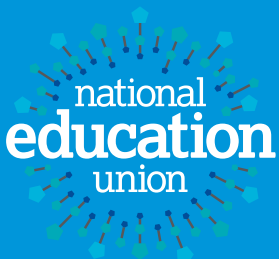# Barriers

Visible and Invisible Barriers: the impact of racism on BME teachers

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national education union

An NUT commissioned report

RUNNYMEDE
Intelligence for
a multi-ethnic Britain

Barriers

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Photos by Rehan Jamil

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Executive Summary

This report presents the findings of a survey and qualitative study of the experiences of Black, Asian and ethnic minority (BME) teachers in England. Commissioned by the National Union of Teachers (the NUT), the Runnymede Trust worked closely with the NUT to design, administer and evaluate the findings. The Centre of Dynamics and Ethnicity at Manchester University (Nan Zhang) also contributed to the preliminary analysis of the survey findings. The findings are predominantly based on the results from questionnaires and interviews with teachers but also draw on findings from previous studies evaluating the experiences of Black, Asian and ethnic minority teachers in the UK.

Overview of the research

Previous research (e.g. Cunningham and Hargreaves, 2007; Basit and Roberts, 2006; McNamara et al, 2009)[1] has highlighted the significant barriers for Black and ethnic minority (BME) teachers in schools and in relation to career progression. This research was commissioned by the NUT to explore the experiences and barriers for BME teachers within schools and to identify any factors relating to poor career progression for BME teachers.

This report brings together evidence and data from a range of sources, including:

- research literature on BME teachers' experiences within schools

- a survey of around 1027 BME teachers

- focus group interviews with 15 BME teachers from different geographical locations and stages of schooling.

The research project began in January 2016, fieldwork began in April and ended in July 2016, and the research project was completed in September 2016.

The questionnaire was designed by the NUT (after consultation with the Runnymede Trust) and placed live on the Survey Monkey website for seven weeks between 28 April 2016 and 17 June 2016. The survey link was sent to all registered BME teachers through NUT regional offices and Black members networks. A total of 1,027 BME teachers responded to the survey by the closing date, 17 June 2016.

The questionnaire was targeted at 'Black teachers' (NUT's term for all BME teachers) which skewed the results in two ways:

- while other minority ethnic teachers completed the questionnaire, the largest ethnic group of teachers was Black

- there was no counterfactual (i.e. white teachers) to compare the results with.

This limited the analysis in terms of comparing the career positions and experiences of BME teachers with their white peers, but also means that differences amongst BME respondents in this survey appear relatively small (because of the size of each group).

Overall, the BME teachers' survey and interviews revealed that there are large differences in perceptions and career progression among BME teachers, and that, more importantly, discrimination based on race is one of the more significant and deep-rooted factors that affect the experience of teaching and career progression for BME teachers. Differences in experiences in school and career progression are particularly marked for Black Caribbean and Black African teachers in comparison to other minority ethnic groups. Age, length of experience in teaching and geographical location were also important factors influencing the experience of BME teachers in primary and secondary schools.

[1] Cunningham, C. and Hargreaves, L. (2007) Minority Ethnic Teachers' Professional Experiences: Evidence from the Teacher Status Project. DfE Research Report, RR853. McNamara, O., Howson, J. Gunter, H. and Fryers, A. (2009) *Supporting the Leadership Aspirations and Careers of Black and Minority Ethnic Teachers*, Birmingham, NASUWT

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Key findings
What did the findings from the survey and focus groups tell us?

Who are the respondents?
- Overall 1,027 respondents completed the questionnaire. The majority of the teaching sample worked at secondary school level (51%). 35% worked in primary schools and the remaining respondents worked in nursery, post-16 further education colleges and pupil referral units.

- Two thirds of the sample were class teachers, 11% head of year and 11 respondents at head teacher level. Black respondents were more likely to be in senior roles compared to their Asian counterparts. However, Asian respondents were on average younger than their Black peers; around half of the Asian teachers were aged less than 35 years, compared to around a third of their Black peers under the age of 35. Asian teachers were also less likely to have been teaching for 10 years or more than their Black counterparts.

- Just under half of the sample had entered teaching through the traditional PGCE route, 14% through non-traditional routes and 6% had overseas training.

Inclusive and non-inclusive schools
- 40% of the survey respondents taught in schools where less than 5% of the staff were from BME backgrounds. This is important to note because the survey showed that a <u>higher</u> proportion of BME staff in a school was associated with respondents feeling that the 'school was an inclusive and welcoming environment for staff of all ethnic backgrounds.'

- Conversely, the survey showed that a higher proportion of BME pupils in a school was associated with a <u>lower</u> proportion of respondents (teachers) feeling that the 'school was an inclusive and welcoming environment for students of all ethnic backgrounds'. This was a prevalent view among primary school teachers as well as younger BME teachers and could not be explained by the data. But it may raise a bigger question about the equality of

treatment of BME children in schools.

- Younger (under age 35) BME teachers were more likely to have 'positive experiences in school' which included feeling valued by managers, feeling positive about the appraisal system and feeling that the school was an inclusive environment for them. This also manifested itself in ethnic differences in perceptions of career support, with slightly higher proportions of Asian respondents feeling supported by their managers in their career development and progression compared to their Black peers. In addition, Asian teachers were more likely to agree (compared to their Black peers) that staff in the school were more comfortable talking about race/racism.

Career progression
- Black teachers in the survey were more likely to apply for promotion than their Asian peers; 40% of Indian and Pakistani teachers had never applied for promotion. Black teachers were also more likely to be successful in their career promotions. Some of these patterns may be explained by age demographics given the younger age of Asian respondents in this survey.

- A third of the sample had never applied for promotion, and over 80% of this group were female. However, whilst males were more likely to apply for promotion, the survey revealed that they were more dissatisfied with the application process and outcomes, and less likely to agree, than their female counterparts, that they were treated equally in their career promotions.

Views and experiences as BME teachers
- The focus group interviews revealed that the BME participants viewed themselves as important 'role models' for BME students – both in terms of protecting students from a 'Prevent'/Islamophobic narrative, but also in terms of giving them positive role models to focus on.

- Whilst there were many teachers who were positive and felt supported by the senior leadership teams in their school, there were also many BME teachers, who reported feeling isolated and lacking in management

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support with regards to incidences of racism and career progression. This was a stronger view among Black teachers (in comparison to their Asian peers) and was reinforced in the survey findings.

- BME teachers from all ethnic groups complained about being given stereotypical responsibilities (e.g. behaviour responsibilities or Black History Month) instead of challenging intellectual Teaching and Learning Responsibility (TLR) roles. Black teachers, in particular, spoke about being labelled 'troublemakers' or being viewed as 'aggressive' if they challenged any decisions.

- There was unanimous agreement amongst BME participants that there should be more BME staff in the school workforce generally (and within their schools specifically) but reasons for BME staff representation varied widely. Most agreed that role models for students were desirable, but others went further to argue that it was a necessity to protect students from being stereotyped or misunderstood.

Structural and systemic barriers for BME teachers

- Structural barriers such as racism, including assumptions about capabilities based on racial/ethnic stereotypes, were every day experiences for BME teachers. In particular, BME teachers spoke about an invisible glass-ceiling and widespread perception among senior leadership teams (SLTs) that BME teachers "have a certain level and don't go beyond it".

- However, there were mixed views about the motivations of SLTs for excluding BME staff from SLT and career promotion opportunities; some BME teachers felt that this was premeditated to 'keep them out of the game'; other BME participants felt that it was perhaps due to 'unconscious biases'.

- The damaging long-term outcome of many of the structural and systemic barriers (to career progression) was to lower the confidence and self-esteem of BME teachers.

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Introduction

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Chapter 1.0: Introduction

1.1   The current study

The government's own statistics[2] indicate that there is a stark disparity in representation between the number of Black and ethnic minority (BME) teachers in primary and secondary schools and the pupils that they teach. Almost one third of pupils in state maintained primary schools are BME, and just over a quarter of the pupils in state maintained secondary schools are from BME backgrounds; this is in sharp contrast to 7.2% of teachers from BME backgrounds.[3]

In addition, the NUT's own teacher surveys in the last few years have revealed significant barriers to progression for BME teachers in their career progression and pay.[4] In this context the National Union of Teachers (NUT) commissioned the Runnymede Trust to undertake a research project to identify the issues and obstacles for Black and ethnic minority (BME) teachers.

This report presents the findings of the quantitative and qualitative study that was designed to elicit some of the key barriers and negative experiences for BME teachers in British schools.

1.2   Methodology

The research design had both quantitative (survey) and qualitative (interviews) elements to capture the range of experiences and perceptions of BME teachers across different schools in Britain.

The survey

The survey questionnaire was designed by the NUT (after consultation with the Runnymede Trust) and placed live on the Survey Monkey website for seven weeks between 28 April 2016

and 17 June 2016. The survey link was sent to all registered BME teachers through NUT regional offices and Black members networks.

The questionnaire was targeted at 'Black teachers' (the NUT's term for all BME teachers) which skewed the results in two ways:

- while other minority ethnic teachers completed the questionnaire, the largest ethnic group of teachers was Black

- there was no counterfactual (i.e. white teachers) to compare the results with.

This limited the analysis in terms of comparing the career positions and experiences of BME teachers with their white peers, but also means that differences amongst BME respondents in this survey appear relatively small (because of the size of each group). The aim of the survey part of the study was twofold; firstly, to provide wider context about BME teachers' teaching positions, roles and experiences within different levels of schools in Britain; secondly, to identify any causes or correlates of career positions and teaching experiences in schools.

The survey covered the following topic areas:

- demographic characteristics (including protected characteristics) of the respondents;

- roles and positions of BME teachers in primary and secondary schools

- experiences of BME teachers with regards to promotion and treatment across different levels of schooling

- association between demographic characteristics and employment status and progression.

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[2] DfE (2015) School Workforce in England, November 2015, SFR 21/2016, 30 June 2016
[3] Figures from DfE School Workforce Census in England, Nov 2014, Table 5
  https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/school-workforce-in-england-november-2014
[4] NUT (2015) Pay and Pay Progression, NUT Survey Report for September 2015

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The questionnaire was designed by the NUT and administered by the NUT through Survey Monkey with some advice and assistance from the Runnymede Trust, while the Centre of Dynamics and Ethnicity (CODE, Manchester University) provided statistical analysis support.

1.3   Data analysis

Qualitative

The analysis of the qualitative data was in between focus group interviews and was iterative in nature, with a number of opportunities to scrutinise and explore the data.

We used a thematic analysis approach when analysing the qualitative data (i.e. using categories that clearly emerged from the quantitative data prior to the interviews) as well as categories that emerged from the literature review (and ones we translated into the semi-structured questions). This involved:

- key themes and findings drawn out of the interviews using a 'grounded theory' approach. These were then compared with findings from the initial literature review

- a matrix approach which explored the key themes, commonalities and similarities in the interviews with the different respondents

- findings which were 'reality checked' and tested with the project team during internal meetings. This ensured that findings and analysis addressed the intended research questions as well as providing any additional insight that may be useful for the NUT

- robust triangulation. The combination of data sources collected for the entire study allowed for robust triangulation of the evidence, drawing on multiple perspectives to produce a comprehensive picture of the experience, perceptions and treatment of BME teachers.

Quantitative analysis

The statistical package Stata/SE 13 was used to conduct the full range of statistical analysis including:

- univariate analysis i.e. descriptive statistics (frequencies)

- bivariate analysis (e.g. correlation, t-tests, chi-squared tests etc.).

All variables were checked to detect 'out of range' responses, duplicate records, and missing values at the beginning of the analysis. The first step in the analysis was to describe and summarise the collected information using descriptive statistics. Variables relating to socio-demographic information, experiences within the workplace, and career progression, were summarised using frequency distributions and percentages. All the key variables in this survey were either categorical (nominal) or ordinal variables. Bivariate analysis (through inferential statistics) was used to test for differences between groups. These tests included Pearson's chi-square test and Wilcoxon rank sum test. The level of significance is conventionally set as $\alpha=0.05$. In this study, a *p*-value less than or equal to 0.05 was taken to be statistically significant.

