7. Children and Diversity, the Effects of Schooling, and Implications for Initial Teacher Education

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Summary

I present the findings and implications resulting from empirical research conducted in primary schools in central England and Southern Germany where I investigated 9 and 10 year old children's multicultural awareness. I explored the opportunities for multicultural education in both the hidden and formal curricula for this age group. The project is located in the wider debate about cultural identity, racism, 'equality' and multiculturalism. The research draws on literature concerning multicultural and anti-racist education.

Methodologically I adopted a qualitative research paradigm and I was influenced by feminist methodology. The empirical work in England was more substantial and I employed a 'least adult role' and worked 'with' not 'on' the children. In Germany I worked to a more limited timeframe but nevertheless gained an insight into multicultural education in another European context.

I discovered that many children, whatever their background, displayed anti-racist behaviour and opinions, and that attending a school with a high proportion of minority ethnic children did not necessarily lead to anti-racist tendencies. Moreover, there were children from schools with a high proportion of minority ethnic backgrounds who displayed overtly racist behaviours. The organisation of the school curriculum and the school ethos in both England and Southern Germany had an influence on whether anti-racism was promoted or whether racism remained unchallenged. My research offers insights into aspects of white, Western privilege in both the formal and hidden curricula in the selected schools in England and Southern Germany. The paper concludes with a discussion of the influence of schooling on children's multicultural awareness, and explores the implications of my findings for policy and practice in Initial Teacher Education Institutions.

1. Research findings: England

During the empirical work in England I adopted a 'least adult role' (Mandell, 1991), working alongside the children in a non authoritarian way to investigate their knowledge of and attitudes towards their own and other cultures (Elton-Chalcraft, 2008). I discovered that the children's attitudes and knowledge could be categorised (see table 1).

Racism and Children's multicultural awareness
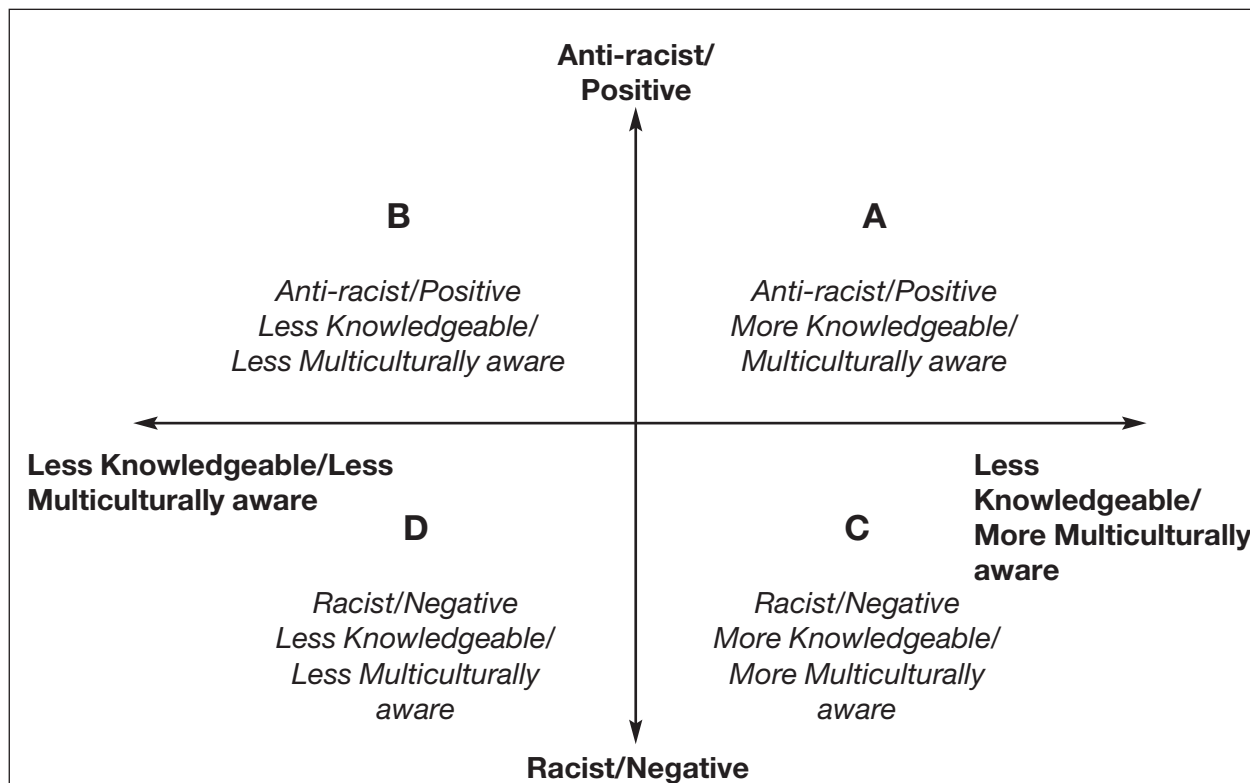
The majority of the 9 and 10 year old children, in my study were naturally anti-racist whether they were knowledgeable about other cultures or not. I would place them in quadrants A or B in table 1. A small minority displayed racist or negative speech or behaviour as identified in quadrants C and D in table 1. I feel these findings are significant because they correlate with other

