

**THE PAUCITY FACTOR: RACE EQUALITY PROVISION
IN INITIAL TEACHER EDUCATION**

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By

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ABSTRACT

Using the critical race theory paradigm, this study adopts a deductive-inductive case-study approach which utilises semi-structured interviews and document analysis. The original contribution to knowledge it makes arises from the consideration of the presence of race equality provision across four initial teacher education (ITE) pathways. The study reports the perceptions of ITE tutors' and student teachers' experience in relation to programme content, ITE pedagogy and the student teachers' own means of developing their preparedness for teaching in a diverse educational context. The findings suggest that the existence of a performative culture within ITE has resulted in a generation of new entrants to the profession who are better placed to cope with the rigours of assessing, planning, behaviour for learning and aspects of inclusion than they are able to effectively manage race equality in the classroom. The ITE tutors and student teachers alike are pre-occupied by the need for compliance with the Teacher Standards (2012), whilst issues of race equality within ITE are compromised by the current demands of the neoliberal agenda and colour blindness. Further to this, the study utilises a triadic typology to argue that a student teacher's propensity to engage with issues of race equality provision in the classroom is largely dependent on their pre-service experience. The research recommends the need for ITE providers to investigate their own perpetration of 'normative' culture through the constructs of White privilege in the preparation of new entrant teachers for 21st century practice.

Keywords: colour blindness, critical race theory, ITE, White privilege, race equality.

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GLOSSARY

Black - political term used with reference to people a non-White suasion

BME – Black minority ethnic

CPD – continuing professional development

CRT – critical race theory

DSI - differential status identity (DSI)

EAL – English as a second language

HEI – Higher Education Institute

ITE – initial teacher education

ITT – initial teacher training

MOPAC – Mayor’s Office for Policing Crime

NCTL - National College of Teaching and Leadership

NQT – newly qualified teacher

PGCE - Post-graduate certificate in education

SCITT – school-centred initial teacher training

SEND – special educational needs and disability

TA – teaching assistant

TDA - Training and Development Agency

White - political term used with reference to all those of a White suasion.

PREFACE

Before joining an ITE programme at Leeds University in 1987, I worked on a voluntary basis at a Saturday school teaching English and maths to African-Caribbean children in my hometown. When I arrived in Leeds to start teacher training, I continued to volunteer in Saturday schools and then embarked on part-time work as a playscheme leader and youth worker in Chapeltown, Leeds. I knew then that my main interest was race equality in education. As my time in the profession grew, the notion that education was not a level playing field for all students and practitioners was reinforced. The notion of education for all seemed to be rhetoric in part. My perception and experience at that point in time was that White teachers' expectations of Black children and Black young people was lower than for White children and White young people. The Black child's access and experience of education was different (and damaging) from the majority population's access and experience (Wright, 2012; Coard, 1971). I felt the need to conduct this research to add my Black educator-researcher voice to the discourse about race in education.

My experience of initial teacher education, classroom practice, senior leadership, general practice and CPD has led me to believe that education still promotes inequality of opportunity despite legislation and government policies formulated to prevent such disadvantage. The teaching profession is reluctant to look at itself with regards to how its teacher education programmes may in part contribute to the historical academic achievement gap between Black children and other ethnic groups of learners within the school community. The purpose of the study is to explore the presence of race equality provision within ITE and how we can better prepare our student teachers to understand and meet the needs of all students irrespective of their cultural capital.

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1 INTRODUCTION

...teachers must be actively committed to the process of self-actualisation that promotes their own well-being if they are to teach in a manner that empowers students...a classroom is (not) diminished if students and professors regard one another as 'whole' human beings, striving not just for knowledge in books, but knowledge about how to live in the world.

bell hooks, 1994:14-15

The training of teachers is commonly referred to as initial teacher training (ITT), although the purpose of this study the term 'initial teacher education' will be utilised. The change in nomenclature from ITE to ITT is viewed by some as denoting a shift in emphasis from an academic and theory-based approach to developing new entrant teachers, to one where the development of student teachers places an emphasis on skills acquisition such as behaviour management and assessment. Chitty (2009:) presents a clear argument that a difference exists between the terms 'initial teacher training' and 'initial teacher education' but neither is mutually exclusive of the other. The term 'training' suggests the adoption of a set of skills, whereas the term 'education' is conceptually a more 'open-ended process' (Ibid., 259) that takes time to develop expertise in the field. This research will refer to teacher training provision as ITE in recognition that the development of a teacher's professionalism starts with the training year rather than a 'short stint of on-the-job-training' (Ibid., 259). However, following the downturn in the UK economy in 2008, the suggestion that bankers and others could retrain quickly to acquire the necessary skills set to become a teacher in a matter of six months helped to close the recruitment and retention gap of teachers into the profession (which was made more attractive by the offer of training bursaries) but also promoted the notion of teacher training rather than teacher education (TDA, 2009).

Terms of ethnicity also warrant clarity for this work. The term Black and the acronym BME (Black and Minority Ethnic) are used interchangeably. The term Black encompasses Black British, Black African, Black Caribbean and Black other. The term BME references are made in relation to terms in policy documentation. The term White includes those ethnic groups identified as White British, White Irish, Gypsy/ Roma or White other. The term Asian refers to Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese and any other Asian background. The term Mixed includes White and Black Caribbean, White and Black African, White and Asian and any other mixed background. The study will not use the acronym BAME as I view this as yet another label for Black people to be identified by, when we ourselves do not refer to our identity by any such means. BAME is more popularly employed by politicians, officials and the media - of which the author of the study belongs to none.

The terms White, Whiteness and White privilege are not used in the sense of White supremacy like the Ku Klux Klan but rather an acknowledgement that particular constructs exist within normative White society that other groups are judged by. Whiteness and White privilege are socio-political constructs that subordinate and demonise people of colour (Leonardo, 2002; Gillborn, 2005; Picower, 2009). Leonardo (2002:31) defines Whiteness as follows:

Whiteness is a racial discourse, whereas the category “White people” represents a socially constructed identity, usually based on skin color... many White subjects have fought and still fight on the side of racial justice. To the extent that they perform this act, they disidentify with Whiteness. By contrast, historically, the assertion of a White racial identity has had a violent career.

In addition, the term ‘student teacher’ will be used to refer pre-service teachers, trainee teachers, new entrant teachers. The term ‘tutor’ refers to those that are responsible for

delivering (teaching) elements of the ITE programme, whilst the term 'pupil' will be used to refer to children in receipt of statutory education.

Personal perspective

In all our lives there are life defining moments that stay with us forever. Race inequality always seems to be the backdrop for mine, whether personally or happening around me. I am the daughter of Jamaican parents, whom arrived in England circa 1962 – when England's class system was more entrenched, and racism was becoming increasingly widespread with the arrival of more citizens of colour from the Commonwealth looking for prosperity in the motherland. The family home was established in a small all White village located between two market towns. Not until I was twelve did I attend a multicultural school some fifteen miles away from my home. Up until that point racist name calling and bullying was a regular occurrence in my school day, with seemingly well-meaning White teachers telling me to ignore the racist slurs. Low teacher expectations persisted irrespective of what key stage I was in. Gillborn (2008:15) says of teachers '(they are) the most immediate face of institutional racism in education' which is supported by Sheets (2003: 111) who posits 'we tolerate excuses of poverty and racism rather than focusing on the academic failure our children face daily'. As a young woman, awakening politically, I became aware of social and racial injustice from the position of my own Eurocentric education but also through my father's long periods of unemployment in the 1980s against a backdrop of Thatcherism, the rationalisation of the UK's manufacturing industries and the plight of the miners, caught up in an almost year long strike that they were forced to acquiesce. This enlightenment about race inequality and social injustice shaped my political and social views forever. The importance of education became stark in guarding against the effects of White privilege whilst trying to achieve sustainable economic well-being.

Post-university, I worked for the then Section XI service which provided educational support for EAL and BME students, often in an urban setting, to reportedly close the achievement gap and level the academic playing field. From there I worked in an international school in

the Caribbean for a couple of years before returning to England to pursue a career in school – as a head of faculty, an assistant head teacher, a teacher educator in a university setting followed by a classroom teacher once more when I decided to undertake this research study. My personal interest in and experience of race issues in education has therefore shaped my ontological viewpoint for this study. Concern and observations regarding the continuous underachievement of Black students (especially African Caribbean boys) in English schools have prompted my interest in this area of education and provided the catalyst for this study. The underachievement of Black pupils in the English education system is well documented (Rampton 1981; Swann 1985; Gillborn and Gipps, 1986; Burnage 1990; Gillborn and Mirza 2000; Tomlinson, 2008; Wright, 2013). The continued academic underperformance of Black pupils, particularly at Key Stage 4, was identified nearly fifty years ago (Coard, 1971), and still the underachievement of Black pupils persists as both a problem and a threat to the educational standards of the White community (Osler 1997:18). Let us consider the end of Key Stage 4 known as Attainment 8. Attainment 8 is a measure of a pupil's average grade across eight subjects, which when calculated is compared to the average Attainment 8 score of all pupils nationally with the same prior attainment at KS2, which in turn is used to calculate a pupil's Progress 8 score (DfE, 2016). The 2017/2018 GCSE results for Attainment 8 (Gov.uk, 2019) illustrates that 64.2% of pupils from the Chinese ethnic group achieved the highest average scores in 8 GCSEs. The data also revealed that 50.4% of Asian pupils were the second highest achievers, whilst Mixed Heritage students achieved 47.3%. White pupils achieved 46.1%. and Black pupils achieved 45.0%. The lowest achieving ethnic groups were Gypsy Roma pupils (18.2%), Irish Traveller (21.9%) and Black Caribbean (39.6%). Year on year Black children are the lowest achieving ethnic group in the school population at KS4. This position does not change irrespective of funding or government. Therefore, this research will take account of the racialised context which provides a rich context for study and illustrate the tropes of racism in the English educational landscape that co-exist as a result of the government's libertarian strategies (Goldberg, 2009; Kapoor 2013:1029).

A significant proportion of this study is predicated on the work of Professor David Gillborn, who both suggest that racism in education might be either a 'coincidence or a conspiracy' (2008). His work considers the impact of 'insidious, institutionalised racism' (Wiggins, 2017) in education through the critical race theory (CRT) lens, no doubt influenced by Professor Stuart Hall (2017). The more I read, the less angry I become as I begin to understand the machinations of the status quo in relation to social class but especially racial inequalities; I too now wonder like Gillborn (2008) whether the attainment gap is a coincidence or a conspiracy. A further consideration for this study was the scrutiny of ITE course documentation and specific references to race equality therein. My feeling is that for the past fifty years the profession has excused the academic underachievement of Black students as being due to poverty, habitus (Bourdieu, 1977), parenting and peer influences. Too few studies have been undertaken that unpack the effect of initial teacher education (McIntosh, 1989) content on Black children. There are studies that acknowledge the existence of racism in sectors of society, but this study places ITE directly under the CRT lens to try to understand whether the content of ITE courses contribute to the prevailing academic underachievement of Black pupils. Student teacher participants are categorised into three groups to convey their willingness to adopt inclusive education practice: *passive*, *reactive* and *proactive*. This categorisation helps us to acquire an understanding of the influence they may exert on the pupils they teach (Mohamed, 2014:15). The triadic grouping adopted for this study are explained in detail when I discuss the coding, and analysis in chapter four.

CRT tropes and institutional racism

Firstly, racism is ordinary, not aberrational and is part of the daily experience for people of colour. In order to examine this further, the study acknowledges the emotional and performative tools of whiteness as embodied in the rules of normative culture - the status quo. Joseph-Salisbury (2019:3) states that whiteness can maintain, protect and strengthen itself especially when faced with anti-racist threats, therefore maintaining its position of dominance. Linking the concepts of hegemony and microaggressions as constituent parts of

institutional racism and white privilege, I draw on Delgado and Stefania's (2017: 170) definition of colour blindness which asserts that it is the belief that all people should be treated equally irrespective of race. Colour blindness can be useful in not allowing decision makers to give in to the prejudices of the few, conversely it can stand in the way of taking account of difference for the purpose of helping those in need. Colour blindness can be a well intentioned but is also innocuous trope recognised by critical race theorists, which can leave the person of colour that dares to challenge it as being seen as the one with the 'proverbial chip on their shoulder' (Lander, 2010:90). This results in racism being hard to explicitly identify and thus renders the treatment of racism as only being publicly tangible in the most blatant cases of discrimination. Colour blindness is discussed in this study as due to its presence within the responses of participants and is discussed in the analysis chapter. The detailed analysis of each example is beyond the scope of this work but examples are included to highlight its presence in the narratives of the ITE tutors and student teachers.

