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To promote or not to promote Fundamental British values? – Teachers Standards, diversity and teacher education.

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Abstract

In this article we seek to problematize the presence of the requirement within the Teachers' Standards, Personal and Professional Conduct that they "should not undermine Fundamental British values" in the context of initial teacher education in England. The inclusion of this statement with the teachers' code of conduct has made its way from the counter-terrorism strategy, Prevent and raises questions about Britishness, values and the relationship between the State and the profession more generally. We argue that the inclusion of the phrase within a statutory document that regulates the profession is de facto a politicization of the profession by the State thereby instilling the expectation that teachers are State instruments of surveillance. The absence of any wider debate around the inclusion of the statement is also problematic as it means it is unchallenged and unrecognized by most teachers.

Introduction

The media coverage of the Trojan Horse Affair where 6 schools in Birmingham were re-inspected and downgraded as a result of stories that Muslim fundamentalists were influencing the governing body of the schools; the coverage of Mohammed Emwazi, so called Jihadi John the executioner for Islamic State and the flight of three Muslim young women to Syria to join IS has led to an examination of the role of the schools attended by these young people and how schools can play a part in countering the radicalization of young Muslim men and women. In the latter two cases the media coverage included shots of the school signs and in the case of Emwazi, the headteacher was asked to make a statement about his time at the school. (Casciani 2015)) Again it appears that schools and teachers appear to be accountable for the actions of these young people.

The 7/7 bombings in London prompted questions from government and the media about the nature of multicultural Britain (BBC 2011)). The bombers were not foreign terrorists but so called home grown terrorists. In 2006 in a speech at 10 Downing Street at an event organised by the Runnymede Trust in front of an invited audience Tony Blair the Prime Minister at the time explained how the bombers could at one level be described as integrated within British society in terms of their lifestyle and work but clearly on another level they were not. He explained that,

'In truth [this is] not what I mean by integration. Integration in this context is not about culture or lifestyle. It is about values. It is about integrating at the point of shared, common unifying British values. It isn't what defines us as people but as citizens, the rights and duties that go with being a member of our society.But when it comes to our essential values – belief in democracy, the rule of law, tolerance, equal treatment for all, respect for this country and its shared heritage- then that is where we come together, it is what we hold in common; it is what gives us the right to call ourselves British. At that point no culture or religion supersedes our duty to be part of an integrated United Kingdom'. (Runnymede Bulletin 348, 2006, p2).

PREVENT is part of the Government's overall counter-terrorism strategy, Contest and came into force in 2011. In this document extremism is defined as 'vocal or active opposition to fundamental British values' (Home Office 2011, p109). Within the pages of the Prevent Strategy the term Fundamental British values are defined in terms of "democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs" (Home Office 2011, p107).

The discourse on standards in education in England and Wales has its origins in the Great Debate started in 1976 by English Prime Minister James Callaghan. Since then the conception of standards has undergone

several transformations but the new English Teachers' Standards (DfE, 2012) represent a significant shift from the previous standards in relation to the positioning of values and teacher professionalism. The phrase 'fundamental British values' (FBV) is found in Part Two of the 'Teachers' Standards 2012' in the section on Personal and Professional conduct which says, 'Teachers uphold public trust in the profession and maintain high standards of ethics and behaviour, within and outside school by: not undermining fundamental British values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect, and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs' (DfE 2012, p10).

The former English Minister for Education, Michael Gove stated that the standards are not merely a revision or updating but an initiative designed to be used by head teachers in performance management and induction (Gove: 2011). The distinctive features of these standards and their intersection with values and teacher professionalism foregrounds the research in this paper. The Ofsted school inspection handbook (2015) states that school leaders are now actively required to promote FBVs rather than just 'not undermine them' as stated in the Standards (DfE 2015:41). Similarly the DfE publication 'Promoting Fundamental British Values in Social Moral, Spiritual and Cultural (SMSC) Education calls for head teachers to distinguish 'right' from 'wrong' (DfE 2014:5) yet the previous page acknowledges that 'different people may hold different views about what is 'right' and 'wrong' '(DfE 2014:4). The main thrust of DfE guidance encourages head teachers to actively promote British values, British law and discourage adherence to religious law where it conflicts with the law of the land. The imposition of the term FBV within the Standards, the follow up with the guidance on SMSC and now the inclusion of the expectation that teachers will promote FBV within the regulatory framework serves to illustrate how the role of the teacher has been conceived and imposed with respect to FBV and counter-terrorism within a vacuum devoid of professional dialogue. There is an implicit assumption that teachers and trainee teachers will know how to promote such values and indeed be able to articulate them clearly to children and young people without seeming to indoctrinate or promoting jingoism in schools and classrooms.

