In the fifth and sixth meetings the issues raised in the previous meetings were further discussed and refined by the pupils in their small groups. Alison also provided further opportunities for the pupils to develop their acting, role-play devising and directing skills through the technique of 'moulding'. This involved the pupils being given the task of producing a television advertisement for a tyre company by directing (or moulding) role-players into a sequence of 'still image' positions.

There were two further meetings before the end of the spring term 1990. In these meetings the pupils were asked to work in small groups. The task for each group was to identify and explore, on the basis of their actual classroom and school experiences, one example of the ways in which teachers are

racist towards pupils. Each group was given large pieces of paper and some felt-tipped pens on which they could 'sketch' their ideas. The four issues which the groups identified were: ignoring or dismissing as unimportant pupils' racist comments and name-calling; accusing and punishing black pupils for crimes which they have not committed; making racist judgments about pupils' inter-ethnic relationships; giving more requested help to white pupils with their work than black pupils.

These four identified issues formed the basis of the filmed extracts; thus, the project grew from the intended two or three extracts to four. All of the first eight meetings in the summer term of 1990 were devoted to each group, under the direction of each role-play's directors (*Appendix III*), writing the directions and scripts for each of the role plays, and rehearsing them. On the basis of my viewing of the 'finished extracts', I sketched storyboards of each of them using the shot conventions described by Cheshire (1990, p. 58), and Edwards and Mercer's dialogue transcription conventions (1987, p. x). My rough sketches were subsequently much more professionally redrawn (*Appendix IV*) by my daughter Grace. Using the storyboards as a guide, the filming of the 'finished' extracts required a further three, two-hour sessions to complete. This filming was completed by Graham Forde, an African-Caribbean professional video artist. Graham also attended the last two rehearsal sessions before the filming began, so that he could get 'a feel for what was being produced'.

Although it proved difficult in practice, we also attempted to give the pupil writers and devisers of each role-play the task of directing the filming of the final role-play performance. However, before each shooting session, I discussed with each pair of pupil role-play directors what they expected in terms of the finished film.

Through discussion, the role-players gave each of the finished extracts the following names:

Extract 1: 'Catch'
Extract 2: 'Borrowing'
Extract 3: 'Going Steady'
Extract 4: 'Sums'.

Finally, under my control and direction, and bearing in mind the pupil directors' wishes, the film material was edited and copied by Graham. This work was completed in August 1990. The video films are boxed separately and are held in the Education Department, Loughborough University.

In short, there is no doubt in my mind that the finished video films are dominated by what the pupils wanted to say on the matter of teacher racism.

However, in the September after the completion of the film-making in August, the majority of the twenty-one filmed pupil role-players (*Appendix III*) were shown the edited versions of the video films in two after-school sessions. In the first session, the films 'Catch', 'Borrowing' and 'Going Steady' were viewed. Eight of the nine filmed role-players of VEMGM participated in this session. The respective figures for the

role-players of IWGM are eight from twelve. Of the five non-participant role-players, the only pupil of VEMGM (Janet) had left the school at the end of the summer term and so could not take part.

Unfortunately, Nasar (VEMGM), Philip (IWGM) and Vanessa (VEMGM) were unable to attend the second session in which the film of 'Sums' was viewed. Thus, in this session, five from nine role-players participated of VEMGM and seven from twelve of IWGM. It proved too difficult, if not impossible to attract the four pupils of IWGM to any of these meetings. Perhaps I had exhausted their willingness and enthusiasm for any further involvement in the project.

However, those pupils who did participate in this aspect of the research were asked to provide written comments on the ways in which each extract portrayed the *teacher's racism*; all of them agreed to do this and all of them provided comments.

These data were subsequently qualitatively content analysed through a four-step process. First, the participants' comments were each read until common themes and issues began to emerge. Many of the comments provided by the participants focused on each of the significant episodes within each extract. Second, on the basis of the episodes, the comments were put together to form categories. Three, each of these categories was subsequently labelled on the basis of the theme or issue that seemed to be common to all of the

comments. For each extract, however, there were some comments which could not be categorised by episode because they were of a more generalised nature. These comments were placed into a separate category which was also named on the basis of the issue that appeared to best describe them collectively. In essence, the technique of 'conceptualising the data' in the way I have described, is similar to that outlined by Strauss and Corbin (1990, pp. 63-5). Four, the final step involved a 'constant comparative method' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). This entailed comparing and contrasting the categories, the comments within each of them and their labels, with the aim of clarifying the meanings of the emerging categories which were clarified, developed and refined, if necessary, by reassigning data segments.

On the basis of the content analysis of the comments for each extract to be presented in Chapter 3, I shall conclude the treatment of each extract with a 'model' of the role-players' perceptions of teacher racism.

We should also note that using this strategy of 'respondent validation', is an attempt to assess the possible problem of the imposition of my interpretation on the construction of the role-plays, through, for example, the film editing process.

Using this strategy also enabled the collection of a further set of data of the role-players' perceptions of teacher racism. Thus, these data, in the form of a 'model' of

pupils' perceptions of teacher racism, will subsequently be used in the 'triangulation of data' process. They will also serve as a mark scheme by which the written responses of the stratified sample may, in conjunction with a scoring scheme, be evaluated. We shall now turn to address these matters.

G. The wider investigation of pupils' perceptions of teacher racism using the video film

I now need to describe and explain the purposes and processes of collecting and analysing the survey data.

At the time of the conception of producing video films of pupils' perceptions of teacher racism, it was also felt that such a video could be used to make a much wider investigation of pupils' views of the matter. It was felt that doing so, would enable a check on the wider applicability of the perceptions presented by the small group of role-players. Thus, it would enable an assessment of the external validity of these perceptions. Further, it would enable the investigation of some of the important variables thought to be influential in these perceptions; a matter to which we shall return a little later. I now wish to describe and discuss the question-form that was used in this investigation.

As soon as the video films had been finished in July 1990, they were shown to nine, twelve-to-fifteen-year-old children (including two of my own) who were asked to respond to questions of the following type:

This film is made-up of four short extracts each of a classroom lesson. When you have seen each extract, I want you to imagine that you are in this lesson and to think about what the teacher does and says.

When you have seen each extract you will be given some time to answer these questions about it:

1. What do you think of the teacher? Why do you say so?
2. Would like to have been in this lesson? Why do you say so?

The nine children who were asked these questions unanimously agreed that they focussed their attention much too specifically. Also, responses to the second question showed that they had mostly 'missed the point'. Furthermore, I suspect that this type of question may elicit racist comments from those who might be inclined, knowingly or unknowingly, to think and express them.

For each of the extracts, these children were also asked to respond the following question-form:

Regarding extract 1: 'Catch',
What problems do you see here? Why do you think so?
Give as many examples as you can to illustrate your answer.

Their answers to this type of question, and the discussion that we had following the writing of them, suggested that such questions would be more suitable for use with the pupil sample. The children told me that these questions were more specific in that they expected them to focus on the 'problems'. For that reason, I was concerned that these questions provided direction to their thinking.

In August 1990, I pursued the matter at an Open University

summer school where I was tutoring in social psychology. The video films were shown to some thirty Open University psychology students. This group was shown each of the four extracts in the absence of being told the issue that they attempted to present. I wished to find out what these adults could 'see' in the video films and, given my research purposes, what thoughts they had about what would be the most suitable type of question to use with the research sample.

They were given some restricted questions such as these for

Extract 2: 'Borrowing':

1. How do you feel about the teacher's treatment of Choi at the beginning of the lesson? Why?
2. Did Donna deserve to be punished by the teacher? Why?
3. How do you feel about the way in which the teacher dealt with Rebecca's writing on the rubber? Why?
4. Was Carl right to insist on raising the issue? Why?'

As I expected, the adults who were asked these questions felt that they imposed an artificial focusing of their attention and perception on selected aspects of the extracts and, importantly, that they would probably do so with the pupil sample.

The video films were also shown to three mixed ability teaching groups of pupils in a comprehensive school. One group was of twenty-four, Year Seven pupils, another was of twenty-two, Year Nine pupils and the other was of fifteen, Year Eleven pupils. A variety of question-types was used with these pupils, including the form which I eventually decided to use with the research sample. I shall now briefly discuss the finalised version of question that was used.

As a result of all of the feedback obtained from these pilot studies, I decided to use a very simple form of questioning, similar to that used earlier by Peel and his co-workers (1971) in their investigations of adolescent judgment. Peel says:

... adolescent thought seems to be characterised by the capacity to invoke ideas and to see problems in a way specific to adolescents. It may be possible to test this potentiality by using a very open form of question (such as):

'... What problem do you see here?'

... (This form) gives the thinker more complete freedom of judgment (1971, p. 57).

I too, came to this conclusion and I decided to use the following question-form with the research sample for all four video films:

What are the most important things that you have noticed about the ways in which the people behaved towards one another? Why do you say so? Give as many examples as you can.

These questions were used because I needed to be as certain as possible that I was tapping 'pupils' undirected perceptions'. That is, I did not wish to influence what they reported in terms of 'good' or 'bad'. I felt that the forms of questioning would be inclined to cue the sample into the issues being presented in the video films without leading them in any way.

All of this piloting of the question-forms also provided me with detailed information about how problems involved in the video showing sessions might be averted. I was also able to

find out the minimum length of time that each session required.

The final form of the response sheets (*Appendix V*) asked pupils to provide some biographical details, including their ethnicity, using the categories currently in use by the Commission for Racial Equality at that time.

Space was also provided for teachers of English, mathematics, science and humanities to provide an assessment of the pupil's attainment in each of these subjects. These teachers were given some simple guidelines (*Appendix VI*) on how to classify pupils on the dichotomised scale 'high or low level of attainment'. The term 'attainment' was used as the operational definition of 'academic ability'.

The front page of the form also provided some brief information about the video films and what the respondent was expected to write about on the form. Pages two and three of the A4 form were divided in half. Each half was headed with the title and number of the extract, together with the questions that required a response. (The pupils were also informed in writing and verbally, that space was also available on the back of the sheets should they need more than had been provided.) Thus, each half page was headed as in this example:

Extract 1: 'Catch'

What are the most important things that you have noticed about the ways in which people behaved towards one another? Why do you say so? Give as many examples as you can.

Armed with the video films, the impact of the variables of age, sex, ethnicity and ability on children's perceptions of teacher racism have been investigated. Using these variables, the following hypotheses have been investigated:

Hypothesis 1 ($H_{1.1}$). Academically higher ability pupils are more perceptive of teacher racism than academically lower ability pupils.

Hypothesis 2 ($H_{1.2}$). Girls are more perceptive of teacher racism than boys.

Hypothesis 3 ($H_{1.3}$). Older pupils are more perceptive of teacher racism than younger pupils.

Hypothesis 4 ($H_{1.4}$). Pupils of VEMGM are more perceptive of teacher racism than pupils of IWGM.

The rationale for each of these hypotheses has been provided in Chapter 1 (pp. 114-23 for hypotheses 1, 2 and 3, and pp. 189-92 for hypothesis 4).

H. Testing the hypotheses

These hypotheses generate a sixteen cell matrix of pupils as shown in Table 2. To permit the legitimate use of parametric statistical analysis, a minimum cell size of thirty was decided upon (Cohen and Manion, 1994, p. 89). By definition, in comparison with the relative ease in obtaining the required number of pupils in each of the IWGM cells, the foreseeable difficulty would be in obtaining such a number of pupils in each of the VEMGM cells.

So the next task was to obtain this stratified sample of pupils so that they could be shown the video films 'cold' and

asked the final question-form discussed above. A large-scale 'mail shot' of personally addressed letters to headteachers requesting assistance was undertaken (an example is in *Appendix VII*). In all, seventy-nine schools in areas of the country where there are significant numbers of pupils of VEMGM were approached in this way.

Table 2 The sixteen cell matrix of pupil participants used in the sample

Age		Old		Young	
Attainment		High	Low	High	Low
Sex	Ethnic'y				
Male	VEMGM				
	IWGM				
Female	VEMGM				
	IWGM				

Sadly, this 'mail shot' did not produce one school which would agree to participate in the research. Of the twenty-four schools which replied, sixteen cited 'pressure of work', four offered other weakly expressed reasons and four offered no reason at all for not wishing to take part. However, most of these responding schools did express an interest in the research.

I find three of these replies particularly interesting. One headteacher told me over the telephone that 'there are no racist teachers in my school'. Another headteacher, by letter, said:

It may be possible to assist you although ... there

would be a minimum administration fee of £120 plus the costs of all documentation supplied.

And, intriguingly, a black headteacher who had shown a great deal of interest in the initial conversation that I had with him over the telephone, responded in a letter thus:

Thank you for the video which I have watched.
Unfortunately, we are unable to support you with this research.

In addition to this 'mail shot', on the basis of personal friendships and, in some cases, their personal recommendations, a further twenty-one schools were approached in a 'snowball sampling' (Cohen and Manion, 1994, p. 89) way either in writing or by telephone.

This strategy produced ten offers of help. Of the other schools, six declined the offer to participate in the research because of 'pressure of work', two provided some other 'weak' reason for not wishing to become involved and three offered no reason. One headteacher offering a reason for not taking part, explained that the school had recently had an INSET day on racism and that he was 'now having to pick up the pieces'. He continued that he felt that my request to show the video films in his school 'would complicate matters'. He did say, however, that 'teacher racism clearly exists'. Another headteacher explained that he did not wish his school to be involved because:

... it is inappropriate timing now since the school has just implemented a new code of practice and I feel that the issues are too delicate ...

More generally, most of the headteachers who responded in the negative seemed to be concerned about the issue of teacher racism being raised in their schools, perhaps particularly since it was the pupils' views which were of interest. It was as if these headteachers were saying that:

Most school staff frown upon a teacher who talks to the children about other teachers. To do so is 'unprofessional'; it threatens the image as well as the unity of the team front (Hargreaves, 1972, p. 113).

In addition, although some headteachers expressed a willingness for their schools to be involved in the research, there would have been genuine logistical problems in organising the video showing sessions in their schools, most often because the standard lesson length was too short.

Eventually, however, I succeeded in constructing an opportunity sample of over 1000 adolescents drawn throughout England. These adolescents were differentiated by age, sex, scholastic attainment and ethnicity. The sample consisted of pupils in the age range ten-to-twenty years. Ten schools and colleges of further education took part in the survey. One of these schools was a primary school and another one was an eleven-to-fourteen middle school, three were eleven-to-sixteen schools, two were eleven-to-eighteen comprehensive schools, one was a fourteen-to-eighteen comprehensive school and three were colleges of further education or sixth form colleges. Together, these schools represented a wide variety of geographical contexts, some were in rural areas and some in England's largest towns and cities, including Greater London, Leeds, Leicester and Nottingham.

As a full-time teacher, I was unable to administer all of the video showing sessions to all members of the sample; I had to rely on the goodwill of teacher colleagues in most of the schools which agreed to participate. Ideally, of course, in order to provide a better standardization of the procedures, all of the presentations of the video showing sessions should have been conducted by the same person. We must take this methodological weakness into account when we discuss the results in Chapter 4.

For those schools which did agree for some of their pupils to take part in the research, I supplied a detailed set of administrator's notes (*Appendix VII*). These notes covered the topics of the background of the research; how to run the video showing session, including preparation, running time, introducing the session to the pupils and debriefing them; acquiring and recording the pupils' attainment data in each of the English, humanities, mathematics and science areas of the curriculum. I also asked each teacher who had run a video showing session to complete an administrator's report form (*Appendix VIII*). This form asked for some biographical information about the teacher as well as some information about the timing and physical circumstances of the session and about any problems that had been encountered in running the session. These questions were asked so that an assessment could be made of the possible impact of the teacher administrator and of any difficulties experienced on the pupils and on their responses. Participating schools were also asked to provide brochures and other 'public' documents so that a 'feel' could be had of the type of school

taking part. I was particularly interested in whether or not each school formally taught about the issues of racism and anti-racism.

Table 3 Categorization of responses to the video extracts

Level (Score)	Description
0	No response or nothing which is intelligibly about the 'ways in which people treat one another' in the extract. Alternatively this level of response may be wrong in terms of fact and/or in interpretation.
1	No reference to racism (ie unfairness towards visible ethnic minority pupils) either by the teacher or by pupils and either implicitly or explicitly.
2	Either some reference to pupils' racism (see level 1 above) but not to the teacher's, or, reference to racism is left unspecified as to its perpetrator. Such reference is likely to be implied and may relate to one or more examples drawn from the extract without any generalisation or synthesising statement(s). The account is at a superficial level of analysis, understanding and explanation.
3	There is some reference to the teacher's racist behaviour and actions. Such reference is, however, implied rather than openly stated. There may also be implied condemnation of the teacher's racist behaviour/actions. There will not be any generalised statement(s) about the teacher's racism supported with examples drawn from the extract.
4	At this level the account will explicitly discuss and illustrate the teacher's racism but the analysis will show a superficial knowledge and understanding of the deeper issues.
5	At this level the account will explicitly discuss the teacher's racism as a generalisation and this will be well illustrated with examples drawn from the extract. One or more of these examples may well be of the less obvious and more subtle types of racist behaviour/action portrayed in the extract.

It is important to note that in order to simplify the logistics of the video showing sessions, all of the participants viewed the video films in the same order. Thus,

we shall have to take into account the possibility of 'order effects' when we discuss the results in Chapter 4.

Through the random elimination of opportunity sample participants, a stratified sample of 480 participants, differentiated by age, sex, ethnicity (IWGM and VEMGM), and academic attainment, was constructed. These participants' written responses to each of the four video films were scored 0 to 5 on the Kohlberg-type scale set out in Table 3 (which appears in Cohen and Manion, 1994, p. 268).

The devising of this scale was achieved inductively, that is, in a trial-and-error way, it came out of working with the collected data. To that extent, the scale can be said to be 'grounded in the data' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

Each of the 480 participants' scores on each of the extracts were summed to give a total score out of twenty. Although these scores are ordinal data (since they are based on ratings), I have taken the 'pragmatic approach adopted by most researchers and treated them as interval data' (Calder, 1993, p. 43). Hence, they have been subjected to a four-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) for unrelated subjects, using a computer program written by Richards (1993). The level of statistical significance (p) for the rejection of the null variant of each of the research hypotheses (H_0), one-tailed, was set at .01 with 472 degrees of freedom. That is, each of the research hypotheses would be accepted if the probability of the obtained result was equal to or less than .01.

The reliability of the method used in my scoring of the scripts has been assessed using a comparison of the scores of three independent raters, including my own, of a sample ($N = 21$) of the population ($N = 480$) of scripts. A two-way classification analysis of variance without replications of the raters' ratings method (Guilford and Fruchter, 1973, p. 261) has been used. The reliability of my scores would be acceptable if the correlation coefficient between the raters' ratings was at least .85 (Cohen and Manion, 1994, pp. 137-9).

I. Bubble dialogue

The next stage of data collection involved an adaptation of what has been called by its creators at the University of Ulster (Coleraine), 'bubble dialogue' (for example, Cunningham *et al*, 1991; O'Neill and McMahon, 1990; McMahon and O'Neill, 1990, 1992). Of bubble dialogue, its creators say:

Three key elements are juxtaposed in comic strips: graphics which stylize the characters in the story, often to the degree that they become cultural ... icons; narrative text which ... conveys the story line; and, most importantly, dialogue, which by a well-established graphic convention, can be readily identified as each character's speech or thought (Cunningham *et al*, 1991, p. 60).

In one variant of the technique, 'say' bubbles are provided by the researcher, which engage the participant in reflecting on the public domain which the characters share, whilst 'think' bubbles permit participants to relate to the private worlds of the characters. The emerging dialogue reveals the perceptions that participants bring to the interaction, that

is to say:

'what ... has been said, what they think was meant, what they perceive to be relevant' (O'Neill and McMahon, 1990).

Thus, bubble dialogue,

'is a powerful methodology for users to make public those perceptions of context, content and interaction which otherwise remain unformed and unsaid as well as unwritten' (O'Neill and McMahon, 1990).

So, bubble dialogue may be used to explore children's feelings about issues and problems that they confront in the classroom, including their perceptions of teachers. It has been suggested that because it is the comic strip characters who speak and think, those constructing the dialogue 'sometimes feel free of the constraints that one might exercise in normal social settings' (Cunningham *et al*, 1991, p. 63).

For these reasons, the variant of bubble dialogue described above, appeared to be a potentially powerful tool for application in this investigation. I shall now describe how the 'comic strips' were created and used. (Although in the context of this research, I dislike the label 'comic strip', in order to make my meaning clear, I shall continue to use the term.)

The 'comic strips' were created in the following way. First, rough sketches were drawn of, what I considered to be, eight or nine salient and, within each extract, consecutively ordered, 'still image' scenes. The associated spoken words were also recorded on each sketch. Second, these sketches

were 'image digitised' by electronically 'grabbing' the specified shots from the video films to create almost photographic quality, 'still images'. And third, using computer technology, the actual spoken word and empty thought bubbles were superimposed onto each of the shots in the strips.

Under my close supervision, all of these 'computing' tasks were completed by a professional image digitiser. All of this work was completed in August 1991. The four 'comic strips' appear in *Appendix IX* having been reduced to eighty per cent of their size as used in the research.

Subsequently, an opportunity sample of sixty-one Year Nine (thirteen-to-fourteen-year-old) pupil participants was drawn. These pupils were in three naturally occurring classes, each being located in one of three different comprehensive schools. Two of these schools had been involved in the 480 participant stratified sample survey discussed in the previous section. However, none of these participants had been involved in that earlier phase of data collection. I am assured by the teachers who executed this data collection phase, that the pupils in each group were of 'mixed ability'.

Although all four of the 'comic strips' were available, the participants only responded to 'cold' viewings of the film of the 'Borrowing' extract. One reason for selecting this extract is the fact that there is so little research on the school experiences of pupils of Chinese heritage.

The pupil participants were shown the 'Borrowing' extract twice. They were then asked to respond independently by

completing the 'comic strip' thought bubbles (Appendix IX). The ensuing data have been analysed by simply categorising whether or not each participant revealed an *explicit* awareness that the teacher was exhibiting racism towards one or more pupils in the classroom. An assessment has been made of the inter-rater reliability of these data by comparing the categorization of each respondents' 'comic strips' by two independent assessors.

By Chi-square (X^2), the null variants of two hypotheses (H_0) have been tested:

Hypothesis 5 (H_{05}). Pupils of VEMGM are more aware compared with those of IWGM, that the role-played teacher thinks, acts and/or behaves in racist ways ($p < .05$, one-tailed).

Hypothesis 6 (H_{06}). Girls are more aware than boys that the role-played teacher thinks, acts and/or behaves in racist ways ($p < .05$, one-tailed).

These hypotheses are similar to hypotheses 4 and 2 (p. 238) respectively and are based on the same rationales (pp. 189-92 for hypothesis 5, pp. 114-23 for hypothesis 6).

The qualitative data are also presented in Chapter 3 on the basis of which a 'model' of adolescents' perceptions of teacher racism is constructed. Also, an attempt has been made to triangulate the outcomes of this technique against the other types of data collected.

Again, however, further research could investigate the possibilities of devising other strategies for the more

stringent quantitative and qualitative analyses of these raw data.

Using the 'Borrowing' extract and its associated 'comic strip', Cohen (1993; Cohen and Manion, 1994, pp. 217-8) has used the technique to explore some 200 student teachers' perceptions and interpretations of racist behaviour. With regard to his research, Cohen (Cohen and Manion, 1994, p. 218) concluded that:

The intensity of subsequent discussions ... in evaluative sessions suggest the utility of bubble dialogue as an approach to the exploration of salient and sensitive issues in teacher education.

Thus, it seems very likely that further research with teachers, both in initial and in inservice training, and with children, could make good use of the bubble dialogue technique with all four extracts of classroom interaction.

J. Conclusion

This research has drawn on four sets of data: the 21 pupils' construction of the role-plays; the role-players' comments on the ways in which the finished extracts portrayed the teachers' racism; the 480 participants' responses to the video films; and the 61 participants' responses to the 'comic strip' of the video film of 'Borrowing'. It is hoped that through the triangulation of all of these sets of data, we shall be in a strong position to comment, with some authority, on pupils' perceptions of teacher racism.

Having discussed the rationale for and actualities of the research methods used in this investigation, in the next chapter, the outcomes of the data collection and their analysis will be reported.

CHAPTER 3 THE RESULTS OF THIS INVESTIGATION

This Chapter is devoted to the presentation of the results. It is divided into three sections. Section 1 considers the synopses of the finished video films and the qualitative content analyses of the role-players' comments on those films. In Section 2 the analysis of the responses of the stratified sample of 480 pupil participants to the four films is presented. Section 3 reports the outcomes of the sixty-one pupil participants' responses to the film of 'Borrowing' using the 'comic strip' (bubble dialogue) research tool.

Section I The synopses and results of the content analyses of the video films of the role-plays

Before beginning the task of presenting these results, we need to bear in mind that the video films, albeit in the form of 'unstructured data', overwhelmingly represent the pupil role-players' perceptions of teacher racism. As such, they constitute the primary, or raw data, from which the two data sets to be presented in this section have been derived.

With regard to these two sets of data, each of the four video films of the extracts will be considered in turn, in the following manner. I shall begin by presenting my synopsis of the extract, heavily based on its devisers' script (*Appendix X*) which specifies what it was intended to portray and on the finished films.

The synopsis will be followed by presenting the results of

the qualitative content analysis of the sample of role-players' written comments on the ways in which the teacher portrays racism. In doing so, no attempt has been made to analyse these data by sex or ethnicity; the assumption has been made that since the role-players had worked together for so long, they had influenced each others' thinking to the extent that the extracts are the products of 'groupthink' (Janis, 1968, p. 8). That being so, it is argued that the sex and ethnicity variables are 'contaminated' and thus, not worthy of separate investigation although these variables are recorded for the author of each comment. The respondents' written comments are recorded as accurate transcriptions and, as such, where applicable, they faithfully record the authors' spelling, punctuation and grammar errors.

One final comment before we begin. An increased understanding of these synopses and analyses would be gained by reading them in conjunction with the list of filmed role-players (*Appendix III*), the storyboards (*Appendix IV*), and by viewing the films (held in the Education Department, Loughborough University).

Synopsis of Extract 1: 'Catch'

This extract presents the apparently familiar occurrence of children of VEMGM being unfairly 'picked-on' for classroom 'crimes'. In this case, the scene is set with a supply teacher taking a geography lesson. Having set the class some work and established quiet working, the teacher responds to Caroline's (IWGM) request for some individual help in which

they both become quickly engrossed. Some time later, a tennis ball is accidentally and unwittingly pulled out of her bag by Janet (African-Caribbean). The ball is seen rolling across the floor by Rebecca (IWGM) who picks it up and mischievously asks of her classmate neighbours what she should do with it. Without the teacher's knowledge, other pupils in the class are beckoning that the ball should be thrown to them and a ball game of throwing and catching quickly develops.

In due course, the ball is thrown by Helen (IWGM) to Debbie (IWGM) who fails to catch it. The ball narrowly misses the teacher and Caroline who are working at the front of the class. Simon (African-Caribbean), who has been working throughout the lesson, chases after the ball as it rolls across the room. The teacher immediately accuses Simon of being centrally involved in the ball game. Simon protests his innocence whereupon the teacher enquires of Richard (IWGM) where the ball came from. Richard points to a table at which there were six pupils sitting at the time of the throw. Two of these pupils are Janet and Simon, the others are of IWGM. The investigation proceeds with the teacher enquiring about the ownership of the ball. Janet, who has also been working hard throughout the lesson, confirms that it is hers.

Having established her 'evidence', the teacher launches into a tirade of blame and accusation directed solely at the two African-Caribbean pupils. In the face of this attack, Simon staunchly attempts to defend himself which results in the

teacher sending him out of the room to see the head.

Qualitative content analysis of the role-players' comments on teacher racism within Extract 1: 'Catch'

The sixteen participants raised ten identifiably separate issues of the teacher's racism. Except for the last generalised issue, these issues will be presented as the incidents to which they relate chronologically appear in the film. This pattern of presentation will be adopted for the other extracts.

Issue 1: The teacher's choice of which pupil to help first, the boy of VEMGM (Wayne) or the girl of IWGM (Caroline).

This issue was raised by all sixteen of the participants.

Carl (VEMGM) commented that:

The teacher picked Caroline instead of Wayne. Wayne was the nearest.

Similar comments were made by two male pupils of IWGM.

However, Choi (VEMGM) places a different interpretation on the episode when she says that:

the black boy put his hand up first, but the teacher ignores him and goes to the white girl first.

Issue 2. The teacher's unwillingness to listen to the explanations of pupils of VEMGM.

There were only three participants who commented on this issue. They did so in the following terms:

The teacher didn't want to hear what Simon (black boy)

wanted to say. She didn't even let him explain what happened. When he does he is sent away (Nasar, VEMGM).

(The teacher) doesn't give black boy chance to explain ... Takes it for granted black boy through it (Andrew, IWGM).

Teacher shouts at the Simon before he has hardly asked question (Philip, IWGM).

Issue 3. The teacher's shouting at pupils of VEMGM.

Eight participants (three of IWGM, the remainder of VEMGM) commented on the unfairness of the teacher's shouting at pupils of VEMGM. Rebecca (IWGM), for example, says that the teacher shouted at the black boy for something the white girl did by throwing the ball across the room.

Simon (VEMGM) commented in these terms:

The way ... Simon was told off for telling the teacher the ball was being thrown around. I say this is racist because the teacher assumes he is the source of the trouble as he reports it first.

And Choi (VEMGM) comments that:

Simon tries to tell her about the ball, but miss don't want to listen and shout's at him instead.

For his illustration of this issue of racism, Wayne (VEMGM) comments on the teacher's treatment of Janet (VEMGM) in these terms:

Ball falls out of bag gets thrown around boy tries to tell teacher, teacher ignores. White girl and black girl have squabble. Teacher blames black and threatened her.

Issue 4. The teacher's shouting at and blaming of Simon (VEMGM) for starting the argument between himself and the girl of IWGM when it was she who instigated

the incident.

This issue was mentioned by only one of the participants. Of this episode, Vanessa (VEMGM) says:

Black girl stops the white girl from getting ball and teacher shouts at the black girl.

Issue 5. The teacher's shouting at Simon (VEMGM) for fetching the ball.

Regarding this incident, Andrew (IWGM) says of the teacher that she

Takes it for granted black boy through it.

A similar comment was made by four other participants of IWGM. One example is:

The teacher shouts at the black boy because he went to get the ball which the white girl throw across the room (Rebecca).

Seven of the participants of VEMGM also commented on this incident. All of them focused on the teacher's false accusation of Simon (VEMGM) for throwing the ball. For example, Donna says:

When Richard came in and was asked about where the ball came from by the teacher he replied it came from over there, the teacher then asumed that it must have been thrown from the black girl.

Issue 6. The teacher's accusation about who was not working

Only one participant, Choi (VEMGM), raised this issue by commenting that the teacher:

shouts at Janet for not working but not the others.

Issue 7. The teacher's unjustified shouting at Janet (VEMGM) for having an intentional part in the ball game.

Five participants commented on this issue. Amanda (IWGM) notes that the teacher was:

blaming Black Girl for something she hadn't done.
Teacher Jumping Gun and blaming black boy for throwing it

And one of the pupils of VEMGM (Laura) commented that the teacher was

not giving the black girl a fair hearing.

Issue 8. The teacher's use of the term 'coloured' when speaking about or to pupils of VEMGM

This issue was commented on by nine of the participants. One pupil of IWGM (Paul) noted that the teacher says:

... "the two coloured people on your table". She should have said "black people".

Donna (VEMGM) comments more directly in the following terms:

"Coloured ones on that table" is racist.

The other seven participants offered no reason for their view that using the term 'coloured' is racist. Instead, as these four examples show, they let the matter speak for itself:

the teacher said coloured ones (Rebecca, IWGM).

"Coloured" one's' comment (Richard W, IWGM).

Teacher called pupil colored ones (Wayne, VEMGM).

"No not you the two coloured people on that table"
(Laura, VEMGM).

Issue 9. The teacher's punishment of Simon (VEMGM) by sending him out of the room

Four participants remarked on this incident of the teacher's behaviour and actions. From Laura (VEMGM) came the comment:

Throwing black person out for trying to explain.

A pupil of IWGM (Philip) said that the teacher
sends Simon out for something he hasn't done.

Two other participants of VEMGM commented on this issue in similar terms, but without offering any reasons for their thinking.