A second feature of critical race theory is interest convergence. This is worthy of note for the purpose of this study since racism advances the interests of White people (elite and working class) and therefore have little incentive to eradicate it (Delgado and Stefania, 2017). The ability to generate cultural production is largely founded upon the shoulders of those from the dominant culture in society, who are in the main of White ethnicity. Subsequently, this results in greater societal advantage, access and advancement for those of a White suasion, thereby occluding those that are not of this ethnic group from particular cultural and economic capital (Giroux, 1983; Bourdieu, 1993; Foucault, 2000; Freire, 1970). Gordon (2005:143) terms this as colour blindness and defines it as being:

...a bid for innocence. An attempt to escape our responsibility for White privilege. By claiming innocence, we reconcile ourselves to racial irresponsibility.

The teaching profession remains colour-blind as the literature review, findings and analysis of this study will postulate. Since the 1980s concerns have been raised in England about the under representation of BME communities within the teaching profession (Commission for Race Equality 1988; Siraj- Blatchford 1993,). For a number of reasons, such as raising BME student achievement and eliminating racism, it has been argued that BME teachers are 'desperately' needed in our schools (Swann 1985: 60; Osler,1997; Macpherson 1999; Rhamie 2012; Gillborn and Mirza 2000) and yet their experience as training or qualified BME teachers still exposes the prevailing existence of racism within the profession today (Jones et al. 1997; Solomon et al. 2005; Mirza and Meetoo, 2012). Lander (2010) states that White student teacher language cast Black pupils in the language of 'otherness' and that the training of teachers needs to move 'beyond skills-based standards' towards an anti-racist framework that challenges racism rather than ignoring it. For the purpose of this study, the term 'other' or 'otherness' refers to one whose identity is considered lacking and who may be subject to discrimination by the dominant group (Staszak, 2008). This is not a conflated view, micro-aggressions such as colour blindness persist in the teaching profession, helping to maintain White privilege and power, whilst disempowering and ignoring Black practitioner progression particularly at senior management level (Solomon et al. 2005; Maguire, 2014; Smith and Lander, 2012).

The study aims to discover how far reaching colour blindness is across four different ITE pathways and will consider aspects of ITE provision that helps to prepare pre-service teachers to manage issues of race equality provision within a neoliberal landscape. This discussion is situated within the context of neoliberal educational reform from the Reagan-Thatcher epoch (1980s) encompassing New Labour (late 1990s) and the Conservative-Liberal Democrats through to the present day government. Central to the neoliberal agenda, which partially focuses on 'standards', 'accountability' and 'performativity', is the need for economic growth. Education has been identified by Neoliberalists as a sector that can assist in the 'requirements of national economic competition' (Ball 2003:3) and growth although some critics might argue such a specific focus would seem to marginalise issues of race equality (Ahmed 2006; George and Clay 2008). This then provides the context for this study

which is concerned in part with the marginalisation of race equality and social justice from the mainstream education agenda. This is explored in the literature review chapter and the latter stages of the study to explain the current colour blind nature of education in England (Gillborn, 2008, Ladson-Billings 1998, Smith, 2013).

Using the CRT paradigm of CRT, whose origin lies in the American judicial system of the 1950s, it is important to give due consideration to English law and how it helps to facilitate race equality generally. Thus, some discussion of the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000 (RRAA) and the Equalities Act 2010 will occur in chapter 4. The RRAA (2000) has made it obligatory that public sectors organisations shift their anti-discriminatory discourse to one which is more proactive in combating racism and inequality and works towards changing institutional cultures and practices (Ahmed, 2006). Subsequently, the Equalities Act 2010 (EA2010) has sought to bring all law pertaining to discrimination under one heading to make it easier to apply, especially within the realms of employment law. However, there has been much criticism of this perceived post-racial legislation (Gillborn 2005; Solomon et al. 2005; Kapoor 2013; Lentin 2012) since little has been done to make the application of the law more equal for Black people in England. What the EA2010 has done is to provide improved rights and protection in relation to gender (maternity rights) and members of the LGBT+ (lesbian, gay, bi-sexual and transvestite plus) communities. The law relating to race equality has been neither reviewed or amended. The implications of the EA2010 will be discussed at length in chapter 4.

In exploring race equality provision within ITE, the following research questions will be considered:

1. What is the course content of different ITE pathways in respect of race equality?
2. How do the pedagogical approaches used to promote race equality in ITE influence the student teachers' learning, knowledge and practice?
3. Which factors shape the student teachers' own development of race equality in an educational context?

An overview of the racial neoliberal landscape will be explored in this chapter to illustrate how education as a globalised and marketised commodity is being used by successive governments to achieve economic growth. The literature review in chapter 2 builds on this chapter by discussing the narrowing of a race discourse in education during the neoliberal epoch generally and within ITE specifically. Furthermore, chapter 2 signposts the characteristics of critical race theory evident within the race averse climate evident in ITE. The ITE landscape in England is viewed by Ball (1998:123) as being 'the insertion of business techniques and the culture of excellence into the public sector'. How far this culture of performativity permeates teacher education will be explored in this work. The current English education agenda, although influenced by global policy, places a focus on competition and the marketisation of the public sector education which has inherently led to the 'commodification of knowledge', the creation of an 'enterprise culture and the cultivation of enterprise subjects' (Ball 1998: 128). Therefore, teacher education policy appears to reflect government agenda by 'emphasising the importance of practical teaching competence and the insistence of a formal role for teachers in the training process' (Furlong, 1996:22; Lazzarato, 2009; Apple, 2012) for improving performativity and accountability in the education marketplace.

Over the past thirty years, successive neoliberal governments in England have reviewed education continually and have instigated several policies to ensure the performativity and comparativeness of education in England to the rest of Europe and indeed its ranking on the global stage. The Teachers' Standards (2012) are designed to provide the foundations for effective teaching and a framework of core content for ITE whilst the Carter Review (2015) can be viewed as supplementing the training standards with the aim of ensuring that ITE is matched to rigorous and incrementally supportive professional development. Furthermore, it suggests that ITE provision should introduce new teachers to crucial elements of knowledge, skills and understanding. Under consideration are the knowledge, skills and understanding that ITE provision currently promotes, and the consequent impression this creates on participants interviewed. Provision for effective teaching is embodied in core elements of the ITE programme that include subject knowledge development, subject specific pedagogy, evidence-based teaching, child and adolescent development, behaviour

management, planning, assessment, differentiation, special educational needs and development (SEND) and professionalism (Carter Review 2015:70-71). This study argues that ITE provision should adopt a transformative approach to educating pre-service teachers beyond the identified core elements by providing them with opportunities to consider, discuss and reflect upon matters of race.

Structure of the thesis

The case study approach adopted by this study is focussed on the ITE provision of four ITE providers and considers the respective provision in relation to preparing student teachers to manage race equality in their respective classrooms.

In the introduction I have outlined my influences for the study and have outlined some of the existing tensions that colour the ITE landscape under consideration. I have shared some of my personal history that has influenced my position as an activist-educator. This has helped me to define and shape both my thinking and research questions for this study. The literature review in chapter 2 considers literature that helps to illuminate ITE in a neoliberal landscape whilst also referring to the significance of CRT in relation to educating in contemporary times, with a focus on the academic achievement gap of Black pupils (particularly African Caribbean). The study pursues the idea that in part this achievement gap is due to the colour blind nature of teacher education in England, the compliance-funding quandary that ITE providers are caught in as well as the 'post-racial' deficit ideology promoted globally for the purpose of social policy implementation. Its purpose is two-fold: firstly, to set the context for the study by discussing the CRT framework as a direct response to White privilege and neoliberalism in education; secondly, the effect of White privilege and neoliberalism on ITE and the diverse effect it has on student teachers' preparedness to teach in a culturally diverse educational setting.

The ITE content, pedagogic approaches and student teachers' own contribution towards developing inclusive practice will be discussed fully in discussion chapters following on from the methodology chapter. The investigation uses a qualitative inductive-deductive approach to data collection, coding and analysis. The data collection tools and the dependability of the chosen methods are discussed in chapter 3 and 4, which also includes an account of the ethical code and procedures followed.

In chapters 5 through to 8, a discussion of the findings is presented in response to the research questions. Chapter 9 contains concluding comments drawing the main strands of the study together. It offers a brief overview of the study's evidence and makes recommendations for future ITE provision and policy recommendations.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I have outlined the basis of this study and the areas to be explored. The introduction explains that the study is located within the neoliberal education landscape and considers the effect of globalisation, marketisation and de-concentration of centralised education services on ITE provision across four different training pathways. Against the backdrop of marketised education provision, the literature chapter will consider the absence of race from current educational discourse generally, its absence from current educational policy particularly and the nuanced view that ITE takes of it specifically. The literature chapter seeks to lay bare the concept of colour blindness as defined by CRT (Delgado and Stefaniec, 2001; Leonardo, 2009) and its implications for education and ITE practices.

The intersection of education and ITE is couched in hegemonic practices that both protect and maintain White privilege and economic interests. This chapter will illuminate the racialised landscape that seeks to erase and evade any meaningful discussions about race and racial equality, whilst the maintenance of a colour-blind perspective by White society serves to reinforce difference and discrimination on a number of institutional levels. Using the conceptual framework of CRT to consider ITE delivery across four training pathways, this study acknowledges the centrality of racism in society and the fact that it is not an aberration but a regularly occurring factor in the lives of people of colour (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Gillborn, 2005); furthermore the study will consider the effect of White performativity and privilege on the lives of Black people, and how the concept of colour-blindness supports racial inequality in education whilst helping to preserve 'endemic, institutional and systematic' racism (Callender, 2019:22).

I will first outline the chosen conceptual framework for this study and its suitability to this as a means of uncovering the racism in education and ITE specifically through my interpretation of CRT (Crenshaw, 1988; Bell, 1992; Delgado and Crenshaw, 1993; Ladson-Billings, 1995,

Solorzano, 1998). The theory contends that racism is both permanent and normal, it challenges dominant White ideology, maintains a commitment to social justice, legitimises the narratives of people of colour and adopts an historical and contemporary perspective to analyse race and racism.

Critical Race Theory

The theory that frames this study is critical race theory (CRT). It originates out of American legal studies as a result of *the Brown v. Board of Education case (1951)* when American schools were desegregated. Critical race theory is a response to eliminating racism in society and all forms of subordination. In education specifically, CRT tackles the presence of racism head on through examining educational theory, practice and policy directly (Solorzano, 1998:122). There is a politeness that exists amongst White liberals that denies the existence of racism in a 'nice field like education' and a prickly discomfort with regards to engaging in racial discourse (Ladson-Billings, 1998:7; Frankenberg, 1993; Srivistava, 2009). The persistence of institutional racism and colour blindness is fundamental in providing a breeding ground for racist ideology and its subsequent maintenance in the education sector. Through the lens of CRT this study will consider hegemony in the form of White privilege and and the manifestation of colour-blindness in education, particularly across four ITE pathways.

Leonardo (2009:4) says of Ladson-Billings and Tate's (1995) groundbreaking essay 'Towards a Critical Race Theory in Education' that this was possibly the first time education became critical of itself from a race perspective. Leonardo theorises that CRT in education is there to 'halt racism' by illuminating its effect on pedagogy and provides solutions through anti-racist practice. He is also accepting of the argument proffered by Miles (2000) which asserts that Marxism states that all social relationships are socially constructed and reproduced according to historical events and that because those relationships are manmade, it is possible then to de-construct them. Marxism tries to suggest that race is a reified ideology, caught up in a capitalist context, whilst Leonardo and Miles respectively argue against a

‘Marxist theory of race’ and instead suggests a deconstruction of race’s ideological status and to see racism as a separate concept that requires critical analysis since ‘it is rooted in (the) political economy’ (Leonardo, 2009). He asserts that CRT dispels Enlightenment arguments about race as an ideology and its reification and chooses instead to draw upon Marxist theory as explained by Miles (2000) to claim that:

Marxism asserts that all social relationships are socially constructed and reproduced in historical circumstances, and...are therefore alterable by human agency,...

Critical race theorists accept the existence of racism as a naturally occurring phenomenon within society generally and in British institutions particularly for the purpose of this study (Apple 1998; Delgado and Stefaniec 2001; Rollock 2006; Gillborn 2008; Ladson-Billing 2009; Strand 2009), that inherently affects the achievement outcomes for some ethnic groups; it argues that racism is normal and not an aberrant phenomena (Ladson-Billings 1998). It is useful to begin with a definition to understand CRT’s context.

Rollock and Gillborn (2011:1) define CRT as:

...a body of scholarship steeped in radical activism that seeks to explore and challenge the prevalence of racial inequality in society. It is based on the understanding that race and racism are the products of social thought and power relations; CRT theorists endeavour to expose the way in which racial inequality is maintained through the operation of structures and assumptions that appear normal and unremarkable.

Further to this Delgado and Stefanic (2017:3) assert that critical race theorists question the 'liberal order', the law and 'Enlightenment rationalism' therefore challenging normative ideologies of race and racism in relation to power. Leonardo, acknowledging that some theorists argue about the permanent nature of racism (Bell, 1992),

CRT's origins arise out of critical legal theory in the United States, CRT is finding its own niche amongst British scholars. Warmington (2012:8) explains CRT as having begun to emerge as an organising space for race conscious scholars in the UK, arising from the Black educational movement and Black parents movement of the late 1960s through to the 1990s, which complimented the analysis offered by Bernard Coard (1972) and Farukh Dhondy in the 1970s regarding British schooling.