Teachers' work has in recent years been articulated in terms of competencies that are observable. The emphasis on values in the new standards raises the possibility that teachers will be assessed through the quality and ideological nature of their relationships with pupils and school. The requirement 'not to undermine fundamental British values' (DfE: 2012) is based on a Home Office document that is founded on particular ethnic and religious assumptions about national identity and religion and brings to the discourse on standards new questions about the relationship between the state, teacher education and teacher identity and performance. It is this new discourse that is the focus of the inquiry.

Literature Review

There are three interlocking discourses underpinning the requirement for teachers not to undermine fundamental British values; discourses that while individually problematic, when taken as a package contribute to a climate in which teachers' views on diversity and inequality are regulated and controlled. The discourses: firstly the nature and meaning of Britishness, secondly the standards for teaching and, thirdly, issues of diversity and equality in Initial teacher education (ITE) are explored in the following section.

When in 1990 Norman Tebbit, as a Conservative MP suggested that the Britishness of an individual could be assessed through the 'cricket test', by whether a person cheered for the England cricket team, his comments provoked accusations of racism. Today the fetishisation of Britishness means that it is de rigueur for all politicians to publically mourn the loss of Britishness (Uberoi and Madood: 2013) and the creation of a renewed sense of Britishness has become a holy grail for politicians of all hues (Mandler: 2006 and Ignatieff: 1999).

The overwhelming tone in recent discussions of Britishness is one of nostalgia and loss, loss of empire, loss of national character, loss of greatness and loss of community (Aughey: 2007). Britishness may be elusive and intangible (Ware: 2007) but its salient characteristic is one of vulnerability (Hayton, English, Kenny: 2009). Underpinning the search for Britishness is the assumption that the shared values of Britishness are synonymous with a strong society and that society is weaker where different values exist (Kundnani: 2007 and Meer and Modood: 2009). From their research Vadher and Barrett (2009) delineate six types of boundaries of Britishness: racial; historical; civic; instrumental; lifestyle and multicultural. The racial boundary they note "to be British is to be white" and "it only encompasses those with a white ancestry" (Vadher and Barrett 2009, p450). The historical boundary is associated with the nation's need of a 'mythological story' (ibid) for people

to identify with and of course the story may be an exclusive majority story rather than an inclusive one. Whilst the civic boundary is associated with the place of abode and possessing a British passport and is closely aligned to the instrumental boundary of Britishness where by virtue of domicile the citizen achieves educational and career goals. The boundary associated with lifestyle may be to do with dress, language and modes of socialisation such as going to the pub in order to fit in; and the multicultural boundary is an inclusive one promoting a heterogeneous, multicultural idea of Britishness. The notion of Britishness promoted within the Teachers' Standards (2012) is a discourse of Britishness that associates difference with dissent and dissent with fragmentation and an absence of unity (Ware: 2007. Garner:2012).

It is this model of Britishness, fearful of strangers, under siege and unsure of itself that informs the approach of the *Prevent* strategy to education and the community cohesion agenda developed under the last Labour Government. Schooling has become a major focus of debates about Britishness (Andrews and Mycock: 2006), alternatively blamed for failing to promote a robust and unashamed British identity or heralded as the mechanism by which a new and invigorated national identity can be transmitted to the next generation (Jerome and Clemitshaw: 2012). This narrative is often played out in discussions of the role of history (Hitchens: 1999) and the development of Citizenship Education (Osler: 2009).

However more recent debates focus on the inability of schools to prevent external threats to Britishness and British values. Gordon Brown called for the country to celebrate its national identity in 2006 in the context of the nation's failure to integrate different communities (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4611682.stm>) and the summer of 2014 in the wake of debates about Muslims attempting to promulgate Islamic values in schools in Birmingham Cameron urged people to 'stop being bashful' about Britishness and to be 'more muscular' in our Britishness (Mail on Sunday).