Issue 10. The negative discrimination and victimisation of pupils of VEMGM (often with attempted justification)

This is a category of comments of a more generalised nature about the teacher's racism. It includes comments which concern wrongful racist accusation, discrimination and victimisation which the teacher often attempts to justify. Between them, twelve of the participants made sixteen such comments, they are:

teacher picks on Janet when it could have been the Helen (Philip, IWGM).

The teacher dosen't give black people a chance but thinks the white people are OK (Philip, IWGM).

The teacher blames the black girl because the white girl started shouting aloud in the room Rebecca (IWGM).

The teacher blames the two coloured pupils on the table and the way she says it (Male, VEMGM).

The teacher tells black boy off for getting a ball which he didn't throw (Richard Carberry, IWGM).

Teacher tells 2 coloured people off out of a table full (Male, IWGM).

Black children told off for throwing ball when it was white children's fault (Richard Watts, IWGM).

Black child victimisation Black children told off for throwing ball when it was white childrens fault (Richard Watts, IWGM).

Blaming the black ones all the time (Amanda, IWGM).

Teacher said you coloured ones and saying they haven't done any work, which they have (Choi, VEMGM).

Teacher blaming black boy which is racist because to the teacher the table with the black girl and boy on is one that is always doing wrong (Michaela, IWGM).

Always picking on the table with the majority of the black people on (Paul, IWGM).

The teacher says she has had trouble from black kids when it was white kids who cause all the trouble (Vanessa, VEMGM).

Saying it was black people causing trouble when it was white people (Laura, VEMGM).

The teacher didn't think or listen before she acted on the situations. She just blamed who she saw first unfortunately she picked on Simon and Janet (Carl, VEMGM).

We might note that two of these comments, one from a participant of VEMGM and the other from a participant of IWGM, invoke the term 'coloured'! However, we are not investigating pupil's racism.

Summary

The content analysis of the role-players' comments on this extract, suggests that they can be distilled down to seven

significant issues of the role-played teacher's racism towards pupils of VEMGM. They are:

The preferential helping of pupils of IWGM. (Issue 1)

Failing to 'listen' to pupils of VEMGM compared with those of IWGM. (Issue 2)

Shouting more at pupils of VEMGM than those of IWGM. (Issues 3, 4, 5 and 7)

Choosing only to accuse pupils of VEMGM when they and pupils of IWGM are not working. (Issue 6)

Using the term 'coloured' as a referent for pupils of VEMGM. (Issue 8)

Punishing pupils of VEMGM more heavily than those of IWGM. (Issue 9)

Negative discrimination and victimisation of pupils of VEMGM (often with attempted justification). (Issue 10)

Synopsis of Extract 2: 'Borrowing'

This extract is based on the role-players' idea that when a teacher 'ignores' pupils' racist behaviour, it is in itself racist. The scene is set, with a very strict French teacher beginning the lesson by establishing silent working, so that she can mark some classwork completed in an earlier lesson.

After some time, the silence is broken by Helen (IWGM) shouting angrily because Donna (African-Caribbean) has scribbled across her exercise book. The teacher asks Donna if this is so; Donna confirms that it is. After seeing the evidence, the teacher tells Donna to remain behind at the end of the lesson and that she will have to stay in at breaktime. Good order is re-established and the class once again settles to silent working.

Some time later, however, the silence is again broken when Rebecca (IWGM) begins to ask, in a whisper, if she can borrow a rubber from Choi (Chinese girl) who is sitting at an adjacent table. Before Rebecca can complete the request, she is interrupted by the teacher who has heard some noise. The teacher insists that the class works in silence. A little later and a little more loudly, Rebecca again asks for the rubber. This time, however, Rebecca clearly prefaces her request with, "Oi, Chink". The teacher must clearly have heard Rebecca's racism but she seemingly chooses to ignore it, merely saying that if Choi has a rubber, she should loan it to Rebecca. The class returns to quiet working.

The silence is again punctuated when Paul (IWGM), who is sitting next to Rebecca, asks the teacher to come and look at what Rebecca has written on the rubber. (She has written the word "CHINK" on the rubber.) The teacher goes to see what Rebecca has done. She merely asks that the rubber is returned to Choi, commenting that she should not have written on somebody else's property. Paul tries to tell the teacher that Rebecca 'should not write things like that'. The teacher responds with: 'That is hardly the point, she shouldn't write on other people's property'. The teacher returns to the board to write-up some further work for the class.

Some of the pupils are not keen to see the matter dropped. Carl (African-Caribbean) turns round to ask Choi what has been written on the rubber. Carl is aggressively told by the teacher to 'mind his own business' but Carl tries to insist

that what has been written is not acceptable. Another pupil, Phil (IWGM) takes up the matter by asking Rebecca why she had written on the rubber what she had. The teacher advises Phil 'to drop it' whereupon, in the face of the teacher's verbal onslaught, he is defended by Carl who seeks support for his argument from Nasar (a Pakistani boy).

The scene concludes with the teacher angrily telling Carl that she will be keeping him in at breaktime.

Qualitative content analysis of the role-players' comments on teacher racism within Extract 2: 'Borrowing'

Five episodes within this extract gave rise to comments from the sixteen participants about what they saw as the teacher's racism. As with Extract 1, there were also a number of comments which were of a more generalised, non-episode specific nature. These six categories of comments will now be presented.

Issue 1. The teacher's 'picking-on' Choi (VEMGM) by only accusing her of not saying 'Bonjour'.

Perhaps one of the less obvious examples of the teacher's racism in the film of this extract, that of the teacher's 'picking-on' Choi (Chinese girl) by only accusing her of not responding to 'Bonjour', was commented on by eight participants (five of IWGM, three of VEMGM). Some examples of these comments are:

Blaming Choi for not saying hello when her friend didnt
ither and she's white but Chois Chineasse (Amanda,
IWGM).

White girl and Chinese girl didn't answer teacher but only Chinese girl got into trouble (Michaela, IWGM).

White and black child, did not speak, only black blamed (Richard Watts, IWGM).

Picking on Chinese person when it was Chinese and white people (Laura, VEMGM).

Picked out Choi because she was Chinese (Carl, VEMGM).

The teacher said hello (in French) but Choi and Micaela (white girl) didn't answer. She picked on Choi and let Michaela sit down (Donna, VEMGM).

The teacher come's in and says hello but the white girl and black girl didnt say hello so the teacher shouted at the black girl and not the white girl' (Rebecca, IWGM).

Teacher picks on Choi when Makila had done the same thing (Philip, IWGM).

Issue 2. The teacher's failure to challenge the white girl's first spoken use of the referent, 'Chink'.

Six participants of IWGM and three of VEMGM commented on this issue. Some examples are:

Telling Choi off for someone being racist to her and it wasn't her fault (Amanda, IWGM).

White girl is racist to Chinese girl by calling her Chink. Teacher egnors remark black boy tells teacher things like that should not be said teacher tells him off (Michaela, IWGM).

Rebecca called Choi a "Chink" black child told off for talking (Richard, IWGM).

Girl calls Chinese girl Chink and teacher here's girl and egnores them and when Chinese girl said shut up Rebecca teacher blamed Chinese girl (Wayne, VEMGM).

The white girl asks the black girl for a rubber, but the black girl tells her to shut up because she was being racist and the tecaher took no notice and told the black girl off instead (Choi, VEMGM).

Not telling Rebecca off for saying "Chink" when she heard her (Laura, VEMGM).

Rebecca white girl calls Choi Chienese girl a chink" (Andrew, IWGM).

Rebecca says Oi Chink teacher hears it and tells Choi to lend her the rubber (Philip, IWGM).

White girl shout out Chink, teacher hears it but does no action (Nasar, VEMGM).

Issue 3. The teacher's failure to deal properly with Rebecca's (IWGM) writing of 'CHINK' on the Chinese girl's eraser

Nine participants commented on what they saw as the teacher's failure in this serious matter. All of these comments note that the teacher takes no 'strong action' in this matter.

Thus, only a selection of these comments is given, these are:

Teacher fails to tell of Rebecca for writing 'Chink' on rubber (Paul, IWGM).

White girl wrote Chink on Rubber and teacher never told the white girl off Just said "you shaudn't do that (Amanda, IWGM).

Pupil tells the teacher whats been wrote on the rubber and the teacher dosent do anything (Philip, IWGM).

Teacher realises that what was written on the rubber was a racist word but she makes no strong action (Simon, VEMGM).

Rebecca writes Chink on the rubber but teacher still does not take any action (Nasar, VEMGM).

The teacher didn't take much deal of it when the white girl wrote Chinky on the rubber (Choi, VEMGM).

Issue 4. The teacher's failure to correct Rebecca's (IWGM) second and third uses of verbalised racist referents (Chink and Chinky) for the Chinese pupil.

This issue is raised by six participants of IWGM and by five of VEMGM. The white participants say:

White girl shouterd out to another white boy Chink lover and the teacher let her get away with it again (Amanda).

"Chinkey lover" comment by Rebecca (Richard Watts).

The white girl calles the white boy a Chink lover (Rebecca).

White girl calls boy a "Chinky lover". Teacher takes no notice of comment (Richard Carberry).

White girl calls white boy a chinky lover (Andrew).

Philip sticks up for Choi and Rebecca tells him hes a Chinky lover The teacher just lets it go on (Philip).

And the four participants of VEMGM say:

White girl calles white boy chink lover Teacher egnores it again (Wayne).

"Shut up Chinkey lover", says Rebecca, doesn't get "done" for it (Laura).

The white girl said to the white boy you Chinky lover (Choi).

Teacher ignores racist remark on rubber. Pupil calls Chinese "Chicy" and teacher still ignores it (Vanessa).

Rebecca (white girl) shout out Chink. The teacher hears but does no action. ... Philp asks Rebbeca why she wrote Chink on the rubber and she replies shut up chinky lover. The teacher still lets the matter go (Nasar).

Issue 5. The teacher's seeming denial that the white pupil's referents of 'Chink' and 'Chinky' for Chinese people are racist

Four white participants and three of VEMGM commented on this issue in the following terms:

Telling the black boy to shut up when hes standing up for his rights (Amanda, IWGM).

Black boy was not allowed to discuss the affair. He is told off. Another black boy told that it is "none of his business" (Michaela, IWGM).

Teacher still fails to listen to Carl (black boy) while trying to explain (Paul, IWGM).

Teacher tries to change subject of racism (Vanessa, VEMGM).

Saying it's hardly the point that it is racist that she

wrote on someones property (Laura, VEMGM)

When Paul pointed out what Rebecca had written on the rubber teacher chose to ignore ... When Carl persisted on the rubber matter teacher still ignored the matter' (Donna, VEMGM).

Black child told off for talking. Carl (black boy) told off for asking about rubber ... Carl told off for trying to explain about racism. Carl sent out and given detention (Richard Watts, IWGM).

Issue 6. Negative discrimination and victimisation of pupils of VEMGM in the distribution of punishment

As with the first extract (Catch), there are a number of significant comments made by the participants about the teacher's racism which are of a generalized, and so difficult to classify, nature in terms of specific episodes within the extract.

For example, Laura (VEMGM) commented that:

Asin/black kids get done more than white kids.

And Carl (VEMGM) observed that the

white girl didn't get enough punishment for her racist incident.

Nasar (VEMGM) and Philip (IWGM) summarise their view of the teacher's racism in the following terms:

The teacher only shouts at Carl, Choi and Nasar when we join in, Philp just get told to be quiet (Nasar);

The teacher doesn't shout at Philip compared to Carl Choi and Nasar about the issue (Philip).

Finally, a male participant of IWGM made this comment:

The black child told off for writing on work. (This

comment refers to the point in the extract where Donna (VEMGM) scrawls across Helen's (IWGM) book.)

The scriptwriters built this episode into the extract as a 'test' of the errors that viewers of the film might make in defining the teacher's racist behaviour and actions. Clearly then, for the scriptwriters, this participant has made an 'error'; he is the only participant to have done so.

Summary

The analysis of the comments on this extract, suggests that the key issues for the participants regarding the teacher's racism are:

The unfair 'picking on' and 'showing up' of pupils of VEMGM. (Issue 1)

Apparent condoning of pupils' use of racist referents (such as 'Chink'). (Issues 2, 3 and 4)

Apparent denial that the referents 'Chink' and 'Chinky' are racist. (Issue 5)

Negative discrimination and victimisation of pupils of VEMGM in the distribution of 'punishment'. (Issue 6)

Synopsis of Extract 3: 'Going Steady'

Since the last English lesson, Richard (IWGM) has started 'going out' with Donna (African-Caribbean). When the teacher asks the pupils to work in their long time established pairs, he seizes his opportunity by asking the teacher if can work with Donna. The teacher reluctantly agrees without realising that acceding to this request will result in a number of other necessary changes of the pairings within the classroom.

Begrudgingly, the teacher allows all of the necessary changes to occur. Eventually, the class settles down to the paired discussion work which had been set.

The teacher goes round the class helping pupils. When she arrives at Richard and Donna's desk she asks them why they wish to work together. The explanation is that they are 'going out together' whereupon a girl of IWGM asks 'how could he, I'm better looking than she is, she's coloured'. Again, although the teacher must have heard this racist term, she chooses to ignore it. The teacher asks Richard to remain behind at the end of the lesson so that they can talk about the 'problems of such a relationship'.

Once the class is dismissed at the end of the lesson, the teacher asks Richard to sit down with her but sends Donna, who has been awkwardly hovering in the background, away. In the privacy of the classroom, the teacher comments about the difficulties of inter-ethnic relationships and asks such questions as: 'Do your parents know?' and 'Has Donna been to your house?'. The scene ends with the teacher giving Richard some 'friendly advice'.

Qualitative content analysis of the role-players' comments on the teacher's racism within Extract 3: 'Going Steady'

In their comments on this extract the participants identified ten separate ways in which they felt that the teacher displayed racism. The first eight of the issues presented are in chronological order, that is, in the order in which

they appear in the extract. The remaining two issues are of a more general nature.

Issue 1. In the ensuing disruption caused by the teacher's agreeing that Donna (VEMGM) and Richard (IWGM) could sit together, it was only pupils of IWGM who the teacher asked to move.

This issue was raised by four participants; they commented in these terms:

White teacher just bothering the black children and wants to make sure the white children were comfortable saying why cause all that trouble over donna thats what the teacher said (Amanda, IWGM).

Teacher moved all the black kids (Vanessa, VEMGM).

All the black kids had to move (Laura, VEMGM).

Black child moved (Richard Watts, IWGM)

The implication for the teacher's racism behind these comments, is that it is more acceptable for pupils of VEMGM to have their work and working relationships disrupted than it is for pupils of IWGM.

Issue 2. The teacher's failure to make any adequate comment about the girl's (IWGM) racist remark about Donna (VEMGM).

Although the teacher admits that she heard the (racist) comments about Donna by the two girls of IWGM, she made no attempt to challenge the girls' racism. Fourteen of the participants (seven of VEMGM and seven of IWGM) commented on this issue. The general tenor of these comments is provided by this selection:

Teacher hers racist comment and said nothing of it just

thankyou (Amanda, IWGM).

girls are racists but teacher just says "be quite I can hear what your saying from over here (Michaela, IWGM).

Teacher hears what two white girls say but still ignores them (Vanessa, VEMGM).

Pupils in the class think she UGLY cause shes black (Carl, VEMGM).

Tart says "she's coloured". Teacher say's "I can hear you from over hear. ignoring racist comment (Paul, IWGM).

Two white girls said she's Black so he cant go out with her Teacher hears Them and egnores them (Wayne, VEMGM).

Girls bitching and being racist. Teacher hears and doesn't tell them off for being racist (Laura, VEMGM).

Two white children going on about Richard going out with a coulrd girl, Teacher knew and didn't act (Richard Watts, IWGM).

The two white girls says err she's coloured (Choi, VEMGM).

Issue 3. The teacher's use of the term 'coloured' when referring to pupils of VEMGM.

As in Extract 1: 'Catch', in this extract the teacher uses the term 'coloured' when referring to pupils of VEMGM. Only three participants, all of IWGM, commented on this matter, they said:

Teacher saying coulourd kid (Amanda).

Use of word colourd (Richard Watts).

The teacher called the black girl colourd (Rebecca).

Issue 4. The teacher's unwarrantable concern with Donna's (VEMGM) and Richard's (IWGM) wish to sit together.

This was a concern for five participants, four of VEMGM but only one of IWGM. Some illustrations of these expressed

concerns are:

Teacher questions Richard on why he wanted to work with donna (Michaela, IWGM).

The teacher makes Big thing out of white boy wanting to sit near Black girl and cant understand why he wants to sit near her (Wayne, VEMGM).

Thinks it's stupid a white boy wants to sit with a black girl (Laura, VEMGM).

Teacher making a unnecessary fuss about swapping partners. Interferes with Richard about the reaggraning of partners (Donna, VEMGM).

Teacher makes a fuss about white boy wanting to move when he simply thought he could work better with Donna (Simon, VEMGM).

Issue 5. When talking to Richard (IWGM), the teacher behaves as if Donna (VEMGM) is not present and, thus, has no thoughts and feelings of her own on the matter of her relationship with Richard.

A source of concern for eight participants (five of VEMGM, three of IWGM) was the teacher's sole interest in Richard's (IWGM) thoughts and feelings about his relationship with Donna (VEMGM). For these participants this is exemplified by the teacher's ignoring of Donna and of her involvement in the relationship. This issue is illustrated by these comments:

only wants to speak to Richard after lesson (Paul, IWGM).

Teacher wants to talk to the white person alone to worsen his feeling for her (Carl, VEMGM).

Doesn't speak to Donna. Speak's to Richard and tells Donna to go as if it has nothing to do with her (Laura, VEMGM).

Teacher sends Donna out ... Donna was no importance to the conversation (Donna, VEMGM).

Teacher sends Donna out (Vanessa, VEMGM).

Donna not invited to talk (Richard Watts, IWGM).

Issue 6. It is the pupils of IWGM who are asked to do the 'nice' jobs whilst those of VEMGM 'clear up' at the end of the lesson.

Another significant issue in this extract, for five of the participants, is that it is only the pupils of VEMGM who are asked to 'clear up' at the end of the lesson and, thus, miss part of their breaktime. Conversely, as the participants define the situation, pupils of IWGM are favoured because they perform classroom chores in the 'teacher's time'. The five participants express their feelings about this issue in the following terms:

Teacher making black kids collect the books in and lets white children go (Amanda, IWGM).

black people are told to collect books (Michaela, IWGM).

All blacks are tidying up after everyone and white kids just go (Vanessa, VEMGM).

Black kids do ruff white kids take it easy (Wayne, VEMGM).

Black kids have to stay and pick up books (Laura, VEMGM).

Although it was not raised by the participants in their comments on Extract 1: 'Catch', we might note that in that extract, it was Richard (IWGM) who was asked by the teacher to fetch the books from the stock cupboard.

Issue 7. The teacher's comments that people of VEMGM are brought up in a different way.

This issue of the teacher's racism, in the form of 'cultural ignorance', was important for ten of the participants (five of each of VEMGM and of IWGM). These comments are

represented by the following selection:

Saying blacks are brought up in a different way (Amanda, IWGM).

The teacher was interfering with white boy's relationship saying she's black, she comes from a different background (Choi, VEMGM).

Not brought up in same way as us (Paul, IWGM)

Teacher can't explain about problem "brought up in a different way" comment from teacher (Richard Watts, IWGM).

... says that she is very different to us and she is surprised that he likes her (Rebecca, IWGM).

Teacher tries to say black are brought up different. Blacks and whites have same religion teacher says they have not (Vanessa, VEMGM). (Here, I think that we can safely assume that Vanessa is equating 'Blacks' with 'African-Caribbean' people, which is Donna's heritage).

All colours have Been Brought up in different Backgrounds (Wayne, VEMGM).

When discussing the matter she tells Donna to go home and lectures Richard about different cultures, relationships and says "she's brought up in a different way" (Simon, VEMGM).

Issue 8. The teacher's apparent claim that it is black people who 'cause the problems' in inter-ethnic 'love' relationships.

Thirteen participants (five of IWGM and eight of VEMGM), raised this matter as a source of their concern about the teacher's racism. The concern seems to centre on the teacher's apparent claim that it is 'black people' who cause the problems in inter-ethnic 'love' relationships. The participants commented on this issue as illustrated by these examples:

Teacher tries to say everyone else doesn't agree with it and Donna being black causes the problem (Vanessa).

Teacher said it's going to cause a lot of problems Because she's Black (Wayne).

The teacher trying to convince Dick not to have anything to do with Donna (Carl).

Has words with him about why he's going out with a black girl ... Says something about her colour thinks it will cause problems because of the way of there life (Andrew, IWGM).

He should not be going out with a black girl ... Teacher tries to say NO ONE agrees with it and it's black girls fault (Laura, VEMGM).

Other people going out but only choses relationship were colourd kids are envolved (Male, IWGM).

Teacher doesent like the idea about the whiet boy going out with the black girl (Rebecca, IWGM).

Perhaps a different complexion is put on this issue in this comment from Richard (Carberry, IWGM):

Miss patronises boy totally about going out with black girl.

Issue 9. The teacher's use of implicit threats and misuse of power in her dealings with pupils of VEMGM.

Two participants, both of VEMGM, commented on the teacher's use of implicit threats and the abuse of her power. They did so in these terms:

"parent don't agree with it (the relationship) (Vanessa, VEMGM).

Racist that she thought she had the power to interfere (Donna, VEMGM).

Issue 10. General demeanour in the teacher's dealings with pupils of IWGM compared with those of VEMGM.

Three of the participants noticed that the teacher generally treated pupils of VEMGM less pleasantly and politely than those of IWGM.

For example, Paul (IWGM) notices the teacher's:

Tone of voice when she tells the black girl to get on with work

This is an observation which is corroborated by Vanessa (VEMGM) when she comments that:

Teacher was always nice when she told white kids off.

It is also supported by Richard (IWGM), who, in commenting on the disruption caused by the movement of pupils at the beginning of the extract, says that the

Vanessa told off ... White child talked to civilly.

Summary

The analysis of the participants' comments on this extract have revealed that there are nine important issues for them about the ways in which the teacher displays her racism.

These issues are:

Negative discrimination of pupils of VEMGM in the relative amount of disruption of their work and working relationships that they have to suffer. (Issue 1)

Using the referent 'coloured' for people of VEMGM and apparently condoning its use by pupils. (Issues 2 and 3)

Having an unwarrantable concern with why inter-ethnic 'love' relationships should be openly acknowledged in the classroom. (Issue 4)

Treating pupils of VEMGM as if their thoughts and feelings are of little consequence. (Issue 5)

Negatively discriminating against pupils of VEMGM by giving them classroom chores which have to be performed in their 'own time' whilst pupils of IWGM do so in the 'teacher's time'. (Issue 6)

Demonstrating an unacceptably weak knowledge and understanding of cultures other than her own and being

prepared to use it. (Issue 7)

Holding the assumption that in inter-ethnic 'love' relationships, it is the VEMGM partner who is the cause of problems. (Issue 8)

The teacher's use of implicit threats and misuse of her power in her dealings with pupils of VEMGM. (Issue 9)

Being generally more pleasant and polite in her dealings with pupils of IWGM compared with those of VEMGM. (Issue 10)

Together these issues seem to focus on the participants' sophisticated perceptions of the teacher's racism. They seem to see their key concern as being the teacher's lack of valuing of pupils of VEMGM, as people with thoughts, feelings, relationships and important cultural backgrounds. For the participants, this lack of the teacher's valuing of pupils of VEMGM, is illustrated in the extract in three inter-related ways: first, in some of the her classroom management practices; second, in her ethnocentric lack of valuing of the thoughts, feelings and cultures of pupils of VEMGM; and third, in significant differences in the quality of her interpersonal relationships with pupils of VEMGM compared with those of IWGM.

Synopsis of Extract 4: 'Sums'

At the beginning of the lesson the teacher rehearses some geometry introduced in a previous lesson. She then sets the pupils some exercises on the topic. Almost immediately, Helen tells the teacher that she does not understand how to do the work. The teacher meets this request for help with insults, annoyance and anger. A little later Debbie (IWGM)

also tells the teacher that she does not know how to do the work. The teacher is much more friendly towards Debbie. She is also much more helpful.

Vanessa (African-Caribbean) is working at a desk which is adjacent to Helen's and she makes a covert attempt to help Helen. In due course, however, the teacher notices what is going on and lamblasts the two pupils. The extract proceeds with Helen and the teacher becoming embroiled in an escalating confrontation of unpleasantness, accusation and counter-accusation. The scene concludes with Helen being sent by the teacher to see the head of year.

Qualitative content analysis of the role-players' comments on the teacher's racism within Extract 4: 'Sums'

Unfortunately, only thirteen of the original sixteen participants in this aspect of the research were able to attend the second session at which this extract was viewed. The absentees were Nasar (VEMGM), Philip (IWGM) and Vanessa (VEMGM).

However, the participants identified five distinct issues of the teacher's racism. Unlike for the other extracts, there are no comments of a general nature.

Issue 1. It is the pupils of IWGM who are given the 'nice' jobs.

Seven participants (five of IWGM, two of VEMGM) commented on the issue of the teacher's favouritism towards pupils of IWGM

by asking them to perform classroom chores, and to show that they can be relied upon to be appropriately equipped and provide 'correct' answers to questions. Some illustrative examples of these comments regarding 'acceptable' classroom chores are:

(The teacher) ask white boy to give out books (Michaela, IWGM).

(The teacher) ask Richard (white) to hand out books (Donna, VEMGM).

Teacher asking all white children to do jobs and asking them if they are O.K. (Amanda, IWGM).

White children only doing jobs (Richard Watts, IWGM).

Regarding the answering of academic questions, five of the participants note that it is always the white children who are asked such questions. Some of their comments about the teacher are:

(The teacher) ask the white boy for answer (Michaela, IWGM).

(The teacher) asks the white boys the answers and gives them the jobs (Paul, IWGM).

(The teacher) asks a white boy for the answer not a black (Donna, VEMGM).

Asked all white boys to answer (Richard Carberry, IWGM).

Michaela (IWGM) also noted that the teacher

asks a white boy for the calculator answer (Michaela, IWGM).

Issue 2. The teacher's severe 'putting-down' and 'showing-up' of Laura (VEMGM) who had difficulty with the geometry

All thirteen participants expressed their concerns about the

teacher's treatment of Laura. Seven participants of IWGM said:

Laura asks for help and the teacher tells the class to look at the board if you are as stupid as her. ... The teacher started calling the Black (girl) stupid because she couldn't do the sum's and all she did was show her ... The teacher shouted at the black girl again because she still didn't understand the work (Rebecca).

Teacher is sarcastic when Laura gets a right answer (Michaela).

Picking on Lara because she doesn't understand the work (Amanda).

(The teacher) emphasises the word "Singh". Tone of voice is really sarcastic as though all black people are stupid (Paul).

Victimisation of black kids, i.e. Laura (Richard Watts).

Crittersising a black girl ... Sarky to black girl (Richard Carberry).

The way the teacher spoke to Laura ... Sarcastic with Laura ... Teacher criticising her ability ... Teacher speaking to her as though she's thick (Andrew).

The six pupils of VEMGM commented about this issue in the following terms:

The teacher picked on the black girl (called her stupid etc.) (Carl).

Laura had her hand up because she didn't know what to do. Teacher made big fuss (Wayne)

The teacher shouted to the black girl because she didn't understand it (Choi).

When Laura asks for help she mocks her by saying surprise, surprise (Simon).

Emphasize the SINGH name (Indian). Acting as Laura is thick because she didn't get it the first time ... "ARE YOU STUPID" (Donna).

"Yes, Laura Singh", patronising (Laura).

Issue 3. The teacher's use of the term 'your kind' when speaking to Laura (VEMGM).

Although we might generously look upon the teacher's comment to Laura of 'I've had enough of you and your kind' as, at worst, ambiguous, nine of the participants (six of IWGM, three of VEMGM) suggested that they interpreted this statement as an example of the teacher's racism. Some examples of the participants' comments are:

"Your kind", a racist remark (Paul, IWGM).

The teacher says your kind, I find this word extremely rude and racist ... which is extremely humiliating ... (Simon, VEMGM).

Your kind (racist) (Donna, VEMGM).

(The teacher) say's she's had enough of her and her kind! (Laura, VEMGM).

Teacher said to the black child "Dont start Ive had enough of your kind" (Amanda, IWGM).

Issue 4. By comparison with the teacher's treatment of Laura (VEMGM), the treatment of Debbie (IWGM) is much more reasonable

The teacher's differential treatment of Laura and Debbie, despite both of them having obvious and similar difficulties with the geometry, was remarked on by thirteen of the participants (seven of IWGM, six of VEMGM) as an illustration of the teacher's racism. The white participants' views on this matter are illustrated by these comments:

White Child asks for help and Teacher goes across nicely and talks to debbie but shouts at Lara across the room (Amanda).

Teacher started calling the black girl stupid because she couldn't do the sums ... but when a white girl put her hand up and the teacher didn't shout at her and went over and helped her (Rebecca).

Debbie (white girl) gets help after but does not get called a stupid name (Michaela).

Teacher helps Debbie when she asks for help with no

sarcasm (Andrew).

Nice tone of voice for Debbie. Goes to Debbie and explains it in detail (Paul).

Some examples of the comments of participants of VEMGM on this matter are:

White girl puts up her hand and gets special attention from teacher (Donna).

Teacher shouted to the black girl because she didn't understand it. But when white girl put her hand up, teacher went over to her and explained it to her calmly (Choi).

Points out on board to Laura but goes over to Debbie and talks to her (Laura).

When Debbie asks for help she is answered in a quite concerned voice and is helped (with patience) (Simon).

... other white girl ask for help the same way as Laura teacher said hold on Debbie (Wayne).

The white girl Debbie has the same difficulty but she does not get the same telling off insted she gets comforted (Carl).

Issue 5. The teacher's impatient and aggressive treatment of Vanessa (VEMGM) when she is seen trying to help Laura (VEMGM).

Seven of the participants raised this as an issue of the teacher's racism. Their comments illustrate their views on this incident:

Very physical towards black people. Pulls chair when Vanessa helps the Laura (Paul, IWGM).

(The teacher) won't let Vanessa help as they are both black (Laura, VEMGM).

Lara asks for help of Vanessa and the teacher shouts at Vanessa and Lara (Amanda, IWGM).

Vanessa helps Laura and gets into trouble (Michaela, IWGM).

The black girl trys to help Laura having difficulty and

gets told off (Carl, VEMGM).

When Vanessa tries to help she is shouted at and patronised (Simon, VEMGM).

Moans at black girls (Richard Carberry, IWGM).

Collectively, these participants appear to perceive the teacher as being impatient, angry and aggressive towards these pupils of VEMGM.

Issue 6. The teacher's sending Laura (VEMGM) out of the lesson

Four participants commented on the teacher's actions in this episode in these terms:

... makes her go outside to work (Michaela, IWGM).

Chucks black girl out for not understanding work (Richard Carberry, IWGM).

Throws her out because she still doesn't understand (Laura, VEMGM).

The black girl is sent out for standing her ground (Richard Watts, IWGM).

In addition, Carl (VEMGM) offers two not incompatible views on this incident:

Laura gets sent out because she does not understand.

When Laura spoke her mind she got sent out.

Issue 7. The teacher's generally aggressive and angry behaviour towards pupils of VEMGM compared with those of IWGM.

Two of the participants, both of IWGM, made comments which suggest that, for them, the teacher was generally more angry

and aggressive with pupils of VEMGM than with those of IWGM.

These comments are:

White children don't get told off for asking for help
black kids do ... White kids get talked to politely
black kids get shouted out (Richard Watts)

The teacher talks nicely to White Children but shouts at
Black Children (Amanda).

Summary

Six issues of a person-specific or episode-specific nature were identified by the participants as demonstrating the teacher's interpersonal racism in this extract. In addition, another issue of a more general nature was commented on by two of the participants. Taken together, these illustrations of the teacher's racism appear to produce these five different issues:

Compared with pupils of VEMGM, it is those of IWGM who are most rewarded through being given 'nice' classroom chores, and praise for answers to academic questions. (Issue 1)

The 'showing up' and 'putting down' of pupils of VEMGM. (Issue 2)

Use of racial stereotyping. (Issue 3)

Unjustifiable punishment of pupils of VEMGM for their failure in understanding the work. (Issue 6)

More impatient, aggressive and angry behaviour towards pupils of VEMGM compared with those of IWGM. (Issues 4, 5 and 7)

Conclusion

The qualitative content analyses of the participants' comments on the four films suggest that collectively, they have a wide range of concerns about the ways in which

teachers are racist in their dealings with pupils. These 'models' of issues for each extract will serve, in conjunction with the scoring scale presented earlier (Chapter 2, p. 243), as a mark scheme by which the written responses to the extracts of the stratified sample of 480 respondents will be scored.