Between 1948 and 1971 Britain experienced its first major wave of immigrants from the Caribbean. Of those West Indians that entered Britain during this period, 492 arrived on the HMT Empire Windrush at Tilbury docks on 22 June 1948 to help re-build Britain following a labour shortage after World War II. Those immigrants arriving at this time were later referred to as the Windrush generation (Fryer, 1984; Olusoga, 2016). Throughout the 1960s and 1970s a national Black educational movement emerged as a response by Black parents to the hidden hegemonic structures that prevented them and their children from educational and socio-economic advancement in Britain (Wright 1987; Sewell 1997). The post-Windrush generations continue to fight against the invisible hegemonic structures that are prevalent in British society today. This study is necessary to illuminate racism in education over seventy years after the Empire Windrush landed at Tilbury Docks in 1948, bringing the first tranche of Black people to England. Black people are still fighting the effects of racism in their daily lives and this study will explore the effect of racism in initial teacher education.

The main criticisms of CRT are firstly against its rallying call to move beyond the narrowing scope of affirmative action and in its place achieve permanently codified racial law, secondly its rejection of liberalism, and thirdly CRT's promotion of a counter narrative in order to provide context to balance against racist ideology (Barlow, 2016). Some might interpret

these 'criticisms' of CRT as a 'Fear of a Black Planet' (Public Enemy, 1990) response whilst Eddo-Lodge (2017:134) identifies White fear as trying to stop conversations about race altogether whilst postulating that racism as a social construct, has been 'created to continue racial dominance and injustice' (*ibid*:83). CRT is a departure from the normative theoretical perspectives commonly adopted in academic research which is why this paradigm may raise a scholarly eyebrow. However, even though it is a younger theory than most used it is nonetheless valid when considering matters of race. No other theoretical perspective considers race and racism to the depth that CRT is consequently able to. Supporters of CRT view this as advancement rather than pessimistic (Gillborn 2007). CRT is not without its weaknesses but as Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic (2001:13) have said:

...is [CRT] optimistic, because it believes that race is a social construction?
(As such it should be subject to ready change). And if CRT does have a dark side [sic], what follows from that? Is medicine pessimistic because it focuses on disease and traumas?

The CRT paradigm is therefore useful in considering aspects of race and its intersectionality with social justice. CRT is normally used in the following ways:

1. Centrality of racism - racism is entrenched in society. Racism isn't necessarily overt as it 'operates in a socio-political context where it is becoming more embedded and increasingly nuanced. Racism can be evidenced in the outcome of processes and relations irrespective of intent (Gillborn 2005; Ladson-Billings 1998).
2. White supremacy - understanding the role and power structure of White supremacy (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Harris 1995; Ansley 1997) in creating, reinforcing racial subordination and maintaining a normalised White privilege is central to CRT. The term 'White supremacy' does not relate to hatred by extremist groups.

3. Voices of people of colour - pertinent in counteracting the narrative of White society and presenting the views of those on the margins of society.

The counter narrative is a central tenet of CRT by way of challenging hegemony. People of colour construct narratives out of the historical, socio-cultural and political realities of their lives in order to understand the oppression, subordination and prejudice Black lives are subjected to in contemporary Britain.

For the purpose of this study CRT will be the lens through which we examine how student teachers in a school-based setting develop their own awareness and discourse about race and social justice issues during their training period. This lens will provide an opportunity to explore their discourse and understanding of Whiteness and its implications for their pedagogical development in managing issues of race inequality and social justice within their school-based practice. The power structure that is inherent and accepted in this particular class of Whiteness affords differential access to power (Villegas and Lucas 2002). Lander (2010:15) conducted an exploration of the perspectives of White secondary student teachers about race equality issues in their ITE and reports:

The journey through the combined terrains of race equality and initial teacher education has been...without a route map or guide. The intersection of these two fields with respect to tutors' perspectives is largely uncharted ground in terms of research within England.

This study is therefore of significance in that it seeks to make a valid contribution to the theory and development of race equality in ITE. Through the exploration of participants' views it will draw on the literature about education in a neoliberal landscape in order to understand course design and outcomes regarding participant experience whilst on their selected training pathway. However, Ladson-Billings (1998) proffers words of caution regarding how CRT is employed by educational researchers; she describes it as a nettle that few educational researchers will dare to grasp because in doing so action on the part of the researcher to expose racism in education would be necessary and furthermore, the

researcher must find workable solutions to counteract its presence. She goes on to describe CRT as being likely to become 'the darling of the radical left' (1998:22) since scholarly papers continue to be generated but very little actually changes for the racialised of the British diaspora.

Activism: Black Educator and Black Pupil

This section has been included in this study because my belief, as an activist-researcher-educator, is that the racial neoliberal climate that initial teacher training is located within impacts on how teaching professionals view Black pupils and reinforces stereotypical views held about some learner groups which in turn affects pupil academic attainment. Many reports have been written about the merits of educating in a multicultural society and what should be done to help to eliminate racism from our wider society. One such report prior to the Macpherson report (1999) which was given significance at the time was the Crick Report (1998) which was responsible for revising citizenship education for inclusion in the National Curriculum. A chief criticism of the report was that it showed little regard for race equality and its importance to citizenship.

Post the Crick Report (1998), came the Stephen Lawrence inquiry and encapsulated in the Macpherson Report (1999). This report refuted the notion that racism occurred amongst 'a few rotten apples' and identified the damaging effects of institutional racism in two important respects (Gillborn 2008). Firstly, it condemned the actions of individuals, organisations and agencies whose 'processes work against certain groups'; and secondly, most significantly, it moved away from the need to establish intent and instead concentrated on 'outcomes of actions'. The Macpherson Report established that 'unwitting' and 'thoughtless acts are as equally problematic as overt racism' (ibid.). As a result of the recommendations arising from the report it was the catalyst for public sector organisations to review their efforts regarding anti-racist practices and develop more race aware strategies within the workplace. In response to this the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) asserted that

pre-service teachers should be trained to prepare children and young people to play their part in a culturally diverse society (Tomlinson 2008).

Macpherson (1999) was swiftly followed by the Parekh Report (2000) which refused to 'ghettoize race and see it as a marginal question of eliminating discrimination and disadvantage' (Tomlinson, 2008:184). Instead it used a race equality lens through which to consider the history, culture and inner structure of British society; it subsequently located the discussion about race within the context of British national identity and historical self-understanding. The Parekh report sought to achieve two things in particular: firstly, build on the observations of the Crick Report (1998), by recognising diversity within its model of citizenship; and secondly, to expose the promotion of English nationalism as the norm in British society rather than the elimination of discrimination. Nationalism and perceptions around White working class as the 'new' marginalised group in society is well documented and will be discussed later in the chapter (Bhattacharyya 2016; Khan and Shaheen 2016).

There are a number of issues that blight educational provision in England despite the best efforts of the successive governments and changes made to education policy. The issues, for the purpose of this study, are namely the continued underachievement of BME pupils in the English education system particularly at KS4 whereby African Caribbean pupils are one of the lowest achieving ethnic groups and are least likely to achieve five GCSE passes at grade 5 or above (including maths and English). The only other ethnic group that performs less well than African Caribbean pupils are the Romany Traveller group (Gov.uk 2017). In the period 2016/17, African-Caribbean pupils were permanently excluded at nearly 3 times the rate of White British pupils (Gov.uk, 2018). Young (under 25) African-Caribbean male knife crime victims make up 41% (31 of 73 victims) of London knife homicides in 2017 (excluding terrorist & domestics) yet only make just 1.4% of the London population (MOPAC, 2018). This statistic is worthy of inclusion at this point in the study as it illuminates the current education context that some young Black people have to navigate. Furthermore, the government and media are drawing links between gang culture, knife crime and exclusion

rates (Shilliam, 2015; Chachamu, 2017,) which serves to illuminate the deficit educational experience of urban BME youths. Despite the fluctuating UK legislative framework regarding equality, the influence of a marketized-globalised performative culture serves to maintain the academic achievement gap (Gillborn 2005; Strand 2007; Maylor, 2009; Wilkins 2015) rather than narrowing it.

ITE and Whiteness

I am interested in exploring Whiteness as the normative group by which all other groups are judged. The power structure that is inherent and accepted, particularly in the White middle class strata of Whiteness, affords differential access to power dependant on access to cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1982; Villegas and Lucas, 2002). The power inherent in normative practices assumes that if that which is being measured is not the same as normative Whiteness then it is potentially viewed as abnormal or really something quite different (Bernstein 1977). My research explores the treatment of otherness and colour-blindness but it feels both necessary and relevant to provide space within this chapter to discuss the intersection between Bourdieu's habitus and Bernstein's socio-linguistic codes regarding how cultural capital is developed and transmitted, albeit it a protracted discussion. In his study, Bernstein (1990) mentions Boudieu's habitus (1977) as a means by which individuals move through formal education allowing pedagogy to impact upon them in a form of habitus, which is viewed as socialised norms or tendencies that guide behaviour and thinking. Bourdieu considers habitus to consist of structure, practices and dispositions, and explores them from the perspective of both an individual and class. His theory proposes that an individual is habituated by the family and school, whilst class is a collective concept that is a communal reality. This means that class has a disposition that allows it to behave, act and think in a particular way. Furthermore, Bourdieu's habitus is a product of history since it produces individual and collective practice according to the historical context. Through a system of 'present past' it can reinforce the presence of past experiences which are instilled in an individual's or organisation's sub-conscious thought, perception and action. This ensures the 'correct' practices and constancy over time, ensures adherence to all formal

rules and normative behaviour. These dynamic dispositions are shaped by past events and structures which in turn shape current practices, structures and practices.

Bernstein's (1977) sociological theory presents two linguistic codes: elaborate and restricted. Elaborate code is a way of talking explicitly in order to convey ideas clearly, whereby the listener shares the same understandings and assumptions as the speaker. Conversely, restricted code is dependent upon a style of language which is associated with informal situations and is characterised by shared knowledge and experience between the speaker and the listener for the purpose of conveying meaning. The intersection between habitus and restricted code, makes it possible then to permeate whiteness through privilege and hegemonic practices without interference (Niati, 2018). It is acknowledged that Bernstein (1977) criticised organisational theory because it ignored the influence of family, culture and social class, and also assumes that everyone has access to the same educational resources, which in reality is not the case. Niati (Ibid.) advances the view that the theory espoused by these two sociologists is useful in educating the whole child, whilst this study's inclusion of their theories would also argue that they are useful in educating the whole student teacher rather than adopting a siloed approach to race equality education. There is an inherent need to be up front about how knowledge is transmitted and the restricted codes that are used in its transmission. Therefore the teacher trainer should work harder to overcome this white-washing of the ITE curriculum and the perpetration of white privilege in the name of inclusive practice as the 'Elimination of inequalities' explained by Bourdieu as the 'reproduction of the education field' as explained by Bourdieu might become a reality through the consideration of Bernstein's 'knowledge ladder' (Ibid. 13).

Power and Whitty (2002:258) describe the middle class as having a 'shadowy and unsatisfactory presence' that 'hovers in the background against which the perspectives and experiences of the working class are judged'. This being so, there are rarely any investigations conducted about middle class Whiteness since it provides the benchmark by which all others are judged, Whiteness is perceived as the norm further underpinning the social oppression of people of colour. Dyer (2005: 11) purports that '...whites are overwhelmingly and disproportionately predominant' and maintain both 'central and

elaborate roles' which are viewed as 'the norm, the ordinary, the standard'. Whites are not racialised by the media, history, literature and the Arts but rather, they are simply presented as 'the human race'. As the concept of Whiteness is so far reaching in society, against which anything other than itself appears strange or othered, this can manifest fear in the Black imagination in the form of 'terror' (1997: 169) irrespective of its class or political perspective.

As already alluded to, critical race theorists are honest story-tellers and call in to line the practices of public institutions, legal and political policy as well as the causes of disadvantage. In exploring the effect of hegemonic structures on ITE provision in England and its outcomes for student teachers in relation to facilitating race equality provision in their own practice, it is important that the data collected is not presented in a vacuum without contextual backdrop. In attempting to unpack the racist knapsack (McIntosh, 1989), constructs that help to maintain the status quo need to be considered; the meaning and effect of concepts such as discipline and habitus (Bourdieu, 1977; Foucault, 1995) might be considered if only for a moment. The similarities between Foucault's and Bourdieu's theory are under analysed, despite having significant commonalities (Schlosser, 2012). Schlosser, juxtaposes discipline and habitus and shows both to be a 'state of being handed down by no one but accepted by everyone' (*ibid*: 36). This further underpins the normativity of the codes of Whiteness, they are accepted, not questioned and passed on. The word 'discipline' might be defined as the practice of training people to obey rules or a code of behaviour; to obey is to not question but to accept. This is a useful tool in promoting hegemony. Leonardo (2009: 182) refers to this unspoken code of behaviour as 'fictive solidarity' whereby Whiteness can act collectively if it is for mutual economic benefit or to uphold the status quo. Within ITE programmes in England a level of conditioning and order exist that do not require explication but signifies a culture of 'the way we do things around here'. Critical race theory makes it possible to deconstruct the modus operandi of hegemonics in ITE and produce a different way of transmitting pedagogic content to student teachers. This is in line with Denzin's (2017: 8) statement that 'There has never been a greater need for a critical qualitative inquiry in the public sphere' in order to counteract the culture of performativity and high accountability. Critical race theorists are helping to redefine the Academy, indigenous ideology and knowledge in public spaces.