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Literature Review

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Chapter 2.0: Literature Review

This chapter provides some context from the wider literature to preface the findings in this report. It also introduces the issues of disproportionality in education (with the under-representation of BME teachers in the workforce), and the existence of visible and invisible barriers in career progression for BME teachers, which frame the analysis and conclusions presented in the report.

Despite the education sector in the UK being the second largest public sector employer of individuals from BME backgrounds, there is evidence to suggest that ethnic diversity in the teaching force has not kept pace with an increasingly diverse population in the UK (Steel, 2016). In the last decade, the BME population in England and Wales has risen from 9% in 2001 to 14% of the population in 2011 (ONS, 2012), and this is reflected in the increasing diversity of the student population: 31.4% of primary pupils and 27.9% of secondary pupils are from a BME background (DFEa, 2016). Yet, only 7.6% of teachers are from a BME background (DFEb, 2016).

More worryingly, the growth of teachers from particular BME backgrounds (i.e. Black Afro-Caribbean, Chinese and Bangladeshi) have increased only slightly, by around 0.5% (DFEb, 2016) and the distribution of BME teachers across local authorities varies enormously. The vast majority of BME teachers are in London; approx. 26% of the teaching workforce in London (and approx. 67% of pupils in London) are from BME groups in comparison to much lower proportions in other regions of the country – 3.3% of BME teachers in the North West (versus 13.2% of BME primary school pupils), 1.2% in the North East (versus 6.1% of BME students in primary schools) and 5.1% in the East Midlands (versus 12% of BME primary school pupils).[5]

A rapid review of the existing literature was conducted via searches through published academic, third sector and government websites. The findings are discussed thematically below.

2.1 Motivations for entering the profession

Evidence suggests that BME teachers' motivations for entering the profession mirror those of their white peers – most notably a desire to serve their community and fulfilment of childhood ambitions of becoming a teacher (Cunningham & Hargreaves, 2007). However, an additional motivation for some BME teachers was a desire to be a role model for BME students. In 12 focus group interviews (ibid) BME teachers emphasised this was important for all pupils but highlighted the potential for a positive impact on BME pupils who may be at greater risk of underachieving. Teachers from Black African Caribbean and Bangladeshi backgrounds specifically cited motivations stemming from a desire to reform an education system that they felt was 'dominated by racial injustices' (Cunningham & Hargreaves, 2007, p.4). A more recent survey involving over 400 BME teachers found that 60% of these teachers believed schools did not treat BME pupils fairly (NASWUT, 2016).

2.2 Teacher training

The small percentage of teachers from BME backgrounds means that in some schools in England and Wales there would need to be a tenfold increase in the number of BME trainee teachers in order to reflect the diversity of the pupil population (Steel, 2015). However, in 2015 only 8% of the trainee teacher cohort on the Schools Direct programme were from non-white backgrounds and only 14% of PGCE (PostGraduate Certificate in Education) trainees were from BME backgrounds (Swift, 2015).

There is scant evidence to explain why these differences in BME participation in postgraduate training courses might exist, although studies have highlighted the unequal treatment, direct and indirect racism and relatively poor career prospects in schools for teachers from BME backgrounds in relation to their white peers (Basit et al, 2006; Davidson et al, 2005). A 2007 DfES report found that fear of potential racial abuse from teachers, parents and local communities deterred minority ethnic teachers from applying for teaching roles in schools situated within predominantly white areas, which

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[5] FOI request to DfE by The Bureau of Investigative Journalism, 2016; NALDIC, Table EAL and Ethnicity 2013
http://www.naldic.org.uk/research-and-information/eal-statistics/eal-pupils/

are typically more rural and suburban areas (Cunningham & Hargreaves, 2007). Official workforce data indicates this may not only be an issue of self-selection out of teaching in these areas but also borne out in career progression experiences in particular areas. A recent study by the Department for Education found that BME teachers who work in urban and inner city areas are more likely to occupy positions of senior leadership than those based in rural and suburban areas (DfE, 2016).

Racial bias and discrimination are also barriers that affect who is recruited into the profession and where. BME teachers who trained and qualified in England and worked in urban and inner city areas reported little to no barriers in trying to enter the profession (Cunningham & Hargreaves, 2007). In contrast, BME teachers attempting to enter the workforce outside of these areas reported finding it harder to gain employment. Likewise, teachers from BME backgrounds that had trained and qualified overseas reported barriers in applying for jobs based on what they perceived as racist recruitment practices because of their overseas trained status (ibid). This is borne out by academic evidence that BME teachers, in general, but particularly those trained overseas, are more likely to be employed on temporary contracts, which denies them employment benefits and career progression opportunities offered to permanent staff such as CPD and paid annual leave (Bush et al, 2006).

Workforce statistical data has also shown that some BME teachers (e.g. from Black African and Black Caribbean groups) are more likely to be older than their white trainee counterparts when they begin teacher training, particularly those entering initial teacher training placements (IOE, 2010). Research suggests that entering the teaching profession at an older age as well as being from BME backgrounds has financial and domestic ramifications that affect both recruitment and retention rates (Basit et al, 2006).

2.3 Issues affecting retention
Earlier on this year, the NUT warned of a crisis in the recruitment and retention of teachers:

*"Teaching recruitment and retention are both at dangerously low levels, with many schools unable to fill vacant posts with suitably qualified candidates. Increasing numbers are also leaving the profession. Last year saw the highest number of resignations for a decade."* (NUT, 2016)

There is increasing evidence to suggest that teachers, in general, are more likely to leave the profession within the next two years, citing workload, poor pay and the accountability measures that undermine the trust and status of teaching (NUT, 2016). Research shows that one in four newly qualified teachers have left the profession three years after qualifying (DfE, 2016), and only just over half of teachers graduating from the Teach First programmes stay on in teaching (Teach First, 2016). BME teachers, in particular, may be more susceptible to this as they have reported lower levels of job satisfaction and higher levels of stress than their white counterparts (NASUWT, 2014).

> The government's own research has shown that teachers from BME backgrounds predominantly teach in urban and inner city areas, which often have higher pupil populations on free school meals and are more likely to be considered 'tougher' schools to teach in (DfEb, 2016). These additional factors may add to the workload and to the stress levels of teachers teaching in these schools, adding to further dissatisfaction with their careers.

2.4 The distribution of BME teachers in primary and secondary schools
Figure 1 shows the overall percentage of BME staff for each category of the workforce in relation to the proportion of BME pupils in compulsory state schools. Whilst the figures are not disaggregated by all levels of teaching staff (these figures are not available by ethnic origin) it highlights the disparity between the proportion of BME teaching staff at each level of teaching (e.g. classroom, deputy, head) compared to the overall proportion of BME pupils in each period of schooling (primary and secondary). It is notable that only 10% of secondary school classroom teachers are of BME origin compared to over a quarter of BME pupils in secondary schools, and only 7% of primary school classroom teachers are of BME origin compared to 30% of BME pupils in primary school.

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Figure 1: School workforce in relation to BME representation of staff and pupils (2015)[6]
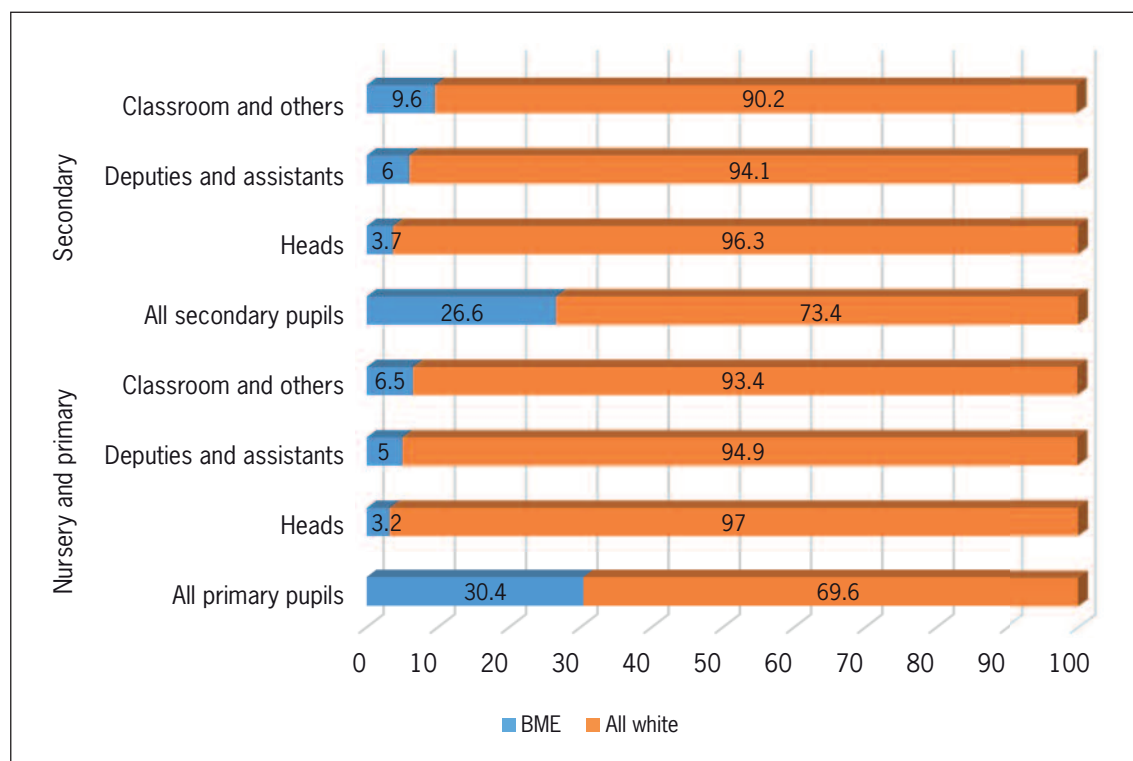
Source: School Workforce Census and School Pupil Census November 2015

This imbalance between the ratios of the BME teaching workforce and BME pupils can have a detrimental impact on all teachers as well as BME pupils. Research by Manchester Metropolitan University, for instance, has shown that 60% of newly qualified teachers do not feel prepared to teach in diverse inner city schools, and many white teachers do not feel confident in discussing race issues in these schools (Hick et al, 2011).[7]

2.5 BME teachers' career progression

Career progression, or the barriers to career progression, may also be a factor that affects both the recruitment and retention of BME teachers. Official workforce data has consistently shown that BME staff are heavily concentrated in the lower level roles, such as class teacher, compared to the white counterparts (Steel, 2015) and the proportion of BME school leaders is even lower (around 3%) (DfEb, 2016).

Moreover, a study by Clare et al (2016) found BME teachers were more likely to have requests for CPD rejected than their white colleagues. Harris et al (2003) found that BME teachers were also less likely to be encouraged to apply for promotion than their white colleagues. Repeated failure to secure promotion or be encouraged to apply can have an impact on self-confidence, which can affect BME teachers' likelihood of seeking promotion and of remaining in the profession (Maylor et al, 2006). A participant in the 2006 study, 'Black Teachers in London Schools', remarked:

> *"It's very rare you see Black head teachers getting the good surburban schools because you never get through the door. It doesn't matter how good you are or how experienced you are. I mean you just don't even get over the interview stage because the bit about being Caribbean or Asian gets in the way."*
> (Maylor et al, 2006)

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[6] Percentages do not add up to 100 because figures are included as decimals.
[7] Hick, P et al (2011) Promoting Cohesion, Challenging Expectations: Educating the Teachers of Tomorrow for Race Equality and Diversity in 21st Century Schools. Manchester Metropolitan University.

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The lack of diversity amongst school staff, however, only tells one part of the story around career progression issues for BME teachers. Research suggests that an additional barrier for BME teachers within schools is the lack of transparency around recruitment policies and race equality duties (Clare et al, 2016).

2.6 BME teachers and gender

While the overall picture shows a lack of ethnic and gender diversity in teaching, the issue is far more prevalent for BME male teachers who account for only 10.8% of the total teaching workforce in state maintained primary schools and 18.7% in state maintained secondary schools.[8] Evidence suggests BME males are less likely to enter into teaching and when they do they are less likely to progress into senior leadership roles compared to their white peers. However, it is important to note that barriers remain for BME females; despite the higher proportion of BME females than males in teaching, they are still less likely to progress to senior leadership roles compared to all male teachers (BME and white).

