STARKEY, H. (2008) Antiracism. IN ARTHUR, J., HAHN, C. & DAVIES, I. (Eds.) *SAGE Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy.* London, Sage.

Antiracism

Hugh Starkey
Institute of Education, London

Introduction: education for citizenship and democracy is necessarily antiracist.

Any educational programme associated with citizenship and democracy is required to be intrinsically antiracist. Racism is a barrier to citizenship and is the antithesis of democracy. A racist perspective denies the fundamental claims of democracy and human rights. Both democracy and human rights depend on an understanding and agreement that all human beings are entitled to equal respect for their dignity and equal rights. Racism is a set of beliefs and practices, explicit or unwitting, premised on the greater entitlement of one group to both respect and rights. Racism therefore undermines the very basis of democracy and human rights. Its antidote is antiracism.

Democracy is a world view as much as a form of governance. It is a project usually embodied in a set of institutions and an explicit commitment to strengthen human rights. A healthy culture of democracy requires that its institutions constantly enhance their democratic credentials and seek to become more inclusive. This implies that those working in and with institutions, including schools, should be alert to the limitations of democracy and the barriers faced by citizens who are entitled to participate but who may face discrimination. One major barrier to participation and equality that exists in societies across the world is racism.

Antiracism is a position and perspective that seeks to preserve, protect and promote democracy. A minimal definition of antiracism is that:

> It refers to those forms of thought and practice that seek to confront, eradicate and/or ameliorate racism. Anti-racism implies the ability to identify a phenomenon – racism – and to do something about it (Bonnett, 2000:4).

An antiracist perspective within education for democracy and citizenship consequently needs to develop understandings of

- why racism is so inimical to democracy and human rights
- different and mutating forms of racism and their consequences
- strategies for opposing racism.

This agenda may appear to be commonsense and uncontroversial. It is founded on the entirely logical argument that if racism is an ideology or a practice or a phenomenon that

corrodes or denies democracy and human rights, then supporters of democracy and human rights must, of course, attempt to understand it and oppose it.

The fact remains that antiracism is a term that it has become difficult to use rhetorically. It is often perceived as a controversial topic to be treated with extreme caution. Those who may be disinclined to address racism in citizenship education have found support from one extremely eminent promoter of citizenship education in the UK. Bernard Crick has criticised antiracism as a pedagogical strategy, arguing instead for 'indirect approaches'. Given the immense prestige he has deservedly enjoyed, such opinions may often be accepted without question.

I will argue that what Crick warns against is a pedagogical model that, if it has ever existed, is far from anything that I or colleagues involved in teacher education or inspection would ever recommend as good practice in citizenship education. We can agree that discussions of racism require great sensitivity on the part of the teacher. However, Crick bases his conclusion on a parody of a lesson. He argues that:

> explicit attacks on racism or teaching anti-racism full frontal can prove inflammatory – just what the racist white lads will look forward to in classroom discussion, or disruption (Crick, 2000: 134).

This statement reinforces discourses from sections of the popular press that also use parody to discredit antiracism. The teacher, faced with a class containing 'racist white lads', is depicted as launching into 'explicit attacks on racism'. There is no indication of context. Perhaps it is a response to a racist incident. Given the military connotations of the word 'attacks' the class members may well see this as a threat and respond defensively. Crick evokes a second 'inflammatory' teaching strategy namely 'teaching anti-racism full frontal'. The expression is sometimes related to 'nudity' though also to military assault. If the citizenship lesson is one in which the teacher combines race and sex in a macho battle with 'the racist white lads', clearly the whole enterprise is discredited. However, such naïve approaches to antiracism are not inevitable. It is perfectly possible to develop other pedagogical models that enable teachers to address racism explicitly.

The Swedish education authorities do not share Crick's reservations. In guidance to schools they insist that:

> In interpersonal relations there should be no distinction between the worth of different groups of people and attitudes which deny this principle - such as *Nazism, racism, sexism, and the glorification of violence - shall be actively brought out into the open and combated* (Government of Sweden, 2001: 36, our emphasis in Osler & Starkey 2002:156).

It is certainly the case, as I will suggest in the following sections, that if schools as organisations and institutions fail to address racism explicitly, they will be part of the problem rather than part of the solution.

However, challenging racism may well involve challenging structures and practices that are in place for apparently benign reasons. For Gillborn:

> simply asserting our anti-racist intentions means nothing if we leave unchanged the dominant systems of testing, the curriculum, teacher education, and punitive inspection regimes that penalize schools serving working-class and minoritised communities (2006: 15).