research (Brown, 1998; 2001; Connolly, 1998; Lewis, 2005) which identified that children often 'learn' to be racist/prejudicial from society, but, these theorists state, they are not born so.

they have to go to Mosque and pray.'
Zena: 'And the girls like have to wear long dresses and pray and go to a mosque [...]'

Table 1: A diagram charting children's attitudes and knowledge

**Anti-racist/
Positive**

B

*Anti-racist/Positive
Less Knowledgeable/
Less Multiculturally aware*

A

*Anti-racist/Positive
More Knowledgeable/
Multiculturally aware*

**Less Knowledgeable/Less
Multiculturally aware**

**Less
Knowledgeable/
More Multiculturally
aware**

D

*Racist/Negative
Less Knowledgeable/
Less Multiculturally
aware*

C

*Racist/Negative
More Knowledgeable/
More Multiculturally
aware*

Racist/Negative

Anti-racist and More Knowledgeable: Quadrant A

Approximately a third of children felt positive about their own culture and so wanted to accord the same degree of respect to those of a different culture.

For example Tazia and Zena were fairly strict Muslims, Zena wore the hijab (head covering), and their religion provided their moral code. (I use protective pseudonyms throughout this paper (David et al., 2001).

> *Tazia: 'You're not allowed to eat other, White people's meat because, in a day we have to pray 5 times a day and we have to keep a scarf over our heads sometimes when we pray and Muslims, when it's a special Friday, all the men*

> *Tazia: 'If your hair comes out you have to cover it because you get bad luck you mustn't be dirty. And if you like if you like fart … miss you get a really bad look and you have to go back to the toilet and wash yourself again.'*
> *Sally: 'Right…………..'*
> *Tazia: 'Ummm You know like Muslims, if they swear there's a fairy on the shoulder, one is bad and one is good [....] And they say that if you be, if you swear, a bad fairy writes a line down and when you go to God he repeats it.'*

Anti-racist and Less Knowledgeable: Quadrant B

Approximately a half of children were anti-racist despite having limited knowledge of other cultures and they thought it was

'important to be nice'. Also many were aware of the need to be politically correct and thus displayed anti-racist speech and behaviour because they believed it to be the right thing to do (Troyna and Hatcher, 1992).

Racist and More Knowledgeable: Quadrant C
There were three types within this category, firstly a few children who were generally knowledgeable about most cultures were, however, negative about cultures with which they were unfamiliar (Gittings, 2005). Tejpreet and John, both British Asian, Sikh boys, and Marshall, of Black Caribbean heritage, claimed that British Chinese eat cats, dogs and snakes. D school was a high proportion minority ethnic school which had no children of Chinese heritage.

> Marshall: 'I don't know much about Chinese people but I know they have plain faces and their eyes are a bit weird.'
> Tejpreet: 'They have snakes or stuff like that.'
> John :(at same time) 'Not snakes do they?'
> Marshall: 'They don't eat snakes, they eat cats and dogs that's what Iv'e heard I could be wrong and chickens everybody eats chickens.

The children expressed disgust at these eating habits. Such prejudicial attitudes towards Chinese culture are discussed by Gittings (2005) and Hesler (2002). D school was a high proportion minority ethnic school but there were no children of Chinese heritage. I would argue that these boys were being negative because they were ignorant of Chinese culture. Throughout the rest of the interview these boys had been very anti-racist, and in the Interim report feedback session I conducted with the children, Marshall in particular had been very vociferous about a 'Rule out Racism' initiative which his school had been involved in.