Positions of power and control deliberately utilise hegemonic constructs to maintain their status (Baldwin 1963; Giroux 1992; Rodriguez and Villaverde 2000; Leonardo 2004) which are emotionally and mentally debilitating for other racial groups of colour. Such hegemonic practices and related action are informed by the position of White privilege. White normativity extends to the constructs embedded in organisations such as churches, schools, the media and even folklore and has become the normalising force by which the identity of others is (mis)understood (Hardiman, 2001; Levine-Rasky, 2003). This suggests that White normativity is as institutionalised as racism and is the norm by which all things and 'otherness' are judged.

The ideas of Whiteness and White privilege were explored by Solomon et al. (2005) through a study conducted in Canada whereby 200 student teachers (60 of which were of Black origin) had their questionnaire responses to an article by McIntosh (1989) analysed for the purpose of exploring the notion and understanding of Whiteness and White privilege. The qualitative study suggested that White racial identities have socialised Whites to conceptualise their world as one that affords them privilege. As a result of the study, the researchers identified three primary strategies employed by White student teachers to manage racial difference. The first strategy involved ideological incongruence whereby an individual's beliefs or ideas are set regarding racial beliefs; secondly, negating White capital which is an attempt to deny the existence of White privilege and its material benefits; and thirdly, liberalist notions of individualism and meritocracy as a means of analysing and understanding social forces. These are useful identities to develop further in chapter 5 when classifying participant responses to their ITE training by placing them in a typology of teachers that are most or least willing to adopt aspects of inclusive pedagogy in their classroom practice.

In light of the research documented in this study regarding the presence of racism and the perpetuation of social injustice in English education, this study also wishes to consider an alternative way to train student teachers by way of a counteraction against these pernicious traits. Solomon et al. (2005:162) suggests alternative strategies that training providers can

use to help student teachers in preparation for working with students from diverse ethnic backgrounds, these include:

1. The importance of prior knowledge of the student teacher - providing them with space within the training programme to explore, query and address their concerns related to race and social class.
2. Preparing them for the range of emotions they may experience whilst exploring their concerns about race.
3. Providing concrete strategies for anti-discriminatory practices in their classroom.

Jones et al. (1997) investigated the placement experience of BME and White Post-Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) student teachers. The study described student teacher perceptions of their placement relationship with their mentors, degrees of acceptance by school staff whilst on placement and the coping strategies they adopted during their second term of teaching. The study charted the progress of a sample of nineteen student teachers, of whom thirteen were Black and six were White. The findings of the study affirmed the need for a greater focus on structural and power issues such as race and improved mentor training that takes account of cultural differences. The views of the respondents varied as to experiencing racism on the course and during their placement. Conclusions drawn from the findings suggest that both Black and White student teachers were subjected to degrees of discomfort, namely 'lack of time, stress and individual difficulties' (ibid. 142) however, the data illustrated the Black student teachers overwhelmingly reported feelings of discomfort in their school placement where the situation may well have been compounded by issues of race. This study will explore the significance of student teachers' pre-course experience of race equality issues, the main pedagogical tools used in transmission of pedagogy and the usefulness of the placement experience across four training pathways.

It is worthy of note that the negative experiences of Black student teachers whilst on placement may over time have a subsequent effect on the recruitment on Black

communities entering into the profession in the future if things remain the same. This sentiment is echoed by Mayo-Robbins (1995:21) who states that when 'news of this kind' gets back to Black communities it is unlikely to aid recruitment. The well documented racism that plagued the police force in its recruitment from Black communities may similarly prevent the education sector down the line. A study conducted by Perry and John-Baptiste (2008:14) concluded that it was subtle changes that allowed Black officers to remain optimistic about their future in the police force such as the retirement of the old guard who were deemed both biased and racist. They are now being replaced by younger police officers that have themselves lived in culturally diverse communities and are more attuned to issues of race and social justice. Some Black officers interviewed in the study were grateful to their Black predecessors' efforts in tackling racism, coupled with the establishment of the Black Police Association which supported them with issues of in-service racism. However, other Black participants interviewed preferred to deal with incidents of racism in an informal manner rather than pursue a formal grievance for fear of persecution or marginalisation. This is not dissimilar to Black teachers feeling marginalised within the profession and not able to enjoy strength in numbers therefore leading to feelings of isolation, a lack of agency and of being invisible (Maylor, 2009).

The marginalisation of Black teachers in the English education system is further illustrated by a consideration of the Department for Education's teacher workforce report (DfE, 2020) which provides a breakdown by ethnicity of those teaching professionals in state-funded schools (nursery, primary, secondary and special schools run by local authorities, academies and free schools): Asian 4.4% (20,200); Black 2.2% (10,300); Mixed 1.2% (6,300); White 91.4% (424,600); other including Chinese 0.8% (3,500); and unknown ethnicity total 35,300. Black teachers therefore constitute 2.2% of the total teaching population which was approximately 500,200 in 2019. Further to this, only 8.6% of the teaching workforce in 2020 are non-White, further illustrating the marginalised nature of the teaching workforce for Black, Asian, Mixed and Chinese (including others) professionals. In light of these statistics regarding the demography of the teaching profession, Picower (2009) implores us to look more closely at Whiteness and its relationship to classrooms as the 21st century English

school is increasingly populated by Black and minority ethnic pupils. A DfE (2019) report on pupil composition in British schools states that the proportion of pupils from BME groups has been rising steadily over recent years; In primary schools, 33.5% of pupils are of BME origin (up from 33.1% in January 2018). The figure is slightly lower in secondary schools, 31.3% of pupils are of BME origin (up from 30.3%). These figures suggest that the profession and pupil population are travelling in opposite directions, since the ethnic composition of the classroom is becoming increasingly diverse whilst the teaching profession maintains a largely White presence in state-funded educational provision (pre-school, primary and secondary).

Thus far, this chapter has tried to demonstrate how ITE is implicated in the production and maintenance of hegemonic practices which perpetuates Whiteness and White privilege, and harms (whether economically, socially, psychologically or otherwise) the lives of people of colour. Initial teacher training is a microcosm of wider society, just as schools are, and therefore can be said to contain the same ills. The existence of racism within the teaching profession and the ITE is well documented (Gillborn, 2005; Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Mirza, 2009; Goldberg, 2015). Callender (2019) states that ITE tutors are aware of and understand race, racism and racial ideologies, and are engaged in what she terms as 'doing race' (ibid. 31). It is not possible to make generalisations about race provision in ITE on the basis of studies undertaken as it would be foolish to enter into generalisations about race in all ITE provision. However, what my research does is to highlight practice in relation to race provision across four training pathways. ITE tutors know a lot about race but its visibility in perceived White spaces such as ITE courses can become problematic if it becomes 'hyper visible' (ibid.31). It is then that the tools of Whiteness (Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995; Delgado and Stefanić, 2001; Bonilla-Silva, 2002; Leonardo, 2009) are employed in a colour-blind strategy to avoid engagement with issues of race. This can be deemed the polite face of racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2002). However, ITE tutors can play a pivotal role in disrupting hegemonic practices and normative assumptions about race even if they lack expertise (Bhopal, Harris and Rhamie, 2009). This would then help student teachers to adapt and develop coping mechanisms to manage race provision in the classroom irrespective of their cultural background, class or

religion and more importantly provide them with a richer learning experience during their training year. However, Black and minority ethnic student teachers have to adapt more due to their race. Failure to manage issues of race whether on the ITE course itself or during the placement experience can impact hard on Black and minority ethnic students causing them to lose confidence, which in turn can undermine their performance and result in poor retention figures for this group of students (Mayo-Robbins, 1995).

The ITE related documentation considered in chapter four is to provide contextual understanding regarding programme content and outcomes in terms of race equality provision as influenced by racial neoliberalism (Kapoor, 2013). Wilkins (2015) conducted a study that focussed on race equality and how it is implemented in the regulation and inspection of ITE programmes in England; the study also included a review of guidance for ITE providers as offered by the then Teacher Development Agency (TDA). The study undertook a review of statutory guidance and inspection frameworks as well as quantitative analysis of how inspection outcomes which reflected the quality of ITE providers' engagement with race equality issues. The study included case studies of ITE programmes judged by student teachers to be good or limited in preparing them to teach in a diverse setting and manage issues of race inequality. Wilkins (ibid.) concluded that the review of TDA and Ofsted documentation promoted a 'minimalist interpretation of the requirements of the Race Relations Amendment Act' (2000:464) and despite student teachers raising the issue of feeling inadequately prepared to teach in a diverse classroom setting (Zeichner and Hoeft, 1996; Sleeter, 1992), training providers have done little to address this inadequacy. Further to this the NQT (newly qualified teachers) survey conducted annually by the government asks new entrants to the profession to comment on the quality of the training they received in preparing them for different aspects of teaching. One of the questions they were asked up until 2014 was 'How good was training to teach learners from minority ethnic backgrounds?'. From 2004 - 2014 NQTs in secondary schools rating their training as good or better has increased from 33% in 2004 to 73% in 2014. This increase over a ten year period would seem like cause for celebration but as Race and Lander (2014) points out, why is the figure not closer to 100% and why had this particular section of the NQT survey consistently

remained the least positively rated aspects of ITE. Post-2014, references to race regarding NQT preparedness to teach BME learners have all been removed and the focus is now on promoting 'Good progress and outcomes by pupils' and 'Awareness of pupil capabilities and prior knowledge' (Ibid. 2015). This lack of engagement with issues of race might be interpreted as colour-blindness, avoidance and ideological - indeed, all the tools of Whiteness and privilege - for the purpose of protecting and promoting White privilege and hegemonic interests in the interests of economic advancement, at the expense of the economic advancement of people of colour (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995; Delgado and Stefanić 2001; Leonardo 2002; Kapoor, 2013; Gillborn 2014).

Neoliberal Landscape

An initial survey of the literature showed that the educational landscape is shaped by the influences of neoliberal policy in response to the globalisation agenda (Apple 2007; Hill 2006; Lauder et al. 2007; Braun et al. 2010). First, let us start by considering the term 'neoliberalism' and understanding what it means. Davies and Bansel (2007) suggest that neoliberalism is undertaken by those 'capitalist countries' engaged in the global economy, where its impact is 'geographically dispersed through the activities of...the World Bank and the IMF' (2007:248). This in part links to the current need for performativity within the school system and the standardising of educational values in order to improve economic competitive advantage. The term 'performativity' was coined by Jean-Francoise Lyotard in his famous work *'The Postmodern Condition'* (1984) and focuses our attention on spending 'increasing amounts of time making ourselves accountable, reporting on what we do rather than doing it' (Ball, 2012:19). This study argues that it is the focus on economic performativity and standardisation of education values that affects the presence of a prominent and consistent discourse about the relevance, as well as importance of, race equality and social justice within education. Foucault's theory of government suggests that the State does not only refer solely to political structures 'or the management of states' but refers also to 'the way in which the conduct of individuals or groups might be directed'

(Foucault, 1995: 341) implying that neoliberalism is not simply a mode of government but a *modus operandi* by which many citizens of capitalist countries conduct themselves on a daily basis and control (discipline) may be exercised over them on a global scale, since we are all complicit in some regard (Radina, 2018). Indeed, there is a growing body of evidence that is of the belief that neoliberalism (discourses, policies and practices) have been designed and financed by those with a large economic interest resulting labour practices and and capital flows (George 1999; Saul 2005). Instead, good educational policy design and analysis should be based upon an understanding of how globalisation works, rather than making globalisation the stick by which policy developments are driven; the neoliberalist *modus operandi* is one of increasing self-interest and free-market operations to achieve an equitable society rather than a collective approach for the common good of all members of society. (Gillborn, 2008; Rizvi and Lingard, 2010).