However the teaching of Britishness is problematic for many pupils (Maylor: 2010) and teachers (Keddie: 2014). Some teachers are uncomfortable with the political project implied in a Britishness agenda (Jerome and Clemitshaw: 2012) and others conceptualise it as an area best approached as a controversial issue (Hand and Pearce: 2009). The requirement in the 2012 Standards for Teachers to 'not undermine fundamental British values' means that teachers must engage with Britishness within a particular professional and political landscape and that the nature of the standards themselves contextualise this landscape. The standards discourse has always been about the nature of performance in schools ever since the Callaghan speech in 1976. In many ways the current standards exist on a continuum from their original form. They dictate the boundaries of teacher roles, redefining and fragmenting their professionalism (Leaton Gray and Whitty: 2010) and serve to reformulate the teacher as technician and diminishing their autonomy (Ryan and Bourke: 2013). However the Standards for Teachers published in 2012 represent a significant shift in relation to issues of equality and Britishness. In his review of the standards of 2007, Evans noted that they are 'lopsided' because they focus on teacher behaviour in schools rather than on attitudes (Evans: 2011). But in her analysis of the 2012 standards Bryan argues that with their explicit reference to 'fundamental British values' the new standards require a level of moral complicity with the standards discourse (Bryan: 2012). They assume a consensus with a political model of Britishness that is rooted in values that exclude and which identifies difference as problematic (Keddie: 2014 .Modood: 1992). Both sets of standards are performative but while the 2007 version insists on behavioural compliance the present standards, in collapsing the distinction between professional and personal morality insist on a homogeneity not only in teacher practice but in their values as well (Bryan and Revell: 2011).

The 2012 standards for teachers, with their emphasis on the 'obligatory verb' with every bullet point, represents a qualitatively new conceptualisation of the relationship between race, ethnicity and teacher professionalism (Smith: 2012). The combination of a public discourse on Britishness that is belligerent, backward looking and fearful, with the introduction of standards for teachers that are explicitly assimilationist and prescriptive creates an environment where teacher opposition to the model of Britishness implied in the standards could compromise them professionally. There is no research on the extent of teacher compliance with the requirements not to undermine fundamental British values or the way that teachers understand their professional role in the context of the new standards. However there is substantial evidence that the training of teachers in England neither prepares student teachers to engage with difference, counter racism or inequality in the classroom (Mirza and Meeto: 2012), understand their racial or ethnic positions in relation to the curriculum (Lander: 2011) or that it effectively supports the recruitment and training of teachers from BME backgrounds (Carrington et al: 1998. Basit et al: 2006). The training and education of teachers does not

consistently provide opportunities for student teachers to problematize and explore the interplay between race, values, Britishness etc. in relation to their own professionalism and as such teachers are unable and unprepared to critically engage with these issues (Bhopal and Rhamie: 2014). Keddie (2014) notes that the teacher participants in her research reflected a narrow conception of Britishness associated with symbols and the adoption of such as a sign of great cohesion or assimilation. The conception of Britishness associated with social cohesion establishes a racialized polarisation in terms of who is and is not British enough based on how well they have assimilated with reference to British symbols, history and lifestyle. It does not provide sufficient space for the “broadening of how Britishness is conceptualised” (Keddie 2014, p533) nor an appreciation of other ways to be British. It could be argued that the articulation of Britishness or the labelling of values as “fundamental British values” is an attempt to retreat to the other end of the scale from the notion of multiculturalism, to reassert an assimilationist agenda and indeed to re-centre whiteness rather than to develop a collective understanding of, and belonging to the “right kind of multiculturalism” (Keddie 2014, p553).

There is a broad consensus that awareness and engagement with issues of diversity, race and inequality are addressed effectively when they are addressed explicitly as part of a teacher’s training or professional development and when teachers critically examine their own roles (Goodwin: 2001. Asher: 2003. Pollock et al: 2010. Lowenstein: 2009. Nieto: 2000). Yet the critical and reflexive voice of teachers is not only undermined by the 2012 standards but by a discourse on Britishness that while not explicitly racist (Keddie: 2012) is assimilationist and fearful of difference.