Secondly a few made a racist/negative remark or displayed racist/negative behaviour which they subsequently

regretted, for example Rachel, of African heritage, at another high proportion minority ethnic school, made offensive gestures when speaking about British Chinese but almost instantly she said, 'I shouldn't have done that' (Rachel).

Thirdly one child, from a high proportion minority ethnic school, whom I considered to be knowledgeable, was described as both a racist and a bully to children of his own culture and also different cultures.

Racist and Less Knowledgeable: Quadrant D
I deemed the minority of children who made negative or racist comments to be less knowledgeable about different cultures. Most of these children were white, male, low ability and tended to be younger than the other children in the study. Most negative comments came from the research which I undertook *after* the events of September 11th 2001 in B school, predominantly white. Their comments seemed full of anger and they felt threatened by what they perceived to be 'alien' and 'bad' cultures. These children mainly seemed to be repeating the views they had heard from their parents or in the media. Bart from one of the predominantly white schools discussed British Asians:

> Sally: 'Bart what did you put [in answer to the question "what do you know about British Asians"]'?
> Bart: 'They are coloured.'
> Sally: 'Coloured?'
> Bart: 'Horrible.'
> Sally: 'Why did you put horrible?' [all children in interview giggle]
> Bart: 'Because I don't like looking at them. They talk a lot...................Miss they wear rags, talk a lot and I don't like the look of their faces.'

One of the most explicitly racist comments was made during another interview in the same predominantly white school. Max and Jeremy, both British white, said:

Max: 'My dad's ermm a racist because he don't like no brown skinned people but he does like half caste 'cos there's a wrestler that's half caste De Roc … but he does like half castes, 'cos he's just fine with half castes, 'cos he used to take the rip out of half castes but I said "'don't dad because it's a bit nasty but you can take the rip out of Hindus because I don't like them"'.
'Cos it's Bin Laden he's like the boss of all the Hindus. That's about all I know … '
Jeremy: 'My dad says like errmm: "I'm not going to let you go to a
mosque because it's not for your type and it's only Pakis that go" and
because my Dad doesn't' like 'em.'

2. Influence of the School, conclusions drawn from research conducted in England and Southern Germany

Despite the majority of children expressing anti racist attitudes, nevertheless I also noted a 'white western privilege' stance in all four English schools, and this was also dominant in the German fieldwork. I drew conclusions from my data concerning the influence of a school on a child's multicultural awareness. Firstly, I discovered that the organisation of the curriculum in England and also in Southern Germany reinforces a white Western standpoint. Secondly, the formal curriculum in England and also Southern Germany is often ineffectual at challenging stereotyping, reducing prejudice and questioning the domination of a white Western perspective (Blair et al., 1999; Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997). Thirdly, the hidden curriculum in England sometimes reinforces stereotyping and can implicitly communicate white Western privilege (Back and Nyak, 1993; Jones, 1999; Gaine 2005). Finally, I suggest that some of the children in the English schools seemed to be dominated, either intentionally or unintentionally, by authoritarian teachers who had a view of children as inferior (James, 1995). I proceed to argue that the domination of children by adults may be linked with the domination of white Western culture (Adorno et al., 1950).

Organisation of education system in Germany

The German Education system is quite different to the British one in several respects; children attend Kindergarten (aged 3-7 years old) before starting formal Grundschule (primary school) at 7 years old in Klasse 1. In Klasse 4 children undergo tests and assessments to determine which secondary school they will attend. It is difficult to present definitive percentages and obviously each local area is different but generally I was told by one of my respondents in the German fieldwork:

'About 30-50% go on to Gymnasium, age 10-18/19 (grammar school), and 20-30% attend Realschule age 10 - 16 (secondary modern), the last group continue on to Hauptschule age 10-14 (for the less academic children), which often has strong links with Berufschule (apprentice work).' (Frau I)

I had a discussion with one mother at a local Kindergarten who told me that this tier system did not work as well for borderline children who may just have missed getting into the Gymnasium, and then they did less well than other children who managed to attend the Gymnasium. Likewise, those who just missed being placed in the Realschule and who ended up in the Hauptschule, were equally disadvantaged. A retired Gymnasium teacher, Frau I, spoke of upper class Afghanistan, Italian and Iranian people who arrived in Germany 40 years ago and whose children speak perfect German and who usually go to the Gymnasium. These children are seen as 'virtual' Germans because they are from the upper classes of their countries, and yet the lower socio economic classes, the migrant workers, who are also necessary to Germany as they provide cheap labour, are viewed less favourably according to Frau I. She said most of these 'lower class Ausländer' go to the Realschule and then take apprenticeships or go into the catering business:

'Many [lower class Ausländer] work in restaurants. Most [indigenous] Germans don't like to do that because the hours are unsociable and the pay isn't very good.' (Frau I)

During an interview with Prof Boes, who had conducted research into immigration issues and modes of multiculturalism (2000), a similar point was made. He described the difference between nationality and citizenship in Germany:

'Many immigrants try to 'become' German by applying for citizenship – there is a new law about this, but there is resistance to this. There is a difference between citizenship and nationality. Some [immigrants] cannot gain German nationality – therefore they cannot be voted into a democratic political position.' (Prof Boes)

We discussed the consequence of this as being the insular nature of German society and the continued ostracisation of 'Ausländer' who were often seen and treated as second class citizens. This is consistent with claims by Boes (2000) and Hoff (1995).

Student teachers Herr R and Frau R, both of Muslim background, discussed the factors underlying immigrant underachievement:

Herr R:' Immigrants often don't speak German at the age of 6 or 7 when compulsory education begins. Many do not send their children to the Kindergarten and so they don't get to learn German – they are therefore at a disadvantage when they start in Klasse 1 and they never catch up. When they get to take the test at 10 [Klasse 4] they don't do well and most go to Hauptschule.'
Frau R: 'We both did well at Primary school and we made it to Gymnasium but most Ausländer go to Hauptschule.'

It is important to note that Germany does not have a private school system (fee paying schools) as exists in Britain and so the high achievers go to the Gymnasium and the less able students tend to attend the Hauptschule. Herr R added:

Herr R: 'Hauptschulen are not very good schools and no one wants to teach in them – the children who attend are really difficult. Hardly anyone from the Hauptschule and very few from the Realschule make it to university.'

Thus it could be argued that the organisation of the schooling in Southern Germany discriminates against Ausländer who find it difficult to get in to the Gymnasium and therefore their prospects of attending University are reduced, thus limiting their job prospects. This is a similar finding to Lewis (2005) who, in her study of American schools, claimed that Latinos and African American children were disadvantaged because of the schools they attended, and their life chances limited compared with their white peers who attended predominantly white schools in 'nice' neighbourhoods and went on to 'get good jobs (2005:155).

Organisation of Education system in England

In England there are also different types of schools but currently parents can, to a certain extent, choose which school to send their child to, for example community schools and various types of faith-based schools (Francis and Lankshear, 1993; Parker-Jenkins et al., 2005). Also in England parents can choose to send their children to fee paying schools which, by nature, usually bar children from low socio economic backgrounds, although scholarships are sometimes available (Independent School, 2007).

When considering racism Blair et al. (1999) consider the very organisation of the curriculum to be at the heart of the problem of the underachievement of minority ethnic children and they highlight, among other

things, the very poor academic level of ethnic monitoring nationally. This has improved in recent years (DFES, 2007); however, it is still the case that minority ethnic pupils are often disadvantaged. The Training and Development Agency (TDA) funds a project, *Multiverse,* which developed a website for supporting the achievement of minority ethnic pupils and exploring issues of diversity (Multiverse, 2006). I would argue that minority ethnic children, in England, are beginning to receive a more 'equal' education than previously after the Macpherson Report (1999).

Formal Curriculum: Germany

In these sections I show how the design of the curriculum in both Southern Germany and England promotes, to varying degrees, white privilege (Heldke and O'Conner, 2004; Lewis, 2005).

Education in Germany is decentralised and each of the provinces (Länder) have autonomy (Hull, 2005) and in turn are influenced by the ideologies of the particular political party in power, for example the Christliche Demokratische Union or the Green Party. Many parties have a Christian base for example the Christliche Demokratische Union, and so this is transmitted into the school curriculum. The curriculum in the German province of Baden-Württemberg is set out in the Bildungsplan (syllabus), which all schools follow (Baden-Württemberg, 1994). The schools in my sample had a content-led rather than child-led curriculum. The teaching and learning which I observed was mainly whole class teaching of a particular theme which had been dictated by the Bildungsplan (Baden-Württemberg, 1994). However the Early Years education in Baden-Württemberg was very different. This was predominantly a very child-centred curriculum. I visited one Early Year's Setting, which was a Katholische Kindergarten (Catholic Pre-school) on a regular basis for two months and here the children were engaged in Early Years

activities. Early Years educators who are particularly interested in issues of discrimination, for example Brown (1998, 2000) advocate a system which is more 'play' orientated:

> *How we encourage children to learn is as important as, and inseparable from the content of what they learn. Active collaborative learning in small groups can promote the development of concepts, skills, attitudes and the ability to argue rationally. It is a challenging approach which does not fit easily with a curriculum geared to compartmentalised knowledge, back to basics and formal teaching methods. (Brown, 1998:91)*

Thus the German system in Baden-Württemberg supports the ideologies of a child-centred and 'play'-led curriculum for the Early Years, yet ironically I would argue that the German system after pre-school is less child-centred. Similarly the pre-school curriculum in Southern Germany advocated a more egalitarian ethos whereas the upper schools segregated children and Ausländer often seemed to be at a disadvantage (Lähnemann, 2006).

I would argue that the organisation of the formal curriculum has an impact on the development of the children's conceptualisation of learning. For example Heimat and Sachunterricht (homeland and topic) lessons I observed included a study of indigenous Germans and 'others' who have come to live in Germany therefore creating, a 'them' and 'us' culture. Religion lessons are monitored by the Protestant and Catholic churches. Herr R told me that the newly instigated Islam Religion classes will be monitored by Muslim communities because there is no formal hierarchy of Islam in Germany comparable to the Evangelische or Katholische churches. Teachers of religion are expected to have a personal belief and all priests have an obligation to teach in schools each week whether they are particularly

suited to this or not. Religion lessons are mainly confessional in approach and appeared to concentrate on faith nurture which is in contrast to British Religious Education (RE), which, in community schools, focuses on 'learning about' and 'learning from' religion in an educative rather than faith nurture approach (QCA, 2004). However RE is given a very high status in Germany which is different from many schools in England where sometimes RE has a very low profile. Herr and Frau R both said that Islamophobia had become a problem for Muslims and they felt it their responsibility to inform indigenous Germans, through the curriculum, that Muslims, as well as others, condemned the attack of September 11th, and that this was not 'true Islam' (Lähnemann, 2006).

There were opportunities for Multicultural and Intercultural education in the Lehrplan (Curriculum Syllabus) in the sections 'Cross Curricular themes' which Baden-Württemberg teachers follow in the Grundschule (Baden- Württemberg, 1994). The guidance states that Christians believe that in spite of differences 'we' are 'all God's children' and Biblical references are given (Baden –Württemberg, 1994:173). Thus despite the good intentions of encouraging these children from other lands to tell about their country, animals, religious beliefs, cuisine etc this is done from a monoculture perspective (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997).

This monocultural, white, western, privilege perspective is evidenced by Frau B, the headteacher of a Grundschule, and, perhaps significantly, former Olympic swimmer, who spoke of the 'lazy' and 'wrong' lifestyle of 'Turkish immigrants'. When she was describing what was covered in Heimat (homeland) studies she said:

> Frau B: 'They [Turkish immigrants] do take part in swimming lessons though, at least. I think swimming is very important. In the Turkish bath they just sit and talk. In our

> culture it's important to swim. There was a Greek philosopher who said if you are educated you can read and write and swim. So I explain to them it's a part of our life. If you can't swim you are stupid. In India they don't swim. When you are born you have an instinct- you want to crawl, walk and swim. You have to learn [to do them all]. Poseidon was a very high God – everyone ought to swim, including girls.'

Frau B made a clear distinction between the Turkish immigrants and the indigenous German children using 'us' and 'them' language and the indigenous Germans are definitely seen as the superior group. However this white western privilege attitude was not prevalent in all the schools in my Southern Germany study. Frau N, a class teacher in N school, talked about a Turkish girl in her class:

> 'We talk about her difficulties, yes, but look at what she can do- she has 2 languages- she's clever. My classes are very tolerant- today they clapped her [the Turkish girl].'

Frau N was a very caring teacher who strove to address inclusion issues by not stereotyping. She had high expectations of all children and she kept behavioural problems under control without being authoritarian.

Formal Curriculum in England
In English faith-based schools, RE is often confessional in nature, but the extent to which the faith community has an influence on the curriculum is dependent on the status of the school (Francis and Lankshear, 1993; Parker-Jenkins et al., 2005). In all community schools and many faith-based schools RE is taught as Religious *Education* and not faith nurture as set out in the Non-Statutory National Framework for RE (QCA, 2004:3). In my English research I found that children's multicultural awareness was often developed through the Religious Education curriculum

as well as through the general school ethos. Religious Education in England is determined by the local SACRE (the Standing Advisory Council for Religious Education) who produce an Agreed Syllabus for all state schools to follow (QCA, 2004). Faith-based schools have their own diocesan or faith syllabus.