Stone (2001) regards liberal democratic societies as being structured around five key values: equity, efficiency, security, liberty and community. Similarly, public policies in education have to manage these five key values simultaneously (Rizvi and Lingard 2010:72). It is against this backdrop that ITE provision in the UK must prepare pre-service teachers. There has been a global shift towards neoliberal values that have manifested themselves in a privatisation agenda and market mechanisms in order to achieve solutions to the challenges that face governments regarding economic growth and competitiveness (*ibid*:72). The explicit nature of these values in terms of ITE pedagogy and the narratives of the participants are couched in a neoliberal context; the CRT lens is to be used to explore race provision within a deficit educational landscape. As a result of neoliberal education policy and international reports (Barber and Mourshed 2007; Mourshed, Chijioke and Barber 2010; Furlong, 2013), it is suggested that a new model of teaching is required, one that takes account of the marketised educational landscape of accountability and performativity. Little capacity is given to educating student teachers about issues of race and social justice. Subsequently, ITE providers are not consistently developing student teachers that have the requisite skills and knowledge to teach for 'equity, diversity and global interconnectedness' (Merryfield, 2000:429) across the sector. Current education policy, namely the Teachers' Standards, does not demand that student teachers have knowledge of race but instead must be deemed

proficient in 21 technical skills in order to teach. The marketisation of ITE training routes means that a student teacher may, through the School Direct route, train in one school, in one locality for one year, with minimal input from one university provider (Race and Lander, 2014). This study is interested in demonstrating that student teachers who possess the requisite race awareness skills will more than likely have a propensity to address issues of race equality to varying degrees, based upon their pre-ITE programme experience and self-identity (Bhopal and Rhamie, 2014).

Policy and Practice

Having provided a brief overview of education in a neoliberal landscape, this section of the chapter provides a discussion of some of the measures taken by the State to lessen the effect of inequality in society. Tomlinson (2008: 146) reports that neoliberalism, from the Thatcher years (1979 – 1990) through to the present day, has never ‘indicated serious interest in the development of a curriculum that would combat cultural ignorance, ethnocentric attitudes and racism...despite the plethora of initiatives, interventions and prescription’ regarding the curriculum. The political focus has been one of standardisation of White performativity as the dominant culture in education. The Con-Lib coalition of 2010 developed the concept of ‘The Big Society’ which marked a sea change following the Thatcher years. The Big Society ideology was to launch the importance of the voluntary and social enterprise sector in providing improved social inclusion to fix ‘broken Britain’. The government’s policy on the Big Society suggests at first glance that issues of race inequality and socio-economic disadvantage have been considered. However, Alexiadou (2002:76) suggests that the ‘onus is on individuals to acquire the necessary skills’ and not for the State to upskill them. This sentiment is discussed in a later chapter regarding the development of the Teachers’ Standards where the onus is on the pupil (and their parents) to be ready to learn and grasp the teaching on offer, as opposed to the student teacher and fellow teaching professionals preparing themselves to meet the diverse cultural needs present in their classrooms (Hill, 2013).

To further illustrate the marginalised nature of race equality, Gillborn (2014) conducted a study in which the introduction of new educational performativity measures were introduced in England, namely the English Baccalaureate (EBacc). The EBacc is a performance measure for schools in England, first applied in the 2010 school performance tables, to increase the take up of core academic qualifications that the State thinks best equips a pupil for progression to further study and work. The core offering includes: English, Mathematics, History or Geography, the Sciences, a Modern Language and since 2014 Computer Sciences. The purpose is to increase the take-up of core academic subjects by way of progression to further study and work. The overall percentage of students that were successful under the old measure of five GCSE A*- C grades was 58.2% compared to 15.4% that achieved the new measure of performativity (DfE 2012). Overall, all ethnic groups experienced a decline in achievement under the new measure although for some groups it was far more critical, namely for those students classified as SEN (Special Educational Needs) and also FSM (Free School Meals). However, the highest penalty has been suffered by those students of African-Caribbean origin. Gillborn's findings confirm the persistence of inequality in academic attainment and highlight the inter-relatedness of teacher perceptions and student underachievement on racial and social class which may suggest that the persistence of institutional racism and the tools of White privilege and hegemony remain active today (Ball 1981; Commission for Racial Equality 1992; Macpherson, 1999; Gillborn 2008; Rollock 2007; Solomon et al. 2005).

Policy in Whose Interests?

Since the government's white paper, 'The Importance of Teaching' (2010), reforms have been made to ITE provision in England to boost teachers' and headteachers' authority echoing the intent of the then coalition government's Big Society concept, discussed earlier on in this chapter, the purpose of which was to give schools and communities more authority over how public money should be organised and spent. Some of the reforms to ITE discussed in the white paper proposed disallowing funding for graduates seeking to enter the profession who did not have at least a 2:2 degree, rationalising training content to focus

on key skills such as early reading, Mathematics, behaviour management and special educational needs and disabilities, as well as providing schools with the capacity to reward good performance from staff whilst simplifying performance management and capability proceedings.

Post-2010, the locus of power began to shift in favour of schools, opening up the ITE sector to a 'laissez-faire' model that reflected the market competition culture of neoliberalism and encouraged other (potential) training competitors to 'have a go'. The Teach First programme was extended whilst School Direct and Troops into Teaching were established in order to operate alongside training pathways such as SCITTs and university-led providers. The many new models of ITE provision are outlined in Figure 1.

Provider	Training programme	Programme Overview
Higher Education Institution-led Training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Undergraduate teaching programme <ul style="list-style-type: none"> BA Bed BSC Postgraduate teaching programme 	<p>This is a degree and QTS route available to those that want to teach. The training period is usually 3-4 years. Participants can achieve a Bed or BA/BSc with QTS</p> <p>One year training programme leading to QTS.</p>
School Led Routes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> School Direct (superseded the salaried GTP programme in 2012): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> School Direct (tuition fees) School Direct (salaried) SCITT 	<p>School led training route:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tuition – fees are paid and the student teacher receives a bursary (amount dependent on subject specialism). Salaried – student teacher receives an unqualified teacher salary whilst training. <p>A SCITT is a group of schools that run 'hands on' training delivered by experienced teachers.</p>
Part-time and Accelerated Training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> University and school led courses QTS achieved in 2 terms as opposed to the usual 1 year course. 	<p>Accelerated course applicable to Mathematics and Physics degree holders only.</p>
Specialist Training Routes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teach First Troops to Teachers Researchers in School 	<p>Teach First is a charity that runs a two year salaried training programme; places exceptional graduates in socio-economically deprived schools. The emphasis on this training programme is preparing the participant for leadership.</p> <p>Two year employment based ITE route; applicants are not required to have a first degree.</p> <p>Training route available to those who are completing or have completed a PhD.</p>

Figure 1: Initial Teacher Education Pathways

Across the training pathways hegemonic practices are evident. Guinier (2004: 100) states that White privilege is both 'protected and emboldened through the creation and manipulation' of race divergence, whereby the needs and differences of racial groups other than the majority are ignored. This colour-blindness and ignoring of the cultural, economic and policy needs of people of colour can be viewed as a deliberate strategy on the part of Whiteness to uphold and protect hegemonic practices and privilege through interest divergence (Bell, 1980; Gillborn, 2013). Power and Whitty (2006) echo this sentiment by stating that the White narratives are absent from sociological accounts since the perceived norm by which 'otherness' is judged is from the perspective of the Whiteness. This is problematic since Whiteness perspectives on 'otherness' take little or no account of access to cultural capital or cultural difference (Bourdieu, 1993). However, CRT draws upon Derrick Bell's (Ibid.) concept of interest-convergence, which states that racial progress is made momentarily when White power holders perceive some self-interest in accommodating the demands of otherness. Note the time constraint of 'momentarily' which serves to suggest there is an absence of any critical interrogation into the advantage of White privilege and its social constructs which subsequently leads to disadvantage for some. In the absence of a sustained interrogation of Whiteness, the status quo remains the same as does the concomitant privilege (Ladson-Billings, 2004; Solomon et al., 2005).

The marketised education culture therefore prevails. Ball (1998) reports how education is becoming increasingly susceptible to profit and enterprise ideology whilst questioning whose interests are being served. This study considers the effect of training student teachers in a marketised, global climate and its implications for race equality provision at this time. Further to this, the standardisation of higher education qualifications across Europe, brought about by the Bologna process, has agreed a framework for the knowledge content of degree courses and credit allocations for units of study. This manoeuvre is part of an economic strategy to support global education policy which further silences the discourse around race equality and social justice by erasing reference to race explicitly, thereby sanitising the education debate (Ball, 2012; Kapoor, 2013; Smith, 2013). Such examples of race discourse avoidance serve to highlight the promotion of White normalised values and beliefs over all others, a familiar trope of critical race theory.

Labaree (1997) recommends that there should be a discourse around race and social justice as it is in danger of being subsumed by a more mainstream political agenda. This structural shift in racial governance is reported by Goldberg (2009) and Kapoor (2013) as causing the evaporation of terms such as race and race equality with the advancement of neoliberalism. This study argues that ITE in a neoliberal climate may be expected to reflect the racialised global politics of education and will provide an alternative suggestion to the current training model in the form of transformational pedagogy (hooks, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1998). This study is not about pitching race equality and social justice against economic competitiveness. On the contrary, a truly competitive society includes all its constituent parts and seeks to develop competitive edge on that basis. What this study does try to achieve through the CRT lens is to develop an honest discourse around the references to race and social justice as a result of neoliberal education policy. Economic growth should exist within a symbiotic relationship with race equality and social justice, rather than viewed as opposing forces.

Whitty et. al. (1998) report that as market competition increases, education values in relation to class and race equality become diminished, in that less educational discourse is given to the advancement of equality. Policy makers from different social, economic and political positions present a 'similar diagnosis' of the problems confronting educational systems (Rizvi and Lingard 2010: 72) which serve to further illustrate the shift towards neoliberal values that manifest itself in privatisation policies that give credence to the value of market mechanisms as the panacea for the challenges facing governments. This study argues that ITE providers should not therefore act defensively or startled when questioned about race equality and social justice issues in their respective programmes but rather acknowledge that the ITE sector potentially reflects the policies of the global education platform that focuses strongly on a performativity and accountability agenda. These market forces exemplify the audit culture, where education is reduced to a form that is measured, evaluated and governed (Ball, 2003; Lingard, 2011). Furthermore, matters of equality and democracy have not quite disappeared from education policy but have been rearticulated and subordinated in favour of dominant economic concerns (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010).

In exploring ITE provision, this study places the Carter Review of initial teacher training under the spotlight. It is right to acknowledge that the review was largely complementary about the quality of ITE provision in England but also highlighted the levels of variability that existed between providers in relation to course content and mode of delivery which could subsequently lead to gaps in student teachers' knowledge (subject, pedagogy, behaviour and special educational needs and disabilities). This notable variability led to the development of 'A Framework of Core Content for Initial Teacher Training' (Parliament, 2016), headed up by Stephen Munday the CEO for the CAM Academy, in order to standardise content and reduce variance. Whilst the Teacher Standards (2012) were upheld as the main standard by which student teachers are to be measured, after each standard an explanation of what providers should be expected to do to support the development of each standard was added and viewed as helpful. However, the two main recommendations from Munday's group that were subsequently accepted by the government were that the framework should be used to determine quality when allocating ITE places and secondly, the DfE should give consideration to the expectations and entitlement to effective continuing professional development for all new teachers in the early years of their career. The framework contained no explicit or even implied terms of reference to race equality and social justice provision in ITE. That too might have been considered helpful in the preparation of student teachers for their NQT year.

In a study conducted by Rochkind et al. (2008) it concluded that of those interviewed, 63% of the new teachers did not feel adequately prepared to meet the needs of a diverse classroom and that more should be done to address this deficit. The results of the 2016 NQT survey substantiate this view since the same issues prevail regarding a lack of preparedness to teach in a diverse classroom setting. This study will explore how race equality is provided for across the four ITE training pathways and consider the similarities and differences in provision. Also cited within the same survey is acknowledgement of the inconsistency of provision from one provider to another. At a micro level the delivery of race equality provision is also dependent on the confidence of ITE tutors (Merryfield, 2000).

This study suggests that there is a need to consider an alternative way to preparing student teachers for professional practice in a diverse school setting (Furlong, 2013). This sentiment is echoed by Villegas and Lucas (2002:30) who have identified 'six salient characteristics' which they describe as being the 'organising framework for infusing attention to diversity' in socially responsive teachers. The characteristics include:

- i) Sociocultural consciousness
- ii) An affirming attitude towards students from culturally diverse backgrounds
- iii) Commitment and skills to act as agents of change
- iv) Constructivist views of learning
- v) Learning about students
- vi) Culturally responsive teaching practices

Villegas and Lucas' characteristics will be explored in this study through interviews with participants in order to gain the perspective of both student teachers and ITE providers in relation to developing, delivering (content) and race equality provision. My study views cultural awareness as important in meeting students' individual needs and endorses them as valued learners in the classroom. This is supported further by taking a constructivist approach to educating, whereby a partnership approach is adopted for the process of teaching and learning between the teacher and learner. The process is not 'done to' the learner but instead practitioner and learner work as equal partners to formulate suitable navigational routes through curriculum content to allow the learner's educational needs to be met. Further to this, Fullan and Langworthy (2014: 7) report on the need for deep learning within ITE content:

The explicit aim is deep learning that goes beyond the mastery of existing content knowledge. Here, deep learning is defined as 'creating and using new knowledge in the world.' Technology has unleashed learning, and the potential

for students to apply knowledge in the world outside of school; new pedagogies leverage all of this in the formal learning process.