A generalised model of the participants' perceptions of the role-played teachers' racism

However, it is felt that there is a need to proceed with the analysis in order to produce a more generalised model of the ways in which the participants perceive the teachers in the role-plays to be racist. For the participants, the most significant ways in which teachers exhibit their racism will now be presented.

Compared with pupils of IWGM, treating pupils of VEMGM as though their thoughts and feelings are of little consequence.

This aspect of the teacher's racism is exhibited in: failing to 'listen' to pupils of VEMGM (Issue 2, 'Catch'); treating pupils of VEMGM as if their thoughts and feelings are of little consequence (Issue 5, 'Going Steady'); having little regard for the disruption of the work and working relationships of pupils of VEMGM (Issue 1, 'Going Steady').

Using and condoning pupils' use of racist referents.

Examples of racist referents drawn from the participants' comments are: 'coloured' (Issue 8, 'Catch' and Issues 2 and

3, 'Going Steady'); 'Chink' and 'Chinky' (Issues 2, 3, 4 and 5, 'Borrowing').

Demonstrating cultural prejudice, ethnocentricity and ignorance.

For the participants, this issue was most heavily demonstrated in Extract 3: ('Going Steady', Issues 4, 7 and 8). This category also includes the teacher's use of racial stereotyping in Extract 4 ('Sums', Issue 3).

Unfair distribution of classroom chores.

The teacher's classroom chores are performed by pupils of VEMGM commonly in their 'own time', whilst those of pupils of IWGM are usually completed in the 'teacher's time' (Issue 6, 'Going Steady' and Issue 1, 'Sums').

'Picking on' and 'showing up' pupils of VEMGM more than those of IWGM.

This issue was raised in connection with Extracts 2 ('Borrowing, Issue 1) and 3 ('Sums', Issue 2). For some participants, this issue was also demonstrated by the teacher's shouting more at pupils of VEMGM than those of IWGM in Extract 1 ('Catch', Issues 3, 4, 5 and 7) and by publicly only accusing pupils of VEMGM when they and pupils of IWGM are not working (Issue 6, 'Catch'); being more impatient, aggressive and angry towards pupils of VEMGM compared with those of IWGM (Issues 4, 5 and 7, 'Sums'); and, conversely, being generally more pleasant and polite in her dealings with

pupils of IWGM compared with those of VEMGM (Issue 10, 'Going Steady').

Compared with pupils of IWGM, excessive and discriminatory threats and punishment of pupils of VEMGM

For many participants this was a significant issue in Extract 1 ('Catch', Issue 9), Extract 2 ('Borrowing', Issue 6), and Extract 4 ('Sums', Issue 1), and, with regard to the teacher's use of implicit threats and the misuse of her power in dealing with pupils of VEMGM, in Extract 3 ('Going Steady', Issue 9).

Being seen to prefer helping pupils of IWGM compared with those of VEMGM.

The preferential helping of pupils of IWGM compared with those of VEMGM was noted by some participants' comments on Extract 1 ('Catch', Issue 1) and in Extract 4 ('Sums', Issue 4).

Overview

Taken together, the participants' perceptions of teacher racism are comprehensive, in that they take account of all aspects of classroom life, and often quite subtle and sophisticated, for example, with regard to teachers' classroom management practices. For the participants the key issue seems to be the teacher's lack of valuing of pupils of VEMGM, that is, as people with thoughts, feelings, relationships and important cultural backgrounds.

The role-players' critiques of the video films

Despite being specifically asked for their criticisms of the films in terms of their accuracy in presenting the scriptwriters' and role-players' wishes and intentions, none were forthcoming. Therefore, this attempt at respondent validation suggests that the scriptwriters and role-players were satisfied that the films portrayed what they wished in terms of the teachers' interpersonal racism.

Section II The results of the analysis of the stratified sample of 480 respondents to the video films

In this section I shall be presenting: descriptive accounts of the participating schools; an account of the running of the video film showing sessions for the respondents; some illustrations of the types of response received for each of the levels on the scoring scale (Chapter 2, p. 243); the data regarding the estimate of the reliability of the methods used in the scoring of the responses to the films on the six-point scale; and the computed data for the testing of each of the four hypotheses (Chapter 2, p. 238).

Descriptive accounts of the participating schools

The descriptions which follow are of each of the schools and colleges which supplied the opportunity sample data. These 'thumb-nail sketches' are based on the most up-to-date information held by these institutions which was made available to me at the time of the data collection, that is,

during the period October 1990 to February 1991. In order to protect the identity of these institutions, of necessity, the descriptions are deliberately vague. Furthermore, whilst preserving the essential characteristics of the statistical data, some vagueness and inaccuracy has been built into them. Finally, the institutions have each been arbitrarily given the name of a common bird.

Wren School

Wren School is a 14-18 co-educational comprehensive school which had about 750 pupils of whom 450 were in the 14-16 age range and 300 in the 16-18 age range. There were a further twenty adult students. The approximate ethnic composition of the school was seventy-nine per cent of IWGM, fifteen per cent Indian, five per cent Bangladeshi and one per cent were of Pakistani heritage.

The school is located in an East Midlands industrial town which is important for electrical engineering and the manufacture of textiles. The town also has a university.

Robin School

This 'school' is a large college of further education which had some 1500 full-time and 6000 part-time students on roll. Approximately, sixty per cent of the students on roll were of IWGM, thirty-three per cent were of Indian heritage whilst the remaining eight per cent were equally divided between students of Bangladeshi and African-Caribbean heritage.

The college is located near the centre of a major East Midlands city which is important for engineering and textiles. There are also two universities in the city.

Blackbird School

Blackbird School is an open access 16-19 college which had some 730 students on roll. The ethnic composition of the college was fifty-one per cent of IWGM, forty-three per cent were of Indian heritage and there were two per cent each of students of Bangladeshi, Pakistani and African-Caribbean heritage. Some eighty-five per cent of all students in the college described their place of birth as the United Kingdom.

The college is located in the same city as Robin School.

Goldcrest School

Goldcrest School is an 11-16 co-educational comprehensive school. It is located in a large industrial East Midlands city. There were some 700 pupils on roll.

About eighty per cent of the pupils were of IWGM. Of the remaining pupils, ten per cent were of Pakistani heritage, seven per cent were of African-Caribbean heritage and two per cent were of Bangladeshi heritage and there were small proportions of pupils of Chinese or African heritage.

The city has important engineering, textile and chemical industries and it has two universities.

This school is the one in which the video filmed role-plays were devised and produced (Chapter 2, pp. 223-24).

Swallow School

This school is an 11-18 co-educational comprehensive school which had some 1700 pupils on roll. It is located in a London borough to the north west of the city. The school has a catchment area which consists of mostly private housing and so in Year Seven, for example, there were only two pupils who had free school lunches.

Approximately fifty-two per cent of the pupils on roll were of Indian heritage, fifteen per cent were of IWGM, twelve per cent were of African heritage, nine per cent were of Pakistani heritage, six per cent were of African-Caribbean heritage and three per cent of the pupils were Egyptians, Iraqis and, as described by themselves, Arabs. A further two per cent per cent were of Bangladeshi heritage and the remaining one per cent were of Chinese heritage.

Thrush School

This 'school' is a college of further education which had some 700 full-time and 5000 part-time students. About ninety per cent of the students were of IWGM, six per cent were of Indian heritage, one per cent were of African-Caribbean heritage and a further one per cent described themselves as Arabs.

The college is located in a small market town in a rural area of the East Midlands.

Kingfisher School

Kingfisher School is a 13-18 co-educational comprehensive school which had about 850 pupils on roll. It has a suburban location to the north of Leeds city centre. Within the school's catchment area there are people who represent a wide range of ethnic, cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. Some sixty-two per cent of the pupils were of IWGM, fifteen per cent were of African-Caribbean heritage, twelve per cent were Indian, four per cent were Pakistani, three per cent were Chinese, two per cent were of African heritage, and one per cent were of Egyptian heritage.

Chaffinch School

This school is an 11-18 co-educational comprehensive school which had about 650 pupils on roll. It is located in a small industrial town in the West Yorkshire conurbation, a few miles to the south-west of Leeds. Some ninety-seven per cent of the pupils were of IWGM whilst two per cent of the remainder were of Indian heritage and one per cent were of Iraqi heritage.

Yellowhammer School

Yellowhammer School is a purpose-built 11-14 comprehensive school which had almost 350 pupils on roll. It is a

co-educational school which was opened in the early 1980's. The school is located in an outer suburb of the same town as Wren School. It serves a catchment area which is dominated by two large council housing estates. Some thirteen per cent of the school's pupils were of VEMGM. Six per cent of these pupils were of Indian heritage, three per cent were of Bangladeshi heritage, two per cent were of Iraqi heritage and there were one per cent each of African and African-Caribbean heritage.

Magpie School

Magpie School is an 11-16 co-educational comprehensive school which had some 920 pupils on roll. Eighty per cent of the pupils were of Indian heritage, sixteen per cent were of IWGM, two per were Pakistani and a further two per cent were of African or African-Caribbean heritage.

The school is located in the same East Midlands city as Robin and Blackbird Schools.

An account of the running of the video film showing sessions for the pupil respondents

In Chapter 2, it was stated that each of the video film showing administrators was asked to complete a report form (*Appendix VIII*). This account is based on those completed and returned report forms.

All but one school returned the completed report forms. In

this school the person who showed the films was at time the acting headteacher. In the telephone conversations that I had with him he was always extremely enthusiastic about this research and about the part that his sixth-form 'A' level sociology students and himself were playing in it. He told me about the valuable discussions, arising from viewing the films, that he had with his students. It is difficult to imagine that this teacher experienced any significant problems in the video showing sessions. Of the other schools, all of the report forms were completed and returned. All of the teacher administrators of the video showing sessions were of IWGM.

The most commonly reported problem in showing the films concerned the quality of the soundtrack. Bearing in mind that there were some twenty-five separate video showing sessions, this concern was expressed by teachers of six sessions. The comments made by these teachers are:

Student actors sometimes hard to hear;

Actor/student speech often indistinct;

Soundtrack was difficult to listen to;

Difficult to hear dialogue at times;

A bit of a problem with sound levels between teacher and pupil responses;

Difficult to hear exactly what was being said on occasions. Too much background noise. (This comment was qualified by saying, with regard to the question about the type of room which was being used, that there was 'no carpet, noisy, echoes').

This criticism of the video films needs to be taken into account when interpreting the results of this research.

Another concern of the teachers who ran the sessions, although having no impact on the quality of the data collected, was that there was insufficient time for debriefing the respondents. Some examples of these expressed concerns are:

We would have liked more time for the 'debriefing'. The students were very interested in the extracts and wanted to discuss the issues raised, but the lesson time did not allow for this. An extra 15-20 mins would have been necessary. We will continue this next lesson;

Not enough time to do this properly;

Too short;

One or two interested/sensitive comments. Not enough time to debrief immediately after the session;

Not enough time. We would have needed at least 15 mins more.

Clearly, the issue about the amount of time available for the debriefing of respondents is in the hands of individual schools and, as one teacher suggests, it might be continued 'next lesson'.

Perhaps one reason for the inadequate length of time available for debriefing the respondents is to do with the issues that the films raise and the pupils' interests in them. Some of the teacher administrators' comments suggest that this may be the case as these examples indicate:

Students were attentive and interested throughout;

Good - students enjoyed watching it;

Interesting;

Students seemed reluctant to be 'off task' but soon were caught up by 'power of video';

Pupils enjoyed the exercise.

Another concern was expressed by two teachers of sixteen-to-eighteen-year-old groups of respondents about the response form. Their comments were:

'Not enough space' comment from some students;

Some would have liked more space per question.

One can imagine that older, more able respondents might require more space than was provided in which to respond to each of the films. However, the scoring of the response forms (*Appendix V*) does not suggest that any respondent was restricted in saying what he or she wished; specifically, none of the completed forms used all of the available space at the back of the form.

Finally, by letter, one teacher commented that:

In all cases the sessions went well and the students appeared to be able to complete the tasks asked of them in the allotted time. I fear that towards the end of each session the "teacher" in each of the role-plays was so agitating my students that some of their responses may well be full of bitter invective rather than looking at the total classroom interaction.

The comments of this teacher raise the issue of the extent to which viewing the four films sequentially establishes a 'mental set'. Further, examination of the response forms suggests that a few respondents saw the role-played teacher in each film not as a different person but as the same person. It seems as though the role player of the teachers did not adequately distinguish the characters that she was role-playing perhaps in terms of, for example, dress and hairstyle. These, however, are issues which we must leave until the discussion in Chapter 4.

On balance, however, there seem to have been few difficulties in running the video showing sessions and the experience seems to have been valued and enjoyed by pupils and teachers alike.

Some illustrations of the types of response obtained for each of the levels on the scoring scale.

Here, I shall present one or two examples of the types of response obtained at each of the levels of the scoring scale discussed in Chapter 2 (pp. 243-44).

Level 0

There were only two responses, each from a different respondent, from the total of 1720 responses, which scored at this level. One of these responses is from this older, lower ability boy of VEMGM (Code 446, total score: 10) who responded to 'Going Steady' with:

When the teacher came into the class the teacher.

According to the scoring scale, this comment, which appears to be unfinished, makes no response to the issues contained within the film and thus, scores 0.

Level 1

Responses at this level were much more common, particularly amongst the younger respondents. The following comment in response to the film 'Catch', from a younger, higher ability

girl of IWGM (Code 546, total score: 8), is typical of the responses categorized at this level:

The people in this extract first of all talked when they were to do there work. They didn't take any notice of there teacher. Some kids argued when they were throwing round the ball. The children seemed to enjoy being naughty. The teacher was very strick and she should have been to the way they acted. The children were being naughty and they should have had a punishment.

This passage contains no indication that the respondent is aware that any of the role-players are exhibiting interpersonal racism.

Level 2

The use of this category is illustrated by the following extract from a younger, higher ability boy of VEMGM (Code 97, total score 8):

She was very strict and picked on individual people. She doesn't explain anything to any of the pupils. She gets all worked up for little things. She sets out tables very neatly. and two to a table. People have to lend there things to other people when they dont want to. She never listens to any one and blames other people. Pupils were racist in the class.

It is solely the final sentence in this response which makes it worthy of being scored at this level.

Level 3

This level of response is illustrated by this comment about Extract 4: 'Sums' from a younger, lower ability girl of IWGM (Code 80, total score: 15):

Laura is not stupid nor is anyone else. Maybe they just

need help. I don't like the way she calls her "her kind". Debbie was white she got help and did not embarrass her. Laura was embarrassed.

In this passage, the teacher's racism is implied rather than being openly stated and thus scores at this level.

Level 4

Level 4 responses display a greater awareness of the teacher's racism as this comment on the film of 'Going Steady' from a younger, higher ability boy of VEMGM (Code 45, total score 16) illustrates:

Miss kept on telling the black people to move somewhere else when they did not want to move. White girl said the black girl was horrible and crude and how could that boy go for her. And miss told the two black boys to collect all the sheets from the classroom and miss told donna to pick up one girl's paper as well. Miss is telling Richard that don't go out with her she has a different background and miss does not want richard to go out with her and its none of her business.

Although this comment does not use the term 'racism', it nevertheless focusses on and illustrates the teacher's racist behaviour and attitudes. It is for these reasons that it scores at this level.

Level 5

The responses obtained at this level are typified by the following comment on the film of 'Sums' from an older, higher ability girl of VEMGM:

This film extract was most disappointing. It indicated alot of hatred against the race amongst one another. The teacher clearly showed that she was against coloured

people and therefore did her utmost to get rid of them using the means of temperament, abusive language etc. In this film extract she called the girl Laura 'stupid' for simply not understanding an equation, but when a white girl 'Debbie' required help, the teacher showed no signs of hatred or bitterness. Infact she was more than delighted to help Debbie out. The teacher showed alot of racism between specific pupils and alot of favouritism. This sort of attitude makes me very angry'.

This comment scores at this level because it is comprehensive, generalised and well-illustrated. The mild expression of anger in the final sentence of this response can be contrasted with this more extreme comment:

I am sickened by the attitude of this stupid fat cow. It can be argued that it is her right to be prejudice against people who are not english. But it is definatly not her right to persecute because of this. What is wrong with a child not understanding something. 'I have had enough of your kind' what the hell is this supposed to mean.

Conclusion

The character is a FAT RACIST COW! (An older, higher ability boy of VEMGM, Code 397, total score 15).

Again, this respondent focuses on the teacher's racism and provides a generalised, illustrated statement and so is scored at level 5. In view of the provocative nature of the video films, there were very few respondents, however, who gave expression to their anger in the kind of way in which this last respondent does.

Using the scoring scale in the way illustrated by the few examples that we have considered, the respondents' scripts were subsequently marked. The raw data for each of member of the stratified sample of 480 pupil respondents is given in *Appendix XI*.

An estimate of the inter-rater reliability of the survey data

All of the stratified sample of 480 respondents' scripts were initially scored by me. Subsequently, the reliability of the method of scoring the scripts was made. This assessment was made by using a comparison of the scores of three independent raters, including my own, of a sample of the population of scripts ($N = 480$). The size of the sample needed was made on a statistical basis which is outlined in *Appendix XII*. The needed N is 21. These twenty-one rater scripts were drawn randomly and they were independently scored by three raters including myself. The data from these three raters were analysed (*Appendix XII*) using a two-way classification analysis of variance without replications, followed by the calculation of their intracorrelation (the correlation between raters), a method proposed by Guilford and Fruchter (1973, pp. 261-63).

These computations suggest that we can reject the hypothesis that there is a significant difference between raters. In fact, the outcome of the subsequent computation of the intraclass correlation (*Appendix XII*) indicates that the intercorrelation of the three raters is .92. Assuming that the intercorrelations of raters is an indication of reliability of ratings, the typical reliability of a single rater's ratings is of the order of .92. The actual correlations between single pairs of raters might differ from this statistic because of sampling errors.

Further, the reliability of a sum or a mean of these three

raters' ratings in this population has been computed as 0.97 (*Appendix XII*). The implication of this statistic is that if we averaged the three ratings for each ratee and correlated these sets of averages with a similar set of averages from comparable raters, the correlation would be about 0.97 (Guilford and Fruchter, 1973, p. 264).

Since Cohen and Manion (1994, p. 140) suggest that a correlation in excess of 0.85 indicates 'a close relationship between the ... variables correlated', we can perhaps safely conclude that the survey data measuring instrument is sufficiently reliable for the present purposes.

Outcomes of the hypothesis-testing

The first task has been to check whether or not, there is a significant difference in the mean age of the two criterion groups for each of the main Hypotheses 1, 2 and 4. (For hypothesis 3, we intend that there should be a difference in the mean ages of the Young and Old groups.) The age of each respondent is recorded in *Appendix XI*. For each main effect variable separately with the exception of 'Age', the mean ages of the criterion groups have been subjected to the z test. In each case, the null hypothesis is that there is no significant difference ($\alpha = 0.05$ at 478 df , z is less than 1.96, two-tailed) in the mean ages of the two groups.

The outcomes of testing each of these hypotheses are presented in Table 7. The calculations on which these outcomes are based are presented in *Appendix XIII*. Since the z

Table 7 The outcomes of z testing the mean ages of the two criterion groups of each main effect variable for Hypotheses 1, 2 and 4 and age data for Hypothesis 3.

SEX

	Females	Males
N	240	240
\bar{X}	14.70	14.81
σ_{n-1}	2.26	2.29
z	0.53 (n.s.)	

ETHNICITY

	IWGM	VEMGM
N	240	240
\bar{X}	14.66	14.85
σ_{n-1}	2.24	2.31
z	0.91 (n.s.)	

ATTAINMENT

	High	Low
N	240	240
\bar{X}	14.85	14.66
σ_{n-1}	2.60	1.91
z	0.82 (n.s)	

AGE

	Old	Young
N	240	240
\bar{X}	16.75	12.76

The grand mean age of the respondents is 14.755 years.

values do not exceed 1.96 for any of the hypotheses, we can assume that there is insufficient evidence for the rejection of the null hypotheses. Thus, we may say that the obtained differences in the mean ages of the criterion groups for each

main effect variable, is unlikely to provide a sufficient explanation for the outcomes of testing the main effect hypotheses.

Although the mean age differences for the criterion groups for each of the main effects of sex, ethnicity and attainment are not considered to be significant, in all cases the direction of the differences is in favour of the alternative hypotheses; this, we shall have to take into account when we discuss the outcomes of testing the hypotheses in Chapter 4.

Regarding the main effect of age, Table 7 reveals that there is a difference in the mean age of the Old and Young subgroups of almost four years. The maximum age criterion for the Young subgroup having been arbitrarily set at 14.9 years.

The mean total scores for each of the sixteen cells of the stratified sample of 480 pupil respondents are given in Table 8. The numerical values have been rounded from the computed four places of decimal, to two places.

Table 8 suggests that older, higher-attaining girls of VEMGM were the most perceptive of teacher racism and younger, lower-attaining boys of VEMGM, least perceptive. In interpreting these data, we need to bear in mind that a respondent whose total score is in excess of 12, indicates that she is at least, implicitly perceptive of the portrayed teacher's racism (as defined by the role-players' and scriptwriters' intentions) across all four extracts.

Only two groups of respondents produced means which were less than 12; they were the groups of younger, lower ability girls (\bar{X} = 11.87) and, significantly, boys (\bar{X} = 9.50), both of IWGM. Similarly, a total score of at least 16, indicates that the respondent is explicitly aware of the teacher's racism across the extracts. Only two of the respondent groups produced mean scores of at least 16 points; they were the older, higher ability girls (\bar{X} = 16.93) and boys (\bar{X} = 16.43), both of VEMGM. Finally, we might note that the grand mean of 13.60 suggests that most of the respondents were at least implicitly aware of the teacher's racism.

Table 8 Mean total scores for the sixteen cells of the stratified sample of 480 pupil respondents

Age (Block)		Old		Young	
Attainment (Block)		High	Low	High	Low
Sex (Block)	Ethnic. (Block)				
Male	VEMGM	16.43	14.33	14.40	12.40
	IWGM	14.47	13.80	12.40	9.50
Female	VEMGM	16.93	13.30	14.10	12.43
	IWGM	15.63	13.37	12.13	11.87

Table 9 gives the relative deviation of the group mean from the grand mean for each of the variables listed in the subheadings. The data in Table 9 suggest that the largest differences in the means are for the variables of age, attainment and ethnicity, in that order.

Some explanation of the positive and negative values for the

Table 9 The relative deviation of the group mean from the grand mean for each of the variables listed in the subheadings.

Detail: Grand total

Grand mean	480	13.592
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Detail: Age

Old	240	1.188
Young	240	-1.188

Detail: Attainment

High	240	0.963
Low	240	-0.963

Detail: Ethnicity

VEMGM	240	0.700
IWGM	240	-0.700

Detail: Age versus Ethnicity

Old	VEMGM	120	-0.229
Old	IWGM	120	0.229
Young	VEMGM	120	0.229
Young	IWGM	120	-0.229

Detail: Ethnicity versus Attainment

VEMGM	High	120	0.213
VEMGM	Low	120	-0.213
IWGM	High	120	-0.213
IWGM	Low	120	0.213

Detail: Sex

Male	240	-0.129
Female	240	0.129

Detail: Sex versus Ethnicity

Male	VEMGM	120	0.229
Male	IWGM	120	-0.229
Female	VEMGM	120	-0.229
Female	IWGM	120	0.229

two-factor interactions, such as for 'Age and Ethnicity', is required. These two-factor interactions are in addition to Old-Age (+1.188) and Ethnicity-VEMGM (+0.7). So, while 'Old' score more than 'Young', and VEMGM more than IWGM, the effect of age is more pronounced in older respondents of IWGM than it is in those of VEMGM. The converse is true for younger respondents. That is, for younger respondents, the effect of age is more pronounced in younger respondents of VEMGM than it is in those of IWGM.

By similar argument, in considering the interaction between 'Ethnicity and Attainment', the effect of 'ethnicity' is greater in higher-ability respondents of VEMGM than it is in those of IWGM. Again, for lower-ability respondents, the converse is true.

Similarly, regarding the interaction between 'Sex and Ethnicity', the effect of sex is greater in 'Male' respondents of VEMGM and 'Female' respondents of IWGM than it is in IWGM 'Males' and VEMGM 'Females'.

However, the interaction effects between these pairs of variables are small and, as Table 10 confirms, insignificant.

The total scores of the stratified sample of 480 pupils have been subjected to a four-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) computer program (Richards, 1993). The outcome of this analysis is given in Table 10 in which the numerical values have been rounded to three decimal places (from the computed five).

Table 10 The results of the four-way analysis of variance of the total scores of the stratified sample of 480 pupils

Source of variance	Degrees of freedom	Squared error	Mean square	Ratio	Signif.
Grand total	479	5853.967	12.221		
Age	1	676.875	676.875	72.329	$p < .001$
Attainm't	1	444.675	444.675	47.517	$p < .001$
Ethnic	1	235.200	235.200	25.133	$p < .001$
Age x Ethnic	1	25.208	25.208	2.694	n.s.
Ethnic x Attainm't	1	21.675	21.675	2.316	n.s.
Sex	1	8.008	8.008	0.856	n.s.
Sex x Ethnic	1	25.208	25.208	2.694	n.s.
Residual	472	4417.117	9.358		

Throughout these analyses, although specified by the computer program used (Richards, 1993), the degrees of freedom used in testing the significance of the results have been calculated according to the following formulae (Haber and Runyon, 1977, p. 301):

The degrees of freedom of the between groups is the number of groups (k) minus 1,

$$dfb = k-1$$

The number of degrees of freedom of the within groups is the total number of scores (N) minus the number of groups (k). Thus,

$$dfw = N-k.$$

Thus, the significance testing of the F values has been conducted for 1 (dfb) x 472 (dfw) degrees of freedom in each of the cases in Table 10.

From Table 10, the $F(1,472)$ ratio data for the testing of

each of the hypotheses show that the main effects on the respondent pupils' perceptions of teacher racism were significant for age ($F_{(1, 472)} = 72.329, p < .001$); attainment ($F_{(1, 472)} = 47.517, p < .001$); and for ethnicity ($F_{(1, 472)} = 25.133, p < .001$).

It will be noted that for each of the main effects of age, attainment, and ethnicity, the specified level of significance testing ($p < .01$) has been exceeded. Thus, for each of the following hypotheses the null variant (H_0) is rejected and the alternative hypothesis (H_a) is accepted:

Hypothesis 1. Academically higher ability pupils are more perceptive of teacher racism than lower ability pupils.

Hypothesis 3. Older pupils are more perceptive of teacher racism than younger pupils.

Hypothesis 4. Pupils of VEMGM are more perceptive of teacher racism than pupils of IWGM.

However, for Hypothesis 2, its null variant (H_0) is accepted and the alternative hypothesis (H_a) is rejected. That is, girls are not significantly more perceptive of teacher racism than boys.

Finally, as we have already noted, Table 10 also shows that there are no significant interaction effects in the data between pairs of the variables of age, ethnicity, attainment and sex.

Section III The results of the analysis of the data derived from the respondents to the film of Extract 2: 'Borrowing' using the bubble dialogue research tool.

In this section my purpose is to present the descriptive outcomes of using the 'comic strip' bubble dialogue research tool (Chapter 3, pp. 245-9), in conjunction with Extract 2: 'Borrowing' (the video film and the 'comic strip' with the key to the bubble numbers and the names of the thinkers are in *Appendix XV*), with the opportunity sample of sixty-one Year Nine (thirteen-to-fourteen year old) pupils. First, however, a few words are necessary about the schools which participated in this aspect of data collection.

Participating schools

Three schools were so involved: Swallow School which is described in Chapter 3 (p. 290); Goldcrest School (Chapter 2, p. 223-4 and Chapter 3, pp. 289-90); and Eagle School. These schools were chosen simply because of logistical convenience and because together they could provide a sample in which there was roughly equal representation of respondents of IWGM and VEMGM. None of these schools reported any problems in administering the data collection sessions. Unlike the other two schools, Eagle School was not used in the survey (because its lesson length of fifty-five minutes was too short) and so it will be described here.

Eagle School

This is an 11-18 comprehensive school. It has some 1700

pupils on roll. Almost all of these pupils are of IWGM. The school is located in an urban area which comprises three large towns which, taken together, have a population in excess of 100,000. These towns were established on the Nottinghamshire coalfield and over the years, have seen considerable prosperity built on coalmining and its associated industries. In more recent years, however, exacerbated by the closures of many coal mines in the area, the catchment area served by the school has recently suffered serious economic decline and has been defined as part of one of the most deprived areas in the European Union.

Qualitative analysis of the bubble dialogue data

The methods used in this analysis are similar to those used in the qualitative content analysis of the pupil role-players' perceptions of the teachers' racism portrayed in the finished video films (Chapter 2, pp. 230-2). As with that analysis, this analysis results in the construction of a model of the respondents' thoughts about 'the racist teacher's thinking'. First, however, we need to present the analysis.

All but 50 (6.3 per cent) of the thought bubbles were completed with something meaningful. Of the 19 (31 per cent) respondents who did not complete all of the bubbles, 8 (27 per cent) were, of the total, of IWGM ($N = 30$) and 11 (35 per cent) were, of the total, of VEMGM ($N = 31$). Seven (64 per cent) of the respondents of VEMGM but only one (13 per cent) of IWGM who did not complete all of the bubbles, nevertheless

explicitly expressed the view that the teacher was racist in at least one thought bubble.

The story of 'Borrowing' centres on Rebecca's racism and most of the respondents picked up on this, if only at an implicit level. However, the focus in this analysis is solely on the teacher's racism and, thus, the respondents' thoughts about Rebecca's racism have largely been ignored.

Three levels of thought bubble response are discernible: those that totally *fail* to see the point the film is trying to make; those that *imply* that the teacher's racism underlies many of her thoughts, actions and behaviours; and, those that explicitly recognise her racism. I shall now consider each of these response levels in turn. The bubbles are referred to by number and the thinker's name as indicated in the key provided in *Appendix XV*. As with the large sample qualitative data, the respondents' written comments have been accurately transcribed and thus include their errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar.

Level 1. Misses the point of the film

This boy of IWGM is the best example of a respondent who almost completely misses the point being made in the film. To illustrate this category of response, this boy's thought bubbles' protocol will be presented in its entirety.

Bubble 1. Teacher:

Why are you not answer me

Bubble 2. Michaela:

She is finking that she is in trouble

Bubble 3. Choi:

Why don't she leave me alone. Stupid wicth

Bubble 4. Rebecca:

She is trying to cause some Trouble

Bubble 5. Richard:

He is fed up of her.

Bubble 6. Choi:

She is Trying to get her wor finished

Bubble 7. Rebecca:

She thinks That I'm in Trouble.

Bubble 8. Teacher:

She is shouting a him more than here

Bubble 9. Philip:

he is stinkin up for chinky

Bubble 10. Teacher:

She is fed up of Carl because he keeps Talking.

Bubble 11. Carl:

he is thinking to say shut up.

Bubble 12. Philip:

he is Just fed up.

Bubble 13. Nasar:

he is Thinking they are causing Trouble.

The only 'thought' which suggests that this respondent may not have completely missed the point is in Bubble 9. Here, I feel, is the glimmer of recognition that there is an issue for this respondent about Choi's treatment by some pupils and, possibly, by the teacher.

It is also interesting to note that this respondent provides most of his thoughts in the third person rather than in the first. In so doing, he shows that he has really failed to engage with the 'comic strip' style of story writing. Only one other respondent (a girl of IWGM) used the third person and only in completing Bubbles 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6 after which she became 'switched on' to using the first person. The remaining respondents used the first person for all of the bubbles that they completed.

*Level 2 Implicit recognition that the teacher thinks,
acts and behaves in racist ways*

This level of response was much more common amongst the respondents, particularly those of IWGM. However, this response level was also found in the protocols which were overall categorized as explicitly recognising the teacher's racism (see Quantitative Analysis later in this Chapter). Some representative examples from a number of respondents will now be provided by bubble, for the reader's convenience (bearing in mind that they have to be read in conjunction with the still images in *Appendix XV*), to illustrate this level of response.