Research Methods

This project originated from discussions between colleagues who attended a BERA (British Educational Research Association) day conference organised by the ‘Race, Ethnicity and Education and the Religious and Moral Education special interest groups (SIG) in October 2012 on British Values. This research represents a collaboration between four English universities one in the North-West, one in London and two in the South-East. The five researchers worked within an interpretivist paradigm to investigate the perceptions of current and intending teachers, undertaking interviews with in service teachers and senior leaders in both primary and secondary schools in the vicinity of the four universities mentioned above. We also collected data from an online survey completed by student teachers at each of the four universities. Ethical clearance was gained from each institution.

The project took place in two stages. First we undertook interviews, lasting approximately 30 minutes, with twenty teachers including senior leaders with a range of experiences and backgrounds. Selection of teachers was made by each lecturer and while not claiming to be representative, we endeavoured to include a cross section of the teaching workforce in our sample comprised of head teachers, senior leaders, recently qualified and experienced teachers, male and female. The majority of interviewees worked in primary schools with some secondary school participants. The interviews drew on questions developed by Farid Panjwani (2012) and focused on teachers’ understanding of the relationship between standards, values and professionalism as well as their interpretation of Britishness and ‘fundamental British values’. Data from these interviews informed the creation of a questionnaire for student teachers on their expectations of the standards and the way values will inform their role as teachers.

Student teachers from each of the four universities were invited to complete an online questionnaire. Eighty eight final year student teachers completed the online questionnaire providing us with both statistical and qualitative data. Two thirds of the sample were primary the rest secondary, almost 70% identified as female.

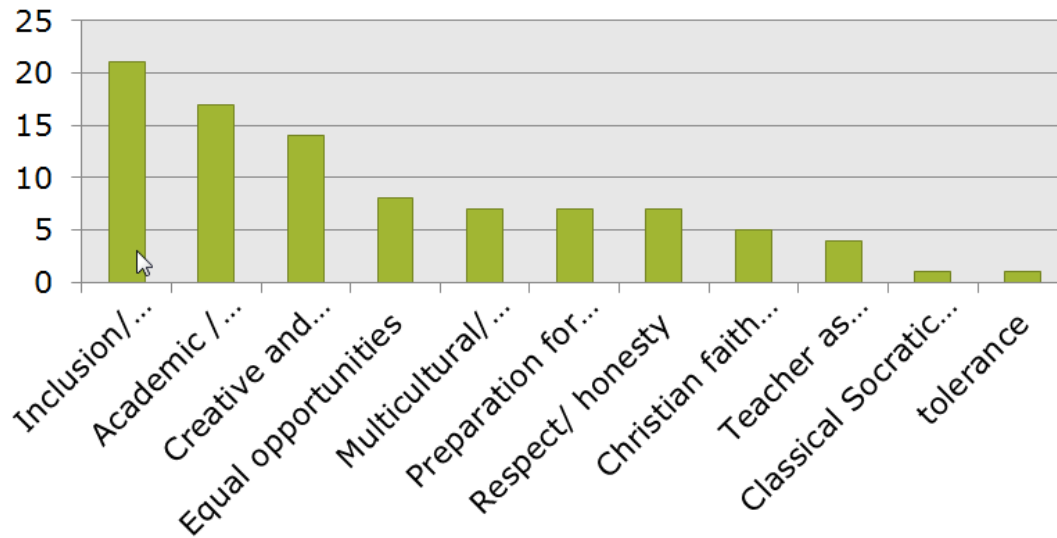
Research findings

In this article we focus predominantly on student teachers understanding of what constitutes Britishness and their understanding of why the requirement is included in standards that regulate their profession. The key findings from the analysis of the questionnaire are presented below.

Values underpinning teaching

When asked about the values which embody their approach to teaching, the 7% majority of student teachers included some reference to inclusive practice, equality for all, multicultural education, respect, learning from each other. The remaining students referred to their Christian faith, the role of the teacher as facilitator or Socratic dialogue as values underpinning their teaching see figure 2 below.