2.7 The curriculum and inclusivity

Recent changes to the curriculum have seen a reduction in the content on 'multicultural aspects of Britain'. These changes have had an impact on teaching with BME teachers reporting that it has compromised their 'professional expertise' (Cunningham and Hargreaves study, 2007). African Caribbean teachers in the 2007 study, in particular, expressed a need for a curriculum and approach to teaching that valued the cultural and social significance of Britain's BME communities (Cunningham & Hargreaves, 2007). Teachers in the study also expressed concern that their white peers failed to grasp the importance of a broader, less Eurocentric curriculum thus not reflecting the learning needs and interests of a diverse pupil population.[9]

2.8 Conclusion of the literature review

The disproportionately low number of BME leaders in education highlights a wider diversity issue within teaching on a national scale. The current teaching workforce has not diversified with the changing pupil population and has remained a largely white teaching force. The teaching profession is also far from engaging sufficiently with the pertinent issues around the lack of BME role models for BME pupils and the experience of racism and discrimination for both BME pupils and teachers within schools. If the teaching profession is to truly reflect the needs of the pupils and communities it serves then urgent action is needed to ensure that BME teachers are recruited, retained and promoted at each level of the profession so that the teaching workforce is representative of the ethnic diversity of the population as a whole.

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[8] DfE (2015) Table 5, November 2014: Percentages of the head count of regular, qualified, and unqualified, teachers, in state funded schools by sector, grade, gender and ethnic origin.

[9] See also http://www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk/

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BME Teachers' Survey

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Chapter 3.0: BME Teachers' Survey

3.1. Questionnaire rationale

Questionnaires were administered for two reasons in the current study. The first was to provide a general picture of the demographics, role and responsibilities of BME teachers, and to allow for an exploration of the factors that might be associated with poor experiences in schools and lack of career progression. For example, there is evidence to suggest that BME teachers are more likely to be in lower teaching positions, be put on lower pay scales and are less likely to be successful in applications for promotions. However, it is not clear from the current evidence whether this inequality exists across all BME groups, and/or whether the inequality is a reflection of other key demographic characteristics (e.g. age) rather than ethnic origin. It is important to explore these possible associations as well, because it could be that age, length of teaching experience or other characteristics are better predictors of teaching positions, pay scales or lack of progression rather than ethnic origin.

The second reason questionnaires were used was to get a better understanding of the nature of the relationship between demographic characteristics and career progression amongst BME teachers.

The questionnaire content and administration are outlined in Annex A and key results are highlighted in this chapter. All results discussed in this chapter are statistically significant[10] unless otherwise indicated.[11]

One thousand and twenty-seven teachers (and former teachers) responded to the NUT survey of Black and ethnic minority (BME) teachers across primary and secondary schools and post-16 further education colleges between April 2016 to June 2016. The survey was targeted at BME teachers only and is based on a random selection of BME teacher responses.

3.2. Characteristics of respondents

Table A presents the ethnic breakdown of the BME respondents who self-identified their ethnic groups (2% of respondents chose not to do this). Among the 1,027 respondents, teachers of Black Caribbean and Black African ethnic backgrounds accounted for 27% and 15% of all those who completed the questionnaire, respectively. These two groups accounted for two fifths (41%) of all the respondents. This was perhaps unsurprising given that the survey was labelled as a 'Black' teachers' survey' on Survey Monkey – thus generating a disproportionate response from Black teachers.[12]

Table A: Ethnic breakdown of respondents

Ethnic Group	Number	%
Black African	153	15
Black Caribbean	273	27
Indian	209	20
Other Asian*	132	13
Other Black*	102	10
Pakistani	133	13
Missing	25	2
Total	**1027**	**100**

* Due to small sample sizes, mixed ethnic groups of Asian and White, Bangladeshi and Chinese were collapsed into other 'Other Asian'; also mixed ethnic groups of Black African and White, and Black Caribbean and White were collapsed into 'Other Black'.

The gender breakdown was 72% female and 26% male (with 2% choosing not to state their gender). This gender breakdown reflects the national school workforce with three out of four teachers being female, although there is considerable variation among the ethnic groups (Figure 1). Indian, Black Caribbean and Other Black groups had the largest disparity between the gender groups with over three-quarters of the respondents being female (although it is worthwhile noting that Pakistani, Other Asian and Black African groups had higher proportions of male teachers than the sample average). There was more parity between male and female teachers within the Black African group with 58% of female teachers and 42% of male

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[10] 95% sure that these results are not happening by chance

[11] The level of significance is conventionally set as α=0.05. In this study, a *p*-value less than or equal to 0.05 was taken to be statistically significant.

[12] The NUT categorises all Black, Asian and minority ethnic groups as 'Black'; this survey, however, suggests that the respondents do not perceive themselves this way – and instead many perceive themselves as separate ethnic groups.

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Figure 1: Percentage of gender by ethnic origin (England and Wales respondents)
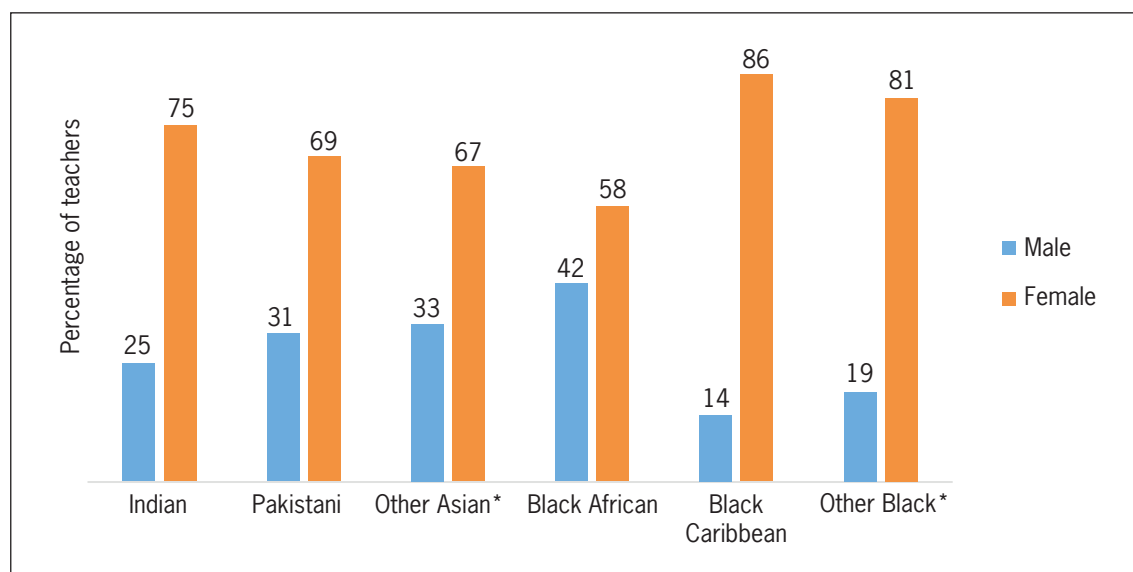
The profile of the respondents by age showed that 420 individuals (41%) were aged 22-35 years. There were four individuals aged less than 21 years and four aged over 66 years. Eighteen respondents (1.75%) out of 1,027 did not report their age. However, Figure 2 reveals that the Asian respondents were on average younger than their Black peers; around half of the Asian teachers (49% of Indian, 50% of Pakistani, and 54% of Other Asian teaching staff) were aged less than 35 years, compared to around a third of their Black peers under the age of 35 (29% of Black African, 36% of Black Caribbean and 38% of Other Black teaching staff).

Figure 2: Percentage of teachers by age amongst ethnic groups
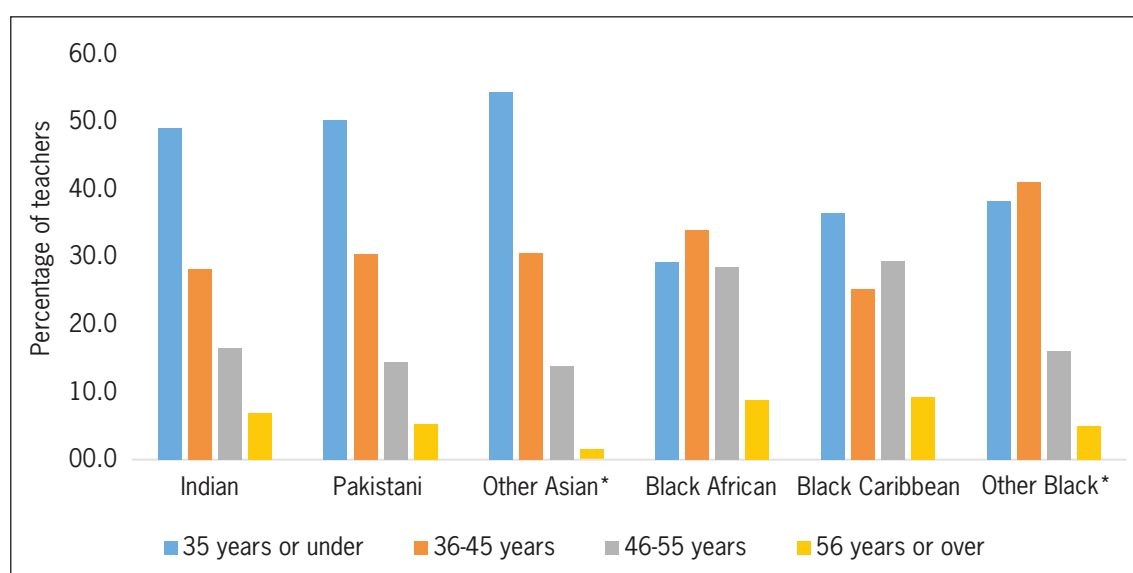
Of the respondents, 42% identified themselves as Christian, 23% as Muslim and 14% of no religion. There were significantly smaller proportions of teachers from Hindu, Sikh and other faith backgrounds (Table B)

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Table B: Faith backgrounds of respondents

Religion	Percentage	Number
Christian	42.2	433
Muslim	23.1	237
Hindu	7.2	74
Sikh	6.3	65
Any other	2.9	30
No religion	14.4	148

Analysis of faith by ethnic background revealed that over half of the Black teachers (from Black African, Black Caribbean and Other Black) identified as Christian, whilst 48% of the Other Asian teachers and 90% of the Pakistani teachers identified themselves as Muslim. The other Asian group would include teachers from Bangladeshi backgrounds which may explain the higher proportions of Muslims in this group.

Analysis of other demographic characteristics revealed that 93% of respondents identified themselves as 'not disabled', 91% heterosexual and 92% as 'not transgender'.

3.3. Diversity of schools and staff

Around three-fifths (60%) of respondents from each ethnic group worked within local authority schools, although this figure was somewhat smaller (52.5%) for Black African teachers (Table C). It was interesting to note, however, that around a third of all the BME staff worked in academy schools as well.

With regards to the diversity of staff, 40% of the teaching staff taught in schools where less than 5% of the staff were from BME backgrounds. In

contrast, only 19% of the teachers responding to the survey taught in schools where less than 5% of the pupils were from BME backgrounds. In fact, some 12% (124) of the respondents taught in schools where over 80% of the pupils were from BME backgrounds (see Annex B, Table 3).

A breakdown by ethnic groups revealed that Black African teachers were more likely (55%) to work in schools with low proportions of BME staff (less than 5%) compared to their BME peers; however, a higher proportion of Black Caribbean teachers (11%) were likely to be in schools where over 40% of the staff were from BME backgrounds.

In contrast, the highest proportion of respondents to work in a school where over 80% of the pupil body was BME were teachers from a Pakistani background (23%).

3.4. Teaching characteristics

Table D shows the breakdown of respondents in terms of their role within schools. While 1,027 respondents answered this question, it is important to note that respondents were allowed to choose more than one option. The most common role among the respondents (almost two thirds) was class teacher, followed by subject coordinator (approx. 17%) and head of year (11%). Only 11 respondents were at head teacher level, most of whom were of African Caribbean origin (six respondents). African Caribbean respondents (33%) were also more likely to be head of year compared to their BME peers.