Bubble 1. Teacher:

Why should she be different from the rest of them
(boy of IWGM).

Why don't that daft girl answer like every one eals
instead of getting into troubel (girl of IWGM).

Bubble 2. Michaela:

Why is miss always picking on her (girl of IWGM).

Bubble 3. Choi:

The sill cow is all ways start on me. (boy of African-Caribbean heritage).

Bubble 8. Teacher:

Why does everyone defend that stupid girl CHOI (girl of VEMGM).

Bubble 11. Carl:

Thats not fair (girl of IWGM).

stupid cow I hate her she always picks on me (girl of Indian heritage).

I don't think Miss cares (girl of IWGM).

Bubble 12. Philip:

God she's such a BITCH (girl of IWGM).

Miss is a real cow (boy of African-Caribbean heritage).

The following two sets of responses suggest how bubbles may be used in conjunction in interpreting the respondents' meanings and to establish an overall level of response. These 'thoughts' were provided by a girl of IWGM:

Bubble 11. Carl:

Miss want listen to anything I say.

Bubble 12. Philip:

I really hate this lesson and this teacher I wish she'd drop dead.

Bubble 13. Nasar:

I think he's right both of them are. I got two good friends (all from a girl of IWGM).

And a boy of IWGM provided these 'thoughts':

Bubble 11. Carl:

That's well out of order, Miss should have a go at Rebecca

Bubble 12. Philip:

I think miss sould have a right go at Rebecca (both from a boy of IWGM).

It is argued, however, that none of these 'thoughts' explicitly recognises the teacher's racism, either from her own viewpoint, or from that of her pupils. There is, however, the possibility that we might interpret these 'thoughts' as *implying* that the respondent does see the teacher's racism.

Level 3 Explicit recognition of the teacher's racism

At this level, there is little doubt that the respondent does see the teacher's racism. Examples of such 'thoughts', again organised by bubble, include the following (all of those from the few respondents of IWGM are presented here).

Bubble 1. Teacher:

Stupid Chinese people. I can't stand them (girl of Indian heritage).

You stupied Chink (girl of African-Caribbean heritage).

PATHETIC GIRL Look at her she shouldn't even be in this country. Stupid ching chong (girl of Pakistani heritage).

I love starting on CHINKS even though she is a hard worker (boy of Pakistani heritage).

She must be daft or something why didn't she answer me! Stupid chink. If she was my dather I'd spank her silly (boy of IWGM).

I wish we could get people like them out of our good country (boy of African-Caribbean heritage).

I knew its going to be her, all asians don't talk, so stupid these asians (boy of Pakistani heritage).

Silly girl! they're all the same, these people from nowhere (girl of Pakistani heritage)

All of these respondents get straight to the point in declaring, in this opening opportunity, that the teacher is racist. Together, these 'thoughts' seem to focus on the racist issues of stereotyping and repatriation.

Bubble 2. Michaela:

This teacher is racist. Why is she always picking on her? (girl of Pakistani heritage).

This is the only example where a respondent has taken the opportunity to use this bubble explicitly to express her view that the teacher is racist by 'always picking on her'.

Bubble 3. Choi:

Why is she allways picking on asians just because our colour our language Racist (girl of Pakistani heritage).

She always picks on me, cause I'm chinese (boy of Pakistani heritage).

These are the only two 'thoughts' obtained for this bubble which explicitly recognise the teacher's racism. The issue that they raise is 'picking on' and stereotyping people because of the colour of their skin, or because of the language and culture of their heritage.

Bubble 8. Teacher:

Good if she did its true she is a chink (girl of Pakistani heritage).

Its true she is a chink who should'nt even be in this country (girl of Pakistani heritage).

it's only Chio She deserves it She thinks she Better than British (boy of IWGM).

Oh What the fuck its only a shitty Chink (boy of African-Caribbean heritage).

Why Does he stick up for Chinky? I' white hes white were the same I Don't get it? (boy of Pakistani heritage).

I know what I'm doing I'll get the chinese bitch back for not answering (girl of Pakistani heritage).

Nevermind if Iam biased, at least I'am the teacher I've got more power over that bloody chinkey! (boy of Pakistani heritage).

I'm glad she wrote that. Anyway I'm the teacher I don't have to tell her off for being racist (girl of Indian heritage).

She wrote the write thing on the rubber. But I will have to give her a detention (boy of Pakistani heritage).

This bubble provided many respondents with ideas about how they might express their views about the teacher's racism. Most of these respondents focus on the teacher's likely thoughts about 'British' superiority, racist referents and the disparagement of Chinese people. They also comment strongly on the teacher's misuse of her power in dealing with the racism of some of her pupils. One respondent also hints at the teacher's thinking regarding repatriation.

Bubble 10. Teacher:

Stupid little black monkey (boy of Pakistani heritage).

Stupid Nigger! he shouldn't be hear either hes just like the rest (girl of Pakistani heritage).

Bloody black who does he think he is (boy of IWGM).

Stupid Black and chinese waste my time (boy of Pakistani heritage).

Stupid black horse (girl of Pakistani heritage).

Stupid nigger. fuckin dumb and cheeky or what? (boy of Pakistani heritage).

I'll keep anyone in It doesnt matter its only the blackie (girl of Pakistani heritage).

Oh no! not this nigger as well the chink was enought (boy of African-Caribbean heritage).

Those fucking black kids get on my nerves even that chinki (girl of Pakistani heritage).

There all Chink lovers, well I'll not let them get their own way (boy of IWGM).

Their one more we would like to get out of this country (boy of African-Caribbean heritage).

Why is he sticking up for that chink hes not chink (girl of Pakistani heritage).

Oh not this black one as well. I can't stand other people besides white (girl of Indian heritage).

Clearly, this still image was another rich source of ideas about the teacher's racism. In their 'thoughts' for the bubble, these respondents focus on the teacher's racism in terms of her thinking: about racial stereotyping; of racist referents and disparaging remarks about peoples' physical characteristics; about the repatriation of Chinese and black people; questioning inter-ethnic harmony and co-operation; and, about her hatred of people 'besides whites'.

Bubble 11. Carl:

White racist bitch (boy of Pakistani heritage).

Racist cow (girl of Pakistani heritage).

If I had my way I could kill her because she's a racis fat snow white fucking bitch (girl of African-Caribbean heritage).

She just doe'snt want to Face the Fact that she's bieng racist (boy of African-Caribbean heritage).

She always picks on coloured people racist cow (boy of IWGM).

Wait till I have a word with the head he's probably racist as well (girl of Pakistani heritage).

I was thinking it's the Chinese she hates but its

Blacks as well (girl of Indian heritage).

Racist woman I would love to report this (girl of African heritage).

Life is a kick in the but went your Black (boy of African-Caribbean heritage).

This bubble, like the remaining two, gave the respondents another opportunity to refocus their thinking on the pupil role-players' thoughts about their treatment by the teacher through playing the role of Carl. All of them, through Carl's 'thoughts', openly and angrily accuse the teacher of racism. However, one of them acknowledges the possibility that the teacher is unaware of her racism, or is attempting to conceal it and does not want to be challenged about it.

One of these respondents comments on her sense of hopelessness about the probable futility of making a formal complaint about the matter, because the 'head's probably racist as well'. The last respondent signals his lack of faith in the 'system' more generally with his 'thought' about the injustice suffered by 'Blacks'. His 'thought' also contains the idea that there seems to be little that 'Blacks' can do to challenge 'the system'. The implication behind these 'thoughts' seems to be the sophisticated idea that schooling is a 'white' dominated, racist institution. Understandably, but nevertheless, sadly, given the teacher's greater 'power' resources, two respondents, one girl in particular, would seemingly have had Carl happily trade insults with the teacher.

Bubble 12. Philip:

This teacher is racist (girl of Indian heritage).

Stupid racist BITCH (girl of Pakistani heritage).

If I had my way I would report that fucking teacher (girl of African-Caribbean heritage).

Fuckin don't care about other racises (boy of Pakistani heritage).

Again, most of these respondents express their anger about the teacher's racism through Philip's 'thoughts' about his feelings. The last respondent, however, continues the theme of expressing his ideas about the thinking of the teacher who, he sees, as 'not caring about other races'.

Bubble 13. Nasar:

Its not right for people to call name and the teacher don't do nothing about it (girl of African-Caribbean heritage).

Its not fair, its never anyone else apart from us (girl of Pakistani heritage).

She's always picking on us. SLAG (girl of Pakistani heritage).

I can't believe shes so racist! I wish I could help (boy of Pakistani heritage).

god she's ugly and Racist. I hope she deosn't Come for takeaway unless she likes dog (boy of IWGM).

These final 'thoughts' represent what the respondents seem to imagine to be the more measured 'thoughts' of Nasar. In their own ways, they each accuse the teacher of racism. In addition, one 'thought' provides the role-play devisers' original idea that when a teacher condones pupils' use of racist referents by doing 'nothing about it', she is herself implicated in the racism. The penultimate point again raises the issue of the pupils' impotence in challenging this teacher's racism. The final 'thought' is more optimstic, however, for it carries with it the threat, through the thoughts of Nasar, that people who suffer racism, will 'get

his own back', if they have the chance!

Summary

Collectively, through 'playing the roles' within the film, the respondents have revealed their 'thoughts' about how racist teachers 'think'. Their thoughts about the racist teacher's 'thoughts' are that they involve:

- the stereotyping of visible ethnic minority group members (Bubbles 1 and 10);

- the repatriation of Chinese and 'Black' people (Bubbles 1, 8 and 10);

- unfairly 'picking on' people because of the colour of their skin or because of the language and culture of their heritage (Bubbles 2 and 3);

- disparaging Chinese and other ethnic minority people in terms of their physical appearance and characteristics (Bubbles 3, 8 and 10);

- notions of 'white', 'British' superiority and a hatred of people 'besides whites' (Bubbles 8 and 10);

- using racist referents (Bubbles 8 and 10);

- misusing her authority and power in dealing with the racism of some of her pupils (Bubble 8);

- questioning attempts at establishing inter-ethnic harmony and co-operation and, conversely, promoting inter-ethnic disharmony and hostility (Bubble 10);

- hoodwinking herself into believing that she is not racist, or that she is trying to conceal it from her pupils and does not wish to be challenged about the possibility (Bubble 11).

Together, then these 'thoughts' represent a model, or theory, of the respondents' collective ideas about the thinking of 'the racist teacher'.

That being so, think Bubbles 11, 12 and 13 have provided

respondents with an opportunity to comment on what pupils can do about the teacher racism displayed in the film of 'Borrowing'. A very few of them did so. However, on the basis of these few comments, tentatively, we might say that these respondents do not have much faith in formal systems established for investigating complaints of racism (Bubble 11), probably because these 'systems' are largely controlled by the authority (legitimate power) of white members of society who are also willing to use power illegitimately (to the disadvantage of visible ethnic minority groups and individuals) (Bubble 8). Thus, society's inherent institutional racism is maintained (Bubble 11). A final comment on this impotence of black people to mobilise the 'system' in establishing fairness and justice, is the threat that black people will 'get their own back' (Bubbles 11, 12 and 13).

Overview

All but one of the sixty-one respondents can be considered to have 'played the roles' of the role-players in that they generally appear to have adopted and revealed their 'inside perspective'. Generally, the respondents to this technique seem to have engaged with the task in a much less inhibited way than most of the respondents in the survey did. In completing the thought bubbles, many of the respondents resorted to using foul, abusive and racist language as part of, what I consider to be, their genuine ideas about the specified role-players' thoughts about the racism portrayed in the film. Further, in my view, as with the survey respondents, none of the respondents in this task seized the

opportunity of displaying their own *intentional* racism. Altogether, I am convinced that the respondents have undertaken this task with a great sense of responsibility and that they have provided what they genuinely feel to have been in the role-played characters' minds.

It is felt that bubble dialogue technique has enormous potential in further investigations of pupils' perceptions of teacher racism, using the video films of this research, and related strategies. However, we now need to consider the quantitative analysis of the data obtained using this bubble dialogue strategy.

Quantitative analysis of the bubble dialogue data

The thought bubble responses have been categorized using the criteria outlined above (pp. 310-21), as to whether or not they show an *explicit* awareness that the teacher is thinking, acting or behaving in racist ways. Thus, responses at levels 1 and 2 (pp. 310-15) have been categorized as not showing such an awareness, whilst those at level 3 (pp. 315-21), have been categorized as showing this awareness. In order for a respondent to be scored in the positive, at least one thought bubble must contain an explicit indication that the teacher is racist. Exceptionally, however, when two or more thought bubbles are read in conjunction, they may indicate that the respondent explicitly 'sees' the teacher as a racist and so the protocol has been categorized in the positive.

The inter-rater reliability of the categorization of the thought bubble responses

The reliability of the method of assessing the responses is described in (Appendix XIV). The outcome of this testing of the reliability shows that there is 96.7 per cent agreement between the assessments made by two independent raters (Table 12, Appendix XIV). (There was disagreement about the categorization of two protocols.) Therefore, it is assumed that the measure is sufficiently reliable for the present purpose; it is my categorizations which have been used in the remainder of the analysis.

Table 11 Contingency table of the data obtained using the bubble dialogue research tool

		Ethnicity				
		VEMGM		IWGM		
Sex		M	F	M	F	Totals
Racism expressed	Does	12	9	7	1	29
	Does not	4	6	8	14	32
	Total	16	15	15	15	61

Testing the hypotheses

The raw data obtained for testing the hypotheses (*H*_{0.3} and *H*_{0.4}, pp. 248 and later in this Chapter) are presented in Appendix XIV and they are summarized in Table 11.

Inspection of Table 11 shows that just less than half (48 per cent) of the respondents expressed the view that the teacher was racist. However, sixty-eight per cent of the respondents of VEMGM but only twenty-seven per cent of those of IWGM did so. Contrary to the specified direction of Hypothesis 6 ($H_{1.6}$), girl respondents (33 per cent) were *less* willing than boys (61 per cent) to express the view that the teacher was racist.

However, the data in Table 11 have been examined separately for the effects of sex and ethnicity using the Chi-square test (X^2).

By X^2 there is an association between respondents' willingness to express the view that the teacher is racist and their ethnicity ($X^2 (1) = 8.733, p < .01$). Therefore, the null hypothesis ($H_{0.5}$) is rejected and the alternative hypothesis ($H_{1.5}$) is accepted. That is, the respondents of VEMGM were more willing than those of IWGM to express the view that the thoughts, behaviours and actions of the role-played teacher are racist. This outcome, of course, supports the finding that $H_{0.4}$ can be rejected (Chapter 3, p. 308).

However, there is no such association for the variable of sex ($X^2 (1) = 3.723, n.s.$) and so the null hypothesis ($H_{0.6}$) is accepted. That is, girls are *no more likely* than boys to express the view that the role-played teacher thinks, acts and behaves in racist ways. This result again, however, supports the outcome of the testing of $H_{0.2}$ with regard to the survey results (Chapter 3, p. 308).

Section IV Summary

This research has investigated pupils' perceptions of teacher racism through using four different techniques.

First, adopting an 'inside perspective', the perceptions of twenty-one pupils have been elicited through asking them to produce four short role-plays of teacher-pupil classroom interaction based on their personal experiences. These four role-plays have been filmed. The role-play devisers' scripts and stage directions have been presented (*Appendix X*). Synopses of these plays have also been presented (pp. 252-277).

Second, following the production of the finished video films, the majority of the role-players provided their 'outside perspective' perceptions of what their 'inside perspective' intentions were in constructing the plays (pp. 254-84). Thus, these data have provided an opportunity to assess the 'respondent validity' of the films (p. 287). Also these data, have enabled the construction of a generalised model of the role-players' perceptions of the role-played teachers' racism (pp. 284-86).

Third, a further validation procedure has been obtained from the 'outside perspective' responses of a stratified sample, drawn from throughout England, of 480 adolescents to the video films (pp. 287-306). These data have also enabled the investigation of the person variables (main effects) of sex, ethnicity, intellectual ability (as assessed by scholastic

attainment), and age on pupils' perceptions of teacher racism.

Fourth and finally, the 'inside perspective' responses of sixty-one respondents to the film of Extract 2: 'Borrowing', have been elicited using the bubble dialogue technique (outlined in pp. 245-9). These data have enabled the construction of a model of the respondents' conception of the 'thinking' of the 'racist teacher' (pp. 321-23).

To some extent, the outcomes of these four strategies have also enabled the triangulation of data on the problem of pupils' perceptions of teacher racism, and thus, the construction of a stronger and more comprehensive model.

These outcomes of the research will now be summarised.

Brief outlines of the film extracts of classroom interaction

Four short extracts of role-played teacher-pupil classroom interaction have been devised and role-played by twenty-one pupils. The issues raised by the films of these role-plays are:

Extract 1: 'Catch'

This play is based on the idea that pupils of VEMGM are more often than those of IWGM, unfairly 'picked on' and blamed for classroom 'crimes'.

Extract 2: 'Borrowing'

This extract centres on the role-players' idea when a teacher ignores, and thereby appears to condone pupils' racism, she is also guilty of racism.

Extract 3: 'Going Steady'

In this play, the role-players express the view that when teachers interfere with pupils' inter-ethnic friendships and 'love' relationships, they often reveal their ethnocentricity through the negative stereotyping and ignorance of cultures other than their own.

Extract 4: 'Sums'

The main theme of this extract concerns the role-players' perceptions that teachers unfairly victimise and negatively discriminate against pupils of VEMGM in a variety of ways.

A generalised model of the role-players' perceptions of the role-played teachers' racism

For the participants, the most significant ways in which teachers exhibit racism in the classroom are:

Treating pupils of VEMGM, compared with those of IWGM, as though their thoughts and feelings are of little consequence.

Using and/or seeming to condone pupils' use of racist referents.

Demonstrating cultural prejudice, ethnocentricity and

ignorance.

Unfairly distributing classroom chores.

'Picking on' and 'showing up' pupils of VEMGM more than those of IWGM.

Compared with her treatment of pupils of IWGM, using excessive threats with and punishments of pupils of VEMGM.

Being seen to prefer helping pupils of IWGM compared with those of VEMGM.

For the participants, the common factor in all of these issues seems to be the teacher's lack of valuing pupils of VEMGM, that is, as people with thoughts, feelings, relationships and important to them cultural backgrounds.

The attempt at respondent validation suggests that the scriptwriters and role-players were satisfied that the films portrayed what they wished in terms of the teachers' interpersonal racism.

Summary of the bubble dialogue qualitative and quantitative data

Collectively, the respondents' thoughts about the racist teacher's 'thoughts' in Extract 3: 'Borrowing' are that they involve the following ideas:

The stereotyping of pupils of VEMGM.

The repatriation of Chinese and other pupils of VEMGM.

Unfairly 'picking on' pupils because of the colour of their skin or because of the language and culture of their heritage.

Disparaging Chinese and other ethnic minority people in terms of their physical appearance and characteristics.

Notions of 'white', 'British' superiority and a hatred

of people 'besides whites'.

Using and/or seeming to condone pupils' use of racist referents.

Misusing her authority and power in dealing with the racism of some of her pupils.

Diminishing attempts at establishing inter-ethnic harmony and co-operation and, conversely, promoting, albeit subversively, inter-ethnic disharmony and hostility.

Hoodwinking herself into believing that she is not racist, or that she is trying to conceal it from her pupils and does not wish them to challenge her about the possibility.

It has been argued that these 'thoughts' represent a model or theory of the respondents' collective ideas about the thinking of 'the racist teacher'.

It can be seen that aspects of this model are confirmed by some features of the model of the role-players' accounts of the teacher's actions and behaviours which they consider to be racist, specifically, they are:

Using and/or seemingly condoning pupils' use of racist referents.

'Picking on' and 'showing up' pupils of VEMGM more than those of IWGM.

Threatening and punishing pupils of VEMGM, compared with those of IWGM, more excessively and in more discriminatory ways.

It needs to be borne in mind that these are the only role-players' ideas which have been confirmed by the bubble dialogue technique, because they are the only ones which apply to the film of 'Borrowing'. I strongly suspect that others of the role-players' ideas would be confirmed if the bubble dialogue technique had been used for the remaining

three films. However, further research is required to test this hypothesis.

The bubble dialogue technique has also enabled the respondents to comment on what they think pupils can do about the teacher racism displayed in the film of 'Borrowing'. Tentatively, it seems that the respondents do not think that much can be done through using formal complaints procedures because they are controlled by the dominant 'white' society. However, some of the respondents seem to suggest that 'black' people will 'get their own back', through their own informal 'procedures'.

Each respondents' protocol has also been categorized on the basis of whether or not it expresses the explicitly stated view that the teacher is racist. The outcomes of testing two hypotheses by Chi-square (X^2) are:

$H_{1.5}$ Pupils of VEMGM were more willing than those of IWGM to express the view that the thoughts, behaviours or actions of the role-played teacher are racist ($X^2 (1) = 8.733, p < .01$) and so the null hypothesis is rejected and the alternative hypothesis is accepted.

$H_{0.6}$ Girls, compared with boys, were not more likely to express the view that the role-played teacher thinks, acts or behaves in racist ways ($X^2 (1) = 3.723, n.s.$) and so the null hypothesis is accepted.

Hypothesis-testing of the responses of the stratified sample of 480 respondents

The outcomes of testing hypotheses $H_{0.1}$, $H_{0.2}$, $H_{0.3}$ and $H_{0.4}$ by ANOVA (for unrelated subjects), are that main effects on the respondent adolescents' perceptions of teacher racism were significant for age ($F(1, 472) = 72.329, p < .001$);

attainment ($F(1, 472) = 47.517, p < .001$); and, ethnicity ($F(1, 472) = 25.133, p < .001$).

Thus:

Academically higher ability pupils are more perceptive of teacher racism than lower ability pupils (H_{a1}).

Older pupils are more perceptive of teacher racism than younger pupils (H_{a3}).

Pupils of VEMGM are more perceptive of teacher racism than pupils of IWGM

However:

Girls are *not* significantly more perceptive of teacher racism than boys (H_{o2}).

Regarding the outcomes of testing (H_{a4}) and (H_{o2}), the findings support those obtained from testing (H_{a5}) and (H_{o6}) regarding the bubble dialogue data.

Finally, no significant interaction effects between pairs of the variables of age, ethnicity, attainment and sex were revealed by the analysis.

Section V Conclusion

Attempting to draw all of the 'grounded in the data' outcomes of this investigation together, we might conclude that adolescents perceive the racist teacher's *thinking* to involve one or more of the following:

Stereotyping of people of VEMGM.

Repatriating people of VEMGM.

Unfairly 'picking on' people because of the 'dark'

colour of their skin or because of the 'alien' language and culture of their heritage.

Disparaging people of VEMGM in terms of their physical appearance and characteristics.

Notions of 'white', 'British' superiority and a hatred of people 'besides whites'.

Using and/or seeming to condone pupils' use of racist referents for people of VEMGM.

Misusing her authority and power in dealing with the racism of pupils of IWGM.

Diminishing pupils' attempts at establishing inter-ethnic harmony and co-operation and, conversely, promoting, albeit covertly, inter-ethnic disharmony and hostility between pupils.

Hoodwinking herself into believing that she is not racist, or that she is trying to conceal it from her pupils and does not wish them to challenge her about the possibility.

Additionally, adolescents perceive a teacher to be racist, possibly under the influence of such racist thinking, if she *acts or behaves* in one or more of the following ways:

Unfairly 'picking on' and 'showing up' pupils of VEMGM.

Blaming pupils of VEMGM more readily than those of IWGM for classroom 'crimes'.

Ignoring the racism of pupils' of IWGM and thereby, appearing to condone it.

Interfering with and attempting negatively to influence pupils' inter-ethnic peer friendships and 'love' relationships.

Revealing their ethnocentricity through stereotyping negatively and displaying ignorance of cultures other than their own.

Treating pupils of VEMGM, compared with those of IWGM, as though their thoughts and feelings are of little consequence.

Using and/or seeming to condone pupils' use of racist referents for people of VEMGM.

Using excessive threats with and punishments of pupils of VEMGM, compared with pupils of IWGM.

Being seen to prefer helping pupils of IWGM compared with those of VEMGM.

Unfairly distributing classroom chores so that pupils of IWGM are given the 'trustee' tasks which they perform in the 'teacher's time', whilst pupils of VEMGM perform the 'dirty work' in 'their own time'.

In the face of such thinking, action and behaviour on the part of the racist teacher, sadly, it seems that some adolescents feel that formal channels of complaint are not open to them. Instead, it seems that they hold the view that they must resort to 'informal' procedures of 'getting their own back'.

Finally, the investigation of adolescents' perceptions of teacher racism has shown that they are affected by the main effects of age, attainment and ethnicity in the following ways:

Older pupils were more perceptive of teacher racism than younger pupils.

Pupils of VEMGM were more perceptive of teacher racism than those of IWGM.

Higher ability pupils were more perceptive of teacher racism than lower ability pupils.

However, contrary to H_{02} and H_{06} , there was not a significant difference in the ability of boys and girls to perceive teacher racism.

In the chapter which follows, we shall attempt to provide a critique of the research methods used in this investigation and, bearing this in mind, discuss and interpret the findings of this study.

CHAPTER 4

A CRITIQUE OF THE METHODS USED IN AND A DISCUSSION AND AN INTERPRETATION OF THE RESULTS OF THIS INVESTIGATION

In this Chapter there are three major tasks which are to be attempted: first, the provision of a critique of the methods of enquiry used in this research; second, the discussion and interpretation of the outcomes of the different research methods used; and third, a summary and some brief comments about the triangulation of methods used and of the data derived from them. Each of these matters will be considered, in that order, in three sections.

Section I A critique of the methods used in this enquiry

This section considers the strengths and weaknesses of each of the four data collection strategies used in this research. This has been chosen as the first task because it will help us assess the validity and reliability of the data before we attempt to discuss them. Thus, it will help to ensure that the interpretation of the data is treated with an appropriate level of caution. Each of the four strategies will be considered in the order established in Chapters 2 and 3, that is: first, the devised role-plays; second, the pupil role-players' accounts of the finished video films; third, the responses of the stratified random sample of 480 respondents to the video films; and fourth, the sixty-one pupil participants' bubble dialogue responses to the film of Extract 2: 'Borrowing'.

Before doing these things, however, I wish to provide a critique of the ethics of my personal part, as a 'white', middle-class man, in this racism research. I wish to attempt this task first, simply because this issue applies to some extent, to all of the research strategies that have been used.

Some of the ethical dilemmas of a 'white' researcher of racism

Recently, some 'white', male researchers of racism (and sexism) have sought to 'declare their interests' (for example, Rex, 1981; Gillborn, 1987, p. 27; Mac an Ghail, 1988; 1989; 1994; Troyna and Carrington, 1993). I feel that it is appropriate that I follow their lead.

Some of my reasons for becoming involved in the topic of this research have been spelled out in Chapter 2 (pp. 214-5). There are some other points that need to be made.

Whilst being a 'white', middle-class man, I also have a deep-seated abhorrence of the maltreatment of anybody for whatever reason, and it seems to me that one of the most important scourges in the world as I know it, is racism. Thus, I came into this research with a 'baggage of anti-racist values' to which I have my 'most basic commitment' (Gouldner, 1975, p. 68). For me, this 'baggage', as Troyna and Carrington (1993, p. 106) say:

demands that the researcher's preeminent commitment should not be to black or white ... (people), ... but to the fundamental principles of social justice, equality and participatory democracy.

Thus, apart from receiving some training as a researcher, my hope has always been that this research might make some contribution to raising 'black' and 'white' people's awareness about how the 'social injustice' of racism operates in one of most societies' most important institutions, namely, education and, specifically within that, schools and classrooms, to ensure that 'equality' and 'participatory democracy' cannot and do not exist.

It might be said, however, that this baggage has influenced the research in no small way; I would hope so. But, it might also be asked then: 'What about the scientific objectivity of this research?'

Picking-up on the comment made earlier (Chapter 1, p. 189), I argue, as do the social constructionists, that no science, or scientist, is 'value-free'. Rather, I see 'science' as being a personal and social construction whose definition and agenda is principally 'determined' by the community of 'peer-acknowledged' scientists, both past and present, all of whom have brought their own 'baggages of values' into their research and, despite their best efforts in some cases, have had them influence their work. In fact, the American Psychological Association's (1992) ethical guidelines openly acknowledge that psychology is not 'value-free'. These guidelines state that it is important for

psychologists ... to be aware of their own belief systems, values, needs and limitations and the effect of these on their work (APA, 1992, p. 1599).

Futher, Firestone (1990) hints at the constructed,

provisional and often subjective nature of science when he says that:

The major justification for the research enterprise is that we have the time and skills to develop approximations of the truth that have a firmer warrant than commonsense (p. 123).

A more hard-hitting position has been taken by the social constructionist, Gergen (1985):

The social constructionist view is that scientific knowledge is a social creation serving the purposes of society's dominant institutions (Gergen, 1985).

Regarding my own position, however, I have no desire to serve the unjust purposes of the dominant institutions in society. The question remains, nevertheless, 'why should I be interested in researching racism?' Let me now attempt a response to this question.

One of the earliest critics of 'white' researchers of 'black' 'problems' noted that:

When we focus upon the amount of change in the lives of black people which has occurred as a result of educational research, we find very little. We do find, however, that the white researcher has gained fame among his peers and has moved on to a more prestigious academic rank ... His graduate students find the work grist for theses and dissertations these too become published and the cycle repeats itself (Crockett, 1973, p. 82).

Whilst such career advancement is undoubtedly true of many 'white' scholars around the world, and may even become true of me, as I have said, my wish is that this research will contribute to an improvement in the quality of life for all ethnic groups, both 'black' and 'white'. Of course, this may

not happen, but that does not deny my wish that it will do so.

This 'emancipatory' position derives from critical theorists such as Lather (1986) who,

stress the importance of 'emancipatory' research that makes people aware of inequitable or oppressed positions and empowers their corrective action (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 280).

This may sound as if 'white' researchers' involvement in the 'emancipatory' endeavour might be morally dangerous:

seeking to speak for minority groups risks being construed as paternalistic or patronising racism (Howitt and Owusu-Bempah, 1994, p. 57).

Troyna and Carrington (1993, p. 106) reinforce this view when they note that 'a common criticism of "race relations" and antiracist research in Britain, the USA and Australia' is that:

white researchers have tended to direct their energies towards the study of black people rather than white racism (Troyna and Carrington, 1993, p. 106).

If, however, we accept the position that racism is as much a morally debilitating affliction of the oppressor, albeit with less devastating consequences, as it is of the oppressed, the quest for 'emancipatory knowledge' would seem to invite the contributions of 'white' and 'black' researchers alike, that is, assuming that they are armed with 'appropriate value systems'.

In this research, as Howitt and Owusu-Bempah (1994, p. 184)

and Banister et al (1994, p. 153) argue one should, I have taken, as a 'core strategy', the advice of obtaining 'the knowledge, experience and sensitivity on racial and cultural issues' (Howitt and Owusu-Bempah, 1994, p. 184) of people different from myself in terms of ethnicity and gender. In fact, one might go further than that, and say that I have engaged *collaboratively* (Naylor et al, 1990a, 1990b, 1994; Stevenson et al, 1995a, 1995b, 1996) with both 'black' and 'white' people in this racism research. Given that my research has enlisted the help of 'black' and 'white' people in revealing an aspect of 'white' racism, I do not see it as 'seeking to speak for minority groups'. Rather, any messages that I may have, are for all individuals and groups, whether they are 'black' or 'white'. In addition, it might be said that the account of 'white' racism provided by this research, conducted by a 'white' person, may convince 'white' people more than if it had been attempted by a 'black' person.

Now we need to turn to a critique of the role-plays.

A critique of the role-plays

Of necessity, as the first of four critiques of the research strategies used in this enquiry, it is detailed and lengthy. However, it will hopefully serve us well since much of what is discussed also applies to the other strategies that have been employed. So let us begin.