I would argue that it is more likely for children to be anti-racist and have positive attitudes towards different cultures if they have learnt about them and learnt how to be respectful towards those who are 'different' from them. Unfortunately, despite these 'worthy' aims of RE, in England, in practice, the aims are not always translated into effective teaching and learning as I discovered in my research. For example when I asked the children about their curriculum, RE was nearly always one of the last subjects to be discussed. Despite being in one predominantly white school for six weeks in the summer term, I did not observe any RE lessons. Stuart told me about the Friday afternoon RE slot on the timetable, 'We don't do RE if it's sunny – we do PE outside' (Stuart, X school).

However, the children of X school, despite being arguably the least knowledgeable about different cultures, were not the most racist. The most racist comments came from white boys from B school, as I discussed earlier in this paper. I noticed in the predominantly white schools, that Christo-centric dating was used, dating systems AD and BC, rather than BCE and CE (Before the Common Era and the Common Era).

Impact of the Hidden Curriculum on children's multicultural awareness

I would argue that the hidden curriculum, or the ethos of the school, is influential on the children's multicultural development. As I had an opportunity to spend longer in the English schools than in the Southern Germany ones my discussion here draws predominantly on the English context to explore this view further (Elton-Chalcraft, 2008).

I would argue that teachers' comments and ways of communicating with children had a bearing on the children's multicultural awareness. I believe that the teacher's view of children (James, 1995) and the way they behave towards children can be linked with a domineering ethos (Devine, 2003). Thus if adults see children as inferior, then children grow to learn that inferiority and superiority exists, which in turn could be directed towards different cultures being superior and inferior. This is a similar finding to Adorno et al. (1950).

In R school, Mr Denton had 'favourites' who were encouraged and praised for contributions and only mildly rebuked if at all for misdemeanours. Conversely, the 'non-favourites' were often criticised for the same behaviour which had been admissible for the 'favourites'. For example, Rosanne, a white girl, was often singled out by Mr Denton as being 'annoying.' During a music lesson in Mr Denton's class, children on the right hand side of the class dominated the discussion about tempo and style of music after listening to some excerpts from a Compact Disc. Terri especially became very animated and called out several times. However Rosanne called out an answer and was reprimanded by Mr Denton; 'You are really beginning to annoy me Rosanne Smith'. I think Mr Denton must have realised what I was thinking as he looked at me and then stated; 'The people over here, although over excited, have something to say which is relevant'. I was not convinced. This provided more evidence pointing to the crucial role of the teacher in promoting children's self esteem. The teacher's expectations also play a part in children's achievement (Brown, 1998; Arthur et al., 2006). Rosanne remained silent for the rest of the lesson. Terri continued to exuberantly shout out answers and was praised by Mr Denton. From my observations I considered Mr Denton to be a caring and competent teacher, but nevertheless, I felt that he did not treat the children with equal respect. This of course is

very difficult to do when as a human being we naturally have preferences for certain types of people, usually people who are more like ourselves.

In D school Mrs Moser did not, I felt, treat the misdemeanours of Melissa, a girl of Caribbean heritage, with the same leniency as other children. In fact both she and Mr Millan seemed very intolerant of Melissa. Melissa was described by both Mr Millan and Mrs Moser as a 'troublemaker' and their expectations for her to act as such reinforced their assumptions. Mr Millan described her as 'a right pain. The children have to take it in turns to have her on their table'. Connolly (1998), Blair et al. (1999) and Lewis (2005) have all noted such behaviour, where African Caribbean children were stereotyped. The treatment of Melissa described above can be contrasted with that of Rachel, an African heritage girl in the other high proportion minority ethnic school, whose behaviour had been recognised as 'disruptive,' but she was offered support in the form of 'sharing sessions' with other children, inspired by the work of Moseley (1998). Thus I would argue that in comparing the treatment of these two girls, Rachel's school's ethos reflects egalitarian principles more so than Melissa's school, which incidentally was also Roy's school – the boy who was deemed a bully and a racist in quadrant C.