Table C: Types of school employment by ethnic group

Types of School	Percentages					
	Indian	**Pakistani**	**Other Asian**	**Black African**	**Black Caribbean**	**Other Black**
Academy	36.5	33.1	33.6	41.1	34.7	32.3
Free school	2.5	1.6	2.4	2.8	1.2	1.1
Independent school	2.0	3.9	2.4	3.6	2.0	1.1
Local authority maintained	59.0	61.4	61.6	52.5	62.2	65.6
Total respondents (N)	**200**	**127**	**125**	**141**	**254**	**93**

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Table D: Distribution of teaching roles within primary and secondary schools

	Indian	Pakistani	Other Asian	Black African	Black Caribbean	Other Black	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	(N)
Teaching assistant	8	23	15	31	23	0	**13**
Class teacher	22	14	14	15	25	10	**647**
Head of department	18	14	9	20	27	12	**112**
Head teacher	18	9	9	0	54	9	**11**
Assistant head teacher	17	7	3	13	57	3	**30**
Head of year	27	16	8	6	33	10	**51**
Subject coordinator	24	14	13	8	30	11	**171**

The majority of the teaching sample (524 respondents) worked at secondary school level (51%) with 35% working in primary schools; the remaining respondents worked in nursery, post 16 further education colleges and pupil referral units. Over half of the schools (56%) that the NUT teachers worked in were local authority maintained and some 46% were located within the London region. Most of the teachers – 84% – did not have early years teacher status and 59% did not have a teaching and learning responsibility (see Annex B, Table 2).

Some two-fifths (39%) of the respondents had been in teaching for over 10 years and one fifth had been in teaching for between 5-10 years.

In addition, three-quarters of the respondents had their initial teacher training at a teacher training institution, 2% via Teach First and 6% within a nominated school via School Direct. With regards to point of entry into teaching, almost half of the respondents (47%) entered teaching through a Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE), 18% came direct from a teacher training institution and 14% entered through non-traditional routes by change of career to teaching. Just under 4% (38 respondents) entered teaching by becoming a teaching assistant first and 6% (68 respondents) had had their initial teacher training overseas (see Annex B, Table 2). Finally, 57% of respondents had held other employment roles before becoming a teacher (see list below for common employment areas):

- Teaching assistant
- Business and finance
- Accountancy and banking
- Retail
- NHS and health
- Administrative and clerical
- Recruitment
- Engineering
- Academia
- Legal
- Armed forces
- Catering and hospitality
- Social care and youth work
- Media and TV
- Civil servant.

3.5. Socio-demographic and employment characteristics of participants by ethnicity

Table 3 (Annex B) reveals that over half of the teaching respondents across the different ethnic groups worked in secondary schools (52% of Indian, 56% of Pakistani, 61% of Black African and 51% of Black Caribbean) and within local authority maintained schools. The majority of respondents across all the ethnic groups conducted their initial teacher training at a teacher training institution. Black African respondents (12%) were among the highest of those respondents whose initial teacher training was from overseas, compared to other ethnic groups (5.1% of Indian, 1.5% of Pakistani, and 6.9% of Black Caribbean). However, Figure 4 shows that a higher proportion of Black respondents have been teaching for '10 years or more' (average of 44% across the Black groups) compared to their Asian counterparts (average of 36%). In fact, 16% of Indian and Pakistani respondents had only worked as a teacher for under one year compared to 10% of Black African and 8% of Black Caribbean teachers in the survey.

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Figure 4: Years of teaching by ethnic origin
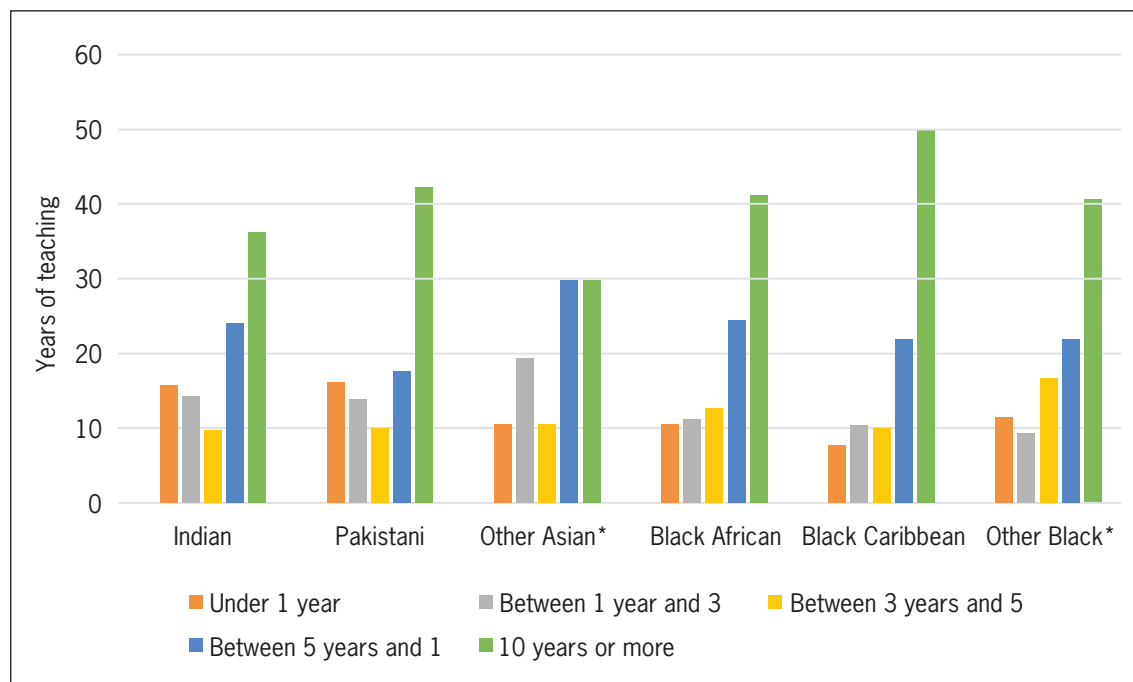
Figure 5 shows that over half of the Indian (52%), Pakistani (58%), Other Asian (60%) and Black African (56%) respondents entered teaching through the PGCE qualification route, in comparison to 41% of Other Black and 43%

Black Caribbean teachers. In contrast, a higher proportion of the Other Black and Black Caribbean teachers (41% and 43%, respectively) entered teaching directly through teacher training institutions.

Figure 5: Point of entry into teaching by ethnic origin
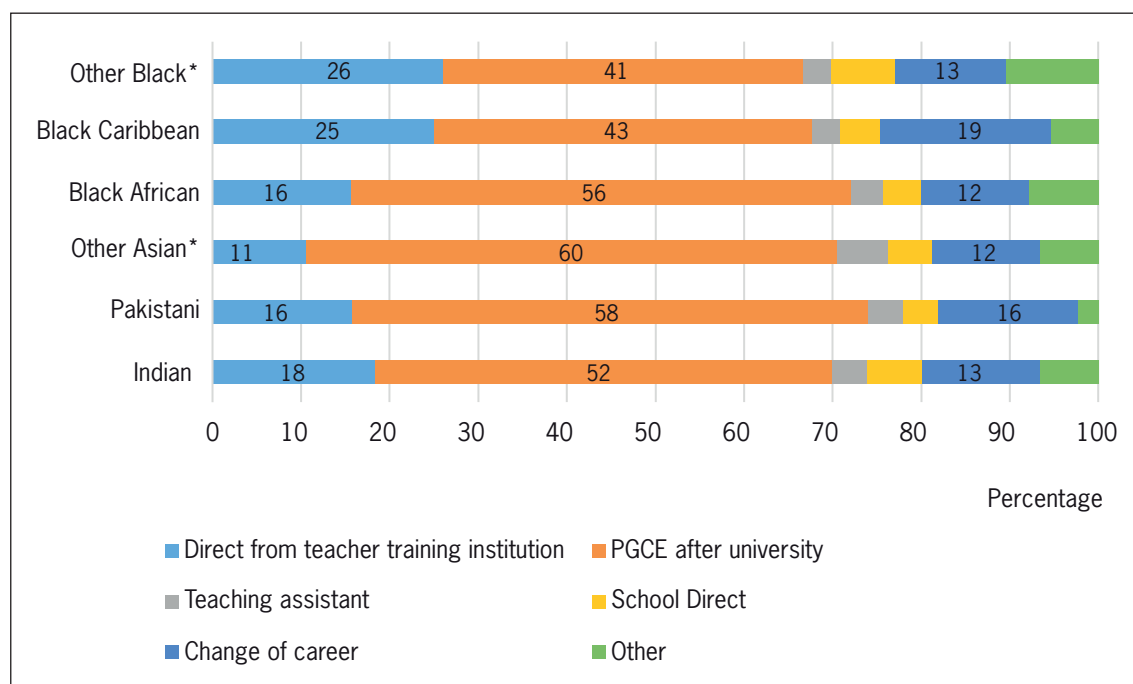
3.6. The experiences of BME teachers in primary and secondary schools

Respondents were asked why they wanted to become a teacher within a closed multi-choice question (Table E). All 1,027 respondents answered this question, although many teachers chose more than one motivation. The most popular reason for becoming a teacher was 'to make a difference' (485 respondents), followed by always wanting to be a teacher (353 respondents), and 'role model to others' (334 respondents).

Table E: Motivations for becoming a teacher (N)*

Tell us why you decided to become a teacher?	Total (N)
Always wanted to go into profession	353
Passion for my subject	328
To make a difference	485
Teachers in my family	133
Role model to others	334

*Figures presented in N and not % as many teachers chose more than one motivation

Table F (below) presents the results from several questions exploring 'experiences in the workplace' among the respondents; the results compare the experiences of BME teachers within primary and secondary schools. Overall the results suggest that BME teachers within primary schools are likely to have more positive experiences in their schools compared to their peers in secondary schools. However, we need to be cautious because whilst there are some differences in experiences among BME teachers between the primary and secondary school level, these differences are not always 'statistically significant' (i.e. 95% sure that these results are not happening by chance). So for instance, more BME teachers at the primary

school level (73%) agreed with the statement that 'overall I enjoy working in the teaching profession' compared to BME teachers at the secondary school level (66%), but these differences were not statistically significant (p-value 0.09). Similarly, more BME teachers at the secondary school level (35%) disagreed with the statement that 'my line manager supports me in my career development and progression' compared to BME teachers at the primary school level (28%), but once again these differences were not statistically significant (in other words these differences were more likely to have occurred by chance).

Answers where differences between primary and secondary school were statistically significant included statements such as 'my managers value my contribution and recognise my strengths' (half of the BME respondents based in primary schools agreed with this statement compared to 44% based in a secondary schools) and 'the appraisal system is supportive rather than punitive' (50% of BME teachers working in secondary schools disagreed with this statement compared to 40% working in primary schools) Similar patterns were observed between primary and secondary schools for the questions such as 'my school/college is a good place to work', 'I feel I can be myself at work', 'I feel included by my teacher colleagues' and 'the school I work in is an inclusive welcoming environment for staff of all ethnic backgrounds'. One interesting nuance in the results was that primary schools (compared to secondary schools) were considered more inclusive and welcoming environments for BME staff, whereas secondary schools were considered more inclusive and welcoming environments for BME students than primary schools.