In Chapter 2 (pp. 216-19) the rationale was outlined for choosing to 'simulate classroom situations' from which we

might 'learn' (van Ments, 1983). There, it was said that, one of the most important reasons for choosing the method, was that it avoided the deception that would almost certainly be involved in the naturalistic observation of teacher-pupil classroom interaction. Deception, to a greater or lesser extent, has been a feature of all of the recent ethnographies of school racism that were reviewed in Chapter 1 (pp. 157-89), such as those of Mac an Ghaill (1988; 1994), Wright (1985; 1986; 1988; 1992b), Foster (1990a), Troyna and Hatcher (1992), Mirza (1992), Verma *et al* (1994) and Gillborn (1987; 1990). For example, in order to protect one of the main purposes of his research, that is, to 'consider West Indian underachievement', Gillborn (1987) says:

I decided not to draw attention to the full extent of my interest in ethnicity in any contact with actors within ... research settings (Gillborn, 1987, p. 15).

This he admits, was out of fear for the integrity of his data (Gillborn, 1987, p. 16).

In producing the role-plays in this research, I am pleased to be able to say that nobody has been deceived. However, as we shall see later in this critique, this lack of deception has been at some 'cost', or 'threat', to the validity of the data collected (Banister *et al* , 1994, pp. 5-8).

In discussing the research methods to be used in this research in Chapter 2 (pp. 217-18), Harré's ethogenic approach (1978), ('now all but burnt out in social psychology' (Banister *et al*, 1994, p. 51)), was introduced in which 'accounts' (Harré, 1978), (which, under other names, are

still 'alive and well'), constitute the predominant form of data. Let us remind ourselves about the nature of accounts:

Explaining our behaviour towards one another can be thought of as accounting for our actions in order to make them intelligible and justifiable to our fellowmen (Cohen and Manion, 1994, p. 204).

It is usual to obtain accounts using an interview procedure (see, for example Brown and Sime, 1981). Unlike in a conventional interview, in this research the pupil role-players were presented with only one question or task: construct some short classroom episodes, as role-plays, in which the teacher displays a variety of types of racist behaviour and action. Nevertheless, it is argued, we may view the four role-plays elicited in this research as the pupil role-players' *accounts* of their collective perceptions of teacher racism. It is hoped that these accounts appear to be 'plausible' (Sapsford, 1984). But, we have been warned, '"Plausibility" is the opiate of the intellectual' (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 263). Thus, the question is, how do we validate these role-play accounts?

In speaking of qualitative research, Boulton and Hammersley (1993, p. 22) say that:

... In deciding what are and what are not reasonable inferences to be made on the basis of her or his data, the researcher must consider the likelihood of errors of various kinds.

This statement implies that the researcher needs to be 'reflexive' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Banister et al, 1994, pp. 149-52), or 'self-aware' (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 310), about the research process in order to establish the

validity of qualitative research data (Boulton and Hammersley, 1993, p. 22). What is meant by the researcher's reflexivity is that she should be:

a reflective practitioner, continually thinking about the research process and especially about her or his role in it, and the implications of this for the analysis (Boulton and Hammersley, 1993, p. 22).

But what specifically, might reflexivity mean in the context of considering the production of the role-plays in this research? We now need to attempt an answer to this question.

Brown and Sime (1981) say that given that an account 'is the personal record of an event by the individual experiencing it, told from his point of view', its use 'often faces the criticism of being unreliable and difficult to validate' (p. 161). Brown and Sime suggest, however, that a straightforward application of the concepts of reliability and validity to accounts, as typically applied to quantitative research, is inappropriate.

Instead, Brown and Sime (1981) propose the use of the alternative concepts of 'authenticity' and 'attestability'.

Authenticity relates to the corroborative support given an account either by artefacts, or by its internal consistency or cross-reference to other sources of information. It is modelled on principles of evidence and witness statements (Brown and Sime, 1981, p. 161).

In other words, 'authenticity' is the 'internal validity', which we met in Chapter 2 (p. 203), or 'truth value' or, as Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 278) have typified it: 'Do we have an authentic portrait of what we are looking at?'.

Attestability is taken as:

the degree to which the researcher has made explicit his methods and distinguishes his interpretation of events from those of his informants such that the academic community can scrutinize and evaluate the legitimacy of the findings (Brown and Sime, 1981, p. 161).

In turn, however, these statements beg the question of how may the authenticity and attestability of these role-players' accounts be ascertained? This involves rigour 'both in the collection of material and in any transformation or analysis which follows' (Brown and Sime, 1981, p. 162).

Brown and Sime (1981) identify four kinds of research operation involved in this enquiry process: the selection of informants, the account-gathering situation, the transformation and analysis of accounts, and the researcher's 'account of the accounts'.

As regards the selection of informants,

a number of factors have to be considered. First, the informant's motive for participation. A prejudiced account for whatever reason is not discounted, but it is important to tap the source of the bias. Secondly, the informant should be competent, that is, should have relevant and preferably recent knowledge of the event being investigated. ... Thirdly, the informant must have the ability to relate the account in a comprehensible manner, that is, he must comply with certain linguistic and cognitive standards of performance (Brown and Sime, 1981, pp. 163-4).

A crucial psychological dimension involved in this project was 'participant motivation', and here we need to think not only of the pupil role-players, but also of the adults involved. Despite, the contributions of social constructionist and narrative approaches to qualitative research (for example, Mishler, 1986; Steier, 1991), which question the

presumption that participants within research share the research goals, my conception of the participants, adolescents and adults, and 'blacks' and 'whites' alike, is that they were 'good'. In speaking about experimental research, the 'good' subject has been typified in the following terms:

Both subject and experimenter share the belief that whatever the experimental task is, it is important, and that as such no matter how much effort must be exerted or how much discomfort must be endured, it is justified by the ultimate purpose' (Orne, 1962, p. 237).

Unfortunately, in obtaining 'good' participants, I have run the risk that their attempts to produce 'maximally valid results may just be self-fulfilling' (Brenner and Bungard, 1981, p. 88), which may mean that the findings of the role-plays are biased and to that extent, invalid. We might also recall Rosenthal and Rosnow's (1969) similar comments about the unrepresentativeness of the 'volunteer subject'. We shall shortly be returning to the issues raised here.

Regarding the account-gathering situation, much of the account,

should consist of the informant's monologue. The researcher may need to intervene to keep the account within the bounds of relevance and to encourage elaboration of any points not covered in sufficient detail. Some boundaries must be observed to help control the content and allow for points of comparison to be made amongst informants (Brown and Sime, 1981, p. 165).

External corroboration is another tactic, identified by Brown and Sime (1981, p. 167), for checking the authenticity of accounts, of which they say, 'while secondary to the individual's interpretation of his own actions and experience, is

important'. Brown and Sime (1981, p. 167) identify four types of external corroboration, the one which is relevant here, is the 'comparative' type.

This type,

implies checking against information concerning the event or episode under investigation obtained from other sources ... (Brown and Sime, 1981, p. 167).

In the context of this study, this is related to the idea of 'respondent validation' which we encountered in Chapter 2 (pp. 232-33), in discussing the methods, and in Chapter 3 (p. 287), on the presentation of the results of this research. It is also briefly mentioned below in connection with the role-players' accounts of the finished video films. In Chapter 3 (p. 287) we noted that the role-players were satisfied that the finished video films portrayed, in terms of teacher racism, what they had intended them to show.

Concerning the issue of authenticity,

the account a person gives is subject to the perceptual and cognitive distortions occurring at the time an event was experienced. Difficulties may also occur in recall. The social and emotional demands of the account gathering situation may be influential, for example, in the form of social desirability, self-justification or *post hoc* rationalizations (Brown and Sime, 1981, p. 166).

In Chapter 2 (pp. 221-3) it was stated that, for a number of reasons, the choice of the role-playing participants was not random. There also, a number of possible ways in which the role-playing informants were non-representative of a wider population were discussed. Thus, it is possible that there has been 'an overreliance on accessible and elite informants'

(Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 263).

These possible sources of bias require the use of certain strategies for checking the authenticity of accounts.

Harré and Secord (1972, p. 236) suggest that in the account-gathering situation authenticity may be arrived at by the procedure of negotiation:

There are two people who are the primary interactants, whose relationship and actions constitute the social phenomenon under investigation. The third person looks on, and negotiates accounts with the primary pair ... A negotiation consists in the pooling of viewpoints, and the subsequent correction of accounts.

It is argued that such a 'negotiation' strategy has been used in this project in the following way. The role-plays, which together amount to some twenty-seven minutes of classroom life in four different lessons, represent some two hundred years of the collective experiences of the twenty-one pupil role-players' school and classroom experiences. (By the time of the video film production, each pupil had experienced at least ten years' of compulsory schooling.) Thus, I maintain, these role-plays encapsulate a vast amount of data which has been sifted, refined, negotiated, renegotiated and ordered, between the pupil role-players, over a seven-month period, to determine their collective perceptions and conceptions of 'teacher racism'. And, importantly, to reiterate the point made in Chapter 2 (p. 220), none of the four adults involved in the production of the role-plays had any direct, or intentional, influence on what the pupil role-players should, and should not, record as 'teacher or pupil racism'.

Clearly, however, these accounts of the role-players' perceptions and conceptions of teacher racism will also have been uncontrollably influenced by the role-players' life-time experiences outside school and classrooms, through, for example, friends and peers in schools other than their own, significant adults and acquaintances such as parents, other relatives and family friends, radio, and probably significantly, television, particularly regarding children's programmes such as BBC's, 'Grange Hill', and film, notably, videod films.

Whilst the role-plays represent a great deal of 'negotiation' between the role-players, as intimated in Chapter 2 (p. 226), perhaps their greatest weakness as 'convincing' films, lies in the failure of the role-player of the four teachers, that is, Alison, adequately to portray a different persona for each of the plays. Having said that, given the limited time and financial resources of the project, I feel that it would have been difficult for anybody to have done significantly better. More importantly, however, in terms of the aims of the role-plays and in how they were devised, Alison faithfully interpreted the pupil role-players' directions in her *verbal and non-verbal behavioural portrayal of racism* of their devised teachers' roles.

Another threat to the authenticity of accounts (and *all* other types of data from human beings), and to which we have already alluded in this discussion of the role-plays, is 'reactivity (Webb *et al*, 1966) which was introduced in Chapter 2 (p. 206). To remind ourselves about the concept of

'reactivity' and to extend our understanding of it, in a discussion of 'ethics', Banister et al (1994, p. 5) distinguish between 'personal' and 'procedural' reactivity in the following terms:

There is a continual tension between 'personal' reactivity (the attempt by the 'subject' to understand and control the research) and 'procedural reactivity' (the ways in which the demands of the situation limit their room for manoeuvre).

Typically then, in all styles of research, there is a 'trade-off' between personal and procedural reactivity; simply, 'one can't have it all, both ways'.

Albeit in the context of discussing experimental research, Rosenthal (1969) has suggested two sources of personal reactivity or 'experimenter demand characteristics', namely, 'experimenter effects' and 'expectancy effects'. There are three kinds of experimenter effects which we now need briefly to consider.

First, there are biosocial effects:

The sex, age, and race of the investigator have all been found to affect the results of research ... (Rosenthal, 1969, p. 186).

There were four adults involved in the role-play aspect of this research: Alison Dimbleby, an IWGM drama teacher; Bal Johal, an Indian history teacher; Graham Forde, an African-Caribbean video film artist; and myself, an IWGM geography teacher. It is impossible to say what, over the seven-month period of the production of the role-plays and of their filming, our individual and collective 'biosocial effects' on

the data were. Suffice it to say, however, that given the aim of the project, and given the multi-ethnic nature of the role-playing group of pupils, it was important that the 'production team' was also gender balanced and multi-ethnic.

Second, Rosenthal (1969, p. 188) says that there are psychosocial effects:

Experimenters who differ along such personal and social dimensions as anxiety, need for approval, status, and warmth tend to obtain different responses from their research subjects ... (Rosenthal, 1969, p. 188).

Again, whilst not denying the likely impact of such 'psychosocial effects' on the data collected, given the duration and complexity of the task, it is not possible to assess the impact of most of them. However, we can make some comments regarding 'status'.

As Banister *et al* (1994, p. 51) have observed: 'research sets up, and is conducted within, power relationships'.

These writers continue that:

Some models of research relationships try to do more than acknowledge the structural power relationships set up by research, ... to mitigate, challenge or even reverse traditional power dynamics (Banister *et al*, 1994, p. 51).

In this project, I feel that the pupil participants were so empowered, in so far as the role-plays, and the filming of them, were 'theirs', that 'the traditional power dynamics' of the research situation were largely 'reversed'. In Banister *et al*'s (1994, p. 5) personal reactivity terms the 'subjects' have not had to make much of an attempt 'to understand and

control' the research, rather it has been 'given away' to them. Thus, I feel, that this project is representative of what has been called the 'new paradigm' model of conducting qualitative research (Reason and Rowan, 1981). That said, we cannot overlook four significant facts of 'status': first, as we have already noted, the 'production team' of four people consisted entirely of adults; second, three of the team were teachers in the pupil role-players' school; three, two of the team members are men; and four, the producer of the films, myself, is 'white'. And so, we would probably do well to heed Figueroa and Lopez' (1991) warning, that we should maintain an 'interpretive vigilance' in considering the ways in which researcher control may have been 'implicitly structured' (Banister *et al*, 1994, p. 51).

Thus, perhaps all we can do, is recognise that there will have been some impact of the researchers' statuses, but that there has been some attempt to control these effects through providing a 'balance' of personnel in the 'production team'.

Third, Rosenthal (1969) says that there are situational effects:

The degree of acquaintanceship between experimenter and subject, the experimenter's level of experience, and the things that happen to him before and during his interaction with his subject have all been shown to affect the subject's responses ... (Rosenthal, 1969, p. 190).

As with the psychosocial effects, we cannot make any assessment of these 'situational effects' partly because of the duration of the data collection phase, but also because there were four 'experimenters' and, thus, there will also

have been 'interactive' situational effects. Therefore, again, all we can do, is be mindful that there will have been some impact of these effects on the quality of the data collected.

However, according to Rosenthal (1969), more important than experimenter effects are 'expectancy effects';

these have the force of demand characteristics when the experimenter conveys to subjects, consciously or inadvertently, verbally or non-verbally, a particular expectation about which kind of performance he expects from subjects (Brenner and Bungard, 1981, p. 97).

In the context of this project, it would be foolish to deny the probability of the impact of such effects on the data. To the extent that I 'gave away' the aims of this project to my adolescent and adult collaborators, it is likely that the impact of 'expectancy effects' will have been reduced. However, there is no way in which we can formally assess the impact on the data collected of 'expectancy effects'. Thus, again, we can do no other than to recognise their probable presence and take this likelihood into account when we discuss and interpret the results.

In this project, another potentially important source of the participants' reactivity, this time, procedural reactivity, lies in their identities, albeit as role-players, being committed to video film, for posterity. As reported in Chapter 2 (pp. 227-8), an attempt was made to reduce, if not, eliminate, this source of reactivity by having a video camera running throughout many of the sessions during the seven-month period of the preparation and rehearsal of the role-

plays. Although there can be little doubt that this strategy did reduce the role-players' reactivity to the final shooting of the films, there can also be little doubt that it did not eliminate entirely this source of reactivity. There are, for example, some instances in which some of the role-players performed in quite self-conscious and, therefore, unnatural ways. Thus, I feel that the 'natural validity' (Warner, 1991) of some aspects of the role-plays might have been improved through, perhaps, using more rehearsal and film-shooting time.

Despite these weaknesses in some of the role-players' filmed performances, I feel that they do not significantly detract from the purposes of the films as documents of pupils' perceptions of teacher racism, or as research tools for investigating variables associated with such perceptions.

As regards the transformation of accounts,

it is necessary to make explicit the manner in which transformations of the accounts have been made if the researcher's final account is to satisfy the demands of attestability. There is an obvious need for a written document from which analyses may be undertaken. (Brown and Sime, 1981, p. 169).

In the case of this research, the primary 'written documents' are the finished video films. And, as we have already noted, according to the pupil role-players, these films faithfully represent their perceptions and intended ideas about teacher racism.

However, in Chapter 3, I also presented the devisers' scripts

for each of the role-plays (*Appendix X*) my own story-boards (*Appendix IV*) and synopses (Extract 1: 'Catch', pp. 252-4; Extract 2: 'Borrowing', pp. 260-2; Extract 3: 'Going Steady', pp. 267-8; Extract 4: 'Sums', pp. 276-7) of the four subsequently filmed extracts of classroom interaction. As I have said in Chapters 2 and 3 (pp. 229 and pp. 251 respectively), these documents are transcripts of, or are heavily-based on the pupil role-play devisers' own written statements about each of the role-plays. Also, of course, during the period of the writing, devising, revising and rehearsing of the role-plays, the role-players themselves, were heavily in control of the 'account eliciting and transformation' (to finished product and film) procedures.

In speaking of ethnography, Boulton and Hammersley (1993, p. 22) say that:

... the evidence that is presented by the researcher in support of claims will be a selection from the segments of data collected together as relevant to the categories that form part of those claims. However, of course, claims are not only assessed in terms of the evidence offered in support of them but also in terms of credibility, against the background of information about how the research was carried out, and the likelihood of error that this implies.

In this research, the video films *do not* represent 'a selection from the segments of data collected'; they represent *all* of the data presented by the pupil participants' who provided them. In short, I feel that the role-plays, as filmed, fairly represent the pupil role-players' intentions and wishes.

As regards, finally, the researcher's report of the accounts, this is:

subject to the demands of attestability ... This is essentially a two-tier approach in which the researcher has to make explicit the controls that he has evoked in the account eliciting and transformation procedure. Once he has satisfied the demands of authenticity in the accounts, then the arguments and interpretations can be presented to account for the patterns of experience represented by the accounts. These both are subject to evaluation. If the accounts themselves are dubious, any interpretations are obviously suspect (Brown and Sime, 1981, p. 169).

In Chapter 2 (pp. 219-21, regarding the pupil participants; pp. 225-6, the role-played 'teachers'; pp. 226-33, the production of the role-plays), I hope to have made sufficiently 'explicit the controls that I have evoked in the account eliciting and transformation procedures' to convince the reader of the 'authenticity' of the role-plays. In due course, in Section II when we discuss the findings of the role-plays, we shall be in a position to assess the attestability of the role-play accounts.

In conclusion, I believe that the role-playing methodology used in this research has enabled us to reveal, in a more systematic and comprehensive way than other methods so far have done, the 'role/rule frameworks governing human interactions' (Cohen and Manion, 1994, p. 260) in the little understood area of racism in the multi-ethnic classroom. Thus, the method has permitted the exploration of the situation:

In exploratory studies, a scientist has no very clear idea of what will happen, and aims to find out. He has a feeling for the 'direction' in which to go ... but no clear expectations of what to expect. He is not confirming or refuting hypotheses (Harré and Secord, 1972, p. 69).

Specifically, I believe that the 'exploratory' nature of role-playing as used in this research, has provided 'greater

insight into the natural episodes' of multi-ethnic classroom life than 'the burgeoning amount of experimental data already at hand' (Cohen and Manion, 1994, p. 260). Further, I believe that these role-plays have provided greater insight, or 'illumination' (Banister et al, 1994, p. 178), into such classroom life than the racism ethnographies and surveys of recent years.

However, as Ginsburg (1978) warns, rather than viewing role-playing data as a replacement for the experimental and ethnographic data that we already have, they should be seen as a complement. This idea has a clear resonance with the ideas of 'multi-perspectivism', which was introduced in Chapter 1 (pp. 71-3), and 'triangulation' (Chapter 2, pp. 212-13). These are ideas which will be taken up again at various points throughout this Chapter.

For now, we need to provide a critique of the role-players' accounts of the video films of their role-plays.

A critique of the pupil role-players' accounts of the films of their role-plays

In addition to providing some 'respondent validation' about which we have already spoken, fundamentally, these pupil role-players' accounts of the finished role-plays represent their 'account' of their 'account'. However, there are some methodological issues about the construction of the account of the account that we need to consider before we go any further.

In concluding their recent, edited book of papers on qualitative data analysis, Bryman and Burgess (1994) comment that:

... we have been mindful of what they (the contributors) have not addressed. ... it is still not absolutely clear how issues or ideas emerge in order to end up in the finished written product. The determining factor often seems to be the frequency with which something is observed or is said in interviews ... If frequency is the critical factor, it is surprising that there are so few counts and percentages reported in reports of qualitative research, since these could substantially enhance the reader's appreciation of the salience or significance of the perspectives or actions that provide the substance of the report (Bryman and Burgess, 1994, p.224).

In light of this statement, I now wish briefly to comment on two aspects of the method of qualitative content analysis that I have used.

First, let us consider the criteria that I used in deciding, whether or not, a participants' statement became influential in the construction of the model that we are considering. The simple answer is, all of them did! This is not to say that all of them have been recorded in words in Chapter 3. I felt that to have done so, would probably have produced a tediously boring report. Rather, where there were a number of statements to choose from, perhaps dangerously, I have selected illustrative exemplars. However, all of the statements, recorded in writing or not, pertaining to a particular category, have been taken into consideration, in that everyone of them is accounted for in the 'counts' that are provided for each constructed category of issue. From these data we can see that some issues seem to be salient for more participants than are others.

However, 'strength in numbers' does not indicate how salient to each of the individuals, or to the group, an issue is; it may not be very salient to any of them, it is simply that many of them have commented on the issue. Further, the 'true' saliency of a particular issue to the participants as a group, cannot be assessed from these data without, for example, differentially weighting each statement according to the ethnicity of the participant from whom it was elicited.

To have adopted such a strategy would, of course, have taken us away from the 'spirit' of qualitative research and placed us more in the realm of quantitative research. In short, numerical strength has not been allowed to dictate this analysis. Rather, I have taken the quantitative data into account in trying to 'listen' to what the participants have had to say. The quantitative data have been primarily provided so that the reader might assess the 'attestability' of the method and its outcomes.

Second, much of what has just been said about my categorization of the individual statements, also applies to the way in which I did not allow quantitative data to dictate the construction of the 'generalized model' (Chapter 3, pp. 284-86).

Thus, essentially, I feel that both the role-plays and the model of the pupil role-players' accounts of them are their ideas about teacher racism; they belong to them, they are not mine, or anybody else's.

The question remains, however, how can the participants' accounts of their account be authenticated?

Another of Brown and Sime's (1981) suggested types of procedure for authenticating accounts through 'external corroboration' is, the concordance type:

this refers to the degree of overlap amongst different informants giving an account of the same event (Brown and Sime, 1981, p. 187).

Since the accounts that we are considering here are all based on the accounts provided by the role-plays, which were produced by the pupils in collaboration, it would not be an adequate check on the authenticity of these 'accounts of their account', to examine them for 'concordance'. In other words, a 'concordance check' is inappropriate because the accounts have not been entirely independently produced.

But if we take a broad conception of Brown and Sime's idea of the 'same event', to be in our case, 'pupils' perceptions of teacher racism', we can check the concordance of these accounts against those provided by the other racism researches reviewed in Chapter 1 (pp. 157-189). In doing so, we shall also be following Ginsburg's (1978) advice, noted earlier, that data produced by different research methodologies should be used in a 'complementary way'. I do not intend conducting such a concordance check here, this will be attempted as part of the process of discussing and interpreting the results in the next section of this Chapter.

Nevertheless, one thing which we do need to remember when we

consider these results in Section II, is that not all of the role-players provided their 'account of the account' (Chapter 2, pp. 230-1).

More importantly, it was I, the researcher, who conducted the content analysis (as described in Chapter 2, pp. 231-2), not the respondents. Some comments are now needed on the validity of this method of analysis.

The raw data on which the analysis is based may have been flawed in the following ways. It may have been that the participants were not always able to express their ideas as well as they would have liked. It may also have been that some participants were not consciously aware that they were not expressing what they intended, that is, they made 'mistakes'. So, beginning with possibly flawed data, the content analyst has the responsibility of categorizing and interpreting accurately her participants' linguistic meanings. Similar problems afflict all research methods which try, from an 'outside view', to impute 'meaning' or 'intention'. For example, it plays a part in the 'linguistic meanings' strategies of Kelly's repertory grid technique (1955), interviews, observation and, not least, discourse analysis. Nevertheless, there comes a point in 'linguistic behaviour' research, as in everyday life, where what participants say has to be 'taken at face value' in terms of meaning.

So, apart from being a time-consuming process, there were no significant problems involved in the categorization of the

responses on the basis of their 'face value'. That is, the categories arose

from the data themselves, in the sense that the people studied (used) concepts that seem(ed) particularly significant for understanding their behaviour (Boulton and Hammersley, 1993, p. 15).

The difficulty arose in labelling the categories so that they accurately reflected what I 'thought' was in the respondents' minds.

That said, different content analysts may well have produced different categories and labels for them. Clearly then, here is another point at which 'respondent validation' could have been profitably employed. This, however, has not been done and must represent a weakness in the methods of this enquiry. In speaking about the 'softness' of qualitative ethnographic data and its analysis, Ball (1993, p. 43) says:

I believe that the differences between my analysis and yours typically would be small rather than large. The differences would be matters of emphasis and orientation, rather than in the story to be told.

I believe that in the more 'controlled research environment' of qualitative content analysis, we can expect that the differences between my 'story' and yours, will be even smaller than in the typical 'ethnographic research environment'. Because 'qualitative research cannot be made researcher-proof' (Ball, 1993, pp. 43-4), ultimately, the reader must assess the 'plausibility' of my categorizations and their labels, and of my construction of the model of the role-players' ideas about teacher racism (Chapter 3, pp. 284-286).

Next we must provide a critique of the methods used in the survey.

An assessment of the quality of the data of the stratified random sample of 480 respondents to the video films

By and large, the 'cold' respondents to the video films seem to have experienced no serious problems in interpreting the instructions about what they should comment on, in viewing each of the video films, that is, on how 'people behaved towards one another'. Perhaps this is unsurprising given the amount of piloting (Chapter 2, pp. 233-6) that was done into the most suitable question form. It seems, then, that the measuring instrument is internally valid in that it does measure what it is intended to measure.

Nevertheless, there are some 'threats to the validity' of the data collected; these we now need to consider.

We might begin by briefly commenting on the technical and logistical problems of showing the films for some of the administrators. The more significant of these problems appear to have been: the quality of the 'soundtrack' of the film, commented on in six (twenty-five per cent) of the Report Forms (Chapter 3, p. 293); the inadequacy of the space provided on the Response Form for the respondents' comments, reported on two (eight per cent) of the Report Forms (*Appendix VIII*). Let us briefly consider each of these concerns.

Regarding the quality of the soundtrack, only two Report Forms (eight per cent of the total) suggested, or implied, that all, or most, of the soundtrack was 'hard to hear'; the remainder said that it was difficult to hear 'sometimes' or 'on occasions'. However, there is no indication in any of the participants' responses that they could not adequately hear any part of the soundtracks. Notwithstanding probable differences in the quality of the acoustics of the spaces in which the films were shown, although the soundtrack, like any other, would not have been as equally audible for all respondents, it was, nevertheless, the same one for all respondents. Thus, what one hopes is that the extent to which the soundtrack was 'poor', affected each of the criterion groups equally. However, if there was a 'poor soundtrack effect', the implication is that it depressed, overall, the scores of perception of racism, that is, potentially, the perception of racism may have been greater than has actually been observed.

As far as the suggestion that there was insufficient space on the Response Form for some 'sixth-form' respondents, all I can say is that none of the 480 forms was completely filled.

One matter, however, which we do have to bear in mind, and which was raised earlier (Chapter 3, p. 242), is the validity threatening weakness in the data collection process, of using more than one administrator of the film showing sessions.

This weakness has been partly offset by gathering assessments of the respondents' likely reactivity to the video showing administrators as persons, and to the procedures of these

showings. This evidence is based on the administrators' report forms which were commented on in Chapter 3 (pp. 292-96). Thus, at least we are in a position to assess these 'personal' and 'procedural' reactivities and take them into account in our interpretations of the data.

The issues of personal reactivity discussed earlier (pp. 347-51) when we considered the pupil role-players' likely 'reactivity' to the four adults involved in the production of the video films, also apply here to the film showing administrators. Thus, in Rosenthal's (1969) terms there will have been 'experimenter effects' (biosocial, psychosocial and situational) and 'expectancy effects' (in which the 'experimenter' conveys, intentionally or not, to the subjects, 'the kind of performance he expects' (Brenner and Bungard, 1981, p. 97)).

Although the Report Form asked the administrator of each showing of the films to provide some basic biographical data about her or himself, it is virtually impossible to assess the extent of the influence of these factors on each of their pupils or, even, groups. Thus, we shall also have to enter this uncertainty into the equation when we attempt to interpret the results.

However, we have already noted (Chapter 3, p. 293) that all of the administrators were of IWGM and so that variable, at least, has been kept constant. We might also suppose that, as volunteers, each of the administrators was sympathetic to the aims of the research and to anti-racism, and that they

felt sufficiently confident in dealing with the issues raised by the films with their pupils, both in the video showing session and, in some cases, in subsequent lessons. Again, however, in having obtained 'good', 'volunteer', participant administrators, we have run the risk that they have influenced the elicitation from their pupils, of 'maximally valid data' (Brenner and Bungard, 1981, p. 88). In short, despite the attempt to standardize the film-showing sessions by providing detailed notes for the administrators on how they should be run, we have no way of knowing what actually occurred in each session. Thus, the situation that I am in, is not unlike that of Porter (1994) who, in her 'team researched' ethnography of communities in Newfoundland, reports that the fieldwork was primarily done by research assistants, (and hence her phrase 'second-hand ethnography'). She writes about the difficulty of having others doing ethnography on her behalf in that she 'was forced to trust someone else's eyes'. In a similar way, I have to trust that my 'research assistants' conducted the film-showing sessions as prescribed, and that they each of their reports on these sessions are 'trustworthy'.

As with the production of the role-plays, in the elicitation of these respondents' perceptions of the films, this last point again raises the issue of the respondents' 'participant motivation'. This is likely to have been an important factor in determining the quality of the data. We should note that there may have been some procedural reactivity effects from watching the films and responding to them. For some respondents it may be that they attempted to 'impress' their known-

to-them teachers who, they may have thought, would be reading their scripts. I hope that this is not the case and that, instead, they could see that as anonymous-to-me-participants there was nothing for them to be gained by 'putting on a show' or 'maintaining a front'.

The administrators' report forms (discussed in Chapter 3, pp. 292-96) suggest that there were no significant negative aspects of 'participant motivation'. On the contrary, many of the administrators reported that their pupils were 'interested'. In the three sessions that I ran, the pupils were very attentive to the films, and I gained the impression that all of the pupils 'did their best' in writing their responses. Further, my many readings of the 480 respondents' scripts leaves me with the overwhelming impression that all but two or three of these participants 'did their best'. So, from coming 'cold' into the video film watching situation, it seems that 'participant motivation' was rapidly established by the films for the vast majority, if not all, of the participants.

However, there were more respondents, perhaps as many as ten, whose scripts suggested that there was a 'learning or practise effect' over the four films. That is, some of the respondents who had failed to pick up on the racism in Extract 1, did so in the subsequent extracts.

Following on from this point, it may also be suggested that the data are contaminated by 'order effects' (raised in Chapter 3, p. 243) in that the films were shown to each

participant in the same order. Apart from the logistical difficulty of organising the showing of the films in such a way as to counterbalance these order effects, the extent to which the films produce a 'learning effect' would have been present, no matter in which order the films were shown; further research could investigate this hypothesis. Furthermore, however, the analysis of the data has not been by film, but by each respondents' protocol total score for the four films combined. In having done so, it is suggested that any learning and order effects have been controlled.

In conclusion to this discussion of the validity of the respondents' data, it seems that to the extent that the respondents did experience 'personal' and 'procedural' reactivity, these were generally positive influences in that the respondents 'did their best'.

We must now turn to the matter of the reliability of the measure used in scoring the respondents' scripts. Briefly, as reported in Chapter 3 (pp. 300-1), the statistical assessment of the reliability of the measure suggests that it is highly satisfactory for the purposes of this research.

Now we need to consider the generalizability, or, in this context, the population validity, of the findings of this survey strategy. As we have noted earlier, there were ten opportunity sample schools and colleges (Chapter 3, pp. 287-92) from throughout England, in which over 1000 adolescents responded to the films. Subsequently, a stratified random sample of 480 respondents was drawn, and it is these

respondents' data which have been used for the testing of the four hypotheses presented earlier (Chapter 2, p. 238).