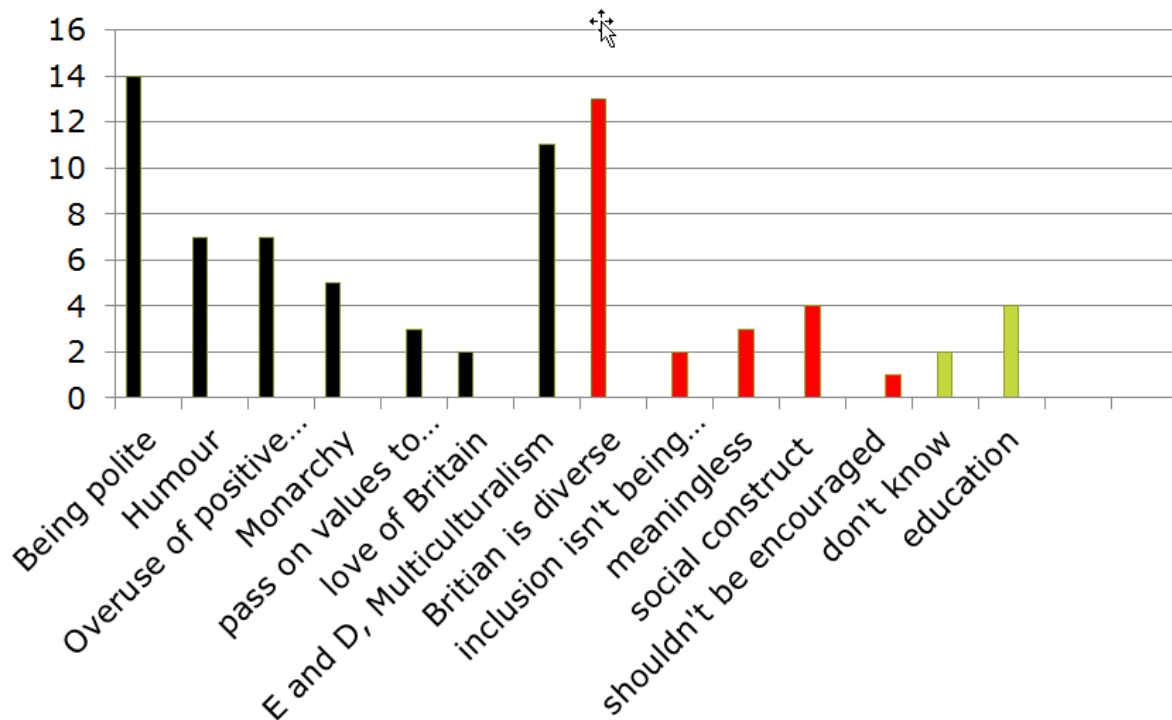
Figure 2 What values embody or underlie your approach to teaching



Do you think there are values associated with being British?

45% of student teachers thought there were particular values associated with being British, whilst 38% did not and 10% reported that they did not know. Many of these responses referred to what could be described as trivial, superficial, naive and 'tokenistic' values such as being polite, queuing, caring for animals, see figure 2 in black. However some responses while demonstrating a more reflective stance were nevertheless positing a stereotypical understanding of Britishness. These responses are recorded in black in figure 2, and are identified in the quotations below:

Figure 2 Do you think there are particular views associated with being British?



In qualifying their response the following statement was provided by one student teacher, “Supporting the Royal Family and the events, the Queen’s time on the throne”. A minority of the respondents (5 of the 88) drew on typical symbols of Britishness in a way that was unmediated. Some of these could be interpreted as symbolizing patriotism “St Georges Flag, Royal Family and community and others reflected a tone of superiority and condescension, for example, “That we live in a democratic society where everyone has an opinion. I feel this is very British. That we sing the national anthem”. It is interesting to note that what could be termed as national stereotypical dispositions or characteristics are interpreted as values by these students. It does highlight the need for educators to teach about the concept of values before one can appreciate the nature of a set of national values which should not be undermined.

Politeness as a British value

One respondent noted “Being conservative and polite” was a British value. Indeed, a significant proportion of respondents drew on the notion of politeness being a British value. They noted typical types of behaviour and they contextualized politeness as an attitude towards different groups. These types of responses were on a spectrum ranging from monarchy to respect for difference. For example,

“One stereotypical action associated with being British is the action of queuing, so I think that being polite may be one of them, and in most situations I try to be as polite as possible.”

“Drinking tea and complaining. Although I would say that they not something that need to be specifically taught to children as they not be good things.”

Some of the respondents drew on a notion of politeness and fairness that was linked to tolerance whilst others talked about politeness which was linked ‘to ourselves and others’. However some notions of politeness drew on a nostalgic and as Gilroy (2004) terms it a postcolonial melancholia linked to a sense of Britishness. This the notion of Britishness draws on a lost past of imperial rule and glory and many of the phrases used by some of the student teachers were reminiscent of British colonial past. The repeated use of the word ‘our’ in relation to British values could be interpreted as encapsulating a boundaried and essentialised understanding of Britishness.