An anti-racist perspective is one that understands and looks out for differential or discriminatory outcomes as a result of apparently even-handed policies. The political task of trying to change such policies is one with which teachers, heads, parents and unions should engage.

Racism as a barrier to citizenship

Citizenship as a concept is a nexus of understandings involving, amongst other disciplines, politics, sociology, law, philosophy, social psychology and international relations. Education for citizenship requires a definition of 'citizenship' that accommodates these different understandings and that is also accessible to teachers and learners who do not necessarily have a strong background in any of the disciplines. Citizenship as a *status,* a *feeling* and a *practice* has been proposed as meeting this need for a concise and accessible definition (Osler & Starkey, 2005). I will expand on this definition, in order to show how racism is a barrier to accessing citizenship in each of the three dimensions.

Citizenship is perhaps most often understood as *status*. Almost all of the world's inhabitants are legally citizens of a state. Nationals of a state are citizens with an internationally accepted legal status that gives them some rights and perhaps some duties that may be no more than the requirement to sit on a jury if chosen. Citizenship, in this sense, is co-terminus with nationality. It describes the relationship of the individual to the State. In principle the State protects citizens through laws and policing. It provides some collective benefits such as security, a system of justice, education, health care, and transport infrastructure.

As a concept, citizenship has a long and complex history and set of meanings. Since the formation of nation-states in the 19th and 20th centuries, citizenship has effectively been nationalised. Citizenship as nationality is a very unequal status. States with high levels of income from taxation and natural resources provide considerable benefits, whilst poorer states struggle to provide even basic services and education.

Xenophobic political groups and parties play on nationalistic feelings, strengthening and focusing a division between citizens and foreigners. Such discourses are based on a claim that the status and privileges attached to national citizenship should be restricted, particularly through immigration laws. It has proved very hard for even the most liberal and egalitarian democracies to avoid racist effects of immigration policies.

Citizenship is a *feeling* of belonging to a community of citizens. Experience of discrimination undermines a sense of belonging. There is no lack of descriptions of the kinds of barriers to citizenship that minorities encounter, as in the following example from the UK. The quotation is from a writer who had lived for many years in Britain and had made a notable contribution to literature and education. Nevertheless he concluded that:

> In spite of …any feeling I might entertain towards Britain and the British, I - like all other colored persons in Britain - am considered an 'immigrant' …[a] condition in which we have no real hope of ever enjoying the desired transition to full responsible citizenship.
>
> (Braithwaite, 1967, quoted in Fryer, 1984: 382)

Although the quotation refers to the mid 20th century, the situation in which black and minority citizens may be perceived as migrants by members of dominant communities persists into the 21 century. 30 years after the previous quotation was written, the presenter of the 1997 Reith Lectures, a prestigious annual series broadcast by the BBC, provided numerous examples of the same phenomenon and confided that:

> the great philosophically-inspiring quandary of my life is that despite the multiculturalism of my heritage and the profundity of my commitment to the notion of the 'us'-ness of us all, I have little room but to negotiate most of my daily lived encounters as one of 'them' (Williams 1997:11).

Formal and informal barriers to full citizenship have also been well documented in the case of the USA. James Banks notes that black Americans have encountered three consecutive problems, the first of which was legal exclusion, finally overcome during the civil rights struggle of the 1950s and 1960s. However, even when formal equality was achieved:

> they were often denied educational experiences that would enable them to attain the cultural and language characteristics needed to function effectively in the mainstream society. Third, they were often denied the opportunity to fully participate in mainstream society even when they attained these characteristics because of … discrimination (Banks, 1997: xi).

Access to citizenship requires more than a legal status, though this is an essential first step. As Banks later observed:

> A citizen's racial, cultural, language, and religious characteristics often significantly influence whether she is viewed as a citizen within her society (Banks, 2004:5).

It is clear that the attitudes and behaviour of majority groups may be determining in enabling minorities to feel included. Access to citizenship therefore requires a commitment by the State to ensuring that the education of all its citizens includes an understanding of the principles of democracy and human rights and an uncompromising challenge to racism in all its forms.

Citizenship is also defined in terms of *practice* associated with democracy and with human rights. Individuals can practice citizenship as holders of human rights, working individually, perhaps, but usually with others to change the way things are. It is this awareness of a capacity to influence the world, sometimes referred to as a sense of agency that leads citizens to exert themselves on behalf of others. A racist perspective would encourage action to favour one group over another. Such discrimination is by definition profoundly undemocratic.