Whilst one would have preferred a random sample of schools, the extent to which the ten schools (and their pupils) involved in this aspect of the research are representative of those throughout England, can only be judged on the basis of the brief descriptions of the schools provided in Chapter 2 (pp. 287-92). Together, however, these schools and colleges represent a wide variety of sizes and types in various urban locations in numerous LEAs. I would argue, therefore, that, collectively, these schools and colleges are representative of many of those found throughout England, and, thus, that the outcomes of this aspect of the research are broadly generalizable. Certainly, the outcomes would seem to be at least generalizable to similar schools.

In view of the commonly suspected interactive effects of gender, 'race' and class (for example, Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1983, p. 65; Parekh, 1985; McCarthy, 1989), and, recently, sexuality (Wetherell, 1995, p. 67, publisher's handover copy), perhaps one major weakness in this aspect of the research, is that it has not examined the effect of social class on 'pupils' perceptions of teacher racism'. Clearly, using the same basic research tool - the four video films - the effect of this variable could be examined in further research.

There is one other important weakness in this research which needs to be raised. It is the fact that the opportunity has

not been taken of qualitatively content analysing perhaps a sample of the 480 scripts. This strategy would have enabled an 'external corroboration check' on the role-plays and on the role-players' accounts of them. My impression, however, based on numerous readings of the scripts is that they strongly confirm the racism displayed in the role-plays. This hypothesis needs to be tested through further research.

The quality of the participants' response data to the bubble dialogue 'comic strip' research tool

Much of what has already been said so far in criticism of the methods used, applies to the data collection and analysis procedures of this strategy: thus, with regard to personal and procedural reactivity (pp. 347-51); and content analysis (pp. 356-7). However, there are some additional points regarding this strategy that need to be made.

First, one point, which we noted in Chapter 3 (p. 311), is that a small minority (two of the sixty-one participants - three per cent) did not entirely or, in one case, at all, show that they were 'playing the roles' of the players in the film. To this extent, there has to be a question about the internal validity of the strategy.

One implication of this, is that the instructions given to the respondents needed to be made clearer. Perhaps a more realistic possibility, given the nature of the sampled schools (Chapter 3, pp. 307-8), is that it should not be expected that every one of the participants should have been

'tuned-in' to the nature of this 'role- playing task'.

Second, the inter-rater reliability of the two-fold categorization of the responses (does/does not explicitly invoke the idea that the teacher is racist) is regarded as very satisfactory for the purposes of this research (Chapter 3, p. 322).

Third, regarding the population validity of the outcomes of using this strategy, there are two points that I should like to make. The first point is that, only three opportunity sample schools were involved in this aspect of the research. Nevertheless, it is felt that they are representative of a wide range of secondary schools in this country and, like the survey data, these data are generalizable to similar schools. The second point, however, is that only one of the four available films was used (Extract 2: 'Borrowing'). Thus, the picture that we have from this strategy of pupils' perceptions of teacher racism, compared with that obtained from the 480 respondent survey, is partial.

For these reasons, we need to bear in mind that the population validity of the data derived from this technique needs to be treated with even more caution than does that derived from the survey data.

Again, finally, in the next section, where we shall be discussing these results in light of previous findings, an attempt will be provided to assess the attestability of these qualitative data.

Section II A discussion of the outcomes of the methods used

This research began from the position of seeking to explore pupils' perceptions of teacher racism. Four principal research strategies have been used through which collectively, both qualitative and quantitative data have been gathered, analysed and presented. In the previous section of this Chapter, the methods of data collection and analysis have been criticised. In this Section my purpose is to discuss the findings of this research. This will be done against the background of the critiques of the methods, and against the background of the pre-existing knowledge of teacher-pupil relationships and, more specifically, pupils' perceptions of teacher racism, that have been presented and discussed in Chapter 1.

I shall discuss the outcomes of each of the research strategies used in an order which is different from that established in Chapter 2 and 3. Here, the order will be: first, I shall consider the role-plays together with the role-players' accounts of them; second, I shall take the bubble dialogue qualitative data; and third, I shall deal with the quantitative hypothesis-testing survey and bubble dialogue data. Structuring the account in this way will, I hope, be more efficient and effective, in terms of attempting to 'triangulate' the data sets, than considering each of them separately, and in the order used in Chapters 2 and 3.

Before we begin these tasks however, a few words are necessary to refine the conception that we have of 'triangu-

lation'. Speaking of triangulation, Miles and Huberman (1994) say:

validity is enhanced when findings are confirmed by more than one 'instrument' measuring the same thing (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 273).

This, however, is but one of the types of triangulation identified by Denzin (1970; 1978) who would describe it as 'methodological triangulation'. Drawing on Denzin's (1970; 1978) typology, this attempt at triangulation will involve: 'theoretical triangulation' (drawing upon alternative theories), to some extent; 'investigator triangulation' (involving more than one investigator, in the sense that more than one research is considered); and, methodological triangulation' (in this case, drawing on works which have used different methods in studying the same issue). Thus, regarding methodological triangulation we have to accept the possibility that we shall be usually validating a finding by subjecting it to 'the onslaught of a series of imperfect measures' (Webb *et al*, 1966, pp. 266-7). Not only does the idea of 'imperfect measures' apply to those used in this study, but also to those employed by most other social researchers.

Now we can begin the substantive tasks of this section.

A discussion of the role-plays and of the role-players' accounts of them

It has been decided to consider these two data sets together. This is simply because they are both derived from largely the

same group of research participants, and thus, they are both concerned with the primary data of the role-plays. This discussion will, however, be centrally concerned with the role-players' accounts of the role-plays. This is simply because these data are in a more amenable form for this discussion, and they are closer to the participants' original statements than my interpretations of them as presented in the forms of the synopses of the plays.

In Chapter 2 (p. 229) we noted that the key issues on which the four role-plays are based are:

Accusing and punishing black pupils for crimes which they have not committed (Extract 1: 'Catch').

Ignoring or dismissing as unimportant pupils' racist comments and name-calling (Extract 2: 'Borrowing').

Making racist judgments about pupils' inter-ethnic 'love' relationships (Extract 3: 'Going Steady').

Giving more requested help to white pupils with their work than black pupils (Extract 4: 'Sums').

We might view these issues as the 'superordinate constructs', or, simply, as the most significant of the participants' perceptions of teacher racism, at least as they were to them at the beginning of the role-play-making project. Each of the role-plays was based on one of these superordinate constructs, but each of them, according to the role-play devisers, and the role-players' accounts of the role-plays, as we have seen in Chapter 3, also afforded the role-players the opportunity to portray a number of other ways in which teachers can be and are, in their view, racist.

We might have left these accounts at that, to be taken at

'face value', but grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) has 'alerted qualitative researchers to the desirability of extracting concepts and theory out of data' (Bryman and Burgess, 1994, p. 220).

So, in Chapter 3 (pp. 284-6) a 'generalised model' or theory, of the participants' perceptions of the role-played teachers' racism was constructed and presented. I suggest that the 'building blocks' of this theory are the participants' 'concepts' (Bryman and Burgess, 1994, p. 220) which, through qualitative content analysis, I have subsequently categorized using higher order concepts.

However, the model of this research was derived from combining, quantitatively and qualitatively (as described earlier in this Chapter, pp. 357-8), the results of the content analysis of the role-players' accounts of each of the role-plays. Thus, this is my model of the most significant ways in which the participants appear to perceive teachers exhibiting racism through their behaviours and actions.

I propose taking each of the seven issues contained in this model in turn, and discussing them against the findings of the pre-existing empirical studies that have been reviewed in Section VIII of Chapter 1 (pp. 157-96). This is a sort of qualitative 'meta-analytic' technique (for example, Glass *et al*, 1981; Fitz-Gibbon, 1985) in which, typically, the findings of a number of small-scale researches are 'coordinated' (Fitz-Gibbon, 1985). Also, to some extent, the 'method' that I shall use in considering these previous researches is, the

style of qualitative content analysis that I have used on the role-players' accounts of the role-plays, and on the bubble dialogue data. Inevitably, therefore, there will be some, but hopefully limited, repetition of the findings of the studies reviewed in Section VIII of Chapter 1 (pp. 157-96). Examining the findings of this research against those of previous researches in this way, is an attempt at the 'concordance type of external corroboration' (Brown and Sime, 1981, p. 187) which we encountered in the last section of this Chapter (p. 359).

However, we would do well to bear in mind Miles and Huberman's (1994) warning that:

We may get corroboration; more typically, we can "bracket" the findings, getting something like a confidence interval (Greene et al, 1989) (Miles and Huberman's (1994, p. 267)

Finally, I shall also be triangulating the participants' issues against one another in order to develop and refine the model of 'pupils' perceptions of teacher racism' with which we were left in Chapter 3 (pp. 330-2).

With these thoughts in mind, now let us begin critically examining each of the issues raised by the role-plays and of the role-playing participants' accounts of them.

Issue 1 Compared with pupils of IWGM, treating pupils of VEMGM as though their thoughts and feelings are of little consequence.

As we noted in Chapter 3 (p. 284), for the participants this

aspect of teacher racism is exhibited in the role-plays in:

 failing to 'listen' to pupils of VEMGM (Issue 2, 'Catch'); treating pupils of VEMGM as if their thoughts and feelings are of little consequence (Issue 5, 'Going Steady'); and having little regard for the disruption of the work and working relationships of pupils of VEMGM (Issue 1, 'Going Steady').

We can begin a discussion of this issue by attempting some 'theoretical' triangulation. In presenting this issue, the participants seem to have an implicit theory which draws on Schutz and Luckmann's (1974) distinction between 'contemporaries' and 'consociates' (Chapter 1, pp. 104-5). Briefly, to remind ourselves, in relationships, 'consociates' are known and treated as unique individuals. 'Contemporaries', on the other hand, are known and treated not as individuals, but as 'types' of person, in this case, those playing the role of 'pupil'. Thus, in raising this issue the participants seem to be suggesting that IWGM pupils tend to be treated by the racist teacher more as 'consociates'. On the other hand, VEMGM pupils more commonly seem to have less favourable, to them, 'contemporary' relationships with such teachers.

This finding confirms a number of the studies that we have reviewed in Chapter 1 (pp. 157-89). For example, the work of Kelly (1988, p. 26) suggests that 'a few' VEMGM pupils experience unfair and unpleasant teacher behaviour and action compared with IWGM pupils. Tizard and Phoenix (1993) too, obtained some evidence which would seem to confirm the perceptions of the participants in this research that racist teachers have little regard for the 'thoughts and feelings'

of 'black' pupils.

Although the recent British racism ethnographies have tended not to consider explicitly the nature of teacher-pupils' inter-ethnic relationships, they also implicitly confirm the ideas that VEMGM pupils, particularly African-Caribbean boys, think that IWGM teachers 'dislike' and 'treat them less positively than white pupils', (Wright, 1987a; Mac an Ghaill, 1988; Gillborn, 1990; Mirza, 1992).

Thus, the idea that pupils perceive that teachers seem to have a qualitatively different type of relationship with VEMGM pupils compared with IWGM pupils, would seem to suggest that my earlier idea (Chapter 1, p. 113) that the demands of classroom life usually ensure that *all* pupils are treated as 'contemporaries' needs to be modified.

Worryingly, in view of the symbolic interactionist idea that the self '... is formed ... through the "definitions" made by others' (Meltzer, 1964, p. 10), and the social constructionist idea that the person and her social context 'cannot easily be separated from the boundaries of the other' (Wetherell and Maybin, 1996, p. 222), the implications of these participants' perceptions, justified or not, is the threat that they would seem to see them representing for pupils' self-concepts, particularly for those of VEMGM. Further, as suggested earlier (Chapter 1, p. 113), it seems that the degree to which a teacher and a pupil have a consocial relationship is largely determined by the extent to which the teacher likes the pupil. Clearly, through the

interactive 'spiral of teacher and pupil perspectives', whether or not the teacher likes a pupil is partly dependent on whether the pupil likes the teacher. Nevertheless, since it is the teacher who has most power in 'defining the situation' (Chapter 1, pp. 124-134), I think it is reasonable to suggest that the teacher has to accept responsibility for the way in which her relationship with a pupil is initiated and thus, developed.

Interestingly, however, some studies have shown that whilst older African-Caribbean girls have similar perceptions of their teachers' 'disliking' of them, they dismiss them as unimportant and choose to have instrumental relationships with their teachers (Fuller, 1980; Tomlinson, 1983; Wright, 1987b). In her study of eight sixteen-year-old African-Caribbean girls, Fuller (1980) found that these girls were not unduly concerned with the quality of the relationships that they had with their teachers, rather they were simply interested in obtaining 'good' examination results.

In summary, it does seem as though this issue, as raised by the participants in this research, is substantially confirmed by previous researches.

Issue 2 Using and condoning pupils' use of racist referents.

The examples of racist referents constructed into the role-plays, and drawn from the participants' comments (Chapter 3, pp. 284-5), are:

'coloured' (Issue 8, 'Catch' and Issues 2 and 3, 'Going

Steady'); 'Chink' and 'Chinky' (Issues 2, 3, 4 and 5, 'Borrowing').

As we have seen in the review of the literature on pupils' perceptions of teacher racism (Chapter 1, pp. 157-196), there are very few references to this issue, and they are mostly single-case anecdotal reports (for example, Kelly, 1988; Wright, 1987a;). Further, none of them are as direct and, even if we accept the possibility that they arise from 'unconscious racism' (DES, 1985), as insensitive as those reported by the participants in this research. Regarding qualitative data, there is only the 'mixed' method primary school research of Troyna and Hatcher (1992) to confirm the perceptions of the role-play participants in this research, that teachers condone pupils' use of racist referents. In Troyna and Hatcher's (1992) research, 'black' children were critical of teachers' and lunchtime supervisors' failure to respond to pupils' 'racist behaviour' and 'racist name-calling' (pp. 163-66).

However, there is also some quantitative data from previous researches regarding this issue. In her survey research of 902 pupils, Kelly (1988) found seventeen 'black' pupils who had been called 'offensive' names by teachers. A further thirty-four pupils (fifty per cent each of IWGM and VEMGM) also said that they had heard teachers use 'racial names' (Kelly, 1988, p. 25).

Since there are so few published accounts of pupils' perceptions of teachers using racist referents, perhaps we

can assume that it is not as significant an issue for most pupils as the participants in this research would have us believe. However, before we can make such an assumption, the wiser course might be to suspend judgment on this issue pending further investigation.

Issue 3 Demonstrating cultural prejudice, ethnocentricity and ignorance.

As we noted in Chapter 3 (p. 285):

the participants in this research raised this issue most heavily in Extract 3: ('Going Steady', Issues 4, 7 and 8). This category also includes the teacher's use of racial stereotyping in Extract 4 ('Sums', Issue 3) (Chapter 3, p. 285).

In various guises, this is also an issue that has been commented on in many recent British researches. For example, Mac an Ghail (1988, p. 24) comments that Asians were caricatured by 'white' teachers, as 'aliens from a backward country'. Also, Wright (1985, p. 118) speaks about a white teacher's 'mocking of the cultures' of Asian and African-Caribbean girls in terms of their cuisine. Further, Tizard and Phoenix (1993, p. 63) say that 'black' pupils 'often gave' them as the reason why they would prefer 'black' teachers, was because such teachers would have a greater understanding of how racist abuse affected them.

In their 'mixed' method study, Verma *et al* (1994, p. 101) noted that racist teachers were likely to be 'ignorant (or) insensitive' towards 'black' pupils and their cultures. And Hanson (1985, p. 38) too, found, in her study of a small

group of Muslim girls, that they felt that their culture was poorly understood and undervalued by IWGM teachers.

And, finally, Gillborn (1995, p. 158) powerfully points up the racist teachers' erroneous stereotyping of VEMGM pupils' ethnicities on crude categorizations:

teachers seem to adopt what, to the student, is a simplistic view of minority communities as homogeneous groups, neither changing nor internally differentiated.

It seems then, that the observation of the participants in this research that a teacher's lack of knowledge of cultures other than her own, is more generally construed by her pupils in terms of racism.

Issue 4 Unfair distribution of classroom chores.

In Chapter 3 (p. 285) we noted that the research participants observe that:

the teacher's classroom chores' are performed by VEMGM pupils, usually in their 'own time', whilst those of IWGM pupils are more often completed in the 'teacher's time' (Issue 6, 'Going Steady' and Issue 1, 'Sums').

If we can assume the 'the allocation of responsibility' can be equated with 'the distribution of chores', as far as I am aware, there is only one reference in the published racism literature to this issue. This is in Wright's ethnography of primary schools. Wright says that 'Afro-Caribbean children felt that the teachers discriminated against them in the allocation of responsibility and rewards' (Wright, 1992b, p. 26).

So, whilst there is some slender support for the finding of this research about the racist 'distribution of chores', there is a clear need for further investigation of this matter.

Issue 5 'Picking on' and 'showing up' pupils of VEMGM more than those of IWGM.

In Chapter 3, it was stated that:

The research participants raised this issue in connection with Extracts 2 ('Borrowing, Issue 1) and 4 ('Sums', Issue 2) (Chapter 3, pp. 285-6).

For some participants, this issue was also demonstrated by the teacher's shouting more at pupils of VEMGM than those of IWGM in Extract 1 ('Catch', Issues 3, 4, 5 and 7) and by publicly only accusing pupils of VEMGM when they, and pupils of IWGM, are not working (Issue 6, 'Catch'); being more impatient, aggressive and angry towards pupils of VEMGM compared with those of IWGM (Issues 4, 5 and 7, 'Sums'); and, conversely, being generally more pleasant and polite in her dealings with pupils of IWGM compared with those of VEMGM (Issue 10, 'Going Steady').

As we know from the review in Chapter 1 (pp. 124-96), most studies of pupils' perceptions of their teachers and of their schooling, reveal at least one aspect of teacher behaviour and action raised by this issue. For example, in the studies which did not differentiate between pupils' perceptions on the basis of their ethnicity, the 'picking-on' and 'showing up' finding of this research is supported by the studies of Rosser and Harré (1976), Woods (1975; 1979), Morgan et al (1979) and Nash (1974). Davies (1984) also found evidence for these phenomena in her study of girls' schooling.

It has also been noted in a number of researches, that

'black' pupils, undifferentiated by gender or ethnicity, were seen, by fellow pupils, to be 'criticised' by IWGM teachers more than 'whites' (Rubovits and Maehr, 1973, p. 217; Gay, 1974, pp. vii-x; Naylor, 1986; Kelly, 1988, p. 26).

In those studies which have looked at the differential treatment of pupils according to their ethnicity, it is those of African-Caribbean heritage that have been most commonly reported as suffering more 'picking on' by IWGM teachers (Green, 1983; Gillborn, 1990, p. 184; Tizard and Phoenix, 1993, p. 96; Wright, 1992b, p. 24-5).

Of African-Caribbean pupils, particularly adolescents, the researches of Wright (1985, p. 213; 1987a; 1987b, p. 183) and Mac an Ghail (1988) have shown that it is most often these pupils who suffer the types of discrimination raised by this issue. However, Wright (1987a; 1987b) and Mirza (1992, p. 55) have also shown the ways in which African-Caribbean adolescent girls are often in receipt of such unfair treatment from their IWGM teachers.

As in the production of the role-plays of this research, the unfair teacher treatments of VEMGM pupils have also been confirmed by 'white' pupils in some studies, both in primary and secondary schools (Verma *et al*, 1994, p. 101; Gillborn, 1987, p. 275; 1990, p. 31; Troyna and Hatcher, 1992; Wright, 1992).

Thus, in summary, there does seem to be substantial support for the views of the participants in this research regarding

this issue.

Issue 6 Compared with pupils of IWGM, excessive and discriminatory threats and punishment of pupils of VEMGM

As was stated in Chapter 3 (p. 286), for many of the participants in this research:

this was a significant issue in Extract 1 ('Catch', Issue 9), Extract 2 ('Borrowing', Issue 6), and Extract 4 ('Sums', Issue 1), and, with regard to the teacher's use of implicit threats and the misuse of her power in dealing with pupils of VEMGM, in Extract 3 ('Going Steady', Issue 9).

Some instances of this type of teacher behaviour and action have been reported by Kelly (1988, p. 26) regarding adolescent pupils undifferentiated by ethnicity. Similar comments have been obtained from an adolescent Sikh boy by Naylor (1986, p. 86) and from small groups of adolescent African-Caribbean boys by Wright (1985, p. 213) and Mac an Ghail (1988), and African-Caribbean pupils (undifferentiated by gender) by Stone (1981) and Gillborn (1990, pp. 43 and 44). Regarding adolescents, undifferentiated by gender or ethnicity, Tizard and Phoenix (1993, p. 96) obtained similar reports in their survey.

In her ethnography of four primary schools, Wright (1992b) notes that 'Afro-Caribbean and Rastafarian children' complained about 'unfair treatment' at the hands of teachers (p. 25) and they also 'perceived regular experience of reprimands' (p. 26).

Therefore, there seems to be a large amount of evidential support for the views of the participants in this project from previous researches.

Issue 7 Being seen to prefer helping pupils of IWGM compared with those of VEMGM.

In highlighting this issue, the role-players (Chapter 3, p. 286) are referring to the teachers' apparent:

preferential helping of pupils of IWGM compared with those of VEMGM in the context of the classroom. This issue was noted by some participants' in their comments on Extract 1 ('Catch', Issue 1) and, particularly, on Extract 4 ('Sums', Issue 4).

There is only one direct reference in the pre-existing literature to this issue of teachers' classroom behaviours and actions. It comes from Mirza's (1992) study in which a 'black' girl reports an experience in a mathematics lesson where she and a 'white' girl, like Laura and Debbie in the 'Sums' role-play, were 'stuck' (p. 55). As in the role-play, the teacher clearly demonstrated his willingness to help the 'white' girl in preference to helping the 'black' girl.

However, we might develop what the role-play participants seem to be saying about this issue, particularly as revealed in Extract 4: 'Sums', by conceiving of it as centring on the role-players' ideas that the racist teacher sees VEMGM pupils as 'inferior' to IWGM pupils and that this, in turn, results in the teacher having low expectations of VEMGM pupils.

That being so, there are numerous references in the litera-

ture regarding teachers' lower expectations of VEMGM pupils compared with those of IWGM. For example, Saint's (1963) Sikh boys complained about teachers' 'inattentiveness to their needs and work', and they expressed 'favouritism' towards IWGM boys.

More recently, Verma *et al* (1994, p. 101) have obtained some evidence of 'white' teachers low expectations of 'black' pupils. They have reported that a 'black girl' said that she and her 'black' friends were always given the easy worksheets because, as she said, 'of our appearance'.

Similar perceptions of teachers' 'low' expectations of 'black' pupils have been reported regarding the streaming and banding of pupils. Ratcliffe (1981), for example, found that none of his twenty-five African-Caribbean respondents had managed to obtain a place in a high status GCE (General Certificate of Education) class during Years Ten and Eleven; instead, they had to settle for lower status CSE (Certificate of Secondary Education) classes. Ratcliffe notes that these respondents expressed 'distinct ... dissatisfaction' with their teachers' decisions in this matter of streaming. Similar findings were obtained from two of Wright's (1985, p. 212) African-Caribbean informants.

In his study of small groups of African-Caribbean adolescent boys and of African-Caribbean and Asian sixth-form girls, Mac an Ghaill (1988, p. 103) reports their claim that 'white' teachers 'treated them as inferiors' and 'worse' than 'white' pupils. Wright (1987a, p. 111) also speaks about the

'adverse attitudes and expectations which the teachers held about some African-Caribbean sixteen-year-old students. This rejection of African-Caribbean pupils as inferiors by 'white' teachers, has also been reported by Rex and Tomlinson (1979) and Mirza (1992, p. 55).

Finally, the reported comments of 'black' informants of 'white' teachers' low expectations of African-Caribbean and Asian pupils regarding their careers education have been recorded by Mac an Ghaill (1988, p. 18) and Mirza (1992, p. 115).

In summary, the idea that the teacher racism is displayed through her preference for helping 'white', rather than 'black' pupils, is confirmed by a large number of published findings. This is particularly so, if we extend the idea of 'helping' to include notions of teachers' expectations of pupils. In conclusion, we might also note that this issue of 'helping' is clearly related to the first one that we considered on the teachers' 'treatment' of pupils.

An issue which has not been raised by the role-plays, or by the role-players' accounts of them, but which exists in the literature

One issue of teacher racism that this role-playing project has not raised, but which exists in the literature (Naylor, 1986, p. 83 and p. 96; Tizard and Phoenix, 1993, p. 63), is that of IWGM pupils reporting that VEMGM pupils are sometimes unfairly indulged by IWGM teachers.

There are a number of possible explanations for the omission of this issue from the role-plays of this research. One possibility that it is not something which any of the role-players have perceived or, if they have, have not seen as being sufficiently important to them to include in the role-plays (as suggested by the dearth of reports in the literature). Another, stronger, possibility lies in the way in which the role-plays were set up. The 'given away' aim of the project was to elicit from the pupil participants, the ways in which 'white' teachers act and behave in racist ways in the multi-ethnic classroom. I suspect that this aim gave the VEMGM participants most of the power resources in 'defining the situation'. Thus, I argue that whilst the IWGM participants were influential in determining the 'shape' of the role-plays, it was the VEMGM participants who would have had the 'right of veto' and, thereby, the 'final say' about what the plays portrayed. I have no way of knowing whether or not this is the case however, simply because we can expect that the discussion between the participants about the aim of the project, and of the role-plays, extended beyond the formal sessions in which they were devised and developed.

Ideas for further research arise from these possible explanations. Using the role-play methodology, a multi-ethnic group of pupil participants might be given the task of constructing plays which focus on the more general, higher order construct of teacher 'unfairness'. (This is, of course, the construct with which I began my earlier work (Naylor, 1986).) Another possibility, is that independent groups of role-players, differentiated by ethnicity, are

given the task, as in this project, of producing role-plays in which the teachers display racism.

Developing the role-players' generalized model of how teachers behave and act in racist ways

Towards the end of Chapter 3 (p. 286) an overview was provided of the role-players' accounts of the role-plays.

There it was said that:

Taken together, the participants' perceptions of teacher racism are comprehensive, in that they take account of all aspects of classroom life, and are often quite subtle and sophisticated, for example, with regard to teachers' classroom management practices. For the participants the key issue seems to be the teacher's lack of valuing of pupils of VEMGM, that is, as people with thoughts, feelings, relationships and important cultural backgrounds.

However, this 'grounded data' research is inductive in that we are working from the particular towards, possibly and hopefully, the development of 'theory'. As such, it is not the neat and tidy exercise that deductive research, in which one typically attempts to refine or develop a pre-existing model or theory, usually is. Thus, there are now some ways in which I think that we can refine and develop the 'generalized model' of pupils' perceptions of teacher racism with which we began this section. We now need to consider this revised model and how it has been developed.

It is suggested that the seven issues (or 'constructs'), which the content analysis of the role-players' accounts (consisting of 'subordinate constructs') of the four role-plays reveals, can be built into the model presented in Table

13. This model of the role-players' accounts of teacher racism has been developed through a technique of 'systematic network analysis' (Bliss *et al*, 1983).

Of network analysis, Cohen and Manion (1994) say:

Essentially, network analysis involves the development of an elaborate system of categories by way of classifying qualitative data and preserving the essential complexity and subtlety of the materials under investigation. A notational technique is employed to generate network-like structures that show interdependencies of the categories as they are developed.

The network analysis (Table 13) suggests that the role-players' subordinate constructs can be arranged under my original category labels (constructs in the diagram), and that these, in turn, can be categorized under higher order 'superordinate construct' labels. These labels are that a teacher is racist if, in dealing with VEMGM pupils, she:

abuses her power resources;

is uninterested in them as learners;

she disregards and disrespects them as persons;

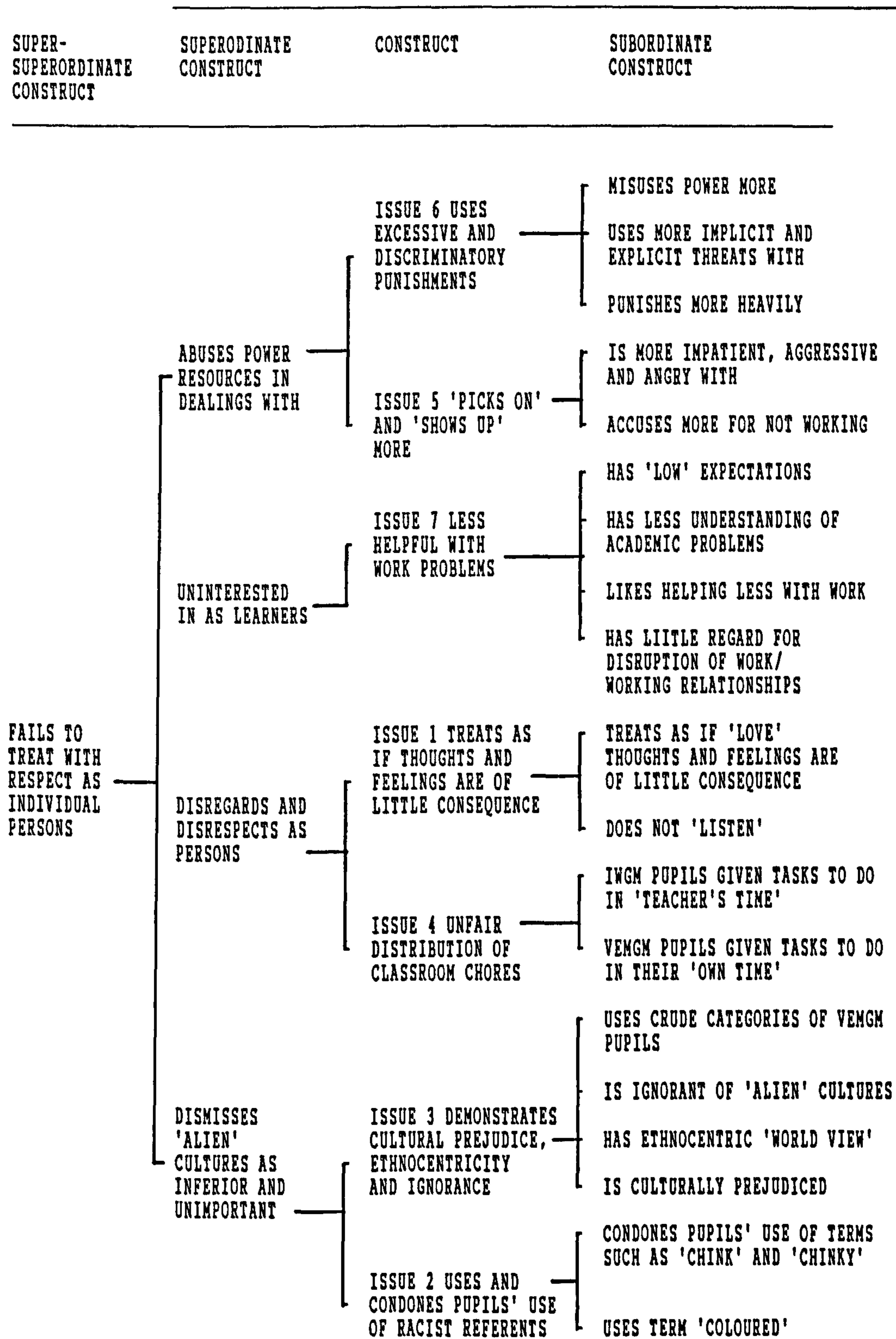
she dismisses their cultures as 'alien', inferior and unimportant.

Finally, I suggest that the overarching conception (or super-superordinate construct) that the role-players have of the racist teacher is that she:

fails to treat the VEMGM pupil with respect, as an individual person.

Thus, it seems that we have come full circle back to Schutz and Luckmann's (1974) ideas of 'consocial' and 'contemporary' relationships. Simply, it seems that, collectively, the

Table 13 A network analysis revised model of the pupil role-players' perceptions of the teacher's racist actions and behaviours towards VEMGM pupils



role-players are saying that the racist teacher is one who treats pupils differently on the arbitrary basis of the colour of their skin. Thus, on the one hand, IWGM pupils are relatively more often than is true of VEMGM pupils, treated by the racist teacher as 'consociates' or, as individuals. And, on the other hand, such a teacher usually treats VEMGM pupils as 'contemporaries' or, as 'types', crudely based on skin colour.

We might also note that the participants' model implicitly recognises the differential in the position of teachers and pupils, which accords the former more of the power resources. Following from this idea, there is an implicit recognition by the participants that it is the teacher who has most power in 'defining the situation'.