Ladson-Billing (2014: 78) maintains the belief that CRT is nascent in this regard and requires that culturally relevant pedagogy can help us to change the way we 'think, learn, perceive and perform' within ITE since it enables teachers to undertake culturally informed pedagogies without diminishing the assessment responsibilities they must adhere to within the existing framework of ITE core content. Research shows that a student teachers' attitude to inclusion issues is a dynamic one and changes over time, so even if they are feeling overwhelmed in the early stages of their training, by term 2 or 3 they are more open to the possibility of developing other inclusion strategies in the main (Perkins et al. 1993; Bhopal, 2015; Callender, 2019).

Gillborn (2008) refers to teachers as being the most institutionalised face of racism in education whilst Sheets (2003:111) believes the profession 'tolerates excuses of poverty and racism rather than focussing on the academic failure our children face daily'. These academics are two of a growing number (Osler, 1997; Gillborn, 2006; Wilkins and Lall, 2011; Troyna and Williams, 2012) that report on the high levels of racism experienced by Black pupils and teaching staff in English schools. Reports are written, conferences attended and discourses had, yet the surreptitiously racist landscape remains in education, unchallenged. Delgado and Stefancic (2001: 616) suggest that colour blindness is 'not the work of a few racist individuals but a system of institutions and practices'.

In conclusion then, hegemonic practices continue to provide a competitive advantage for White people within the education system and also the wider society. This has an impact on initial teacher training programmes which may be viewed as a microcosm of the wider neoliberal society where performativity, accountability and competitiveness are the key drivers for economic growth. In the racialised neoliberal environment it would appear that explicit references to race equality and social justice, coupled with austere educational

policies, has resulted in the evaporation of discourse and action around these issues.

Whiteness is a normative tool by which the concept of 'otherness' is judged and decisions made. Initial teacher education is not a separate entity nor does it operate in a vacuum. The literature review has endeavoured to illustrate how neoliberalism is affecting ITE content, modes of delivery and the influences of student teachers' pre-course perceptions of those they teach. This study suggests that student teachers might benefit from a safe space to explore, discuss, evaluate and reflect on issues of race inequality and social justice as they move through the training process in order to develop inclusive pedagogies that will inevitably improve the educational outcomes of those they teach. The next two chapters seek to explore this further.

3 THE CASE STUDY

In the introduction I set out both my personal and contextual reasons for undertaking this study, complemented by a literature review that draws on pertinent issues related to the focus of this research. The literature in the previous chapter provides an understanding of and reasons for CRT and how it provides a suitable paradigmatic response to the present day characteristics of neoliberalism - commodifying education, marketisation, performativity and accountability (Shamir, 2008; Ball 2016). In this next chapter I outline the ITE programmes investigated and discuss their alignment with aspects of the literature review.

The literature review regarding the interplay between power and racism as components of society and their continuing effect on the design and outcomes of the education system for BME pupils, suggests that there is a need to educate teachers differently in order to prepare them for the diversity of the twenty-first century classroom. To analyse how current ITE in England affects student teachers' preparedness for the profession, I have sought to analyse the reflections of the said students and their tutors during the training process, with reference to a number of ITE pathways.

The PGCE is usually a 36 week period during which time applicants acquire skills to teach in either a primary or secondary school setting. Applicants can apply to a variety of training providers directly and if accepted on to an ITE programme they can expect to train for a minimum of 24 weeks across two placements. The school placement should provide the applicant with two contrasting school settings.

This chapter sets out the framework for the complexities of a study that considers ITE programme design in shaping socially responsible practitioners, that are aware of race equality and social justice issues. The study's sample reflects the variety of routes into

teaching available in England. The study considers the views of student teachers and ITE tutors.

Pilot Study - Overview

The pilot study (Appendix 1) that preceded the main study arose from the literature review and my ontological position, which subsequently influenced the design of the main study and will be discussed in more detail later. My main learning points arising from the pilot study include: the influence student teachers' pre-service knowledge and socio-economic background has on both their ability and willingness to engage with race equality and social justice issues during their training period; the importance of student teacher identity; and the sample size need to be considerably bigger in order to provide valid and reliable data and to be representative of ITE provision in England. This informed the main study by increasing the sample size, factoring in teacher identity for analysis purposes and increasing the number of ITE providers included in the case study in order to provide a wider perspective of current provision. A more detailed account of the pilot study can be found in Appendix 1.

The Case Study Context

This chapter outlines the process of undertaking research in multiple ITE contexts through the use of a case study approach. The case study will consist of four different ITE providers out of a possible sixteen: PGCE university-led teacher training, School Direct (salaried), School-centred initial teacher training (SCITT) and the Teach First Leadership Development Programme. Neoliberal education policy has ushered in a *laissez faire* approach to ITE provision which has resulted in diverse training provision in which the variety of routes are often seen as confusing by applicants (House of Commons, 2019). In looking across the content of four training routes the intention is to build up rich data of the ITE landscape through a discourse with individuals on the respective training routes. The sample of participants from the four secondary ITE programmes differed in demographic context and

afforded participants different training experiences. Figure 2 below provides an overview of the chosen providers' context.

Type of Provision	Setting	Definition of Provision
Secondary SCITT	City	This teacher training route is designed and delivered by groups of neighbouring schools and colleges. Most of the training is delivered in the classroom by experienced teachers. Many schools work in close partnerships with universities or with a designated training school. Provider A works in collaboration with provider B.
University-led secondary PGCE	City	Applicants apply to study with a specific training provider and will conduct the majority of their study on campus. They get classroom experience, spending time teaching and being trained in at least two schools for a minimum of 24 weeks.
School Direct (salaried)	Town	This route allows applicants to learn 'on the job' and earn a salary while they train towards Qualified Teacher Status (QTS). It's an employment-based route for high quality graduates, typically with at least three years' transferable work history.
Teach First	Town	This option combines leadership development and teacher training, giving applicants the chance to become an inspirational leader in classrooms that need it the most. It is a two-year salaried programme, leading to a Postgraduate Diploma in Education (PGDE) qualification through a university partner. Following five weeks of intensive training, you'll continue to learn on the job while you work towards Qualified Teacher Status (QTS).

Figure 1b: ITE provider context

The four ITE pathways were delivered by three ITE providers; multiple providers were used for the case study to illuminate the breadth and depth of race equality provision in ITE programmes, and to obtain a broad view of the current training landscape.

Type of ITE provision	Setting	Ofsted grading	Students teachers interviewed	ITE tutors interviewed
University led PGCE	Urban city	2	Yes	Yes
SCITT	Urban city	2	No	Yes
Teach First	Provincial town	1	Yes	Yes
School Direct	Provincial town	2	No	Yes

Figure 2: Types of ITE providers in the study

The above table shows in more detail the specifics of the providers included in the study, their Ofsted rating for overall ITE provision, and the type of setting in which they were located.

Participant Sample

Being a practitioner in the secondary sector and having experience of training teachers for this sector was the chief reason for selecting the sample of participants from secondary school training provision. Gaining access to participants within my own organisation as an insider researcher was unproblematic. The main advantage of this type of access is that the researcher is known to the organisation and is therefore trusted. In this regard, participants were generally more willing to get involved in the research project as they knew me and

trusted me as a colleague. However, the position is quite different from an outsider-researcher perspective, which is what I was to other institutions where I was not given the same status as an insider researcher. The researcher is viewed as an unknown entity, there is no desire to or resultant threat for not co-operating with an outsider researcher. The access issue determined how many secondary sector participants were in the sample. My outsider-researcher status made access to potential participants both challenging and time consuming. This is mentioned in advance of the discussion of the sample selection process, since it is worth considering the construction of the sample within the time available (Patton, 2015).

The study utilises purposive sampling as the setting and participant group was deliberately identified for the purpose of the central research focus (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). The self-selection for the interview process followed a number of stages prior to the participant interviews. Although the participants self-selected, it took time to gather a sufficient number for the study's findings to be both valid and reliable. Some researchers (Safman and Sobel, 2004; Collins et al., 2006) recommend reporting participant numbers in order to evaluate the work undertaken and serve as a marker for other studies of a similar nature. However, there is little guidance available to researchers regarding a quantifiable number of participants for interview that should be adhered to. It appears that depending on the nature of the methodology used, this will have a bearing on the guidance offered on sample size (Tesch, 1990). Tesch's own analysis of a PhD database found 1401 studies that utilised a case study approach and the interview/ participant sample ranged from 1 to 95. Conversely, many researchers shy away from suggesting what constitutes a sufficient sample size (in contrast to quantitative studies for example). Guest et al. (2006:59) stated that indicators of saturation might be notionally helpful but provides little 'practical guidance' in the actual collection of data, borne out by their own research experience in which they found only 'seven sources that provided guidelines for actual sample sizes'. Moreover, some academics believe that it is necessary to shift the focus of sampling from 'numerical input of participants' to one of 'the contribution of new knowledge' as the key determinant for the quality of the sample, although an initial approximation of sample size is useful for planning

purposes (Malterud, 2015:7). Since the participants self-selected, the ethnicity and gender of the said dependents was dependent on those that agreed to be involved in the study. There was no pre-planning on my part regarding representation from ethnic or gender groups. Purposive sampling was used for self-selecting individuals within the secondary ITE provision as outlined in Figure 3.

The table outlines the participants chosen for the study. The sample group contained: 12 student teachers and 5 ITE tutors. 6 student teachers and 3 tutors participated in year one (September 2016 – July 17) and 2 tutors and 6 students in year two (September – December 2017). The sample included four males and thirteen females; their ages ranged between early twenties to mid-sixties; fifteen (88%) of the sample were White British, whilst two (12%) were Black British. All tutors, with the exception of one, were well established in their ITE posts.

There were five distinct stages that this study took in reaching the final interview stage with candidates, the ethics of which will be discussed in the next chapter. To begin, emails were sent to the programme leaders, the gatekeepers, in order to gain access to their staff and student teachers; the information sent to them was via email explaining the nature of the research. This approach is commonly referred to as cold calling, which can be productive or not. Secondly, on obtaining the attention of the programme leader this resulted in one of two possible outcomes, either a) arranging a meeting with the programme leader to discuss the level of access required and the study in more detail, or b) I was invited directly to present my proposed study to student teachers and ITE tutors at a pre-arranged meeting.

No	Pseudonym	Gender	Ethnicity	Role	Teaching Experience	Key Stage	ITE Course	ITE Programme Tutor
1	T2B	M	White British	Student teacher	7 months	Secondary	PGCE	
2	T2D	F	White British	Student teacher	9 months	Secondary	Teach First	
3	T1A	M	White British	ITE trainer	Professional	Secondary		SCITT
4	T3C	M	White British	Student teacher	3 months	Secondary	Teach First	
5	T1C	F	White British	ITE trainer	Professional	Secondary		PGCE
6	T3D	F	White British	ITE trainer	Professional	Secondary		School Direct/Teach First
7	T3E	F	White British	Student teacher	3 months	Secondary	School Direct	
8	T3F	F	Black British	Student teacher	3 months	Secondary	Teach First	
9	T3B	F	White British	ITE trainer	Professional	Secondary		School Direct/Teach First
10	T2F	F	White British	Student teacher	9 months	Secondary	School Direct	
11	T2E	F	White British	Student teacher	9 months	Secondary	School Direct	
12	T3A	F	White British	Student teacher	3 months	Secondary	Teach First	
13	T2C	F	White British	Student teacher	9 months	Secondary	Teach First	
14	T2A	F	White British	Student teacher	8 months	Secondary	PGCE	
15	T1B	M	White British	ITE trainer	Professional	Secondary		PGCE
16	T3G	F	Black British	Student teacher	3 months	Secondary	School Direct	
17	T3H	F	White British	Student teacher	9 months	Secondary	Teach First	

Figure 3: Participant sample

I attended student teacher forums to explain my study to potential participants and obtain consent in person regarding involvement in my research. To all participants I sent a confirmation email which contained a FAQ (frequently asked questions) sheet, an invitation letter and consent form (Appendix 2 and 3). The email confirmed their interest in being interviewed and requested a time at which an interview would be convenient for them. The tutors interviewed worked across four programmes whereas the student teachers came from three of the participating programmes. No student teachers from the SCITT were interviewed. In this regard, I had tried repeatedly to gain access to interview students from the course but due to changes in the course personnel coupled with a lack of response from course tutors and student teachers alike, access was unavailable to me via the SCITT.

On presenting an outline of the proposed study to potential participants, no aggressive marketing took place to encourage participants to sign- up to be interviewed. On the contrary, it was important from a validity and reliability perspective that participants could understand the possible value of the study and wanted to voluntarily lend their voice to it. Therefore, participants either provided me with their contact details following my presentation or they contacted me via email to register their interest in being interviewed. Fourthly, following receipt of participant contact details, I arranged an interview slot with them in person where possible or via email. Where interviews were arranged in person, a follow-up email was sent in order to confirm the date, time and location of interview.