Citizenship in democracy depends on rights and fundamental freedoms

Rights are the essential starting point for citizenship. Rights provide the possibility to practice citizenship and to feel a sense of belonging. Whether defined in terms of national laws or whether the reference is to universal human rights the very basis of rights in democratic contexts is that they are available to all. National rights are granted to national citizens and usually to other inhabitants of the territory of a state, irrespective of their nationality. Human rights may be claimed by any human being without exception.

As I noted in the previous section, citizenship in the USA is associated with civil rights and constitutional rights. In Europe the underlying principle of citizenship is more likely to be defined as human rights and fundamental freedoms. Human rights emerged from struggle against Nazism; civil rights from struggle against racial discrimination. In other words opposition to racism led to the construction of legal systems for the protection of citizens from racial discrimination.

The major European institutions, the Council of Europe (founded in 1949), the European Community (founded in 1957), the European Court of Human Rights and the European Parliament are all explicitly committed to democracy, human rights and the rule of law. These institutions underpin a European culture based on an ambition to achieve peace and stability in a continent that suffered two horrendous wars in the first half of the twentieth century.

The European movement that gave impetus to the creation of these institutions can be traced back to resistance to fascist and Nazi attempts to achieve dominance over Europe in the 1930s and 1940s. Given that the Nazi ideology was founded on racism and a denial of the essential equality of human beings, its opponents are, by definition, committed to the promotion of antiracism and race equality. In this the United Nations and the Council of Europe share the same ideals.

The founding principles of the Council of Europe are both regional and universal, as are those of the European Community and European Union. Both the Council of Europe and the European Community are profoundly committed to antiracism. Racism is seen as being based on principles entirely antithetical to European and international values of human rights, dignity and equality. Racism is therefore not only undemocratic, but is, in its essence the enemy of democracy. It threatens the stability of individual states and of the continent as a whole.

As we have previously noted, within the discourse on education for citizenship there is a tendency to categorise an increasingly diverse school population, and minority students in particular, as problematic. The characterisation of multicultural societies as problematic is precisely the terrain on which xenophobic political parties have chosen to operate. Far right and populist politicians spuriously link multiculturalism to crime, to insecurity and to loss of national identity. Such discourses are profoundly anti-democratic as they deny the basic tenets of liberal democracy, namely equality of rights and respect for human dignity (Osler, 2000; Osler and Starkey, 2000; Osler and Starkey, 2001; Starkey, 2000).

At an international and inter-governmental level in Europe, the rhetoric of opposition to racism is robust and consistent. There can be hardly any doubt that the principles of anti-racism are promoted as fundamental to European policies. Whether this rhetoric translates into policies at national and local levels is unclear, but the principles are repeated and individual ministers hesitate to challenge them in international meetings.

As an example, in 1997, the Council of Europe launched the Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC) programme aiming to promote best practice and develop new models for citizenship education and also to be 'instrumental in the fight against violence, xenophobia, racism, aggressive nationalism and intolerance' (Council of Europe, 2000a: 5).

The Council of Europe, working with the European Commission, convened a number of preparatory meetings before the 2001 UN World Conference Against Racism. The governments of the member states of the Council of Europe made a formal declaration that makes a strong if implicit case for antiracism as an essential element of democracy:

> Racism and racial discrimination are serious violations of human rights in the contemporary world and must be combated by all lawful means;
> Racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance threaten democratic societies and their fundamental values;
> Stability and peace in Europe and throughout the world can only be built on tolerance and respect for diversity; (Council of Europe, 2000b)

Two years later, reviewing their programme of education for democratic citizenship, the Committee of Ministers provided specific guidance for EDC that explicitly support antiracist approaches:

> it would be appropriate to implement educational approaches and teaching methods which aim at learning to live together in a democratic society, and at

> combating aggressive nationalism, racism and intolerance and eliminate violence and extremist thinking and behaviour (Council of Europe, 2002).

The World Conference Against Racism, held in Durban in 2001 was the site of competing definitions of racism and attempts to gain the attention of the world's media by groups from around the world who identified their struggle as essentially a demand for non-discrimination on grounds of race (Bhavnani et al., 2005). The contribution of the European Commission was significant in calling for an educational approach to the fight against racism.

> The fight against racism is now firmly rooted in European law. Specific reference to the fight against racism is contained in the Treaty establishing the European Community…
>
> We know though, that there are many areas of discrimination that cannot be tackled by law. Practical action is needed to reach out to people and to help change the underlying prejudices that fuel racist attitudes and behaviour. Education is called to play a fundamental role in this endeavour (Diamantopoulou, 2001).