Also, I suggest that all of the elements in the participants' model, or implicit theory, of teacher racism, as produced by this project, can be fitted into the academic definition of racism adopted for this study (Chapter 1, p. 38). Thus, it seems that there is broad concordance corroboration of the outcomes of this project with this academic definition of racism. We might add that this model of racism illustrates many of the abstract ideas contained in academic definitions of racism in the participants' concrete terms. To the extent to which it does so, it is argued that the model is all the more useful as a starting point in attempting to bring about change in the institution of education. We shall be examining this proposal in the chapter which follows.

However, at this early stage in the 'direct' exploration of teacher racism, I am reluctant, like others before me, working in other areas (Bryman and Burgess, 1994, p. 220), to suggest that I, with my participants' help, have created substantive or formal theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). As Harré (1993, p. 78) reminds us, we would also do well to remember that:

Any account of a slice of life is always, in principle, liable to be challenged by another account, in which a different act structure is conjured into being, and different motives are ascribed. Accounts are essentially contestable (Harré, 1993, p. 78).

So, I suggest that we now have a tentative, descriptive account of pupils' perceptions of teacher racism which 'is contestable'. I might, for example, have constructed the participants' model in such a way as to 'fit' the adopted academic definition of racism with which I began this work.

Thus, I believe that rigorous testing of the model produced by this project is required, before we can make any serious claims about having a firm, theoretical knowledge and understanding of pupils' perceptions of teacher racism.

A discussion of the qualitative data derived from using the bubble dialogue 'comic strip' research tool

In Chapter 3 (p. 308) it was noted that the 'bubble dialogue "comic strip" tool had not only elicited the participants' perceptions of the actions and behaviours of teacher racism, en passant, but also their conceptions of teacher's racist thoughts. The qualitative content analysis of the sixty-one

participants' bubble dialogue protocols in response to Extract 3 'Borrowing', led to the construction of a model of their collective 'thoughts' about teachers' racist thinking which underlies their racist behaviours and actions (Chapter 3, p. 319). These racist 'thoughts' are:

The stereotyping of pupils of VEMGM.

Unfairly 'picking on' pupils because of the colour of their skin or because of the language and culture of their heritage.

Disparaging Chinese and other ethnic minority people in terms of their physical appearance and characteristics.

Notions of 'white', 'British' superiority and a hatred of people 'besides whites'.

Misusing her authority and power in dealing with the racism of some of her pupils.

The repatriation of Chinese and other pupils of VEMGM.

Using and/or seeming to condone pupils' use of racist referents.

Diminishing attempts at establishing inter-ethnic harmony and co-operation and, conversely, promoting, albeit subversively, inter-ethnic disharmony and hostility.

Hoodwinking herself into believing that she is not racist, or that she is trying to conceal it from her pupils and does not wish them to challenge her about the possibility.

This is the model of the participants' conceptions of the teacher's racist thinking as we left it in Chapter 3. As we noted there, this model, by comparison with that obtained from the role-players' about the filmed role-plays, is partial, in so far as it is based on only one of the four role-plays. However, I know of no other research which has specifically set about revealing, or attempting to reveal, pupils' ideas about the 'private, attitudinal thoughts' of the racist teacher. Thus, it is not possible, through meta-

analysis, triangulation, or the broad conception of concordance corroboration that we have used in discussing the role-players' accounts of the role-plays, to discuss the extent to which most of the findings of this research are supported by earlier works.

Nevertheless, there are a few pieces of concordance corroborative published evidence of some of the 'thoughts' raised by the bubble dialogue data.

The issue of pupils being 'unfairly "picked on" because of the colour of their skin, or because of the language and culture of their heritage', has been suggested by a Sikh boy in my earlier study (Naylor, 1986, p. 86). Also, one of Mirza's (1992, p. 55) respondents commented about some IWGM teachers that:

You feel the discrimination, they try to hide it but you can see it. They try to say, 'We're all equal', but you can tell: they talk to you more simply.

There is also some corroboration of the issue of the teacher 'misusing her authority and power in dealing with the racism of some of her pupils'. This corroboration comes from Stone's (1981) study of African-Caribbean children in London. Stone (1981) found that these children perceived teachers as using 'their power in an arbitrary way'.

It can also be seen that aspects of this model are confirmed by some features of the model of the role-players' perceptions of teachers' racist actions and behaviours (Table 13), specifically, they are:

Using and/or seemingly condoning pupils' use of racist referents.

'Picking on' and 'showing up' pupils of VEMGM more than those of IWGM.

Threatening and punishing pupils of VEMGM, compared with those of IWGM, more excessively and in more discriminatory ways.

It needs to be borne in mind that these are the only role-players' ideas which have been confirmed by the role-players' accounts of the role-plays, probably because they are the only ones which apply to the film of 'Borrowing'. As I suggested in Chapter 3 (p. 328), I strongly suspect that others of the role-players' ideas would have been confirmed if the bubble dialogue technique had been used for the remaining three films. However, further research is required to investigate this suspicion.

So, there is not much available supporting concordance corroborative evidence for the model. Until further evidence is obtained, all we can do at the moment, is ask ourselves a modification of Miles and Huberman's (1994, p. 278) question about internal validity, which we commented on earlier (p. 341). This modified question is: 'Do we *think* we have an authentic portrait of what we were looking at?'. Notwithstanding Miles and Huberman's (1994, p. 263) warning about 'plausibility', I suggest, on the basis of experience, that the model does have a ring of truth about it; the model seems to accord with popular conceptions of what the individual's racist ideology is like.

Third, the 'Borrowing' 'comic strip', 'think' Bubbles 11, 12

and 13 (Chapter 3, pp. 319-20) provided the respondents with an opportunity to comment on what they think pupils can do about the displayed types of teacher racism. On the basis of the small number of such comments, it was said that:

The bubble dialogue technique has also enabled the respondents to comment on what they think pupils can do about the teacher racism displayed in the film of 'Borrowing'. Tentatively, it seems that the respondents do not think that much can be done through using formal complaints procedures because they are controlled by the dominant 'white' society. However, some of the respondents seem to suggest that 'black' people will 'get their own back', through their own informal 'procedures' (Chapter 3, p. 320).

As far as I am aware, the only other evidence of this idea of VEMGM pupils, notably African-Caribbean pupils, 'getting their own back', is provided by some of the research of Wright (1985; 1987a). In response to Wright's question about how unfair treatment at the hands of teachers made some of her adolescent, African-Caribbean boy respondents feel, one of them said:

... we try to get our own back on them. We behave ignorantly towards them, and when the teachers talk to us and tell us to do something we don't do it, because we just think about how they treated us (1987a, p. 122).

In another study, Wright (1985) summarized some African-Caribbean boys' responses to their unfair treatment by teachers in the following terms:

The teachers' anxiety served only to accentuate their negative attitudes and behaviour towards ... (these) ... students which resulted in these students 'getting their own back' (Wright, 1985, p. 122).

We now need to consider the development of the participants' model of teacher racism elicited by this research tool.

Using network analysis in a similar way to that in which the model of the role-players' accounts of the role-plays was developed, I have constructed a revised model of the teacher's racist thinking (Table 14).

This network analysis suggests that the participants' subordinate constructs can be arranged into four categories (labelled 'constructs' in the diagram) according to what I feel the participants are saying. These constructs of the teacher's racist thinking have been labelled:

discriminatory stereotyping on the basis of physical appearance;

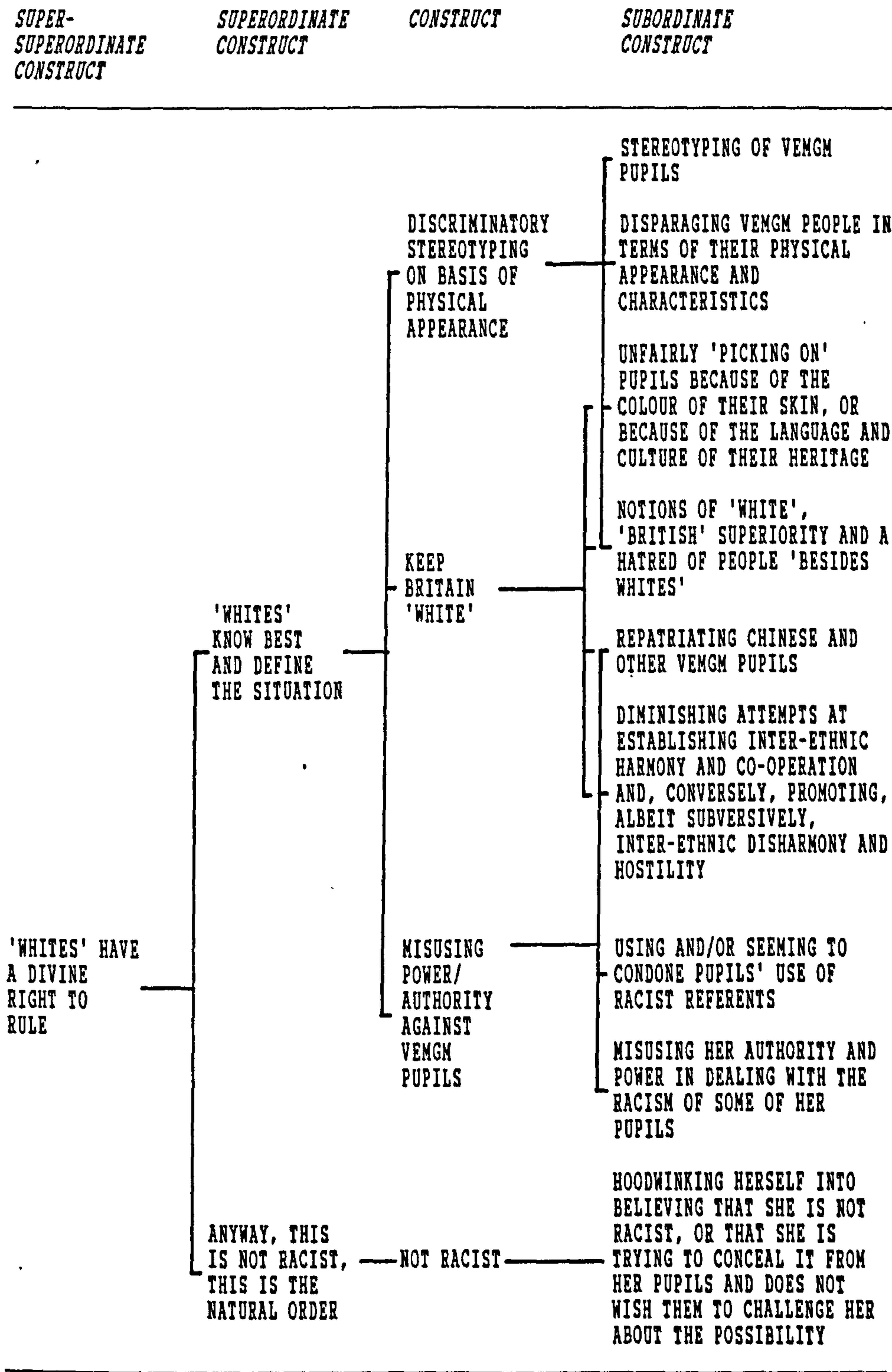
keep Britain 'white';

misusing her power and authority against VEMGM pupils;
not racist.

It will be noted that there is an overlap in that four of the subordinate constructs are part of two separate, but clearly related, constructs. For example, the subordinate construct, 'Notions of "white", "British" superiority and a hatred of people "besides whites"', forms part of the higher order constructs of 'Discriminatory stereotyping on the basis of physical appearance', and of 'Keep Britain "white"'. Nevertheless, I feel that it is legitimate for these distinctions and overlaps to occur.

In turn, I suggest that the four constructs can be categorized under higher order 'superordinate construct' labels. On the basis of what I feel the model is about up to this stage, I have labelled these two superordinate constructs as:

Table 14 A network analysis revised model of the bubble
dialogue respondents' conceptions of the racist
teacher's thinking



'whites' know best and thus, define the situation;
anyway, my thinking is not racist, this is the natural
order.

Finally, careful study of the model up to this point leads me
to suggest that the overarching conception (or super-super-
ordinate construct) that the participants have of the
teacher's racist thinking is that it is driven by the idea
that:

'Whites' have a divine right to rule'.

If it is reasonable to draw this conclusion from the
participants' model, it would seem that, collectively, they
recognise and agree with the views of Avari and Joseph (1990,
p. 121) who say:

... it is natural to find that the great colonial
nations, who until recently ruled over a sizeable
portion of the globe, sent forth soldiers, missionaries
and administrators (are) imbued with a strong sense of
superiority.

It appears that the hierarchical arrangement of the
participants' subordinate constructs, ultimately suggests
that their conception of the teacher's racist thinking is
driven by two seemingly incompatible sets of ideas. First,
the teacher thinks that through their 'god-given' superior-
ity, 'white' people have a legitimate right to their 'racist'
thoughts. And second, she thinks that because these thoughts
are justified on 'god-given' grounds, they cannot, in fact,
be racist. Collectively, the participants appear not to have
a problem with this seeming irrationality.

It seems that the participants have an implicit psychodynamic theory of irrationality which invokes the Freudian defence mechanisms of 'rationalization', 'repression' and 'denial'.

According to psychodynamics,

we are not rational truth-seekers attempting to model the world in as accurate way as we can. Rather, we are defended creatures who distort reality because we cannot bear the psychological pain of the truth (Thomas, 1996, p. 288).

The participants seem to be implicitly recognising that a teacher's conscious claim that she is not racist serves the unconscious motive of protecting her from the pain of her racist thoughts. Of course, this idea remains untested in this research.

At this point, curiosity might lead one to wonder whether or not pupils suppose that teachers' racist thinking, as portrayed in the model, 'drives' their racist actions and behaviours, as revealed by the role-plays and the role-players' accounts of them. In short, the question is: 'What implicit theory of the relationship between racist attitudes and behaviour do pupils have?'. However, this research can shed no light on answering this question. Further, in Chapter 1 (pp. 51-2) we discussed the fact that there is no clear-cut empirical evidence about the causal relationship between attitudes and behaviour.

In conclusion, there are three main points that need to be made. First, the caveats that I have made about being reluctant to claim that the role-players' model of the teacher's racist actions and behaviours (Table 13) represents

substantive or formal theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) apply here too, to the model of the teacher's racist thinking.

Second, bearing these caveats in mind, I suggest that we now have a tentative, descriptive statement of pupils' conceptions of teachers' racist thinking.

Third and finally, there would seem to be sufficient evidence from this exploratory aspect of the research, to suggest that 'bubble dialogue' is potentially a very valuable technique for eliciting rich data from respondents, about a previously unexplored aspect of racism, namely, pupils' *conceptions* of the racist teacher's thinking. However, I believe that further investigations are necessary before we can claim that we have a sound theoretical understanding of pupils' conceptions of teachers' racist thinking. Such testing and refinement of the model would involve using the bubble dialogue technique with all four of the filmed role-plays.

A discussion of the outcomes of testing the six hypotheses of this study

Here, the results of the hypothesis-testing using the quantitative data derived from the stratified random sample of 480 respondents (Hypotheses 1-4), and from the sixty-one bubble dialogue respondents (Hypotheses 5 and 6), will be considered together. This is simply because there is a correspondence between some of the hypotheses tested using these two data sets. Also, some of the hypotheses will not be considered in numerical order. I shall first consider

those null hypotheses which the findings suggest should be rejected (Hypotheses 1, 3, 4 and 5). I shall then consider those null hypotheses which the findings suggest should be accepted (Hypotheses 2 and 6).

Throughout, we shall need to bear in mind the general critique of the methods used in this aspect of the research (pp. 358-66). Other points of criticism of the methods will be raised as they specifically relate to each of the hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1 (H_{01}). Academically higher ability pupils are no more perceptive of teacher racism than academically lower ability pupils.

In view of the rationale provided for this hypothesis (Chapter 1, pp. 115-7), perhaps it comes as no surprise that the findings of this research suggest that the null hypothesis should be rejected, and that its alternative should be accepted ($p < 0.001$). That is, the findings of this research are that academically higher ability (operationalized as 'attainment') adolescents are more perceptive of teachers' racist actions and behaviours, than those who are less so.

Thus, it seems that the findings of this research confirm those studies which were reviewed in Chapter 1. For example, the outcome of testing this hypothesis confirms the works of: Feffer (1969) on the relationship between the level of cognitive ability and the ability to 'role-take'; Peel (1971) on the quality of adolescent judgment being related to mental age; and Kohlberg (1987) on the development of moral reasoning directly as a function of intellectual development.

However, there are some further points of concern that I should like to discuss about the methods used in this aspect of the research.

First, there is a question about the operationalization and measurement of the concept of attainment. The two-fold categorization of many of the respondents as 'high attainers' or as 'low attainers', was based on the subjective assessment of their teachers of four subjects (for details see *Appendix VI*). I subsequently used the mode of this information to establish each respondents' attainment category. A more objective measure of attainment, for example, as provided by a psychometric test, would have afforded greater confidence in the categorization of the respondents' protocols.

For those respondents over sixteen years of age and who had sat public examinations, I used their self-reported results to determine their attainment on the two-fold categorization. This is a more objective measure than that used with those respondents who had not taken any public examinations, but a weakness lies in the dependence on their self-reported results. Therefore, the use of a standardized psychometric test with these respondents would also have provided greater confidence in their categorization as high or low attainers.

Second, and related to the first point, is a concern about equating the concept of 'academic attainment', as used in this research, with, for example, 'cognitive ability' (Feffer, 1969), the 'quality of adolescent judgment' (Peel, 1971) and 'intellectual development' (Kohlberg, 1987). It

may well be that the construct of 'academic attainment' is sufficiently unrelated to these other constructs to make such comparison of research findings erroneous. Thus, in addition to the operational weaknesses in the measure of 'academic attainment' used in this research, there may well also be conceptual weaknesses. It is suggested that both of these types of weakness may have been reduced through using an appropriate psychometric test. Further investigations might adopt the strategy of using such a test.

Third, and finally, the result of testing this hypothesis is more significant ($p < 0.001$) than the *a priori* specified level of $p < 0.01$. Therefore, to return to the discussion which we had in Chapter 3 (p. 361), about the possibility of committing a type 1 error, (falsely rejecting the null hypothesis because of the fact that the mean age of the higher ability respondents is greater than that of the lower ability respondents), is remote. In short, notwithstanding the concerns about the procedures and measures that have been used, it would appear that the observed effect actually exists.

Hypothesis 3 (H_{03}). Older pupils are no more perceptive of teacher racism than younger pupils.

Again, in view of the rationale for this hypothesis (Chapter 1, pp. 117-9), it is suggested that the outcome of testing this hypothesis also comes as no surprise. That is the finding that older adolescents are more perceptive of teacher racism than those who are younger ($p < 0.001$). Therefore,

within the context of this study, as we noted earlier (Chapter 3, p. 117), it does seem as though 'children become more socially adept with increasing age' (Zebrowitz, 1990, p. 11).

The findings of this research would thus seem to confirm the theorizing of Kohlberg (1987, p. 273), and Seiffert and Hofnung (1991, p. 558), on children's and adolescents' age-related ability to 'role-take'. Also, the findings of testing this hypothesis go some way to confirming the proposal that there are discrete age-related stages of development in reasoning about social domains (for example, Lapsley, 1990; Youniss and Smoller, 1985 which were reviewed in Chapter 1, pp. 117-9).

Additionally, we might note that this research finding supports Meadows who, working within a Vygotskian perspective, has said that:

The child undergoes an apprenticeship in the skills of the culture, and by practising these skills and reflecting on them internalizes the cognitive tools that earlier members of the culture have developed (Meadows, 1995, p. 22).

Thus, if we can assume that 'practising the skills of the culture and reflecting on them' requires time for the development of the child's social cognition, the outcome of testing this hypothesis supports Meadows' contention.

Further, Meadows maintains that Vygotskian theory asserts that:

cognitive abilities are not internal and individualistic, but formed and built up in interaction with the social environment, they are interpsychological before

they become internalized and intra-psychological (Meadows, 1995, p. 22).

Thus, if Meadows and Vygotsky are correct, we might assume that length of experience of the apprenticeship or, more simply, a child's age, is an important factor in her acquisition of cognitive cultural skills. Again, this is a suggestion that is supported by the findings of testing this hypothesis.

However, we should note that this research has used a crude, two-fold dichotomous categorization of age (old-young). Further research might use a more fine-grained categorization of the age variable and it might involve younger children than this research has done. So doing, might permit the revelation of the age at which children typically begin to perceive teacher racism. Such a strategy might also permit the construction of a model of the development in children's perceptions of teachers' and other people's racism. Teachers (and other adults), as 'more expert persons' (Meadows, 1995, p. 23), may then be better enabled to construct, or better, 'provide a context' (Meadows, 1995, p. 22) for, or 'scaffold' (Vygotsky, 1978), children's social and cognitive learning experiences (Meadows, 1993; Tharp and Gallimore, 1988; Wood, 1988), as part of the moral effort to reduce, if not eliminate, racism.

Finally, again we can note the unlikelihood of having committed a type 1 error in falsely rejecting the null hypothesis, because of the achieved significance level in testing the

outcome of this hypothesis of $p < 0.001$. Thus, bearing in mind the methodological weaknesses that we have discussed, it appears that this research has revealed that age has a real effect on pupils' perceptions of teacher racism.

Hypothesis 4 (H_{04}). Pupils of VEMGM are no more perceptive of teacher racism than pupils of IWGM.

Bearing in mind the general concerns that we may have about the procedures used in testing this hypothesis, the outcome suggests that the null hypothesis should be rejected, and that the alternative hypothesis should be accepted ($p < 0.001$). Given that the significance level achieved is so great, as with the findings relating to the two hypotheses that we have already discussed, it seems unlikely that we have committed a type 1 error. Furthermore, this finding is supported by the outcome of testing Hypothesis 5, regarding the bubble dialogue method, which we shall shortly be discussing. Again then, it seems that we have obtained a real effect of VEMGM pupils being more perceptive of teachers' racist actions and behaviours than IWGM pupils.

However, there is one other principal concern about the methods used which is specific to this hypothesis; I shall now discuss this matter.

The categorization of respondents as VEMGM or as IWGM was based on their self-reported ethnic group membership, according to the categories used by the Commission for Racial Equality. In terms of validity, the self-reporting of this

information may be questionable. Simply, there is no way of knowing that each of the respondents' ethnicity is, in fact, as they have reported it. Thus, it is possible that these data are not, in every case, accurate and, therefore, some respondents may have been inappropriately categorized. Clearly, such a possibility represents a threat to the validity of the data relating to this hypothesis and to their analysis. Ethically, however, I do not consider that it is ever appropriate for any other to decide another's ethnicity. Hence, I argue that we shall always have to live with the possibility that such data may, to some extent, be invalid.

Notwithstanding this matter, and the more general concerns about the methods used that have been raised earlier in this chapter (pp. 360-71), it seems that the arguments presented in support of this hypothesis in Chapter 1 (pp. 189-92) are borne out. Thus, if we accept that in the case of this research that 'similarity of judge to judged' (Bruner and Tagiuri, 1954) can be equated with VEMGM respondents' judgments of how VEMGM participants are treated by the IWGM teachers in the role-plays, there seems to be some confirmation of Bruner and Tagiuri's (1954) finding regarding 'accuracy of judgment'. That is, VEMGM respondents are more 'accurate' in picking-up on the teachers' relatively greater maltreatment of VEMGM pupils compared with those of IWGM.

In Chapter 1 (p. 190), we noted that another of Bruner and Tagiuri's (1954) findings about the perceptual judgment of others, concerns the 'leniency effect' or 'rose-coloured spectacles' syndrome. Thus, it may be that the IWGM respon-

dents tended to be more generous and forgiving in their interpretations of the role-played teachers' racism than the VEMGM respondents. Allied to this possibility, is the idea that more of the IWGM respondents, compared with those of VEMGM, tended not to 'see' the role-played teachers' racism. We might continue this line of argument by saying that VEMGM respondents are generally more likely than those of IWGM to 'see' racism, because racism is within their personal, everyday experience and that of other members of their ethnic group.

Conversely, we might say that for the IWGM respondents, real life racism is only ever experienced vicariously and not personally. Thus, as Meadows (1995, p. 23) suggests, the 'cognitive potential' to 'see' racism 'may be universal ... (but the) ... cognitive expertise' to do so 'is culturally determined'.

If this is so, an initial goal of anti-racism must be somehow to provide everybody, irrespective of their ethnicity, with the facility to 'see' racism in all of its manifestations. Again, in such a moral endeavour, Vygotsky's (1978) notion of 'scaffolding' is likely to be important in children's social and learning experiences.

Some comments have been made earlier (Chapter 1, pp. 123-4), about important cultural differences that research (Argyle and Henderson, 1983; Cousins, 1989; Van den Heuval, 1992) has shown there to be in the ways in which Japanese, Moroccan, Dutch, American and Italian people describe themselves and

others. The implication of these findings for this research would seem to be that the dichotomous categorization of respondents as VEMGM or IWGM is too crude. Although this research has established that ethnicity, based on a dichotomous categorization, is a main effect on pupils' perceptions of teacher racism, further research might investigate racism using a finer grained categorization of ethnicity. So, for example, the 'leniency effect' hypothesis could be further investigated by examining whether or not African-Caribbean pupils, for example, are more perceptive of a teacher's racism towards a member of their own ethnic group, than they are towards a member of another VEMG.

Information from such research about differences between ethnic groups might then be used to devise strategies to empower, perceptually and politically, all of us equally well.

Hypothesis 5 (H_0 s). Pupils of VEMGM are no more aware, compared with those of IWGM, that the role-played teacher thinks, acts and/or behaves in racist ways.

First, we should note that this null hypothesis has been rejected in favour of the alternative hypothesis. Thus, it seems that VEMGM pupils are more aware than IWGM pupils, of teachers' racist behaviours, actions and thinking ($X^2 (1) = 8.733$ $p < .01$). This finding is in line with the outcome of testing Hypothesis 4, but the level of statistical significance obtained is not so strong. It is suggested that this is an artefact of the differences that exist between the two

sets of data. First, for this hypothesis the data are nominal, whereas for Hypothesis 4 they are ordinal (and have been treated as though they are interval). Second, the sample sizes are significantly different. For Hypothesis 4 there are 480 respondents, but for this hypothesis there are only sixty-one.

What is interesting and novel about the application of this strategy to the main aim of this research, is that it has enabled the respondents to play the roles of the people portrayed in the role-plays. And, therefore, as I have argued earlier (Chapter 3, pp. 328) it has enabled us to construct, what I believe to be, the only model that we have of adolescents' ideas about the ways in which they think teachers' thinking is racist.

However, as has been said elsewhere, the testing of this hypothesis has been based on responses to only one of the film extracts. This film, compared with one or more of the others, may not have provided the respondents with the best opportunity to comment on the issues of interest. Future research might investigate this hypothesis using all four of the extracts, and reveal whether or not there are any significant differences in the extent to which each of them affords respondents the opportunity to comment on the portrayed teachers' racist actions, behaviours and thinking. So doing would hopefully lead to the development of a more complete and stronger model of pupils' ideas about how teachers' thinking can be racist.

Further research might also cast more light on this issue by investigating the effect of the other independent variables of age and attainment used in this research, and also that of social class which has not been used.

Finally, it is suggested that much of what has been said in the discussion of the findings relating to Hypothesis 4, applies here too. Hence, there is no intention to extend this discussion through unnecessary repetition of what has already been said.

Hypothesis 2 (H_{02}). Girls are no more perceptive of teacher racism than boys.

In view of the rationale provided for this hypothesis (Chapter 1, pp. 119-23), it does come as a surprise to find that the null variant of this hypothesis has to be accepted. Thus, girls have not been found to be significantly more perceptive of teachers' racist actions and behaviours than boys.

This finding does not, therefore, confirm the large body of theoretical and empirical works which have been reviewed in Chapter 1, pp. 119-24). There is now a clear need to seek out an explanation for the contrary findings of this research.

There are two possible sources of explanation. They are that, first, there are methodological weaknesses in addition to those already discussed, and second, the hypothesis is flawed. I shall now consider each of these possibilities in

turn.

As we have commented in Chapter 3 (p. 320), Table 7 shows that the mean age of the girl respondents was some 2.3 months lower than that of the boys. Although the direction of this age difference favours the false retention of the null hypothesis (type 2 error), the difference has been found not to be statistically significant. Furthermore, the main effect of age has not been found to be significant at even the weak 0.1 level. This suggests that despite methodological weaknesses, the acceptance of this null hypothesis is unlikely to arise from a type 2 error. Thus, it is argued that this research has actually found that there is no significant difference between girls and boys in their perceptiveness of teacher racism. Furthermore, this finding is substantiated by the outcome of testing Hypothesis 6, a discussion of which follows. The question remains therefore, 'How do we explain this result?'.

An answer to this question may lie in a possible methodological flaw. When we were discussing Hypothesis 4, Bruner and Tagiuri's (1954) idea that one explanation of the inaccuracy of the perceptual judgment of others was due to the 'leniency effect' or the 'rose-coloured spectacles' syndrome. We might invoke this concept here as a possible explanation of the outcome of testing this hypothesis in the following way. For reasons which are given in Chapter 2 (p. 225), the parts of the four role-played teachers were all played by a woman. Therefore, it may be that the portrayed teachers elicited generally more 'leniency', or sympathy,

from the girl respondents than they did from the boy respondents, that is, irrespective of their ethnicity. Drawing again on the idea of the psychodynamicist, Thomas (1996, p. 228), it may be that girls are more prone than boys, to 'distort reality' because they 'cannot bear (as well) the psychological pain of the truth'. These ideas seem to sit well with the idea of the feminist, Gilligan (for example, 1982), that Kohlberg's conception of morality emphasises:

traditional masculine values such as rationality, individuality, abstraction, detachment, and impersonality - an emphasis that is reflected by the assertion that justice is the universal principle of morality (Walker, 1984, p. 158).

Clearly, Thomas' (1996, p. 228) psychodynamic hypothesis awaits empirical support. For now, we must move on.

Another of Bruner and Tagiuri's (1954) findings was that empathy between 'judge and judged improved accuracy' of person perception. In other words, being able to see things from the other person's point of view and being able to comprehend their experiences, seems to increase the 'accuracy' of social judgment perception. However, we do not know what Bruner and Tagiuri (1954) mean by 'accuracy'. Are they referring to some objective notion of 'accuracy' about which we would all agree? Or are they concerned with 'empathic accuracy', that is, as might be determined by the judged person? If we assume that the latter of these possibilities is the case, not unreasonably we might infer that people feel more empathy for the ingroup. That being so, in this research we might have expected that girls, discounting the

effect of their ethnicity, would have more empathy than boys for the women teachers portrayed in the classroom episodes. Further research is needed to investigate these hypotheses.

However, another possible explanation for having to reject the alternative hypothesis is that its rationale (Chapter 1, pp. 119-23) is flawed. That is, maybe there is not a difference in boys and girls perceptiveness of teacher racism. Let us now consider this possibility.

Earlier (Chapter 1, p. 114), it was claimed that asking viewers of the video films of this research, involved them in making moral judgments. In fact, the scale used in assessing the responses to the films has been described as a Kohlberg-type scale (Cohen and Manion, 1994, p. 268).

In her critique of Kohlberg's work on moral development, Gilligan (1982) observes that almost all of Kohlberg's theorizing is based on empirical evidence obtained from males, mostly boys. Gilligan maintains, on the basis of her own empirical evidence obtained from girls and women, that women bring a different kind of morality into situations where they are required to make moral judgments. She argues that boys possess a 'morality of rights' and that girls have an 'ethic of responsibility' (Gilligan, 1982, p. 164).

Gilligan elaborates this distinction in the following way:

While the ethic of rights is a manifestation of equal respect, balancing the claims of other and self, the ethic of responsibility rests on an understanding that gives rise to compassion and care (Gilligan, 1982, p. 164).

And she continues that:

While an ethic of justice proceeds from the premise of equality - that everyone should be treated the same - an ethic of care rests on the premise of non-violence - that no one should be hurt. (Gilligan, 1982, p. 174).

Sutherland (1992, pp. 178-9) distinguishes between the works of Kohlberg and Gilligan as follows. He says that the question Kohlberg asked boys was: 'What is the highest level of abstract moral thought a person is capable of?'. And he says that the question asked by Gilligan was: 'To whom are we responsible and for what purpose?' (p. 179). So, Sutherland says, Gilligan's 'female moral ethic is based fundamentally on caring for others and therefore on relationships' (1992, p. 179).