In X school, predominantly white, the high turnover of staff, and also of headteachers, had an influence on the relationships between staff and children. I would argue that the instability of staffing at this school led to an ethos of authoritarianism which was felt necessary to achieve and maintain discipline. There had been an arson attack on the school by a former pupil the previous year and several members of staff treated children as though they were soldiers in an army being told what to do, rather than children in a school engaging in learning. Lewis (2005), in her research at West City Elementary school, noted a similar trend

where 'authority and control were regularly asserted in dramatic fashion' (2005:42). I would suggest that some of the children in the English schools seemed to be dominated, either intentionally or unintentionally, by authoritarian teachers. I would argue that the domination of children by adults may be linked with the domination of white Western culture. Cultures of oppression (Devine, 2003) have institutional settings, and the formal and hidden curriculum (ethos) in each school provided climates for the children's positive or negative attitudes to thrive or remain unchallenged.

3. Implications for Policy and Practice
Finally I discuss several action points from my research findings which are particularly relevant for Initial Teacher Education (see also Elton-Chalcraft, 2009).

Planned Opportunities for Teaching and Learning in Different Types of Schools
Do Initial Teacher Education Institutions ensure student teachers recognise the importance of incorporating planned opportunities, in curriculum time, for positive discussions about different cultures, and the diversity within as well as between cultures? I found that the most knowledgeable children were also anti-racist because they respected the variety of different perspectives on life from a variety of cultures with which they were familiar (quadrant A table 1). I am not advocating a bland 'acceptance of all' cultures without any critical analysis, rather that the planned opportunities should encourage informed, rigorous debate coupled with respect for difference.

ITE institutions need to dispel the myth that the 'contact hypothesis' (Troyna and Hatcher, 1992; Connolly, 2000) alone can eradicate racism and develop anti-racism. The 'contact hypothesis' is the belief that by integrating children of different ethnicities in one school, children will necessarily be less racist because they work alongside each

other and thus will necessarily get on with each other. This has been challenged by Troyna and Hatcher (1992), and in my own research, because I discovered that there were racist children in the high proportion minority ethnic schools and there were a great many anti-racist children in the predominantly white schools. Thus teachers in high proportion minority ethnic schools cannot rely on osmosis alone to eradicate racism and promote human equality.

Nevertheless ITE institutions need to ensure that student teachers realise it is even more important to learn about different cultures for children in predominantly white schools because they do not have the advantage of high proportion minority ethnic schools in having a variety of cultures represented (Troyna and Hatcher, 1992). But teachers in predominantly white schools often fail to recognise the need for multicultural education (Gaine, 2005; Jones, 1999). Gaine (2005), Jones (1999) and Lewis (2005) have all conducted research which correlates with my own findings, namely that teachers in predominantly white schools think that multicultural education is for minority ethnic children. Therefore it should be highlighted to ITE student teachers that planned opportunities for multicultural and anti-racist education are crucial in all types of school to combat both ignorance and potential racism. Numerous resources are available to support the teacher such as Dadzie (2000) and Knowles and Ridley (2005), and websites such as Oxfam Cool Planet (2007), and Multiverse (2006).

Teaching and Learning: Starting Early to Eradicate Racism
Do ITE courses in Early Years Education encourage student teachers to foster in young children positive attitudes towards different cultures and discourage young children from copying the discriminatory attitudes which surround them from, for example, the Media, their families, the school, the local community etc (Brown,

1998; 2001)? In my study I found that the most racist children were the youngest and least able, (in category D table 1). It has been argued that prejudiced attitudes remain unchallenged throughout the primary phase and possibly continue into secondary education and adulthood (Brown, 1998; 2001). The use of Persona dolls can support learning about different cultures and encourage adopting positive attitudes (Brown, 2001; Elton-Chalcraft, 2006). In order to eradicate racism I would argue that racism needs to be 'unlearned' (Brown, 1998).

Awareness of Macro and Micro Climate
Many of the children in my research were either naturally respectful or had learnt to be respectful towards those of another culture. However, anti-racism is not just about 'being nice' to a particular person (Blair et al., 1999), institutional racism must be avoided too (Macpherson, 1999). I would agree with Troyna and Hatcher (1992:37) that it is not sufficient to think about the 'micro perspective' of bullying and racist incidents in the school without also taking into account the 'macro' situation which could be described as 'institutional racism' (Macpherson, 1999; Lewis, 2005). Thus issues of equality need to be extended beyond the concept of equal opportunities within the classroom to realise that equality is not in evidence in society at large (Troyna and Hatcher, 1992; Lewis, 2005). The implication is to encourage children to 'be nice' to each other in school, but also to encourage them to acknowledge, explore and challenge injustices that they see in the world outside the school gates.