“ The fact that people who live here should love Britain and promote **our** key ethics, such as freedom. Any person living in our great country, whatever race or creed, should love the country and live by **our** laws.”

Other students alluded to the multicultural nature of Britain. They saw the uniqueness of a British multiculturalism. Very few (in the no's) had a vision of multiculturalism that was fully pluralistic.

“Historically their (sic) may have been values that were British (sic), but now with more developing countries I believe we all long to have the same values.

An almost equal number of student teachers disagreed (38%) with the existence of particular British values, as identified in the quotations below:

‘I see values as a personal belief and being British does not come into it.’

‘It brings the question forwards of what is British? With such a diverse culture, there is no particular value associated with being British that I can see.’

‘Britain is a truly diverse society and I fear that diversity is not reflected in Government policy. What we need in this country is a debate about British values in which everyone is involved so we can decide ourselves rather than being told what they are by the elite and the church.’

There was a difference in the tone of the responses depending on the institution they were from **does this have to do with the Chichester effect or the London effect?**. One respondent said they had attended the BERA (British Education Research Association) special interest group one day conference which ‘discussed this very matter so I am aware that the addition of ‘fundamental British values’ in the new teaching standards was a result of the Home Office Prevent strategy for counter terrorism’ clearly showed an understanding of the origins of the term. Some students claimed that it is meaningless and not helpful to try and identify British values,

I don’t personally believe it is possible to identify British people as having specific values, as ‘British’ is an umbrella term for many different classes, communities and sub-cultures that reside within Britain. Each will hold their own values, but I doubt they are formed BECAUSE a person is ‘British’, more likely they are formed because of the location, community, opportunities and experiences that have been available to a British person’s lifestyle.

Of the 38% of students who did not agree that there are particular values associated with being British one student described the term to be a ‘social construct’ which can lead to ‘people feeling confused about their own identity’. Another student claimed,

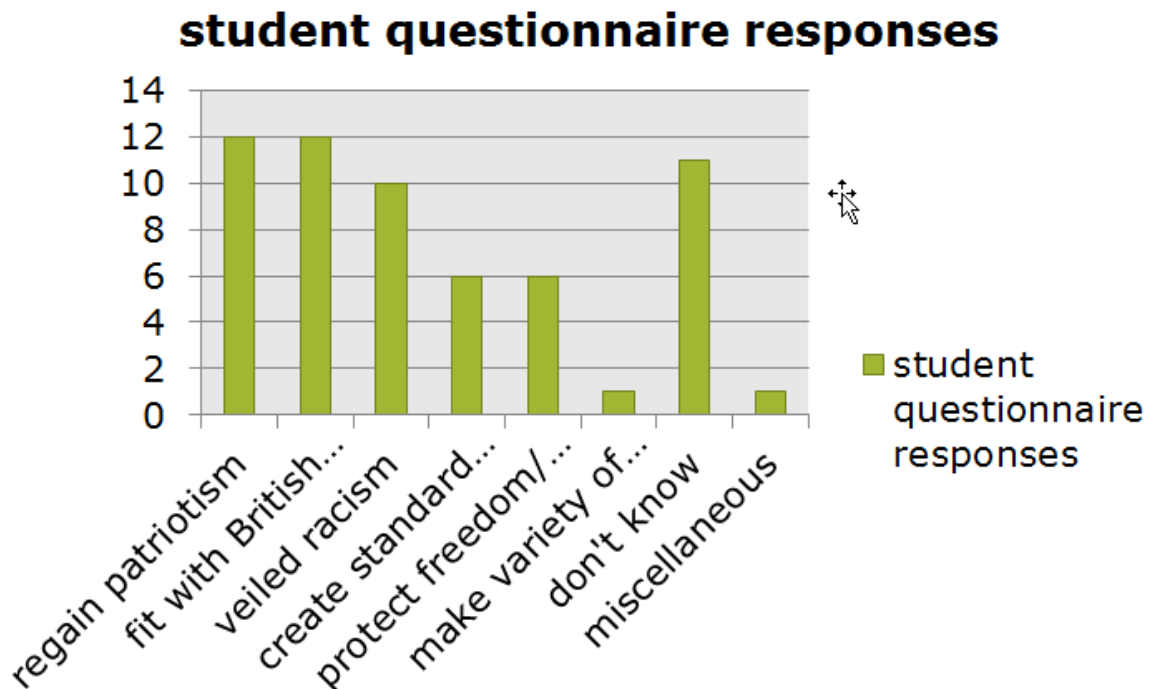
The phrase ‘promote British values’ is ridiculous!.... Britain is constantly changing and evolving.....even generally accepted values change to incorporate the changing landscape/mix of people/political agenda of a particular time. If you asked someone what were ‘British’ values, their response would be different to the next person. If you asked the same person in 20 years’ time , their answer would most likely be different again.