Thus, it may be that in the construction of my 'grounded in the data' scale (Table 3, Chapter 2, p. 243) by which the responses to the video films have been assessed, is based on a Kohlbergian 'morality of rights'. If this so, and if Gilligan is right, this scale may have advantaged boys and disadvantaged girls in terms of their scale scores. Although the scoring scale needs to be independently assessed as to whether or not it is Kohlbergian, my assessment is that it is not. However, another strategy that might be used to substantiate or counter possible criticisms of the scale, would be to have a number of other people, independently from one another, construct 'grounded in the data' scales. Each of these scales might then be used in scoring the scripts of the stratified random sample, so that statistical comparison of the outcomes might be made.

Another possible explanation of the 'no difference' finding of testing this hypothesis is that, in watching the video films, the boy respondents may have tended, more than girl respondents, to focus more specifically on the 'rights' aspect of the portrayed teachers' racism, and thus, on the subject of interest of this research. On the other hand, it may be that whilst girls have generally not failed to notice the racism, they have adopted a wider field of view which has enabled them to consider all of the issues of 'responsibility and care' that the role-players did and did not exhibit towards one another.

Clearly, further research is needed to investigate these hypotheses through the systematic re-examination of the respondents' protocols.

Of course, there is also the possibility that it is inappropriate to discuss the outcomes of this research against those of Kohlberg and Gilligan, simply because each of us has used fundamentally different research strategies. Let us now consider this possibility in a little detail.

Typically, Kohlberg obtained boys' moral reasoning responses to hypothetical moral dilemmas that he had devised.

Therefore,

Kohlberg's work has focused on the overt intellectualism of his approach. It was not adolescents' real-life behaviour Kohlberg measured but their ability to give a cognitively high, intellectual-level answer to a hypothetical question asked in a laboratory (Sutherland, 1992, p. 181).

Gilligan, on the other hand, 'favoured semi-structured interviews' (Luria, 1986, p. 200) of, usually, small samples of boys and girls and Harvard undergraduates about moral problems and dilemmas. Some of these dilemmas and problems were Kohlberg's, some were of her own construction. About Gilligan's (1982) work, Luria (1986) has said:

One is left with the knowledge that there were some studies involving women and sometimes men, and that women were somehow samples and somehow interviewed on some issues as well as on the Kohlberg stories. Somehow the data were sifted and somehow yielded a clear impression that women could be powerfully characterized as caring ... This is an exceedingly interesting proposal, but is not yet substantiated as a research conclusion. The interesting answers to queries liberally sprinkled along with the case studies through the volume cannot substitute for objectively derived data (Luria, 1986, p. 201).

My own research strategy has been to elicit from large samples of boy and girl respondents', their 'free' responses to the role-plays. Free, that is, in the sense that they could comment on whatever they wished about the ways in which 'people behaved towards one another'. Thus, within the limits of role-play as a research method (discussed earlier, pp. 338-54), the respondents were placed in a 'real-life', enacted situation in which they were *not specifically* asked to comment on the moral issues in what they saw. That the vast majority of respondents did comment on the moral issues portrayed in the role-plays, is a different matter. I suggest that my respondents were placed in a much more 'real-life' situation than either those of Kohlberg or Gilligan.

This discussion of the three different research methods used

in these studies, highlights the need to draw comparisons between their different outcomes, with caution. I suggest that this is a particularly wise course to take in comparing my methods and findings with those of Kohlberg and Gilligan.

There is, however, another possible explanation for the 'no difference' finding relating to this hypothesis; it concerns the ideas of cultural and societal change. We shall now consider the argument as it applies to the finding of this research.

With regard to sex difference research, twenty years ago Kogan (1976) made this observation:

A bewildering inconsistency of empirical findings across studies is the rule rather than the exception. The most reasonable inference that can be drawn from the array of empirical evidence available at the present time is that there are no systematic, overall sex differences on any cognitive dimension that has claimed the attention of psychologists. A possible reason for this is that sex interacts with age, socioeconomic status, cultural background, and possibly with other demographic variables ... (Kogan, 1976, pp. 102-3).

However, regarding pupils' perceptions of teacher racism, this research has produced no evidence of there being any significant interactive effects between sex, age and ethnicity (Chapter 3, p. 302), and socio-economic class has not been used as an independent variable. Thus, we shall have to continue the search for evidence that the hypothesis is flawed.

Kogan (1976, p. 103) continued that:

conceivably, a paper on sex differences prepared twenty years from now would have to be written from a socio-

historical perspective. Such a paper might trace the disappearance of sex differences in a diversity of cognitive and other psychological characteristics as a function of the growing equality between the sexes, an equality fostered by progressive reduction in sex-typed socialization practices in the home and the school (Kogan, 1976, p. 103).

In fact, Walker's (1984) meta-analysis of some sixty-six studies of sex differences in moral reasoning, conducted in the wake of Gilligan's (1982) challenge to Kohlberg's theory of moral development, obtained a no significant sex difference outcome.

So, it may be that the outcome of testing this hypothesis arises from there genuinely being no significant difference in boys' and girls' perceptiveness of teacher racism. Thus, as Kogan implies, it may be that as the feminist and equal opportunities movements have gathered momentum and wider societal support and action, particularly over the last twenty years, they have had the profound effect of producing the outcome observed in testing this hypothesis. It would be a welcome explanation, but we would then be forced to ask: 'Why have these movements not had a similar effect on equalising white and black pupils' perceptiveness of teacher racism?'. A possible answer to this question may reside in 'white feminists tendency to co-conflate race and sex prejudices' (Avari and Joseph, 1990, p. 121). As Avari and Joseph (1990) continue, this:

raises the awkward question as to why some of the highly emancipated women are not themselves immune from racial prejudice (Avari and Joseph, 1990, p. 121).

If this is so, we might speculatively argue that in 'white'

societies, the 'white' feminist movements have been more powerful and successful in actualising their agenda than the anti-racist movements have.

However, in the absence of substantial empirical evidence, I remain unconvinced that at this time there has been sufficient societal and cultural change to warrant the acceptance of Kogan's hypothesis regarding sex differences.

Maybe the more parsimonious answer lies in Gilligan's recognition of the possibility that during adolescence, both of the moral ethics that she identifies, are developed and become fused into one. Gilligan expresses these ideas in this way:

In the representation of maturity, both perspectives converge in the realization that just as inequality adversely affects both parties in an unequal relationship, so too violence is destructive for everyone involved (Gilligan, 1982, p. 174).

Some confirmation of this hypothesis is provided by Gilligan and Wiggins (1987, p. 560) and, more recently by the research of Eisenberg and Miller (1992). These latter researchers found that:

adolescent ... males and females differed relatively little in their moral reasoning, ... and males appeared to catch up in regard to the emergence of sympathetic and role-taking reasoning (pp. 43-4).

At this point, we might add that we would do well to heed Hartup's (1992, p. 195) timely reminder that:

mean differences ... may not tell the entire story with regard to sex differences.

In her critique of Gilligan's account of male and female moral development, Stack (1986) has indicated how mean differences research based on highly selected samples may conceal important issues in this area of male and female moral development. Essentially, Stack's thesis is that Gilligan's empirical work and theorizing:

derives a female model of moral development from the moral reasoning of primarily white, middle-class women in the United States (Stack, 1986, p. 110).

Thus, Stack argues, Gilligan overlooks the moral reasoning of the African-American, (and, we might add, of other VEMGs).

She further argues that:

gender is a construct shaped by the experience of race, class, culture, caste, and consciousness (Stack, 1986, p. 111).

Similarly, Myers (1994, p. 129) asserts that:

The variety of gender roles across culture and over time show that culture indeed constructs our gender roles.

The implication of Stack's and Myer's ideas is that there are interactive effects between gender and ethnicity in moral development and in moral reasoning. But, as we have already noted, this research has not found any significant interactive effects of these variables. This, of course, is not to say that they do not exist. As we have noted earlier (pp. 418-9), it may arise because this research has not measured moral development or moral reasoning. However, an important implication of the counter-intuitive findings of this research is that replication is required.

In conclusion, the 'no difference' outcome of testing this hypothesis is interesting for the range of possible explanations that it suggests. The important idea that an explanation may lie in societal and cultural change arising from the feminist endeavour of the last twenty years or so, is undoubtedly worthy of further urgent attention from researchers. Allied to this need, is the equally important and urgent one of seeking an explanation for why this research has obtained a 'no sex difference' outcome, but, at the same time, has found a significant 'ethnicity effect'. On the face of it, it would seem that the anti-sexist endeavour has been more successful than the anti-racist movement. If this is so, the burning question has got to be, 'Why is this so?'. The answer to this question would then help us all in the fight against racism.

Hypothesis 6 (H_0). Girls are no more aware than boys that the role-played teacher thinks, acts and/or behaves in racist ways.

This null hypothesis has been rejected in favour of the alternative hypothesis. Therefore, it seems that Year Nine girls are no more aware than Year Nine boys, of teachers' racist behaviours, actions and thinking ($X^2 (1) = 3.723$, n.s.). This finding supports the outcome of testing Hypothesis 2, which we have just discussed. Further, much of what has been raised in the discussion of the outcome of testing Hypothesis 2, applies here too; there is no intention to repeat here those points made earlier. We might also note that the comments made in connection with Hypothesis 5 about this strategy having tapped the respondents' thoughts about

the role-played teacher's racist thinking apply here too (p. 411).

However, as has been pointed out in the discussion about the outcome of testing Hypothesis 5, there are important weaknesses in the methods that have been used. Thus, as for Hypothesis 5, there is a particularly strong need for caution in interpreting the result of testing this hypothesis.

A few concluding comments are in order about how the testing of this hypothesis might be developed in future research. As for Hypothesis 5, and with similar purposes in mind, this hypothesis might be further investigated by using all four of the film extracts. Also, again as for Hypothesis 5, there would seem to be a need for the investigation of the effect of the additional independent variables of age, attainment and social class.

Section III A summary and some brief comments about the triangulation of methods used and data derived from them

I propose concluding this chapter with a few brief comments about the triangulation of the data sets derived from this investigation.

The empirical work of this study is based on four sets of data: the pupil participants' role-plays; these participants' accounts of the role-plays; the responses to each of the role-plays from a stratified random sample of 480 respondents, differentiated by sex, age, ethnicity and attain-

ment, who viewed them 'cold'; the responses of an opportunity sample of sixty-one Year Nine pupils, differentiated by sex and ethnicity, using the bubble dialogue research tool. The data from the sample of 480 respondents have only been quantitatively analyzed. However, the bubble dialogue data have been quantitatively and qualitatively analyzed.

As is to have been expected, the four role-plays are corroborated by the role-players' accounts of them. Beyond this, however, the accounts of other researches, particularly the British ethnographies of schools, also substantially corroborate most of the issues of pupils' perceptions of teacher racism raised by the role-plays. This analysis has also permitted the construction of a model of adolescent pupils' perceptions of the ways in which teachers act and behave in racist ways. It has been contended that this model of racism is remarkably similar to academic definitions of racism.

Unfortunately, the opportunity of qualitatively analyzing a sample of the 480 respondents' protocols to check the extent to which they have raised, in terms of significance, similar issues to those of the role-players, has not been taken. Thus, the opportunity of assessing the extent to which the findings of the role-play research method are more widely generalizable has not been taken at this stage. This is a matter which requires further research.

We now turn our attention to the quantitative data hypothesis-testing. The results of testing the main effect variables of age, ethnicity and attainment using the data

from the 480 respondent sample, have supported the predictions. The finding regarding ethnicity is also supported by the analysis of the bubble dialogue data. Therefore, it has been argued that these findings support the pre-existing theory and evidence from which the hypotheses were derived. However, at this stage, these conclusions are tentative and await further empirical supporting evidence.

However, the quantitative analysis of the data derived from the 480 respondents regarding the main effect of sex has not supported the theory and evidence which provided the rationale for these hypotheses. This finding is also supported by the quantitative analysis of the bubble dialogue data.

Although sex difference research in psychology has persistently produced conflicting evidence, it is considered unwise to treat the findings of this research with other than caution, at least until more work in this field has been reported.

The bubble dialogue method did not involve gathering data on the independent variables of age and attainment. Therefore, it has not been possible to examine the extent to which these data sets support each other. This is another matter which further research needs to investigate.

The outcome of qualitatively analyzing the bubble dialogue data has resulted in the construction of a model of pupils' ideas about how teachers' thinking may be racist. Since there is no other known work which has investigated this issue, this model must be treated particularly cautiously

until it is confirmed and supported by further research.

In the chapter which follows, we shall be drawing this work to a close.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

This final chapter attempts three things. First, it provides a brief summary of what this research has found out and how it has gone about finding out these things; second, it considers what the implications of the findings of this research might be for educational practice; and third, it suggests what further lines of enquiry this research has indicated may be fruitful. Each of these tasks will now be dealt with in turn.

Section 1 A brief summary of the methods and outcomes of this research

This research began from the premise that racism in education, and specifically within that, in schools and classrooms, is a major disadvantaging factor in the life chances of VEMGM people in Britain. It has been argued that if equality of opportunity for all is to be achieved, racism within formal education, one of almost all societies most important institutions, must be reduced, or better, eliminated.

Notwithstanding the important issues of institutional racism, it has further been argued that some of the most personally damaging forms of racism for pupils, are those which they actually perceive in their interpersonal relationships with others, particularly teachers. Numerous studies, particularly of the last ten years and almost always involving ethnog-

raphy and/or large scale questionnaire surveys, have drawn attention to some of the ways in which pupils perceive teacher racism. Teachers are arguably one of the most powerful groups of people within society, that is, in terms of the impact that they typically have on shaping young people's ideological frameworks about how the wider society functions.

That being said, this research began from the firm belief that we do not have a systematic and comprehensive account of pupils' perceptions of teacher racism. The evidence that we do have is either anecdotal, deriving from ethnographies of schools, or it is quantitative being based on questionnaire surveys of pupils. The anecdotal data, as we have seen (Chapter 1, pp. 157-94; Chapter 4, pp. 375-88) can best be described as thin and patchy. Of the quantitative data, Troyna (1993, p. 98) has said:

I am sceptical about the application of quantitative research in this area because I believe it is too crude to capture the subtle and complex nature of racism in education. ... quantitative research is a less appropriate research tool to tease out the salience and impact of racism in the cultural milieux of children (Troyna, 1993, p. 98).

This research has attempted to go some way to addressing the concerns expressed by Troyna and others, about our present state of knowledge of pupils' perceptions of teacher racism. And despite Troyna's worries about the inappropriateness of quantitative data, in the spirit of triangulation and multi-perspectivism, this research has engaged both quantitative and qualitative methods. We now need briefly to consider each of the four principal research methods which have been

used.

First, the primary data collection strategy on which all of the methods are based, has been role-playing. In this, a multi-ethnic group of twenty-one pupil participants were engaged in the task of devising and enacting four short classroom episodes in which the portrayed teachers displayed racism. It has been argued (Chapter 2) that these role-plays belong to the pupil participants in the sense that they consist entirely of their ideas about teacher racism.

Second, after the role-plays had been produced, most of the role-players provided their independent accounts of the ways in which the portrayed teachers displayed racism in their interactions with the pupil role-players. Therefore, these subjective, phenomenological data represent the respondents' accounts of their account of teacher racism. These data have been used as a check on the validity (respondent validation) of the films of the role-plays. Through qualitative content analysis and systematic network analysis, these data have been used to model pupils' perceptions of teachers' racist behaviours and actions.

Third, a stratified random sample of 480 respondents, differentiated by sex, age, academic attainment and ethnicity, and drawn from a national opportunity sample of over 1000 adolescents, were asked to respond to open-ended questions about 'the ways in which people shown in the filmed role-plays behaved towards one another'. Each respondents' comments about the role-plays have been scored using a Kohlberg-type

scale. These quantitative data have been used in the formal testing of four hypotheses, each being based on one of the four independent variables by which the respondents were differentiated. Thus it has been hypothesised that:

Girls are no more perceptive of teacher racism than are boys.

Older adolescents are no more perceptive of teacher racism than are younger ones.

Academically higher attaining adolescents are no more perceptive of teacher racism than are lower attainers.

VEMGM adolescents are no more perceptive of teacher racism than are those of IWGM.

Fourth and finally, sixty-one opportunity sample Year Nine pupils, differentiated by sex and ethnicity, were asked to respond to one of the filmed role-plays using the bubble dialogue 'comic strip' research tool. From the responses elicited using this technique, both quantitative and qualitative data have been produced. The quantitative data have permitted the formal testing of two null hypotheses:

Girls are no more perceptive of teacher racism than are boys.

VEMGM adolescents are no more perceptive of teacher racism than are those of IWGM.

The qualitative data have been subjected to content analysis and subsequently, systematic network analysis. These analyses have permitted the construction of a model of pupils' conceptions of teachers' racist thinking.

Now we need to provide brief summaries of the findings obtained using each of these strategies.

The qualitative data provided by the role-plays, and the role-players' accounts of them, portray a wide range of ways in which the participants perceive teachers act and behave in racist ways in their classroom interactions with pupils. These data then, are also subjective and phenomenological in the sense that they represent the participants' collective personal and experiential accounts. It is further argued that these data are rich, in so far as they 'capture the subtle and complex nature of racism' (Troyna, 1993, p. 98) in the classroom. The model of pupils' perceptions of the ways in which teachers behave and act in racist ways (Table 13, Chapter 4, p. 191) shows that their fundamental concern is that all pupils, irrespective of their ethnicity, wish to be treated and respected as individual persons. Furthermore, all of the issues of teacher racism raised by the role-plays and the accounts of them, are corroborated, to some extent, by the findings of other reported, mostly ethnographic, researches. Also, in large measure, it is felt that the issues of racism raised by this strategy are in accord with widely accepted academic definitions of racism. In view of the fact that the role-players had received no formal schooling in racism, this finding is particularly interesting.

The other source of qualitative data, the participants' responses to the bubble dialogue 'comic strip' tool, have also enabled the construction of a model (Table 14, p. 399, Chapter 4). It has been argued that this model leads to the conclusion that teachers' racist thinking is driven by the idea that they, and other 'white' people, have 'a divine right to rule'. This model is tentative in the sense that

there is no other independent reported evidence of this aspect of teacher racism. For that reason, it has been noted that this model must be treated with particular caution.

Regarding the testing of the hypotheses the outcomes are that for the variables of age, academic attainment and ethnicity, the null hypotheses have been rejected. Thus, within the limits of statistical probability and possible methodological error, it has been found that:

Older pupils are more perceptive of teacher racism than are younger ones.

Academically higher attainers are more perceptive of teacher racism than are lower attainers.

VEMGM pupils are more perceptive of teacher racism than are those of IWGM.

This last hypothesis has been supported by the data from both the open-ended question responses, and from the responses to the bubble dialogue 'comic strips'.

However, the data derived from both of these strategies, suggest that the null hypotheses regarding the sex variable should be retained. Thus, again within the limits of statistical probability and methodological error, it has been found that:

Girls are no more perceptive of teacher racism than are boys.

Section II The educational implications of the findings of this research

In discussing the application of qualitative research

findings, Miles and Huberman say that:

We simply cannot avoid the question of 'pragmatic validity' (Kvale, 1989a) (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 280).

The critical theorist, Lincoln (1990), elaborates this theme when he speaks of good qualitative research as enhancing:

(a) levels of understanding and sophistication and (b) the ability of participants and stakeholders to take action during and after an inquiry and to negotiate on behalf of themselves and their own interests in the political arena (Lincoln, 1990).

I suggest that this research has 'enhanced our levels of understanding and sophistication' of pupils' perceptions of teacher racism. I further believe that there are some important implications of the findings of this research, and so I suggest that, we need to consider their 'pragmatic validity'.

As expected from the outset, this research has provided some evidence of a wide range of ways in which adolescents perceive that teachers behave and act in racist ways. In addition, somewhat unexpectedly, this research has also revealed some aspects of adolescents' ideas about the ways in which teachers' thinking can be racist. I now also hope that the evidence of this research will be constructively used in the reduction, at least, of teacher racism.

One reason for this hope has been aptly put by Aggleton (1990, pp. 99-100), who, in his review of Walker's (1988) study of young males, says:

This is not good enough. Those who are so systematically oppressed on the grounds of 'race' and sexuality, and who so willingly give of their time and energy to

educational and social researchers, deserve more than to have their status as second class citizens confirmed (Aggleton, 1990, p. 99-100).

I too feel that I owe all of my black participants more than to have their status as second class citizens reinforced. Therefore, as Mac an Ghaill (1994, p. 181), in the conclusion to his book on 'how schools make men', says, I am arguing for:

a transformed educational and professional practice more appropriate to a socially and culturally divided society (Mac an Ghaill, 1994, p. 181).

In short, then, I hope that my participants are repaid by there being some improvement in the quality of teaching arising from their efforts.

However, as Shaw (1990) warns, even reducing the racism highlighted by this research may be problematic:

We need, in short, to ask how successful anti-racist programmes in schools and education systems generally can be if racism is endemic in society as a whole. The short answer will doubtless be 'not very successful' since it will be said that many of those who seek to bring about institutional change are themselves consciously or unconsciously infected with the virus of racism (Shaw, 1990, p. 110).

It has even been suggested that tackling the racism of individual teachers, and others charged with responsibility for young people, may not be a very effective approach to reducing racism. For example, in speaking of 'many authorities on racism', Shaw (1990, p. 111) says that:

... it now seems obvious that the biggest obstacle in the way of social justice is not the prejudice of the bigot, ... but the bias perpetrated by social institutions ... These considerations have led to the view that

individual change is no longer a sufficient goal, since an unprejudiced person may still discriminate if he or she is the servant of an organization whose rules and practices lead to discriminatory outcomes (Shaw, 1990, p. 111).

I would argue, however, that in terms of racism, teachers have the power to operate on all of the four levels identified by Shaw (1990, p. 113), thus, the personal, cultural, institutional and societal levels. For example, I would argue that all teachers have some power and authority to bring about institutional change within their schools and thus, can challenge and bring about change in the 'organization's racist rules and practices'.

Whilst not dismissing the importance of institutional racism, more optimistically, Shaw (1990) goes on to argue:

Ought we not instead (of institutional racism) to concentrate on the attitudinal and motivational systems of the individuals who make up the human dimension of education? This is a particularly potent argument since it ... (is) ... admitted that underlying institutional discrimination is a white supremacist ideology which consciously or unconsciously devalues cultures other than its own. It is admitted that within the psyches of white Europeans such values are deeply embedded (Shaw, 1990, p. 118).

Working from the assumption that racism is the 'white' problem (Avari and Joseph, 1990, p. 126) which Shaw suggests it is, it would seem that there is a fundamental need to change 'white' minds and 'white' attitudes (Sivanandan, 1985). Fundamentally, such a need would seem to be necessary simply so that we can all meet 'the Kantian ethical notions of respect for persons and the concept of justice' (Lee, 1990, p. 35), ideals to which many of the participants and

respondents in this research have appealed.

As a contribution to these ideals, perhaps the most serious implication of the findings of this research concerns the further anti-racism training of all teachers, and, we might add, of all others who have work-based relationships with children.

I propose that as a development of this research, a training programme based on the filmed role-plays, should be devised. Such a programme would, I believe, have the distinct virtue of being based on the actual, concretized accounts of adolescents which have been captured in a highly visual form. I further envisage that such a programme would be along the lines of Katz' Racism Awareness Training (RAT) programme (Katz, 1978).

However, there may be those who might consider such an approach too threatening. One might reply to such a suggestion, that if one wishes to remove a problem, it has to be confronted (Pumfrey, 1988). Further, we might add that:

Since there is ... evidence ... about the nature and aspects of white prejudice against black, is it not desirable that such information is brought to the attention of the student? ... Some confrontation is therefore inevitable in a race relations course. But it has to be confrontation without anger or malice, ... (and in) ... a spirit free of vendetta or spite (Avari and Joseph, 1990, p. 128).

I would endorse Avari and Joseph's ideas that racism awareness training should be conducted in a spirit free from 'anger', 'malice', 'vendetta' and 'spite'. Failure to adopt

this advice would, I feel, probably be counter-productive.

We might note that despite all of the rhetorical misgivings that there may be about tackling the individual's racism, there is evidence which suggests that such direct anti-racism programmes are a powerful method of bringing about personal change (Katz and Ivey, 1977). And it is surely undeniable that the types of racism identified by the adolescent participants in this research indicate that their perpetrators need 'changing'.

One important set of reasons for changing racist individual teachers, and others who work with children and adolescents, is provided by Verma (1993) who has commented that an important function of education is that it,

sets the pattern and models of behaviour which young people are expected to manifest in group settings in the school, in the world of work and ultimately in the wider social setting (Verma, 1993, p. 35).

So, we might say that perceivable teacher racism needs eliminating, simply because, as we noted earlier (p. 430 and p. 437), teachers represent powerful models to children and adolescents in school, about how people in the wider world treat one another.

In addition, since the training programme that I envisage would be based on the filmed role-plays, which as we have said, are rooted in the concrete experiences of adolescents, I feel that it would go a long way to helping teachers:

- . adopt a critical approach to identifying cultural bias, prejudice, racism and stereotyping in teaching

- strategies, and other teaching materials;
- . approach all subjects within the curriculum in a way which combats ethnocentric views of the world;
- . recognize the value of teaching which identifies and acknowledges effectively the aspirations of all pupils and students, and which seeks to enhance their chances of realizing their full potentials; and
- . make use wherever possible of good professional practice (Verma, 1993, p. 41).

I suggest that in one way or another, all of these issues are raised by the filmed role-plays and by the models of teachers' racist actions and behaviours (Table 13, Chapter 4, p. 391), and teachers' racist thinking (Table 14, Chapter 4, p. 399).

The anti-racism training of all people who work with children and adolescents envisaged here might make a contribution to:

... the elimination of inequity in education, ... (and that this) ... is the best possible hope we have of confronting and changing one of the greatest scandals of our age, namely public organizations that do not truly serve all members of society equally (Shaw, 1990, p. 119).

However, we should not have unrealistic expectations of what such a training programme might achieve. The point is well illustrated by Grinter (1990) if we slightly modify his comments about anti-racist curricula:

... an antiracist (training programme) will neither alter the unequal distribution of power in British society nor banish discrimination, but it can encourage (all of us) to question the ideas and concepts that sustain racism, sexism and elitism (Grinter, 1990, p. 123).

If anti-racist training programmes achieve only this much for

all teachers, and others whose work brings them into contact with children, they are surely worthwhile.

The final comment goes to Mukherjee (1984) who says, in criticism directed to 'white' people:

Your racism has been your silence ... inaction or silence, to me, means inaction. To me inaction means collusion (Mukherjee, 1984, p. 6).

Thus, I argue that 'white' people need to engage in positive action in the fight against racism. One way in which 'white' teachers (and others who work with children) might do this is by undergoing anti-racist training of the kind that I am proposing. As I have claimed earlier (Chapter 4, p. 339-40), I believe that we are all, 'black' and 'white' alike, 'stakeholders' in the scandal of racism, and thus we are all required to enter the political arena in an effort to rid ourselves and our societies of it.

Section III Possible further lines of enquiry suggested by this research

Throughout Chapter 4 in particular, numerous ideas for further work in the field of this research have been suggested. Now is the time to gather these ideas together and briefly discuss each of them.

Perhaps the most urgent need is to investigate whether or not the data derived from the open-ended question-form respondents' confirm the role-players' accounts of the role-plays and thus, the role-plays. As I have said earlier,

I feel that this should have been done in this research. Such an enquiry would provide information about two things. First, it would provide information on the degree of 'concordance external corroboration' (Brown and Sime, 1981, p. 187) of the role-play data. And second, it would help us to establish the extent of the population validity, and thus generalizability of the participants' perceptions of the issues raised by the role-plays.

Continuing with the issue of population validity, the participants engaged in this research were all within 'mainstream' schools and colleges. Furthermore, all of the participants were able to write, even if this was to a very limited extent. Thus, further research, using the open-ended question response strategy and the bubble dialogue technique, might investigate the perceptions of pupils who are not in mainstream schools because of their learning difficulties.

Such schools include those for children with Severe Learning Difficulties (SLD schools) and Physical Handicap (PH schools). SLD children could respond to the role-play films through structured or semi-structured interviews. As appropriate, PH children could respond to the role-plays in writing or through interview. Another important group of pupils who were excluded from this research are those who have been excluded from mainstream schools because of their Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties (EBD children). Again, it is suggested that the perceptions of these pupils are worthy of investigation.

Another important early task concerns the fact that the primary data of this research are the pupil participants' role-plays. As well as adding to this now existing stock of information, further research might attempt to corroborate these role-plays by constructing others on the same theme. We might also note that the role-plays of this research were constructed almost six years ago. Constructing new role-plays, and thereby developing and refining the model of teacher racism produced from this research, might help us to assess the extent to which the anti-racism movement in education in the intervening period has had a positive impact on teachers' behaviour and actions, at least as perceived by pupils.

The production of further role-plays would also provide one means by which the role-players' model of teachers' racist actions and behaviours (Table 13, p. 391, Chapter 4) and the bubble dialogue respondents' model of teachers' racist thinking (Table 14, p. 399, Chapter 4) could be developed and rigorously tested.

There are a number of ways in which the bubble dialogue research tools developed for this research could be used in further investigations. 'Comic strips' have been constructed for each of the four filmed role-plays. However, only one of them has been used in this research. Thus, further research might use the three 'comic strips' which have not so far been used. Using these other 'comic strips' would enable the development and refinement of the model of pupils' ideas about the racist teacher's thinking (Table 14, p. 399,

Chapter 4). It would also provide us with a stronger model, in which we might therefore, have greater confidence.

There would seem to be a number of ways in which the quantitative testing of hypotheses associated with pupils' perceptions of teacher racism might proceed from the basis of this research. Let us now consider these ideas.

Although I do not intend rehearsing the arguments put forward earlier (Chapter 4, p. 410), it has been suggested that finer-grained categorizations of attainment, age and ethnicity than used in the hypothesis-testing aspects of this research, might be used in further investigations.

It has also been suggested that the involvement of younger children than this research has engaged, might reveal the age at which children typically begin to perceive teacher racism. This strategy may also permit the construction of a developmental model of children's perceptions of teacher racism. And it would also be another way in which the population validity of the model of pupils' perceptions of teacher racism produced by this research, might be extended.

Earlier (Chapter 1, p. 196; Chapter 4, p. 368), it has been said that there is the widespread belief that gender, 'race' and class have interactive effects. Although this research has not found any significant interactive effects of gender and 'race', further research, perhaps along the lines of this enquiry, is needed to examine the hypothesis that social class is influential in pupils' perceptions of teacher

racism.

In Chapter 2 (p. 207) we noted Bryman's (1988, p. 38) comment that 'replication in the social sciences is rare' because it is often seen as an 'unimaginative, low status activity among researchers'. However, I believe that this research does need replicating, particularly so that the finding of there being no sex difference in pupils' perceptions of teacher racism, (derived from the responses to both the role-plays using the open-ended question method and the bubble dialogue tool), may be further tested.

Specifically regarding the bubble dialogue research tool, there needs to be further quantitative investigations of the effect of the independent variables of attainment, age and social class. Also, as we have noted above, there needs to be a more thorough investigation than has been attempted in this research, of the variables of sex and ethnicity.

Since there were only sixty-one opportunity sample respondents to the bubble dialogue research tool, the population validity of these data is particularly weak. Therefore, it is suggested that there is a clear need for the gathering of data from a larger and more satisfactorily constructed sample. To a lesser extent, these comments about sampling also apply to the gathering of the open-ended question responses to the four filmed role-plays.

Finally there would seem to be a particular need for further research into some IWGM pupils alleged indulgence of VEMGM

pupils by IWGM teachers. Two ideas come to mind of how such investigations using the role-playing methodology might be conducted. These ideas are:

Asking a multi-ethnic group of participants to construct plays which focus on the more general, higher order construct of teacher 'fairness-unfairness', (which I have investigated in an earlier small-scale study (Naylor, 1986)).

Eliciting from independent groups of role-players, differentiated by ethnicity, classroom interaction role-plays in which the teachers display racism.

In conclusion, we might note that many of these ideas for further research arise from weaknesses and errors in this study. However, as Goëthe, some 200 hundred years ago, said:

the most fruitful lesson is the conquest of one's own error. Whoever refuses to admit error may be a great scholar, but he is not a great learner.

In my engagement with this research, I feel that I have learnt many fruitful lessons from the errors that I have made.

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