This is a key analysis, confirming that legislation, whilst important, needs to be accompanied by an educational programme designed to create a climate of human rights. By promoting equality, strengthening democracy and encouraging respect for human dignity, education can play a key role in overcoming the conditions in which racism flourishes. Ensuring that these values and dispositions are at the forefront of the public conscience requires that they permeate the whole education process. In other words, it is vital that antiracism be mainstreamed.

In fact the European Commission published a report *Mainstreaming the Fight Against Racism* (European Commission, 1999) which drew together various previous initiatives and highlighted how Community policies and programmes can contribute to the fight against racism. It suggested two main means by which racism can be challenged: first, by presenting diversity in a positive light; and secondly, by creating favourable conditions for a multicultural society. Both these proposals anticipate an educational response (Osler & Starkey, 2002; 2005).

Recognising racisms

Translating the rhetoric of policy and pronouncement into realities in schools requires, amongst other things an analysis of the kinds of racism that are of most relevance to the lives of all members of the school community. It is not just young people who are subject to racism. Teachers too are significantly affected within schools and in the wider society (Maylor et al., 2006; Osler, 2006).

Antiracism is a perspective that ensures that racism is identified in whatever form it occurs and that racism is confronted. Racism is often understood as blatant discrimination

as enacted in the laws of Nazi Germany, apartheid South Africa and certain states in the USA prior to the civil rights movement. Alternatively it is brutal street racism involving murderous attacks that demands attention. In fact racism operates also in very subtle ways and it is useful for teachers and young people to be able to recognise some of the main forms this takes.

I will now consider three forms of racism, that overlap and interact, but for which there is considerable evidence from personal testimonies. Further evidence of racism is based on quantifiable measures and statistics. In the following section I will examine in turn everyday racism (Essed, 1991), institutional racism (Carmichael & Hamilton, 1968; Macpherson, 1999) and colourblind racism (Ouseley, 1982 cited in Braham et al., 1992; Bonilla-Silva, 2006).

Everyday racism

Philomena Essed developed her theory from her experiences as a Dutch-Surinamese social scientist asking questions of migrants about their experiences of living in the Netherlands. Her research 'makes visible black women's knowledge and understanding of racism, where that knowledge comes from and how it is used in everyday life in order to identify even hidden and subtle forms of racism' (Essed, 2002: 462). The theory she derives is based on the fact that since she finds 'systematic, recurrent, familiar practices' (2002:177) it is possible to generalise. In particular everyday racism creates structures of racial and ethnic inequality and serves to manage or break opposition.

In line with Essed's methodology, stories are a source of evidence of everyday racism. Research on the experiences of minority ethnic pupils in mainly white schools in England provides a rich source of such stories (Cline et al., 2002)

For instance Ming-Chen, a Chinese boy in Year 9 told how he had been subjected to repeated name calling on his way home from school, providing examples of the names - *Chinky, check eyes, four eyes*. He was finally provoked into retaliating and whilst the incident was reported and there was no further trouble for a while, a few months later the racist insults started again. Ming-chen reported that: 'He followed me home, spitting, standing in front of the house, shouting and jeering, spitting and stuff like this, and then he started being racist again…' and even when this incident had been dealt with 'he still keeps giving me dirty looks.. he hangs around outside my house all the time, on the bike' (Cline et al., 2002: 77).

Racist name-calling amongst young people in schools is very widely reported and it seems likely that it is experienced as everyday racism by many young people, particularly minorities. In Essed's terms it serves to create ethnic inequality, by identifying the target person as not one of us.

The young people interviewed by Cline and colleagues often reported that schools teachers rarely took such incidents as seriously as they and their parents felt they

warranted. A lesson for teachers wanting to take an antiracist perspective must be that it is important to listen to young people. Since this corresponds with agendas on participation that derive from the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), citizenship education would appear to be well placed to foster opportunities for both public and private expressions of experiences of racism.

Teachers, in the same research reported, however, that when they contacted parents of students who had been behaving inappropriately to ethnic minorities, the parents were not always supportive of the school. Antiracism may also need to address attitudes prevalent in the community.

Rebecca Raby undertook research in schools near Toronto, Canada and listened to the stories of majority children as well as minorities. One student, Janelle, reported on the kind of behaviour she witnessed recurrently at her school:

> Somalian girls who have the wraps all around their faces. In summertime… it's a religion and people know this, but just to be noticed or have someone trying to be popular they'll be making fun of them or asking stupid questions like `Aren't you hot? Are you a Ninja?' (Raby, 2004: 367).