Table F: Experiences of BME respondents by primary and secondary school (*continues overleaf*)

School types	Agree (%)	Neither disagree nor agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Total
Overall I enjoy working in the teaching profession				
Primary	73	14	13	**344**
Secondary	66	17	17	**494**
My manager values my contribution & recognises my strengths*				
Primary	50	23	27	**345**
Secondary	44	20	36	**496**

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Table F continued: Experiences of BME respondents by primary and secondary school

School types	Agree (%)	Neither disagree nor agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Total
The appraisal system is supportive rather than punitive*				
Primary	30	30	40	**342**
Secondary	23	27	50	**493**
I would tell my friends and family that my school/college is a good place to work*				
Primary	42	25	33	**345**
Secondary	33	24	43	**494**
I feel I can be myself at work*				
Primary	52	21	27	**344**
Secondary	42	22	37	**496**
I feel included by my teacher colleagues*				
Primary	66	17	17	**345**
Secondary	54	25	21	**496**
My line manager supports me in my career development and progression*				
Primary	42	30	28	**344**
Secondary	40	25	35	**496**
My total working hours are acceptable				
Primary	18	15	67	**341**
Secondary	22	14	64	**487**
The balance between my home and work life is about right				
Primary	15	14	71	**340**
Secondary	13	14	72	**487**
In the last 12 months I have considered leaving my school because of workload*				
Primary	62	17	21	**338**
Secondary	63	14	23	**487**
In the last 12 months I have considered leaving the teaching profession because of workload				
Primary	68	12	20	**340**
Secondary	65	15	20	**487**
The school I work is an inclusive welcoming environment for staff of all ethnic backgrounds*				
Primary	58	19	24	**302**
Secondary	44	25	31	**442**
The school I work is an inclusive welcoming environment for students of all ethnic backgrounds*				
Primary	31	4	64	**298**
Secondary	42	6	51	**433**
The staff are comfortable when talking about race or racism at your school				
Primary	29	41	30	**263**
Secondary	27	44	29	**403**
The school is proactive in identifying and responding to racism affecting pupils in your school				
Primary	32	34	8	**269**
Secondary	32	31	12	**403**

* denotes differences are statistically different at the 5% level

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3.7 Attitudes of males and females in the teaching profession

Table 7 in Annex C presents the gender breakdown of different experiences in the workplace. Overall, the results suggest that, in general, female teachers are more likely to have positive experiences in their schools than their male counterparts. So for instance 71% of female respondents agreed that they enjoyed working in the teaching profession, compared to 61% of their male counterparts.[13] A higher proportion of female respondents (50%) agreed that they could be themselves at work than that of their male counterparts (39%). Over half of the female respondents agreed that the school they work in was an inclusive welcoming environment for staff of all ethnic backgrounds compared to 37% of males.[14]

3.8 Attitudes of younger teachers

Table 8 in Annex C explores associations between age groups and 'experiences within the workplace' as BME teachers. Our results suggest that younger BME teachers (aged under 35) are more likely to have positive experiences in their schools. So for instance, 75% of respondents aged under 35 years enjoyed working in the teaching profession and this was higher than that of any other age group (e.g. in contrast, 62% of 36-45 years enjoyed working in the teaching profession)[15]. Over half of the youngest participants agreed with the statement that 'my manager values my contribution and recognises my strengths', which was among the highest across all age groups (in contrast, 43% of 36-45 year olds agreed with this statement). Similar patterns were found for other aspects of experiences at workplace such as 'the appraisal system is supportive rather than punitive', 'I would tell my friends and family that my school/college is a good place to work', 'I feel I can be myself at work', 'I feel included by my teacher colleagues', 'my line manager supports me in my career development and progression' and 'how comfortable do staff seem to be when talking about race or racism at your school'. However, while younger teachers (under 35) were more likely to agree to the statement that 'the school I

work is an inclusive welcoming environment for staff of all ethnic backgrounds' (59% of younger teachers agreed with this statement), they were least likely to agree that 'the school I work is an inclusive welcoming environment for students of all ethnic backgrounds'.

3.9 Attitudes of BME teachers in diverse schools

We also analysed different 'experiences in the workplace' across schools with different percentages of BME staff (see Table 5, Annex C) to ascertain whether there are differences in experiences in schools that are more or less diverse. Overall, our results showed that there were more positive experiences (e.g. my manager values my contribution and recognises my strengths; I would tell my friends and family that my school is a good place to work) in schools with higher proportions of BME staff compared to schools with lower proportions of BME staff. The results also revealed that there were significant variations in 'feeling included by teacher colleagues' across schools with different proportions of BME staff;[16] the higher the concentration of BME staff within schools, the more the respondents felt the school was 'an inclusive welcoming environment for staff of all ethnic backgrounds'. Interestingly, however, this pattern did not exist for the statement 'The school I work is an inclusive welcoming environment for students of all ethnic backgrounds' – the results revealed that schools with higher proportions of BME staff are associated with lower levels of agreement that the school is a welcoming environment for students of all ethnic backgrounds. However, more respondents (over 30%) agreed with the statement that 'my school is proactive in identifying and responding to racism affecting pupils in schools with higher proportions of BME staff than in schools with lower proportions of BME staff (less than 28%).

In addition, statements relating to 'experiences in the workplace' was also analysed in relation to different percentages of BME pupils. The results revealed that whilst there were differences in

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[13] (χ^2=7.83, df=2, p-value=0.02)

[14] It is worthwhile noting that we also translated the five-point Likert scale responses to experiences at workplace into ordinal variables and ran Wilcoxon rank sum tests. The results were consistent with that of the intial chi-square tests.

[15] (χ^2=18.16, df=6, p-value=0.006)

[16] (χ^2=16.83, df=8, p-value=0.03)

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experiences in schools (e.g. the appraisal system is supportive rather than punitive; I feel I can be myself at work) with different proportions of BME students, these differences were not statistically significant. Once again, however, we found that there were significant differences in responses to the school being an inclusive welcoming environment for students of all ethnic backgrounds, where more respondents agreed with this statement for schools with lower proportions of BME students compared to higher proportions of BME students.

The finding that schools with higher concentrations of BME students and BME teachers are associated with the perception that the school is less inclusive for BME students is somewhat unexpected, and cannot be explained entirely by the quantitative data. However, it may reflect other hidden characteristics (e.g. more challenging inner city schools within poorer neighbourhoods) that are not measured by this questionnaire, but are themselves highly correlated to schools with high concentrations of BME students or secondary schools with BME teachers.

We explored the association between ethnicity and experiences within schools for the BME teachers in this survey. The analysis revealed that whilst there were differences in these experiences among the BME groups, most of the differences were not statistically significant. Interestingly, however, this was not the case with 'my line manager supports me in my career development and progression. Table G presents

these results and shows that there are ethnic differences in responses to 'my line manager supports me in my career development and progression' with Black and Pakistani teachers less likely to agree to this statement.

Table G shows that of the 929 respondents who answered this question, 49% of Asian teachers and 47% of Indian teachers agreed that their manager supported them in their career progression. This was in contrast to only around a third of Black African teachers, Black Caribbean teachers and Pakistani teachers were agreed that their manager was supportive of their career progression. In addition, our analysis (see Table 9 Annex D) revealed that Asian teachers (41% of 'Other Asian', 39% of Indian and 25% of Pakistani teachers) were more likely to agree that staff seemed comfortable when talking about race or racism at their school compared to their Black counterparts (20% of Black African and Black Caribbean).

3.10 The link between demographic characteristics and career progression among BME teachers

Figure 6 shows the number of applications for promotion made by the male and female teachers in this study. Out of 926 responses, a third of the teachers (313) had never applied for promotion. A disproportionate number (259 or 83%) of these teachers who had never applied for promotion were female. Overall, most respondents (out of 926) had applied 1-3 times (424), although men were still more likely than

Table G: Ethnic breakdown on career support (percentage)

My line manager supports me in my career development and progression			
	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Total
	(%)	(%)	(%)	**N**
Indian	29	24	47	**193**
Pakistani	40	25	35	**125**
Other Asian	20	31	49	**122**
Black African	38	24	38	**136**
Black Caribbean	32	31	37	**258**
Other Black	26	32	42	**95**

(χ^2=21.12, *df*=10, *p*-value=0.02)

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Figure 6: Number of applications made for promotion, by gender (percentage)

In your teaching career, how many times have you applied for promotion?
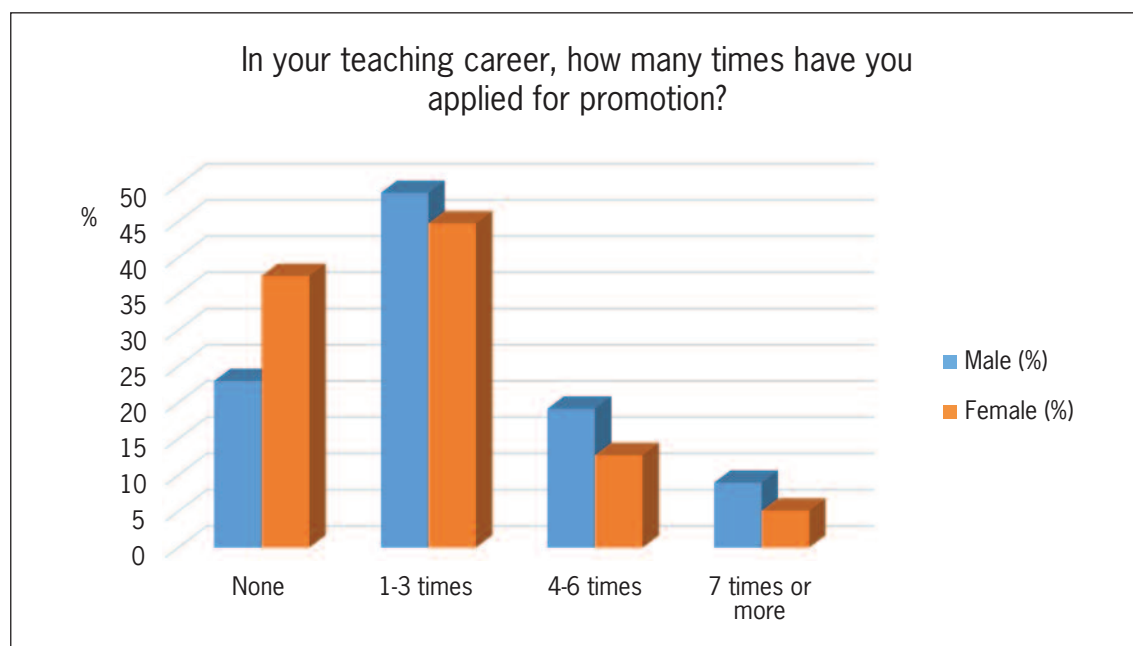
Conversely, males were more dissatisfied with the application process and outcomes. The proportion of female respondents who reported their application was treated fairly 'every time I have applied' (23.5%) and most of the time (20.5%) was, on average, higher than that of their male counterparts (15% and 17%, respectively). Male respondents (64%) were also more likely to disagree that their managers in their schools/colleges treated 'all teachers equally when it came to opportunities for career progression', compared to 54% of their female counterparts. There were also more male respondents (66%) who agreed they had to leave their current school/college to progress their career than their female peers (53%).[17]

Just over one in ten (11%) of those teachers who had applied for promotion were successful 'every time I have applied', although the gender differences were not statistically significant. This was also the case (i.e. not significant differences) for those males and females who had never been successful.

Table 11 in Annex E explores the association between age and different domains of career progression among our sample of BME teachers. The results show statistically

significant age differences in most domains of career progression (such as the number of application for promotions, the number of successful applications for promotion, whether the respondent feel their career has met their expectations etc.) with over 35 year olds more likely to apply for promotion than under 35 year olds and more likely to be successful for promotion. However, the pattern was reversed with regards to higher percentages of over 35 year olds feeling that their careers had not met their expectations, that they had not been encouraged to gain skills required for more senior roles, that managers in their schools were less likely to treat teachers equally when it came to career promotion and that they needed to leave their current schools to progress their careers.

Table H (overleaf) presents the results exploring the relationship between ethnicity and career progression among BME teachers in this survey. Overall, the results show that among the 914 respondents who completed these questions, there were statistically significant differences in the number of application for promotion between ethnic groups.[18] Most of the respondents had applied between 1-3 times for promotion (over 40% of the respondents).