The participants self-selected and were invited to reflect on their chosen ITE programme from the perspective of student teacher or tutor. Their respective reflections were focussed around the main research questions: course content, pedagogic approaches used to promote race equality, and the relevance of the student's own identity in the training process regarding preparedness to teach in a diverse educational setting. The study provides an analysis of three key components within each training pathway (Merriam, 1988; Stake, 1995; Hamilton 2011) and discusses approaches adopted by ITE programmes in the promotion of race equality by four training providers.

Essentially my personal values and aspirations drive this study but the rationale for using a case study approach arises from three factors. Firstly, the approach adopted permits the researcher access to a greater appreciation of the context and uniqueness of events as they unfold over a period of time (Yin 2009). Secondly, the approach allows the researcher to understand how the ideas and abstract principles fit together in ways that not always made clear by quantitative data sources (Yin 2009:72-3) and thirdly, a case study approach tries to convey what it is like to be in a particular situation, to catch the close up reality and detailed description of participants' lived experiences – their thoughts and feelings for a particular situation (Geertz 1973; Cohen et al, 2011). The case study researcher is often trusted with confidential information or sensitive material which raises awareness of the need to protect individuals that may be at risk or vulnerable; to report people anonymously and consider traceability (Cohen et al., 2011; BERA 2011). From an insider researcher perspective, where colleagues were interviewed in the workplace, there is sometimes the assumption that the researcher knows the culture of the organisation and so the participant feels more at ease to disclose information thus avoiding the barriers of suspicion that sometimes accompany an insider-outsider interview. Nonetheless, all interviews started with re-assurance being given to participants that anything shared in the interview would be in complete confidence and that their anonymity would be safeguarded as far as was reasonably possible. There is a need to be pragmatic about the levels of confidentiality that can be afforded to participants in such a study. That said, participants were in the main quite candid in their disclosures and thoughts about ITE training in relation to the promotion of race and social justice issues. On occasion participants may have been a little reserved with their responses. This could be due to one of two things; firstly, trust issue between a perceived insider-outsider researcher position whereby the researcher does not have the full confidence of the participant; or secondly, due to my position as a Black researcher, a White participant discussing race may respond differently to being asked the same questions by a White researcher (Yin,1998; Unleur, 2012). There is a need to carefully balance the challenges of being an insider-outsider researcher, aspects of which will be discussed in the next chapter.

As previously explained in chapter 2, in exploring the presence of race equality provision in ITE, CRT was the lens of choice due to its honesty regarding the presence and effect of racism within society which leads to hegemonic practices that favour one ethnic group over another. This has given rise to a reflexive approach regarding the intersectional impact of hegemony and equality in shaping the understanding of those that are both the product of an initial teacher education programmes and those that have overall responsibility for the design and delivery of the said programmes. Exploring ITE programme intentions through a CRT lens accepts race inequality within society as an oppositional force. CRT is neither in denial or colour blind. Graham et al. (2011: 88) allude to the 'artificial impersonality of the traditional scholarly voice' compared to the 'emotional writing' of the critical race theorist. Furthermore, they are of the opinion that the sanitised scholar's voice mirrors the 'neutrality' of empirical research (ibid.). Conversely, in adopting a CRT lens, a subjective exploration will be undertaken which purports an 'honest' (ibid.) perspective via the research design, data collection, analysis and subsequent interpretation. This study provides a critical enquiry into race provision across different ITE pathways; it affords the same degree of reflexivity that has been brought to mental health research and critical legal studies. It brings to education the same degree of reflexivity that has been brought to mental health research and critical legal studies, which allows lessons to be learned, conclusions to be drawn and findings to be deciphered (Masko, 2005; Brown, 2003).

The student teachers and tutors were encouraged to reflect on programme inputs by way of the different pedagogical approaches taken to train pre-service teachers, namely: lectures, school experience placement, the significance of the reflective log that student teachers must keep during the course of their training period and the influence of pre-service experience in preparing to student teachers to adopt inclusive education practices for managing learning in a culturally diverse classroom setting. The student teachers shared their experience of teaching young people and identified ways in which they felt able or unable to promote race equality in their teaching. Similarly, the tutors interviewed shared their experiences and beliefs about the structure and efficiency of the ITE programmes they

had responsibility for delivering in meeting the needs of student teachers by way of preparing them to practice in culturally diverse schools.

This overview provided in this chapter has sought to provide an insight into the mechanics of the case study context regarding the participant selection, the challenges and merits of the chosen methodological approach and the influence of the pilot study on the main study. The next chapter will provide details about the methodology employed.

4 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Research Questions

The study will provide a detailed analysis of the delivery of race equality across four training pathways to ascertain the preparedness of students to meet the challenges of a diverse classroom. The study seeks to gain rich data regarding student perceptions about the factors that influence the development of their knowledge, understanding and practice regarding race equality for a diverse educational context. Coupled with the literature review, this has led to the identification of the following research questions which adopt both a micro and macro perspective of ITE:

1) *What is the course content of different ITE routes in respect of race equality provision?*

Here reference is made to the course content and seeks to establish whether there is a difference between SCITT and university based ITE provision; and explore what influences course content i.e. government policy regarding ITE and ITE tutor intuition.

2) *How do the pedagogical approaches used to promote race equality in ITE influence the students' learning, knowledge and practice?*

This research question seeks to explore the pedagogies that the student teacher and ITE tutors deem most successful in preparing new entrants to address issues of race equality. The emergence of a relationship between any of these instructional tools will be interpreted through the framework of the literature review and participant responses.

3) *Which factors shape the students' development of RE and SJ awareness for an educational context?*

This question refers to the knowledge pre-entrant student teachers bring to the training process; this is of interest since this may help to elucidate the intersection of ITE content and student teachers' understanding of race equality in education, as well as possibly identifying the importance of pre-course knowledge regarding preparedness to meet the needs of a culturally diverse teaching context. Figure 4 provides an insight into the type of questions that were asked of student teachers to elicit the said data. Two differentiated interview schedules were used in the study to take account of the different participant groups i.e. student teacher participants and ITE tutors respectively (Appendix 4 and 5).

The research questions clearly indicate that it is not only the student teachers' perspective on race equality that is sought but also that of the ITE tutor through an explanation of the mechanics of the course. The majority of participants were White in this study, so their narratives are of particular importance in illustrating colour blindness in ITE, through the normative behaviour they display, ignoring and avoidance tactics embodied in hegemonic practices.

RESEARCH QUESTION	INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
<p>RQ1</p> <p>What is the course content of different ITE routes (PGCE and School Direct) in respect of race equality and social justice?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What aspect of social class and race equality have been challenged since starting your training or does it remain the same? • During your training year should you be made aware of issues regarding race equality and social disadvantage and the potential impact on children from different cultural backgrounds? If so, how might this impact on your own training needs? • In what ways do you feel your training is preparing you to meet the different range of student needs within your classroom, especially with regards to race inequality and social justice? • Are you aware of any social or political elements that you feel the course should respond to? Rise of the far left? Immigration concerns? Islamophobia?
<p>RQ2</p> <p>How do the pedagogical approaches used to promote race equality and social justice in ITE influence the students' learning, knowledge and practice?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Could course delivery be improved in respect of raising awareness about race equality and social justice? • Which elements of the training experience made a difference to the understanding of these issues: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Pedagogic sessions at your university? · CPD sessions? · The pedagogic/ placement experience? · Your mentor in relation to advice given about race equality and social justice issues? · Any other?
<p>RQ3</p> <p>Which factors shape the students' development of RE and SJ awareness for an educational context?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Before starting your training, what awareness did you have of social class and race issues?

Figure 4: Main research questions and sub-questions

Colour Blindness, Privilege and Interest Convergence

This study will utilise two of the main tenets of CRT to explore race equality provision in ITE: colour blindness and interest convergence. I draw on the work of academics in the field of CRT because it foregrounds the salience of race in teacher education by acknowledging that 'racism is endemic, institutional and systemic' and provides a race aware exploration of structural racism (Callender 2019:22). Furthermore, it is a useful epistemic framework with which to examine knowledge production in ITE and its subsequent transmission. These theorists use the tenets to specifically confront and deconstruct racism within society, in this instance education. Through the identification of colour blindness and incidents of interest convergence it is possible to begin to disrupt White privilege and hegemonic practices (Bonilla-Silva, 2002). Leonardo goes further and calls for the use of a neo-abolitionist pedagogical approach that requires teachers and students alike to disrupt White discourse and 'unsettle their codes' (2009:169). Frankenberg (1993) refers to Whiteness as characterised by the unwillingness to name the different levels of racism, the avoidance of identifying with a particular racial group and the diminution of racist behaviour (a type of historical whitewash). Roediger (1991) asserts that Whiteness is both oppressive and false and is accompanied by violence discourse; this will be explored through a consideration of the language content of programme handbooks and policy documents. The study also makes use of interest convergence for analytic purposes. The term refers to the advancement of the interests of people of colour on the basis that their interests coincide with the interests and advancement of that of Whites. Sleeter (2017,157) states that White interests take incremental steps in the direction of race equality and this is illustrated in the composition of ITE schools of education, content of the ITE programmes therein, and the recruitment of majority White students to the said courses. The recruitment of Black academics to these spaces is cautiously exercised. This view is reinforced by Milner et al. (2013) who suggest that interest convergence is significant in maintaining the relevance of past and present inequities within education and larger society, due to White fear of loss of privilege in the face of economic and hegemonic change.

In considering the paucity of race equality in ITE using a CRT lens it is hoped that insights will be gained into what constitutes effective pedagogy and programme content with regards to preparing student teachers for a diverse educational context. Denzin (2017: 8) states that this is a 'historical present that cries out for emancipatory visions' to bring about a different way of being, of doing. Initial teacher education need not be the exception. On the contrary, this study is designed to explore the possibility of teacher education being delivered in a way that benefits all pupils and young people as opposed to mainly the White, middle classes (Bourdieu, 1992). Pedagogies employed in the classroom should be emancipatory, inclusive and transformational in nature. For this reason, the study is set within critical-interpretive theory which offers a perspective for the many facets of qualitative investigations and may represent participants in marginalised groups, especially in regard to race, sexuality, gender or class (Ladson-Billings and Donner 2005; Graham et al. 2011). Critical theory is concerned with empowering the disenfranchised to rise above the oppression placed on them by gender, race and sexuality (Fay 1987). Critical theorists are united in their pursuit to expose and critique forms of inequality and discrimination encountered in daily life. They view this as helping society to both transform and transcend these daily challenges that may manifest themselves in forms of cultural and socio-economic disadvantage (Garoian and Guadelius, 2008). The study draws on CRT as a theoretical framework in order to better understand how ITE in England is a hegemonic response to the environment within which it operates where racism is not an aberration. Critical race theorists reject the notion that racism exists as a remnant of a bygone age or poorly educated individuals (Crenshaw, 1988; Ansley, 1989; Harris, 2012). Furthermore, with their candid view of life, critical race theorists also reject the conventional liberal position of colour blindness and adopt the view that CRT understands the hegemonic practices that maintain the status quo and continue to promote White privilege. This belief is not hidden within the CRT framework but rather at its forefront in understanding the racial disparity that manifests itself in society's normative behaviour. The manifestation of racism in society is accepted by critical race theorists as perhaps being integral to society and a thing that cannot be eradicated but rather challenged through discourse and transformational practice in education (Delgado, 1994; Harris, 2012). The usefulness of the CRT paradigm will be explored further later in this chapter.

The study draws upon the way in which knowledge is constructed, who is responsible for constructing it and how those receiving the knowledge interpret and reflect on it within their own practice. Through the coding process, participant narratives were deconstructed to elicit participant understanding of the ITE process. Regarding narrative analysis, Newby (2010: 500) posits that the personal voice reflects the priorities, concerns, values and attitudes of the narrator and draws the researcher closer to the participant's personal experience of an institutional perspective. The narrative reflections offered by student teachers and ITE tutors will be used to provide an insight into the contemporary nature of colour blindness, interest convergence and White privilege as a normative behaviour in ITE.

Narrative as a Methodology in CRT

In order to explore race equality or its paucity in ITE it is necessary to consider some aspects of critical Whiteness studies. This amounts to putting Whiteness under a lens and examining the construction of the White race. Due to the limits and the already stated focus of this study, it is enough to say that a number of contemporary thinkers have argued that race is a social construct assembled by power (Solomon et al. 2005; Roediger, 2007; Leonardo, 2009). How Whiteness becomes the standard by which the othered are judged needs to be understood. Delgado and Stefancic (2017) note how colour blindness and White privilege are embedded in literature and popular culture therefore presenting Whiteness and White privilege as the dominant discourse. Further to this, power is a social construct that enables Whites to maintain economic control over others; this power can manifest itself in the form of racism. This type of discourse at an epistemological and methodological level is not neutral and therefore neither is the White majority's story. Critical race theorists believe that racism is not an aberration but a social construct of society, deeply embedded in our thought processes and social structures, used to garner advantage in spheres such as employment, housing, education, and the law. This being so, the student teachers' and ITE tutors' narratives will help to illuminate these embedded thought processes and practices and allow their own experiences to provide insights into the dominant discourse of Whiteness.