Janelle did not have the vocabulary to describe the headscarves worn by the 'Somalian girls'. She recognizes that the questions posed are designed to 'make fun' in other words to belittle the target in order to gain popularity with other students by creating an in-group and an out-group. The teasing installs a barrier to equal participation as the message is given out that students in hijab are not going to be included in friendship groups.

As the title of Raby's paper indicates, there was a broad denial that exchanges such as the one above are racist. However, a further quote from Janelle reveals the kind of racist discourses that circulate amongst the majority population students:

> I think that if she was probably lighter, everybody would have accepted her, things like that cuz' no one really said anything that shows racism, they were just `oh my god did you see how dark that girl is?' kind of thing…(Raby, 2004:371).

This example suggests that the everyday behaviour and conversation of majority students may be deeply impregnated with racial awareness and stereotyping. An antiracist approach must provide opportunities to help students and teachers become aware of the power and effect of such discourses.

Everyday racism also affects school leaders. Audrey Osler interviewed black headteachers and senior administrators (Osler, 1997). A black secondary headteacher, Frank, confided that:

> There is a demand that the black community expect of you, you have got to be absolutely perfect…At the same time, the white communities out there are watching

> you make one error and they will shoot you down and they will get you. So I am in a no-win situation (Osler, 2006: 139).

The everyday experience of this head is that individuals and groups in the dominant community judge his performance more harshly than they would a white head. He is perceived to be someone who does not have a right to his post and who is expected constantly to prove that he is capable.

Institutional racism

For a brief moment in British history, between 1999 and 2000 it became acceptable across the political and social spectrum to discuss racism and antiracism. The trigger for this unique opportunity was the publication by the British government of a report into the police investigation of the murder by racist white youths of London teenager Stephen Lawrence. The report chronicled and analysed in minute detail the embarrassingly ineffective police investigation and the failure to bring the perpetrators to justice, in spite of overwhelming evidence.

The *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry* (Macpherson, 1999) recognised that there was system or institutional racism within the police service and by extension and explicitly also in other institutions in British society including housing, social services and education.

Drawing on a concept from the work of Carmichael and Hamilton (1968) in the USA, the report, in a now classic definition characterised institutional racism as:

> The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people. It persists because of the failure of the organisation openly and adequately to recognise and address its existence and causes by policy, example and leadership. Without recognition and action to eliminate such racism, it can prevail as part of the ethos or culture of the organisation. It is a corrosive disease.
>
> (Macpherson, 1999: para. 6.34)

In presenting the government's response, the Home Secretary of the time acknowledged the extent of institutional racism in Britain.

> Any long-established, white dominated organisation is liable to have procedures, practices and a culture which tend to exclude or disadvantage non-white people. The police service in this respect is little different from other parts of the criminal justice system, or from government departments ... and many other institutions (Jack Straw, Hansard, 24 February 1999).

Although it is possible that institutional racism may permeate the education service and unconsciously perpetuate racist mentalities, the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry* report recognised education as being perhaps part of the problem but also having the potential to be part of the solution. It recommended that schools play a key role in enabling the development of greater racial justice. Of the report's 70 recommendations, three address education. As well as proposing amendments to the national curriculum so that schools might more effectively value cultural diversity and prevent racism, the Inquiry recommended that local education authorities (LEAs) and school governors take a lead in ensuring that racist incidents be recorded and reported. It recommended that schools monitor exclusions by ethnicity and that the school inspection agency, OFSTED, be given a lead role in monitoring how schools are addressing and preventing racism.

The Government's response to the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry's* recommendations (Home Office, 1999) accepted these recommendations in principle and also identified citizenship education as a key means by which schools would address and prevent racism and encourage young people to value cultural diversity.

The lead ministry in following up the recommendations of the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry* was the Home Office and a number of ministers from that department made powerful statements in favour of antiracism during the year 2000. However, despite the acceptance of the need for schools to prevent and address racism through their curriculum and ethos, education ministers avoided making positive statements on the role of schools in challenging racism in society and declined to acknowledge the existence of institutional racism in the education service.

The importance of the acceptance of institutional racism is that it is not enough for institutions to be well intentioned; they should be accountable for the outcomes they produce. There are now very well documented and measured inequalities of outcome from the British education system. These are comprehensively reviewed by Stevens (2007). These include disproportionate representation of certain minorities in those excluded from school for disciplinary reasons; lower expectations of exam success and lower accession rates to higher education.