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[17] see Table 10, Annex E
[18] χ^2=30.70, *df*=15, *p*-value=0.01

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Table H: Number of applications for promotion by ethnic origin (percentage of each group)

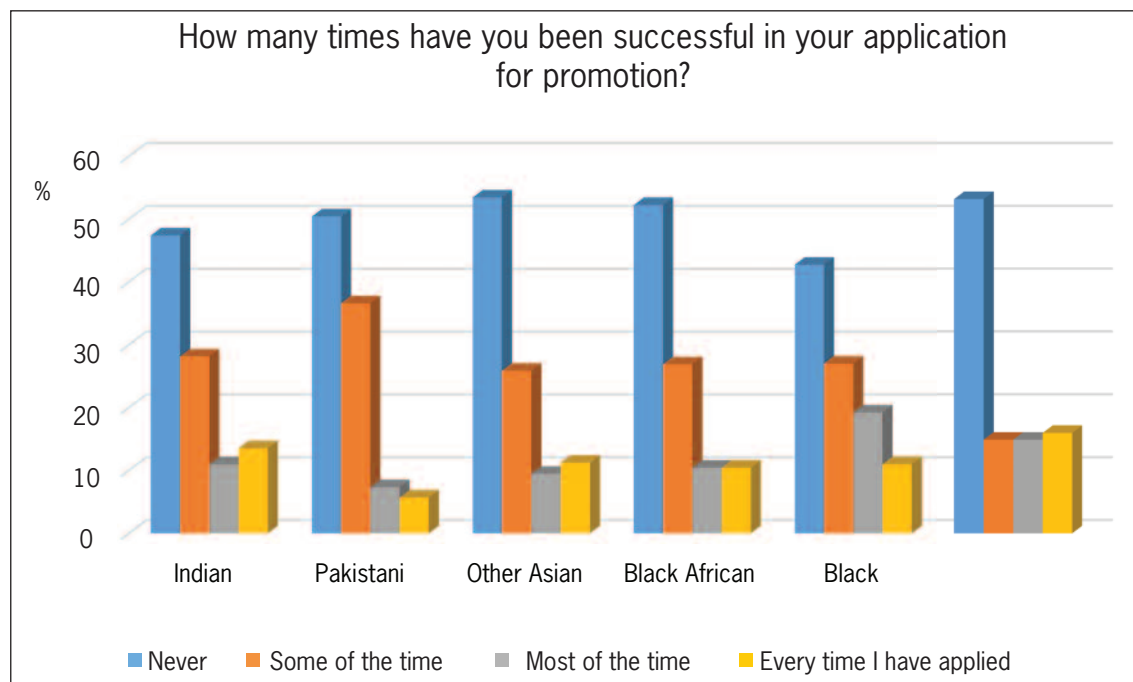| Q: In your teaching career, how many times have you applied for promotion?						
Number of applications	**%** **Indian**	**%** **Pakistani**	**%** **Other Asian**	**%** **Black African**	**%** **Black Caribbean**	**%** **Other Black**
Never	38	38	45	32	27	32
1-3 times	46	44	41	49	45	50
4-6 times	10	15	13	10	20	11
7 times or more	6	3	1	9	7	7
Total (N)	**192**	**123**	**116**	**134**	**255**	**94**

Amongst this group, Black African teachers were the most likely to apply for promotion between 1-3 times (49% compared to the other ethnic groups). Interestingly, also, the proportion of Black participants who applied for promotion 7 times or more (9% of Black African and 7% of Black Caribbean) were higher than that of Asian counterparts (6% of Indian and 3% of Pakistani). Conversely, almost 40% of Indian and Pakistani teachers had never applied for promotion – a much higher proportion than their Black counterparts (32% of Black African and 27% of Black Caribbean teachers had never applied for promotion).

While it's difficult to ascertain the reasons behind this disparity, one possible reason may be that Asian teachers, were on average, younger (under 35) compared to their Black peers, and therefore, teachers who were much earlier in their career compared to their Black counterparts. Our previous results already showed that older teachers (over 35s) were

more likely to apply for promotion compared to their younger peers.

Figure 7 (opposite) shows that there were differences (which were statistically significant) in the number of successful applications for promotions between the ethnic groups.

Around a half of most of the BME respondents (except for Black Caribbean teachers) had 'never' been successful in their application for promotion. Of the BME teachers who had been successful in their promotion 'most of the time', Black African (10%), Black Caribbean (19%) and Other Black (15%) teachers were more successful than their Asian peers. The success story was more mixed 'every time I applied' with teachers of Indian (14%) and 'Other Black' (16%) origin, on average, more successful than their other BME peers. Interestingly, over half of the (53%) Other Asian and 'other Black' group had never been successful in their applications for promotion.

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Figure 7: Number of successful applications by ethnic group (percentage)

How many times have you been successful in your application for promotion?

Legend: Never | Some of the time | Most of the time | Every time I have applied

Categories: Indian, Pakistani, Other Asian, Black African, Black

However, despite the differences in the application and success rates of different ethnic groups in gaining promotion, we found there were no (statistically) significant ethnic differences in their views around career expectations, whether they perceived their promotion application to be treated fairly or not, whether they felt they had been encouraged to gain the skills needed for more senior roles or whether they felt that teachers had been treated equally by managers regarding opportunities for career progression (see Table 12, Annex E).

3.11 Conclusions from the survey data

3.11.1 The relationship between demographic characteristics and type of employment

We explored the relationship between demographic characteristics and factors reflecting 'employment conditions' (e.g. employment status, type of employment contract, annual salary and teaching and learning responsibility, TLR). With regards to gender, our results showed that there were no significant differences between men and women in this sample with regards to their employment status, type of contract, salary and teaching and

learning responsibilities (see Annex E). However, this was not the case in relation to age. Analyses by age and 'employment conditions' revealed that younger teachers (under 35s) were more likely to be directly employed by the school (83%) compared to their older (46-55 year olds) counterparts (66.5%), but less likely to be agency teachers (7%) compared to their 46-55 year old counterparts (11%). These differences were statistically significant. Previous demographic analysis also revealed that Black teachers (particularly Black African and Black Caribbean respondents) were, on average, older than their Asian peers in this survey with around two-thirds of Black teachers over age 35 compared to around a half of their Asian counterparts.

Somewhat unsurprisingly, older teachers (above 35s) were more likely to be on salaries above £30,000 compared to their younger peers, although older teachers (above 46 year olds) in this sample were more likely to be on lower annual salaries (£10,000 to £20,000) compared to their younger peers. This may reflect part-time status among some of the older respondents, although this information was not available in the data.

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3.11.2 The link between ethnicity, gender, age and career progression

We also analysed various employment characteristics – employment status, type of contract, salary, teaching and learning responsibility (TLR) status and length of teaching by ethnic origin in order to get a better understanding of the differing career (promotion and salary) success rates amongst the ethnic minority groups. Interestingly, whilst there were slight differences in employment status (by the school or Local authority), employment contract (permanent, fixed term etc) and teaching and learning responsibility status among the BME groups, these differences were not statistically significant. However, this was not the case with salary bands or length of teaching, where there were statistically significant differences among the BME groups.

On average, just over half of the Asian teachers were on salary bands over £30,000 compared to between two-thirds and three-quarters of the Black groups (two-thirds of the Black African and Black Other teachers were, on average, on salaries over £30,000; nearly 75% of Black Caribbean teachers were on salaries over £30,000). In fact, a higher proportion of Black Caribbean respondents (a third) were earning over £40,000 (compared to around 20% of the Asian groups) and 10% of Black Caribbean teachers in this survey were earning an annual salary of over £50,000 – the highest proportion among all the other ethnic groups. Further analysis revealed that part of this explanation for salary differentials may lie in the length of teaching records amongst the ethnic groups. As Figure 4 showed, a higher proportion of Black participants (average of 44% of Black teachers) had been teachers for 10 years or more compared to their Asian counterparts

(an average of 36% across Asian teachers). Moreover, among the Black respondents, a higher proportion of Black Caribbean teachers (50%) had been teachers for over 10 years compared to their Black and other ethnic minority peers.

It is also worthwhile noting that there were statistically significant differences in the points of entry into teaching amongst the BME groups (see Figure 5) with over half of Indian, Pakistani and Black African teachers reporting that they entered teaching after gaining a Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) after university, compared to 43% of Black Caribbean teachers and 41% of Black Other teachers. In fact, a quarter of Black Caribbean and Black Other respondents (higher than any other ethnic group in the survey) entered teaching directly through teacher training institutions.

These demographic differences and entry into teaching between the ethnic groups are more likely to explain some of the substantive differences between the BME ethnic groups in this study, more than ethnic origin in itself. However, it doesn't explain differences entirely – in particular, around experiences in school – such as feeling supported by managers and feeling that staff in their schools are comfortable talking about racism etc.

In these responses there are differences that cannot be explained by this quantitative data alone, but suggest (see qualitative results in the next chapter) that racism against Black teachers (in particular) still persists in the education system, is endemic and is a norm in their everyday experiences within schools.

04

The Qualitative Study

04

Chapter 4.0: The Qualitative Study

This chapter outlines the key themes that arose out of three focus group interviews with 15 self-identified BME teachers as well as answers to several open ended questions in the survey. The focus groups took place across two cities, two in the Midlands and one in London. Overall, we interviewed five male and 10 female teachers; of this group, 11 participants identified themselves as African Caribbean (five participants), Black (one), Black British (four) and African (one). The remaining participants identified themselves as African Indian, mixed race Black and White, British Pakistani and Asian. Just over half of the interviewees had been teaching for over 16 years (n=8). As three-quarters of the focus groups were participants from Black ethnic backgrounds, we need to be cautious about the generalisations that we infer from these interviews as they may reflect the experiences of Black teachers more specifically, rather than teachers from other ethnic minority backgrounds.

The themes explored included the experiences and treatment of BME teachers in schools (in relation to pupils and staff); the impact of racism and racial inequality; and the recruitment, retention and career progression of BME teachers in primary and secondary schools. BME teachers were also asked (on the questionnaire and within the focus groups) what possible solutions might help to address some of the perceived inequality of treatment and discrimination within their schools.

4.1 Day to day life as BME teachers in schools

Of the 15 teachers interviewed, and including the questionnaire respondents, a large proportion had been teachers for over 10 years (approx. 40%) and around a third had been teachers below five years. The length of their teaching experience, however, appeared to make little difference to their passion for teaching and to their commitment to students:

"I really enjoyed teaching and because I think BME students need role models."

(African Indian teacher, male, secondary schools)

But the interviews revealed that whilst their commitment to the students continued, their passion for teaching was slowly wavering due to the pressures of workload and cutbacks in education:

"The burnout rate is very high in schools now; members of staff leaving in droves…"

(African Indian teacher, male, secondary schools)

However, the BME teachers were also keen to highlight the reasons why it was important to have diversity in the school workforce, and in particular amongst the senior leadership teams:

"Definitely yes; we should have more BME teachers. BME students should have more BME teachers to provide them with role models. And other BME teachers can act as a peer support system. And we can counter an increasingly Eurocentric curriculum."

(Black British teacher, female, secondary school)

"They don't realise that ethnic minority children need role models from their own group. If the children see SMT (senior management team) as being all white and the cleaning staff from ethnic minorities, that is all they aspire to be. Especially if they do not see people around them or members of their families in senior positions."

(Response to a question about schools identifying and responding to racism affecting pupils in schools)

"Senior leadership tends to be middle aged white middle class people who have been teachers all their lives. They are often unable to understand the complexities of these issue and students are less likely to relate when all their senior staff are the 'same'."

(Indian teacher, male, 36-45 years, teaching 5-10 years)

Whilst there was unanimous agreement that there should be more BME staff in the school workforce generally (and within their schools specifically), reasons for BME staff

representation varied widely. Most agreed that role models for students were desirable, but others went further to argue that it was a necessity to protect students from being stereotyped or misunderstood:

> "To counter the prevailing narrative that doesn't reflect the students…I am one of the few male Muslim staff in the school, and I didn't fast during Ramadan – that challenges a stereotype of Muslim males not observing Ramadan."
>
> (African-Indian teacher, male, secondary school).