Awareness of White Western Privilege, Promoting Anti Racism
Do ITE courses encourage students to consider the influence and dominance of white Western culture (Jones, 1999; Gaine, 2005; Lewis, 2005)? I found that many children used white Western language and referred to white Western culture as being

the 'norm'. Some teachers argue that they do not want to discriminate between children of different ethnicities because this in itself is racist and may lead to conflict but this has been disputed by Jones (1999). I would agree; such an attitude denies a child's identity and also may deny that prejudice exists (Jones, 1999; Gaine, 2005). Thus teachers need to explore differences as well as similarities between peoples. I agree with both Gaine (1995; 2005) and Jones (1999) who acknowledge that racism can flourish where there is 'colour blindness' and a denial of difference.

Also it is important for teachers to explore the multi faceted nature of identity, (Back and Nyak, 1993; Modood, 2007). People cannot be stereotyped into one category, and the concept of identity is an important issue which can be explored in the classroom for example using 'Philosophy for Children' (P4C) to consider prejudicial and stereotypical attitudes (Knowles and Ridley, 2005; Philosophy for Children, 2006).

I have found that the organisation of schools and the very curriculum itself may be partly responsible for allowing racist attitudes to flourish. This is a similar finding to earlier work by Troyna and Hatcher (1992) and to Lewis's American study (2005). Guidance to support ITE and Continuing Professional Development (CPD) programmes includes the Multiverse (2006) and DfES (2007) websites. There also needs to be an overhaul of the curriculum which Parker-Jenkins et al. suggest is 'at best Eurocentric and at worst Britocentric but rarely multicentric' (2005:145). My findings support this claim as does Lewis's work; she calls for schools to fulfil 'the role they have been cast in- that of the great equalisers' (Lewis 2005:37).

Considering the Links between Racism and Bullying Behaviour

Are concepts such as 'domination' and 'oppression' rigorously debated in ITE courses? As my research progressed I considered the links between domination of children, racism and oppression (Adorno et al., 1950; Devine. 2003). Further research is needed to correlate this finding, however I believe it is important for teachers to consider how they treat children; because if there is a domination of teacher over child, or child over child, then this could foster 'domination tendencies' which could result in racism and discrimination (Troyna and Hatcher, 1992; Devine, 2003). In my own research, the one child who was deemed to be racist and yet knowledgeable was also deemed to be a bully (quadrant C table 1).

Racism is often linked with domination of one group over another (Adorno et al., 1950).The influence of the school 'climate' should not be underestimated. Similarly if teachers view children as 'inferior' and lacking in status (James, 1995), then they are creating an atmosphere of antagonism which could promote racism and prejudice. I would agree with Devine that 'treating children seriously as humans in their own right' is a relatively new phenomena (2003:2). This is despite the existence of a children's rights movement which spans many decades (Parker-Jenkins, 1999). Policy on teacher training should more adequately reflect emerging norms and values concerning the status and treatment of children.

Teacher's Mind Set

What mind set do student teachers hold concerning diversity issues? When discussing different cultures with my students, I often use the *Dr Xargles: An Alien's View of Earth Babies* picture book (Willis and Ross, 1988), as an illustration of how language can be culturally biased. Dr Xargles, an alien teacher who instructs his

class about 'earthlets' (human babies) uses terminology from his own species or the 'jargon' terminology of the humans, thus demonstrating cultural dominance for example:

> *They [earthlet babies] have one head and only two eyes, two short tentacles with feelers on the end and two long tentacles called leggies.* (1988:3)

Dr Xargles has five eyes and two long tentacles and is thus using his own cultural language to describe another culture. This is similar to Kincheloe and Steinberg's pluralist multiculturalism, 'Hannuka is the Jewish Christmas' (1997) and in my own research one Sikh girl referred to the 'Gurdwara' (Sikh place of worship) as 'Church'. Teachers could avoid this by ensuring their mind set is non- biased and they refer to a religion or culture using its own terminology (Elton-Chalcraft, 2006). I would agree with Brown who states (my italics):

> *Racism and other social inequalities are deeply rooted in British history and still profoundly affect the lives of children and their families. These inequalities were created by and are being perpetuated by people so they can be changed by people.* (Brown, 1988:2)

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