Colourblind racism

In an apparently laudable attempt to be even handed and not to favour individuals or groups, it would appear that many teachers profess to ignore or not to notice outward and visible signs of ethnicity or religion. Indeed the whole basis of the French Republic, is to define ethnic and religious identities as irrelevant to the public sphere, including education. This can be presented as an antiracist stance. As Sarah Pearce puts this perspective: ‘unlike racists, we don’t judge people on the basis of the colour of their skin’ (Pearce, 2005: 41).

Apart from the fact that this may be an example of ‘the majoritarian privilege of never noticing oneself’ (Williams 1997:5), such a perspective can be part of a culture that can

leave the effects of institutional racism untouched. The report *the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain* noted that:

> [Since] citizens have differing needs, equal treatment requires full account to be taken of their differences. When equality ignores relevant differences and insists on uniformity of treatment, it leads to injustice and inequality; when differences ignore the demands of equality, they result in discrimination. … (Parekh, 2000: ix).

This was taken up by Chris Gaine who explains that:

> [n]oticing race is not racist because to do so recognizes that race has effects on people's lives…Indeed it is racist *not* to notice race when it may be relevant, such as in cases of name-calling or in monitoring (Gaine, 2005:173).

Colourblind racism has been theorised by Bonilla-Silva (2006) on the basis of qualitative research with white college students. He identified four frames that can be used to categorise types of colourblind racism. The first is the liberal frame. This can be illustrated by the example of the French Republic above. Abstract philosophical concepts associated with liberalism such as equal opportunities, and freedom of choice are used to justify structures that appear to be founded on principles of human rights and equality, but that nonetheless produce inequalities. The second frame is referred to as naturalization and it is used to explain phenomena such as segregation. For instance it is seen as natural for ethnic minorities or dominant populations to want to live in proximity. A third frame is that of cultural racism. Here people produce cultural arguments to explain disadvantage. For example, it may be claimed that certain communities lack experience of democracy or that they are poor because they have large families. A fourth frame is minimization of racism. Proponents argue that name calling does no harm or that discrimination is less widespread than previously. Bonilla-Silva notes that these frames are used in combinations as people think through their positions and try to find explanations and justifications.

These frames are all susceptible to illustration from the research literature. A fine example of colourblind minimization is captured by Cline et al in an interview with a headteacher who says:

> …all the children are treated the same and I think the fact that they are ethnic minorities doesn't make any difference for me because the children all integrate and mix in. (Cline et al. 2002:80).

Audrey Osler provides an example of a cultural response to the acknowledgement of racism amongst staff. A head she interviewed confided that 'some of our staff do have a racist approach'. Her solution was:

> being very supportive when students want to have an Eid party or, you know, when groups of students want to do something very much, making sure that they are respected and valued for doing it. … you give that leadership and then that should percolate down (Osler, 2006: 137).

Here the racism is minimised and the provision of cultural opportunities linked to religion provided as a substitute for addressing the real issue.

A cultural colourblind frame was seen in the example of teasing Somali girls wearing headscarves. The teasers denied their behaviour was racist, but they were picking on a cultural feature of the girls' appearance and denigrating it. The outcome was discrimination in that the Somalis were excluded from friendship groups.

The next section of this chapter will explore some of the interdependent and interwoven anti-racist perspectives identified in the literature.

Strategies for confronting racism

With an awareness of contemporary, everyday and subtle forms of racism, it is possible to devise antiracist strategies for teachers, schools and education authorities. A good place to start for teachers of citizenship is to provide safe opportunities to discuss the issues of racism. Clearly the 'full-frontal' attack parodied by Crick is not appropriate, but strategies that develop a sense of psychological security and a climate of respectfulness can enable such discussions to take place without harm (Carter & Osler, 2000).

A second strategy is being prepared to put antiracism at the centre of citizenship education not see it as peripheral or the concern just of minorities. This requires being prepared to speak about, though not preach about racism. For many teachers this will require some courage, but Sarah Pearce testifies to ways in which this inhibition can be overcome

> It was only when I saw that by remaining silent I was actually supporting the continued presence of racist attitudes in the classroom, that I slowly gathered the courage to act' (Pearce 2005: 125).

As the British government's review of citizenship education in the context of diversity discovered, the fact that the demographic composition of the school is diverse does not in itself provide education for diversity or a commitment to antiracism.

> we found evidence that, although in multiethnic schools teachers asserted that education for diversity is second nature to them, in practice this is not always the case (Ajegbo, 2007:28).