However, when asked specifically about their treatment in schools from other members of staff, the responses were mixed, with some BME teachers spontaneously vouching for their white peers and head teacher in their schools:

> "I work in a school with a majority Asian pupil population. But there's also Black and mixed race pupils and Eastern European and White British. And the BME staff are not marginalised; the head is an advocate of equality."
>
> (Mixed Black and White teacher, female, secondary)

> "Staff in my school are welcoming and inclusive although it is obvious they are not used to having a wider mix of ethnicities in the school. What made me realise this was that children and staff were constantly confusing me with one other Chinese teacher at the beginning of the year but it was not intentional. They make a huge effort to apologise and correct each other/students. There are a few issues in my school but I can honestly say I do not feel excluded in any way because of my race. They have worked very hard to build an inclusive environment."
>
> (Response to an open-ended question about how schools identify and respond to racism)

But the predominant view amongst BME teachers (with regards to their responses on the questionnaire and within the focus groups) was a more challenging school environment in which they often had to deal with the daily indignities of "microaggression"[19] from other teachers and students:

> "Some staff or [sic] disappointingly ignorant and do not realise that they carry implicitly racist views which are usually ill-thought-through. There is casual racism without intention to harm, but lack of intent to harm doesn't do much if harm is caused."
>
> ('Other Asian' teacher, male, 36-45 years, teaching 5-10 years)

> "Some staff have made very disparaging remarks regarding different races/religions."
>
> (Pakistani teacher, female, 22-35 years old, teaching 1-3 years)

> "There's a 'them and us' divide between staff. All teachers need to be able to socialize and adapt…"
>
> (Black Caribbean teacher, female, primary school)

And the cumulative effect of these "microaggressions" – intended or unintended – made many of the BME participants feel isolated and uncertain about their role in school:

> "I felt the school was institutionally racist, but as the only BME staff member I was unsure if and how to challenge it."
>
> (British Pakistani teacher, male, 6-10 years of schooling, secondary school)

On a few occasions it reinforced a feeling of 'othering'; one Black Caribbean teacher recalls being asked, 'Why do Africans have more boy children?' – as though there was something unusual or 'odd' about African culture. Moreover, these subtle instances of covert racism made her feel frustrated and alienated:

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[19] Term 'microaggression' was used by Chinese American psychologist Professor Derald Wing Sue to refer to 'brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color. Perpetrators of microaggressions are often unaware that they engage in such communications.'

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"…it's difficult to always confront and challenge – because you don't want to seem aggressive. You always feel a conflict between wanting to challenge and wanting to get on and progress…"

(Black Caribbean teacher, female, over 16 years of schooling, primary school)

This tension between challenging racist behaviour and 'turning a blind eye' also appeared to be exacerbated by the perception that the BME teachers would be 'labelled' as potentially 'challenging' or 'aggressive', thus leaving them feeling impotent from confronting unacceptable views or behaviour from other members of staff or students:

"I'm not sure if it's ethnicity, but if a BME teacher challenges anything, and is being assertive and confident – they are perceived as maverick, aggressive and threatening."

(Mixed Black and White teacher, female, teaching over 16 years, secondary school)

4.2. Impact of racism on teachers

As well as experiencing 'microaggressions' and/or 'casual' racist or stereotypical remarks from other members of staff, BME teachers highlighted the challenges in confronting racist remarks from students. For some teachers it highlighted the conflict they felt with their own ethnicity and their roles:

"What are you? A Black teacher [experiencing racism] or a teacher first."

(Black British teacher, female, supply teacher, secondary school)

But for other teachers, it accentuated a lack of solidarity/support and recognition of the seriousness of the incidences from other members of staff within their schools:

"I witnessed name calling (students to teachers), and when it was reported, it was ignored."

(Indian teacher, female, teaching over 10 years, secondary school)

"Some teachers refuse the 'n'/'p' word from students and challenge, others ignore. The only incidents reported are of Black children using such language. A white student said to me "whatever n*****". And although I reported it, I ended up resolving the issue with the student and reconciling the future relationship with no support from SLT. To date unsure if even recorded. Head of dept didn't intervene either."

(Response in an open-ended question on whether the school identifies and responds to racism)

Several teachers shared their frustration about incidences of racist behaviour towards them being treated as 'behavioural issues', thus diminishing the seriousness of the offence:

"Incidences of racism from students are met with silence. One student was very racist towards me, but the student was dealt with in terms of 'a behavioural incident'. Students are punished in line with other behavioural issues, but should racism be dealt with more punitively? There is no attempt either to deal with students and teach them why racism is wrong."

(Black British teacher, male, teaching for under five years, secondary school).

"Comments will be flagged up as behaviour, but nothing further."

"The school underplays it saying the incident is not racist but rudeness."

(Responses in open-ended question from the questionnaire)

Staff reported feeling unsupported during these instances, and moreover, felt that there was no recourse for them – once again leaving them isolated in their experiences:

"Incidents with students are recorded, but staff have no idea of situations or how to deal with race."

(Open-ended response from questionnaire)

Importantly, this was not the experience of all of the BME teachers in this study. Both the qualitative and the quantitative studies revealed that whilst overall the experiences of many BME teachers within schools was a feeling of isolation and lack of management support with regards to incidences of racism (witting and unwitting), there were also many teachers who felt collectively supported by the SLT:

"There is a zero tolerance policy against racism in my school."

(Response to an open-ended question about the school identifying and responding to racism)

"We are an inner city multi-cultural school that promotes acceptance for all communities. Of course, we have had to deal with children using racial slurs, but we also try to pre-empt this behavior through PSHE lessons."

(Indian teacher, female, teaching for under three years)

A common theme linked to positive experiences, however, was the pivotal role of the head teacher in sending a 'collective' message of support and 'zero tolerance' to the whole school:

"Any racism must be reported to the head teacher. It is logged and there are meetings."

(Open-ended answer)

"The head's leadership speaks to the ethos and that trickles down to the rest of the school. The message is then it is not individual but collective responsibility. Without head teacher buy-in race equality policies become a tick box exercise, seen as good practice but not followed through satisfactorily."

(Mixed Black and White teacher, female, teaching over 16 years, secondary school)

Interestingly, one teacher suggested that resilience to racism within schools depended not only on the support structures within schools but also on your experience and career success as a teacher:

"Whether you can tackle racism – subtle and overt – is dependent on your environment – and where you are in your career."

(Black British teacher, female, supply teacher, secondary school)

4.3. The impact of the 'Prevent' agenda on teachers

Whilst many teachers reported incidences of racism – direct and indirect – within their schools, several teachers from Muslim backgrounds raised issues around Islamophobia and 'existing misconceptions' about them. On the one hand, Muslim teachers argued that it was important to have Muslims among the staff to 'counter and control an Islamophobic narrative about schools being taken over by fundamentalist Muslims' and to protect Muslim students who were 'trying to keep their head down during the Trojan Horse scandal'.[20]

"Prevent is so strong that teachers feel that disagreeing with them is seen as condoning extremism and there is pressure to 'watch' Muslim students and their work."

(Other Black, female, secondary school teacher)

But conversely, other Muslim teachers spoke of trying to break stereotypes of Muslims by not acting in 'conventional' ways (i.e. not fasting during Ramadan). The emphasis on 'Prevent', and in particular, on Muslims, however, left them feeling 'conflicted' about their roles as teachers, and as members of Muslim communities.

In addition, teachers (notably from other ethnic backgrounds) argued that the 'Prevent' agenda – with its focus on 'counter-terrorism and extremism' undermined their ability to address and tackle incidences of racism in schools:

"Students feel they can be blatantly racist, and there are no consequences for them. These extremist views are not covered in the Prevent agenda because they are not seen as "extremism" [in the countering terrorism sense]; they are not taken seriously, and they are just something that BME teachers experience on a regular basis."

(British Black teacher, female, teaching for up to 15 years, secondary school)

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[20] 'Operation Trojan Horse' in Birmingham

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For many Muslim teachers the issue of Prevent was particularly significant in the context of the 2016 EU referendum campaign (when this study took place) during which time there was an increase in hate crime against Muslims and Eastern European immigrants.

Several BME teachers in this study reported an increase in racist behaviour amongst pupils (and in some cases parents) during the Brexit campaign, and admitted that they were conflicted in how to deal with the 'normalisation' of racist attitudes:

> "During the campaign, students felt it was acceptable to openly express potentially racist or xenophobic views to BME teachers in our school; I've had students saying I support BNP…"
>
> (British Black teacher, female, teaching for 11-15 years, secondary)

4.4. Career progression – visible and invisible barriers

Focus group participants were asked various questions about their career progression: had they ever applied for promotion? Had their careers met their expectations? Did they perceive there to be any barriers to progression? And to what extent they had felt supported or unsupported by the SLT within their school? All of the participants in the qualitative study had applied for promotion one or more times in their career and a few participants reported that their careers had met with their expectations and been supported strongly by senior members of staff:

> "I've had a very positive experience. I've been promoted. Staff are very supportive and the head takes equality seriously. I'm the only Asian member of staff but there is no divide."
>
> (Asian teacher, female, teaching for over 16 years, primary school)

> "Positive experience for me – I was head of department in my NQT year. I was promoted by mentoring in a predominantly white SLT."
>
> (Black British teacher, male, less than five years teaching, secondary school)

But for many other teachers the barriers to their progression felt insurmountable and ranged from passive resistance/lack of support to active discouragement and resistance. Moreover, these barriers were persistent and almost every teacher had crossed more than one or more of these hurdles at one stage or another of their career. In addition, BME teachers (in both open-ended questions and the qualitative study) were keen to point out that there were also 'access' issues that prevented them from even being in a position to apply for promotion in the first place, such as being denied equal CPD opportunities:

> "BME teachers are not offered the same opportunities given to other colleagues for training and promotion."
>
> (Black Caribbean teacher, female, teaching more than 10 years)

Other BME teachers reported barriers which were more covert and hidden in 'implicit practices' such as not being able to teach 'core subjects' which would facilitate their career progression or being promoted initially quickly but then subsequently undermined by being given responsibilities for challenging areas and students in the school:

> "At the beginning I had the opposite experience in that I was newly promoted to second in charge of the department. But now I've been given additional responsibilities for behaviour management in Key Stage 4 and for Year 11s re-sitting their GCSEs. Both these groups are difficult groups, but I was given these responsibilities despite telling them that I didn't want them… I think it stems from stereotypes they [school] have of Black men as more intimidating – KS4 is the toughest year group. But it is subtly reinforcing stereotypes. We get given the tough behavioural jobs, but not the intellectual challenges and responsibilities."
>
> (Black African teacher, male, less than five years of teaching, secondary school)

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Moreover, this stereotype existed across both genders, with Black female teachers also expressing dissatisfaction with being given 'challenging behaviour classes' because it was perceived as 'their area of expertise'.

Other additional workloads which would take up considerable time, but were not rewarded financially or in terms of career progression included 'Black History Month' and 'anything' related to BME students – 'You become the spokesperson for everything BME.' (Black British teacher, female, supply teacher, secondary school). Many BME teachers, however, described this burden as a 'double-edged sword' – on the one hand finding it personally fulfilling because 'you can bring experiences of your own culture; get children to ask questions about Culture; to lead on faith and Black History month', but on the other hand, 'having to deal with difficult conversations; you become the mentor for BME, given classes with the most challenging behaviour. It's the result of stereotypical assumptions.' (African Caribbean teacher, female, between 6-10 years of teaching, primary school)

Several teachers also reported a sense of exclusion (i.e. their 'face not fitting in') because the SLT was often made up of largely homogenous white staff:

"We have mixed staff, but an all-white senior leadership team."

(Indian teacher, male, teaching between 5-10 years)

These were inferred to be 'invisible barriers' preventing BME teachers from applying:

"You have a place [in relation to career progression] and you don't go above it."

(Black British teacher, female, over 16 years of teaching, secondary school)

And, moreover, these invisible barriers, appeared to affect their confidence and self-esteem, leading to BME teachers self-selecting out of seeking further promotion:

"You ask yourself, can you compromise your values? Can you be quiet [to be part of the SLT]? Do you fit in?"

(African Caribbean teacher, male, teaching more than 16 years)

Some BME teachers reported feeling 'actively discouraged' by the whole process because not only were they not 'actively' encouraged to apply for more senior jobs when they arose (in comparison to their white colleagues), but they were also given other, less rewarding and stereotypical roles to keep them 'out of the game':

"You're being pushed towards certain roles and responsibilities because of perceptions of BME teachers, while other colleagues are being mentored and encouraged towards other areas. But you're offered other distractions, and keep you off balance. Make you accept the status quo and remain disadvantaged in comparison to your white peers. You don't know how to respond, how to challenge – leave or wait?"