One student was sceptical about the term and its attempt to forge a convivial unity, they said, ‘what alarmed me initially was the concept/ implied message of the choice of words ‘tolerance’ and ‘different’. A few students confessed bewilderment that in order ‘to qualify as a teacher I must show I respect British Values, however what these Values are is not explained’. Therein lies the dilemma for teachers, intending teachers and teacher educators. For although the values are delineated in the Prevent strategy (2011) and the Teachers’ Standards (DfE 2012) as ‘democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect, and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs’, these values could be considered universal and there is no national specificity to them which means that their ‘Britishness’ is open perhaps to interpretations which draw on stereotypical characteristics of being British and the call on imperial bygone days which in itself implicitly conjures up the image of being British as someone who is white. Research by Roberts-Holmes (2004) and Barton and Schamroth (2004) illustrates how children’s notions of who is and is not British is based on skin colour; which is also reflected in Maylor’s (2010, p244) research where “one pupil opined that only White people born in Britain could be British”.

Student teachers' explanations for the inclusion of fundamental British Values in the Teaching Standards.

Answers to the question 'why do you think the requirements to 'not undermine British values has been included in the teaching standards, provided equally polarized views as identified in Figure 3.

Fig 3 student responses to 'why do you think the requirements to 'not undermine British values has been included in the teaching standards?'



The responses to this question fell into two distinct areas. Firstly that “not undermining British values” had been included as a means to regain or re-establish patriotism as if this may have been a lost element of British society. Some students bemoaned a loss of patriotism and thereby a loss of identity:

Britain has become so culturally diverse there is a worry that it is losing its original identity and people are concerned about this loss.

Others displayed a nostalgic melancholia about the loss of Britishness

Some schools have become to [sic] occupied with covering other cultures [sic] values and not those of the country they live in

Several (do we have a % for this) students echoed assimilationist language

We are English and this is the UK so everyone in the education system should be taught and know British values in order to fit in

Some students set inclusion against Britishness

The government wants to ensure that ‘British’ parents feel their existence is not ‘undermined’ by the growing multiculturalism of schools

All these responses reflect the need to preserve an identity which some feel has been eroded or undermined by the presence of cultures and people who are not part of the indigenous majority. There is a sense of loss which emerges from these responses rather than one of gain or enrichment. One would have to ask how these teachers would deploy these thoughts in a multicultural classroom particularly those who articulated assimilationist tendencies. In effect we cannot blame these students for holding such views which may be gained through the media discourses which surround immigration and asylum seekers. Indeed within teacher education there is insufficient time and expertise to assist student teachers to read beyond the media discourse, analyse different perspectives on multiculturalism, or even how to develop an inclusive notion of Britishness let alone provide time and opportunities for these potential professionals with time to analyse

their own position as deliverers of government imposed conceptions of who teaches and what they teach. The erosion and morphing of teacher education into teacher training has been recorded and analysed by many researchers (XXXX) and the training mode in which we all engage as teacher educators has led to the benign acceptance of Teachers' Standards that have also instrumentalised the conception of how to belong and be British which has an unarticulated racial boundary (Vadher and Barrett 2009, p450).

Not undermining British values – veiled racism

At the opposite end of the spectrum to those views expressed above several students do we know a %? claimed the reason for requiring teachers to not undermine British values' as being 'veiled racism'.

"Honestly I think it's a horrendous knee jerk....."

The prophetic comment by one student is a chilling reminder of the danger of governmental intervention, this student's explanation for the inclusion of the requirement to not undermine British values

'Because of terrorism.... There are faith schools which it is felt might be the breeding ground for terrorists'

A few students expressed bewilderment about what British values are and how they should not undermine them.