In fact the report suggests that it is important to secure a whole-school commitment to citizenship education for a diverse society.

> no curriculum change will work properly unless it is reinforced by the day-to-day routines of the school and its ethos – one which constantly combats both personal and institutional racism and religious intolerance, celebrates diversity and practises inclusion (Ajegbo, 2007:35).

As a minimum, schools can ensure legal policy responses are in place and taken seriously and owned. For example in order to enable British schools to implement the Race Relations (Amendment) Act, the Commission for Racial Equality issued schools with a statutory code of practice on the duty to promote race equality (Commission for Racial Equality, 2002). The duty requires public authorities, including schools to:

- Eliminate unlawful racial discrimination
- Promote equality of opportunity
- Promote good relations between people of different racial groups.

The guidance covers issues such as admissions policies and the collection and analysis of data by ethnic group. Schools are expected to set targets for improving the performance of underachieving groups. It stresses that the policy must be applied irrespective of the number of ethnic minority children in the school:

> Race equality is important, even if there is nobody from an ethnic minority group in your school or local community. Education plays a vital role in influencing young people, because the views and attitudes they form as pupils or students will probably stay with them for the rest of their lives. Also, racist acts (such as handing out racist literature) can happen in schools with no pupils from ethnic minorities (Commission for Racial Equality, 2002: 7).

The legislation requires schools to prepare a written statement of policy for promoting race equality. The code of practice provides an example of how one school set about drafting and using such a statement. All members of the school community, including parents and pupils had opportunities to be involved. The draft policy was discussed in citizenship lessons and the pupil council was given responsibility, along with the school governors and the school's senior management, for monitoring the implementation of the policy.

The code of practice recognises the importance of the school having a clear statement of values and the need for staff training in the implications of such a values statement for their teaching and for the procedures and ethos of the school. The opportunity provided by citizenship education to engage pupils in dialogue about the race equality policy and the values of the school is also clearly signalled.

More recently local authorities in Britain have been required to draw up a Children and Young People's Plan. The Ajegbo review highlights this as an opportunity to promote social cohesion, anti-racism and education for diversity. It cites the example of Hampshire local authority where elected members and officers took a lead to encourage:

> education for diversity and citizenship, and a zero tolerance of racism, which has set the tone for a positive, inclusive culture. This has resulted in the active promotion of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (Ajegbo, 2007:73)

Other research previously cited identified an individual school where a deputy headteacher is specifically responsible for antiracism. Whenever there is an incident a procedure is invoked that involves:

- interviews with both pupils & witnesses to ascertain what happened as well as possible;
- information to both sets of parents who have to be kept informed;
- advice and counselling to either or both parties as seems possible;
- other action, e.g. punishment of perpetrator (ranging from detention to exclusion) and informing other agencies;
- a careful log of each step (Cline et al, 2002: 81).

Conclusion

This chapter has argued the case for antiracism to be central to education for democracy and citizenship. Such an argument should be redundant, but there has been relatively little development of support for antiracism within teacher education in the context of citizenship. In fact it has previously been presented as rather sensitive, counterproductive or controversial and thus best left to indirect approaches.

I have highlighted the rhetorical support for antiracism provided by governments and their ministers when operating in intergovernmental organisations such as the United Nations and the Council of Europe. Policies at these levels rarely seem to be echoed in speeches or actions at national level. This provides an opportunity for citizens and citizenship educators to highlight the gap between such rhetoric and reality and campaign for change.

If citizenship educators are reluctant to engage with antiracism it may be because of a lack of concepts and a language with which to discuss racism and its effects. One thing that citizenship educators can do to overcome this lacuna is to study the literatures on racism and antiracism and familiarise themselves with concepts such as those introduced in this chapter. Being able to identify everyday racism, institutional racism or colourblind racism may help teachers to discuss these issues with students and with colleagues.

Finally, there are many practical steps that schools can take to confront racism. There are many examples of good practice available and many initiatives taken by local authorities and school boards. By adopting standard procedures such as recording and reporting racist incidents, schools can help to develop antiracist reflexes and cultures. In the end it is antiracist cultures even more than antiracist laws that protect minorities and enhance democracy.

References

Ajegbo, K. (2007) *Curriculum Review Diversity and Citizenship* (London, Department for Education and Skills).

Banks, J.A. (1997) *Educating citizens in a multicultural society* (New York ; London, Teachers College Press).

Banks, J.A. (Ed.) (2004) *Diversity and citizenship education: global perspectives* (San Francisco, CA, Jossey-Bass).