(Black Caribbean teacher, female, between 11-15 years teaching, primary school)

Of those teachers who tried to apply for promotion (without encouragement) they noted that the process continued to be 'unsupporting' with senior leadership teams making them feel 'self-conscious and naive' for trying to get further up the ladder:

"I did an MA degree as I was not happy with my career progression; I wanted to see if that would change anything. And I took on extra responsibilities without any monetary reward or recognition. But when I mentioned to the head teacher that I wanted a promotion, he said, 'didn't realise you wanted that. Why would you want that?' He described the pay increase as 'peanuts' and gave me lots of excuses for why I shouldn't apply for promotion. I've never spoken about these issues before, but I'm here today because I feel I need to say something…I feel it's unconscious, but it's professionally-hidden discrimination."

(British Pakistani teacher, male, between 6-10 years of teaching, secondary school)

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Moreover, several teachers observed that there was little recourse to complain if they had not been promoted as discrimination was often 'subtle', 'covert' and difficult to pinpoint:

> "There are no overt racist incidences. I have direct experience of being the most qualified for the job, but not being appointed. And then latterly filling the gap by acting as head, while they advertised the post again. But they paid me £10k less than the advertised salary, and I didn't get the job."

(African Caribbean teacher, male, over 16 years of teaching, secondary school)

> "There was no justification [for lack of promotion]. She [fellow BME teacher] was producing good grades and meeting her performance targets…I think it was her assertiveness; senior management didn't like it."

(Mixed race Black and White teacher, female, teaching over 16 years]

Other BME teachers pointed out that even if you did have the confidence to complain about any perceived inequality of treatment, the reaction by SLT was unsupportive and damaging:

> "My independence was perceived negatively by senior leadership – that I wouldn't be willing to play the game…and therefore I was labelled a troublemaker."

(African Caribbean teacher, male, over 16 years of teaching, secondary school)

The perception that somehow BME teachers were unwilling to 'play the game' and being labelled a 'troublemaker' was prevalent across the BME teachers, suggesting that characteristics of 'assertiveness' had become racialised in relation to them.

> "If a BME teacher challenges anything, and is being assertive and confident – they are perceived as maverick, aggressive and threatening."

(Mixed race, Black and White teacher, female, over 16 years of teaching, secondary)

Moreover, this consistent and subtle labelling seems to lead to teachers somehow internalising this stereotype, and questioning their own judgements and behaviour:

> "I blame myself. It makes you wonder whether it's a personal problem rather than racial when you're overlooked in terms of career progression. How much of that is that I just don't fit?"

(African Caribbean teacher, male, over 16 years of teaching, secondary school)

4.5. The impact of performance related pay on BME teacher career progression

In general, participants in the study were not supportive of the recently imposed pay progression framework. Whilst most agreed that it was important to be a 'good teacher', there were many reports of being overloaded with work under the new capabilities procedures, thus placing enormous 'pressure' on teachers and making a work-life balance difficult to obtain. Some teachers viewed it as a 'special measures criteria' – used more in a punitive sense than as a reward or incentive. Others speculated that experienced or well-paid BME colleagues were put on capability processes to 'facilitate' their departure from the profession in order to save money:

> "The capability issue puts a lot of pressure on staff. This leads to teachers leaving the profession altogether….it's being used as a punitive measure or to pressure staff to leave. But it's being applied to BME staff disproportionately, and those who are older and more highly paid – and those who have had a historically long, good track record."

(Black teacher, female, over 16 years of teaching, primary school)

Several BME teachers also argued that performance-related pay disproportionately affected BME teachers because of the contexts they often worked in:

> "There is little opportunity to progress as targets are ridiculous – particularly given school contexts and cohorts of classes where BME teachers work."

(Black British teacher, male, teaching under five years, secondary school)

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Teachers were also asked about the potential impact, if any, of the decentralisation measures (e.g. increasing number of academy schools, free schools etc) on their careers and experiences in schools. Most teachers reported that they were too 'overwhelmed' with workload and competency pressures to reflect upon the ramifications of decentralisation, but many noted that it would likely exacerbate race equality gaps for BME teachers (i.e. in career progression) as accountability for race equality (under Public Sector Equality Duties (PSED)) were likely to be poorer in more autonomous schools:

"BME staff are already hindered with their career progress under local authorities, but with academies, there is no protection."

(African Indian teacher, male, secondary school)

"With local authorities, there is at least some recourse in relation to discrimination and the PSED."

(Black African teacher, male, less than five years of teaching, secondary school)

"My local borough were successful on requesting, under FOI further information on academies. But we need to go further and get data on pay and ethnicity equality."

(Black British teacher, female, over 16 years of teaching, primary school)

"Get rid of performance related pay which can be used as a racist tool. I have seen great Black teachers being forced out of the profession stressed by the process if they do not meet targets, leaving before their careers are ruined by this process. Monitor the number of Black teachers who are leaving due to the appraisal process so they can see how disproportionate it is."

(Response from an open-ended question in the questionnaire)

Other teachers discussed the potential impact of Teach First[21] in this context, suggesting that it was a programme that was unlikely to be a recruitment vehicle for more BME teachers:

"BME students are not going to universities where they are being picked from…instead it's white teachers from privileged backgrounds."

4.6. Increasing the recruitment of BME teachers

Teachers were asked in both the qualitative and the quantitative study what more the Government and schools could do to encourage the recruitment of BME teachers into the teaching profession. The answers were spontaneous and impassioned, although interestingly there was disagreement around some of the suggestions, such as quotas:

"We need quotas…"

(Black Caribbean teacher, female, between 11-15 years of teaching, primary school)

"No! I'm against quotas; it won't work."

(Black British teacher, female, over 16 years of schooling, primary school)

"You need name- and age-blind applications – this could mitigate some of the bias in shortlisting. Should have to shortlist at least some BME candidates, in the way they do with equality…"

(Black British teacher, female, teaching over 16 years, primary school)

"Nothing! We should not have any form of positive discrimination."

(Response from an open-ended question in the questionnaire)

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[21] A programme where graduates receive six weeks of intensive training before being placed in schools for two years under a leadership development programme

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Nevertheless, one of the more popular suggestions was around senior leadership teams (SLTs) better reflecting the staff diversity in their schools:

> "Should have a certain percentage of the senior leadership team with Black staff depending on the percentage of Black staff teaching in the school. We have one Asian member of staff in the senior team in the last 10 years and that's a joke."
>
> (Response from an open-ended question in the questionnaire)

> "Ensure that teaching staff especially SMT reflect the population of the school. One of Ofsted's criteria should be looking at the proportion of Black teachers at different levels in relation to the ethnic background of the children."
>
> (Response from an open-ended question in the questionnaire)

Having targeted measures and mentorship programmes for BME teachers was also a popular suggestion:

> "Need more shadowing and mentoring… train the governors to be reflective of what a head looks like…in [my] area there are a lot of Black deputies but no heads."
>
> (African Caribbean teacher, female, over 16 years of teaching, primary school)

> "Offer a Black mentor, not necessarily within your school but a local area or online."
>
> (Response from an open-ended question in the questionnaire)

However, several teachers pointed out that targeted programmes should be tailored rather than aggregating all BME groups together:

> "They should encourage Asian males to get involved as well as Black teachers. This could be achieved through understanding all teachers are different & not trying to mould us into the same."
>
> (Response from an open-ended question in the questionnaire)

Other BME teachers suggested increasing the accountabilities for SLTs or governors to be responsible for who they recruit into their schools:

> "Make head teachers and governors more accountable and active in recruiting and retention. Also raise the profile of the equal opportunities policy because at the minute it has got lost in the inclusion policy."
>
> (Response from an open-ended question in the questionnaire)

Finally, there were many suggestions about the importance of role models for BME recruits:

> "Show more role models in advertising and TV."
>
> (Response from an open-ended question in the questionnaire)

> "More Black teachers in recruitment publicity – and not just for inner city schools."
>
> (Response from an open-ended question in the questionnaire)

> "Get Black teachers into secondary schools and colleges to speak to young people to inspire them to become teachers."
>
> (Response from an open-ended question in the questionnaire)

> "Establish strong local support networks for Black teachers outside of London. Include race and equality issues as part of NPQH and other training for school leaders. Raise the profile of successful Black head teachers."
>
> (Response from an open-ended question in the questionnaire)

Conclusions

05 Barriers

Chapter 5.0: Conclusions

This report was commissioned to get a better understanding of the everyday experiences for BME teachers in British schools and to identify some of the barriers to their career progression. In order to get a fuller understanding of the issues, the Runnymede Trust worked closely with the NUT to administer a survey of NUT BME members (in order to get a notion of breadth of issues) and to undertake three focus group interviews (to ascertain depth) with BME teachers in two cities. As discussed in previous chapters, there were a few methodological limitations to the study – we could not compare the experiences of BME teachers with their white counterparts (control group), and we had an over-representation of Black teachers (compared to their representation in the national workforce) in the survey – but even after taking these limitations into account, we believe the detailed findings from this study further illuminates what it is like to be a BME teacher in British schools.

The findings from the questionnaire provide evidence to suggest that although differences in teaching positions and career progression exist among BME groups, some (but not all) of these differences can be explained by demographic characteristics – namely age, point of entry into teaching and length of teaching experience.

We cannot be certain that these are the only factors that 'explain' differences (as our questionnaire covered only a few demographic variables) but 'statistically significant' associations existed between these demographic variables and promotion success. However, the questionnaire findings also highlighted a disparity between some of the experiences of Black teachers in schools in comparison to their other ethnic minority peers – that is, Black teachers, on average, feel they have less managerial support and are less positive about the appraisal system compared to their Asian peers.

These are important findings, because whilst Black teachers were more likely to apply for promotion and gain promotion success in this study (which is likely to be correlated to their age and teaching experience), they were significantly less positive about the 'process' of applying for promotions compared to their Asian peers.

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The qualitative study, whilst undertaken with a small number of participants, reinforced some of the key findings from the quantitative (survey) study – namely that institutional racism – often manifested in subtle and covert 'microaggressions' by senior staff– still plays a key part in the barriers to career progression for Black teachers in many British primary and secondary schools.

This is not to say that teachers from Asian backgrounds do not experience discrimination in schools – as many Asian respondents in our study similarly highlighted the detrimental impact of 'casual stereotypes' and Islamophobia (from both staff and pupils) on their confidence and self-esteem in their careers and promotions, but it does suggest that the experience of racism is particularly insidious and persistent for Black teachers in this study.

Both the quantitative and qualitative study, however, revealed that whilst BME teachers believed that racism and discrimination was still endemic across primary and secondary schools, it was clearly not always witting and deliberate in its practice. This not only suggests that senior leadership teams may be unaware that they are discriminating against BME teachers, but also that they may be able to change some of their day-to-day practices to ensure that they are not unwittingly excluding members of BME staff from their teams and decision-making processes.

Finally, it is important to note some of the other findings from both the quantitative and qualitative study – namely that BME teachers, regardless of their age, length of teaching and ethnicity, were passionate about their roles as teachers. Teachers admitted that they felt 'overburdened' and demoralised by the recent reforms to pay structures and the current approach to capability procedures (and some suggested that these reforms were disproportionately affecting BME teachers), but they strongly felt that BME students needed 'role models' to progress and succeed in life. In addition, whilst there were many examples of racial discrimination and isolation in schools by other staff and senior leadership teams (in both the quantitative and qualitative studies), there were also many reports of positive and collective support by SLTs, and zero tolerance to racism by head teachers and leaders within schools.

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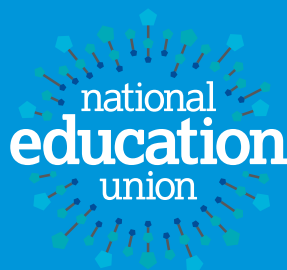## References

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This document refers to the NUT as it was originally
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