It seems from the comments above that there are some students who have either their own values which they hold quite strongly which enables them to assess and evaluate the fundamental British values statement as a government instrument designed to 'control' a particular section of society and impose an assimilationist view of Britishness rather than an inclusive conception of Britishness which allows individuals and groups different expressions of what it means to be British beyond that of being a passport-holder, or the civic/state boundary (Vadher and Barrett 2009, p450).

Discussion and Conclusion

The findings show that the student teacher participants held uncritical, what can only be termed stereotypical notions what is meant by the term fundamental British values. This unsurprising because they have not been given sufficient opportunities to examine and critically analyse who is British, how they become British and how the nature of our society has changed and how there may be multiple ways of being British which are equally valid. The reconceptualization of teaching as a craft, erosion of time spent by student teachers in universities and the introduction of the Teachers' standards 2012 by Michael Gove in his term of office as Secretary of State for Education has served to position teachers as instruments of the State. The wording of the Teachers' Standards (2012), the change in the guidance on SMSC (DfE 2014) and the Ofsted framework for inspection (Ofsted 2015) continues and increases the emphasis on national identity, explicitly and unequivocally aligned with a pedagogy of values in education. Smith (2012) identifies that this leads to an entrenched prejudiced outlook among teachers: If teachers are instructed not to undermine fundamental British values in their teaching, then they may feel justified in their quest for the development of Britishness in pupils, and in assuming that some are deficit for not embodying Britishness enough (as noted by Keddie 2014). The notion of an innate deficit among BME pupils, their families and communities can pervade the thinking of White trainees, as shown by a wealth of research (Bhopal et al 2009; Maylor 2010; Lander, 2011; Warner & Elton-Chalcraft, 2014;). The discourse of deficit will continue as long as we continue to deprive teachers and student teachers from critically analysing a number of theoretical concepts associated within the discourse related to Britishness. The insider-outsider notions of who is British articulated by the respondents in this research is alarming when one considers that this may unconsciously pervade a teacher's thinking and one can only guess as to whether this unconscious bias may inform their actions. The inclusion of promoting fundamental British values within the teachers standards has effectively re-centred white privilege, reinforced notions of other/ deficient/insufficient outsiders that need to be assimilated on terms dictated by the majority. Inadvertently the phrase FBVs conjures racialized stereotypes of who is an insider and who is not; it has silenced notions of multicultural Britain except when it is convenient to draw on that for sporting purposes. In essence the inclusion on FBV within the standards has promoted a certain racial boundaried image of who is British and within teacher education this has led to a lack of interest in engaging with racial, religious and social issues on teacher education programmes, and so a blinkered, hegemonic stance is asserted

and maintained. Smith (2012) therefore understands, these latest Standards, as leading teachers to equate values with hidden, uncontested norms of Whiteness and being middle-class, and unconsciously stigmatising pupils who do not fit this position. The lack of time on teacher education programmes to critique racialized conceptions of Britishness leads us to question how teachers will develop a sense of Britishness in classrooms where the pupil population is becoming more racially diverse. If teachers and the pupils they teach adopt a flag-waving, supporting the Royals etc stereotypical notion of Britishness will this lead to BME pupils becoming more accepted as British even if they wear the hijab, go to the mosque, speak Urdu at home and do not adopt a lifestyle that is associated with being British? We would contend that no amount of superficial flag-waving will enable BME children to be more British because the notion is implicitly racialized and perceived as so by student teachers in this research and by teachers in Keddie's (2014) research and without the opportunity to critique what it is to be British within the context of equality and diversity in twenty-first century Britain it is likely that the majority of student teachers will struggle to develop a sense of belonging amongst some BME pupils which engenders feelings of pride and loyalty in being say a British Muslim, a British Sikh, or a British Hindu. We need to educate student teachers and teachers to develop with all children a sense of pride in who they are and their nationality. This can only be achieved if we identify spaces in which we can critique the imposition of Standards which seek to control/police the development of future teachers and citizens of multicultural Britain. It is in our diverse classrooms with teachers who can lead and develop conversations about belonging and being British that we will begin to overturn the racialized nostalgia-filled stereotypical conception of what it means to be British to develop citizens with BME heritages who feel, and are confident in feeling British.

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