Bhavnani, R., Mirza, H. & Meetoo, V. (2005) *Tackling the Roots of Racism: lessons for success* (Bristol, Policy Press).

Bonnett, A. (2000) *Anti-Racism* (London, Routledge).

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2006) *Racism without racists: color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States.* (Oxford, Rowman & Littlefield).

Braham, P., Rattansi, A. & Skellington, R. (1992) *Racism and Antiracism: inequalities, opportunities and policies* (London, Sage).

Carmichael, S. & Hamilton, C. (1968) *Black power: the politics of liberation in America* (London, Jonathan Cape).

Carter, C. & Osler, A. (2000) Human Rights, Identities and Conflict Management: a study of school culture as experienced through classroom relationships, *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 30(3), pp. 335-356.

Cline, T., de Abreu, G., Fihosy, C., Gray, H., Lambert, H. & Neale, J. (2002) *Minority Ethnic Pupils in Mainly White Schools (Research Report No 365)* (London, Department for Education and Skills).

Council of Europe (2000a) *Project on 'Education for Democratic Citizenship': Resolution adopted by the Council of Europe Ministers of Education at their 20th session, Cracow, Poland 15 - 17 October 2000* (Strasbourg, Council of Europe).

Council of Europe (2000b) *Political Declaration Adopted by Ministers of Council of Europe Member States on Friday 13 October 2000 at the Concluding Session of the European Conference Against Racism* (Strasbourg, Council of Europe).

Council of Europe (2002) *Recommendation Rec (2002)12 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on education for democratic citizenship* (Strasbourg, Council of Europe).

Crick, B. (2000) *Essays on citizenship* (London, Continuum).

Diamantopoulou, A. (2001) *Address of European Commissioner responsible for Employment and Social Affairs to Plenary Session of the World Conference Against Racism, Durban, 2 September* (Brussels, European Commission).

Essed, P. (1991) *Understanding Everyday Racism: an interdisciplinary theory* (London, Sage).

European Commission (1999) *Mainstreaming the Fight Against Racism: Commission Report on the Implementation of the Action Plan Agaisnt Racism* (Brussels, European Commission).

Fryer, P. (1984) *Staying Power: the History of Black People in Britain* (London, Pluto).

Gaine, C. (2005) *We're all white, thanks: the persisting myth about 'white' schools* (Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham).

Home Office (1999) *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry: Home Secretary's action plan* (London, Home Office).

Macpherson, W. (1999) *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry* (London, The Stationery Office).

Maylor, U., Ross, A., Rollock, N. & Williams, K. (2006) *Black Teachers in London: a report for the Mayor of London* (London, Greater London Assembly).

Osler, A. (1997) *The Education and Careers of Black Teachers* (Buckingham, Open University Press).

Osler, A. (Ed.) (2000) *Citizenship and democracy in schools : diversity, identity, equality* (Stoke on Trent, Trentham Books).
Osler, A. (2006) Changing leadership in contexts of diversity: visibility, invisibility and democratic ideals, *Policy Futures in Education*, 4(3), pp. 128-144.
Osler, A. & Starkey, H. (2000) Citizenship, Human Rights and Cultural Diversity, in: A. Osler (Ed) *Citizenship and Democracy in Schools: diversity, identity, equality* (Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham).
Osler, A. & Starkey, H. (2001) Citizenship Education and National Identities in France and England: inclusive or exclusive?, *Oxford Review of Education*, 27(2), pp. 287-305.
Osler, A. & Starkey, H. (2002) Education for Citizenship: mainstreaming the fight against racism?, *European Journal of Education*, 37/2, pp. 143-159.
Ouseley, H. (1982) *The System* (London, Runnymede Trust).
Parekh, B. (2000) *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain* (London, The Runnymede Trust).
Pearce, S. (2005) *You wouldn't understand: white teachers in multiethnic classrooms.* (Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham).
Raby, R. (2004) 'There's no racism at my school, it's just joking around': ramifications for anti-racist education, *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 7(4), pp. 367-383.
Starkey, H. (2000) Citizenship education in France and Britain: evolving theories and practices, *Curriculum Journal*, 11(1), pp. 39-54.
Stevens, P. (2007) Researching Race/Ethnicity and Educational Inequality in English Secondary Schools: a critical review of the research literature between 1980 and 2005, *Review of Educational Research*, 77(2), pp. 147-185.
Williams, P. (1997) *Seeing a Colour-Blind Future: the paradox of race* (London, Virago).