Critical-interpretivist theory is centrally located within CRT and offers an alternative viewpoint to the more traditional positivist and interpretivist approaches. Gray (2004:28) states that critical inquiry is based upon four fundamentals: ideas are mediated by power relations, certain groups in society are privileged, 'Facts' cannot be disentangled from the ideology and self-interest of the dominant group, and mainstream research practices are implicated in the (unconscious) reproduction of systems of class, race and gender oppression. It is this latter point that exemplifies the intersection of CRT with unconscious forms of racial oppression that are evident in the narratives of White participants. Solorzano and Yosso (2002) recognise that narratives can be racialized, gendered and classed' which makes the deconstruction of the White narrative one of complexity due to its stratas of colour blindness, hegemonic and White privileged elements.

In locating the study within a CRT paradigm, I attempt to understand participants' experience and perspectives through engagement with their responses to the interview questions, aided primarily through the coding process. For the purpose of data analysis, employing a critical-interpretivist paradigm to consider the perspectives and views of the participants has been useful in stripping back the layers of meaning attached to a participant's own perspective of a situation or events. McQueen (2002:17) states that interpretivists view the world through a 'series of individual eyes' which recognises that the researcher interprets a participant's understanding of events or issues that has already been interpreted. In engaging with this process of reflection it is then necessary to code significant responses which provide emerging themes and sub-themes from the data. My own reflections on participants' responses and the literature review identified potential themes that began to provide solutions to the research questions posed earlier. In addition, this process of reflection and evaluation helped to manage researcher subjectivity.

Designing a Teacher Typology

Giddens (2001: 186) suggests that self-identity is created against a backdrop of daily experiences intertwined with the 'fragmenting tendencies of modern institutions. Mohamed's study (2014: 228) further substantiates this point by stating that those participants that emerged from the training process as 'unconscious' of social justice made few gains in relation to inclusive practice; conversely, the group entitled 'instrumentals' managed, through careful reflection of their practice, to construct a considered approach in adopting inclusive pedagogies to mitigate against social injustice. It is therefore useful, for the purposes of my own study, to consider the significance of practitioner identity and use the sub-questions associated with each main research question to reveal each participants' willingness to embrace inclusive pedagogies within their own practice. My study utilised a triadic typology (three types) for the purpose of classifying the student teachers and attempts to create a framework that illustrates why some student teachers exhibit behaviour X as opposed to Y or Z ((Beauchamp and Thomas, 2009; Hammachek, 1999; Perkins et al. 1993) in their preparedness to be inclusive practitioners. The typology used within this study was derived from studies based upon previous research conducted by academics (Levine-Raskey, 2001; Luttenberg and Bergen, 2008; Soloman et al., 2005; Mohamed, 2014).

Levine-Rasky (2003) posits that a person's identity becomes the lens through which they see themselves and subsequently informs their understanding of others. That being so, it seems logical then to try to understand how pre-ITE programme experience may affect a student teacher's ability to develop and apply inclusive practice at the start of their teaching career. The analytical framework produced by Perkins et al (1993) suggests that practitioner efficacy is evident by degrees and identifies the three strands necessary in this regard: inclination, sensitivity and ability. They define the term 'inclination' as referring to a person's tendency towards behaviour X (culturally appropriate pedagogy) when the person feels the need. They define the term 'sensitivity' as a person's alertness to behaviour X and an awareness of when it is called for. Finally, 'ability' is defined as a person's capacity to follow through by

recognising a situation and acting accordingly. Their framework latterly took account of Sternberg's (1985) triarchic theory and Baron's (1985) theory of rationality. Having reviewed a number of frameworks regarding teacher identity (Levine-Rasky, 2001; Solomon et al., 2005; Luttenberg and Bergen, 2008; Mohamed, 2014) Figure 5 below sets out the main strands identified by academics and helps to illustrate the development of self-efficacy, which led to the chosen typology for my study.

Levine-Rasky (2001) identifies a typology which may be helpful in identifying an educator's willingness to engage with multicultural practice. She proposes three types of teacher educators who range in their positions on three levels, indicating their willingness to support multicultural socialist reconstructivist education (MSRE), namely: identifies with social justice, values critical pedagogy and MSRE, and desires to learn more about the effects of privilege and hegemonies. Although Levine-Rasky identifies the varied dispositions of three types of multicultural educator regarding the ideal recruitment candidate to ITE programmes, she also notes that resistance, discrimination and a lack of support can scupper the very initiatives outlined in her study.

Levine-Rasky (2001)	Soloman, Portelli, Daniel and Cambell (2005)	Luttenberg and Bergen (2008)	Mohamed (2014)
Identification of social justice	Ideological incongruence	Pragmatic	Unconscious
Support for critical pedagogy and MSRE	Negating White privilege	Ethical	Evangelists
Desire to learn more about social domination	Liberalist notions of individualism and meritocracy	Moral	Instrumental s

Figure 5: Models of practitioner self-efficacy

This concurs with the work of Luttenberg and Bergen (2008) who have similarly identified a typology of reflection which they feel is useful in understanding teachers' identity development. They propose three main components: pragmatic, ethical and moral. Their theory suggests that the depth and level of reflection varies in accordance with the student teachers' identity development. At student teacher level, if pragmatic is cross-referenced with Levine-Rasky's (2001) 'values social justice', the student teacher is largely concerned with their own progress within the ITE programme. They are aware of social justice but may refute its relevance at that stage in their training, or indeed in life itself. The second strand of Luttenberg and Bergen's (2008) theory is ethical, which requires an interpretation of what is deemed to be good. The objective of ethical reflection has at its heart that which is good and realisable and can be achieved with the means available. At student teacher level when compared with Levine-Raskey's (*ibid.*), it amounts to having support for critical pedagogy (transformational pedagogy) and a willingness to promote MSRE within the individual's realm of possibility. However, Luttenberg and Bergen's (*ibid.*) third strand, moral reflection,

contrasts with pragmatic and ethical reflection since it requires the individual to subordinate personal and private interests in favour of a duty of care to all those involved. Levine-Rasky's (ibid.) third signpost identifies the practitioner that desires to learn about educational inequality through institutional racism and White privilege; she suggests that it is this practitioner that will become 'an agent of change for multicultural social reconstructionist education' (ibid.: 295) in much the same way that Luttenberg and Bergen's (ibid.) model of ethical reflection will.

I also needed a way to categorise student teachers' feelings about otherness based upon their own pre-training programme experience. For this reason, I considered Solomon et al. (2005) who identified three types of student teachers in relation to (racial) discourse denial: ideological incongruence, liberalist notions of individualism and meritocracy, and negating of White capital. Solomon et al. propose a model that is useful in examining the institutional nature of Whiteness and the systemic factors that maintain its dominance. Mohamed's later study (2014) raises concern about White student teachers that are enrolled on to ITE programmes who display a lack of awareness regarding issues of racism and privilege. Her study is concerned with beliefs about 'otherness' in developing socially responsible teachers which led to a typology of reflection that identifies three types of student teacher: unconscious, evangelist and instrumental. Mohamed's (ibid.) typology is similar to those previously discussed in this section as it considers attempts to classify the reflections of the student teacher based on their broad and deep nature. My own study's typology is more keenly focused on categorising student teachers' ability to manage aspects of race equality and so building on the various frameworks presented by academics, a typology was constructed that considered the level of inclusive practice exhibited by practitioners arising from their response to a set of interview questions. The said typology utilised the following labels: passive, reactive and proactive.

Further to this McNeil (2011) states that the White majority carry constructions of Blackness into the classroom and on seeing a Black instructor, particularly a Black female instructor, these anthropological constructions of 'tom-toms, cannibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetishism and racial defects are activated' (Fanon, 1967:63). This suggests that student teacher perception is affected by their pre-course experiences and that they perpetuate their individual beliefs about students based upon their life experiences of otherness. For this reason, this study suggests that these beliefs need to be challenged at the level of initial teacher education and supported by CPD as the student teacher becomes an NQT through to an experienced practitioner. The absence of challenge of any sort regarding student teacher perception of racial ideology may lead to the perpetuation of what some term as unconscious bias (Mohamed 2014).

Having then considered the frameworks used by a number of academics which illustrated teacher readiness to demonstrate elements of inclusive practice, it is useful at this point to define each typology which was later attributed to each student teacher participant based upon their interview content, namely: passive, reactive and progressive

a) Passive

This category was assigned to those participants whose opinion suggested that race was not especially relevant in their training process and might be something to return to in the future once they had mastered the fundamentals of teaching and learning. Some participants within this group also seemed to demonstrate that their White background had led them to having little contact or experience of otherness. This group of participants remarked on feelings of fear and surprise when dealing with matters of race in their classroom as well as a general lack of awareness. There was a tendency amongst this group to attempt to treat all learners the same and not acknowledge difference, as though that would be discriminatory. This group had more stereotyped views of the students coming from poor backgrounds and being 'saved' by enthusiastic entrants to the profession.

Essentially, these participants found it difficult to explain the meaning of the term 'socially responsible practitioner' and could not explain its relevance to their teaching practice nor were they able to provide examples of it within their own practice. Furthermore, this group was the least like to explicitly discuss or refer to race during their interview. This typology consisted of four student teacher participants (T2A, T2E, T3A and T3H) who were unable to reflect beyond their own needs.

b) Reactive

This group of participants approached inclusion from a more humanist perspective and emphasised the need to treat people equally. They showed an increased awareness race equality issues in the classroom and the need to address; these participants were both more knowledgeable and comfortable discussing socio-economic deprivation and its effect on their students. They acknowledged race as being an important factor in educating but were more likely to discuss not taking account of it in their practice or requiring further training in that regard. This typology consisted of seven student teacher participants (T2B, T2C, T2D, T2E, T2F, T3C, T3E) all of whom displayed some race equality awareness prior to the start of their training year.

c) Proactive

These participants demonstrated, throughout their respective interviews, that they were willing to act to address inequality on a social or race related basis. Some attributed their familiarity with socially responsible practice due to their socio-cultural background, some to their pre-service experiences, others attributed their understanding to their subject knowledge and willingness to acquire knowledge on the matter. These participants embraced matters of race and social justice, trying hard to empower those they worked with. They did not ignore or avoid the challenge of race or its associated feelings of personal discomfort. These participants demonstrated synthesis of university theory, school-base

practice and professional learning. Only two participants of the sample group demonstrated a proactive disposition towards race equality (T3F and T3G).

Black Researcher Position - a delicate balance

The position I occupy is that of a Black female educator-researcher, with experience and knowledge of training student teachers and now teaching in the secondary sector. I am assuming the position of an insider-outsider researcher, since the term describes both my ethnicity and position as a researcher in relation to some of the organisations I initially contacted. As a teacher trainer and secondary education practitioner, I can assume the position of an insider; my ethnicity can cause mainly White people to view me as Othered and outside. Black researchers occupy scarce positions within HEIs and have to circumnavigate colour blindness, semantic moves and avoidance tactics to survive in these perceived White spaces (Bonilla-Silva, 2002; Sleeter, 2017). Researching race is a sensitive activity but more so when the participants are mainly White. I do not wish to alienate myself from the participants (some of which I must continue to work with in a post-interview state) so must maintain a pleasant demeanour irrespective of the nature of their response to questions. In essence I must maintain a delicate balance between insider and outsider researcher, advancing my inquiry into the presence of race equality in ITE and maintaining a friendly demeanour with participants (some of which are colleagues).

The research questions originate from my ontological perspective and the literature review. As a Black insider-outsider researcher discussing race equality with mainly White participants, this may cause them to provide socially acceptable and culturally aware answers to questions in order to not offend me, rather than providing a more candid than guarded response (Gunaratnam, 2003; Shah, 2004). Mirza (1998) discusses something similar when she recounts how she felt when her 'Asianess' was under scrutiny by the South Asian female pupils she was researching. Wright (1998) suggests that a good researcher will acknowledge and address issues as they occur and reflect on how they may affect the

research. Thus, throughout the course of my study personal reflexivity will occur in order to provide a fair view of the participants' experience, perspectives and beliefs of the PGCE programme. Leathwood et al. (2009) states that Black staff have reported negative assumptions being made about their abilities, having fewer opportunities to develop research capacity as well as race equality research often designated as 'low status' when performed by Black staff, the same type of research when performed by White academics is perceived as high status (Jones, 2006; Wright et.al 2007; Maylor 2009). I feel it is important to take account of the context in which this study is carried out by way of explaining some of the challenges a Black researcher may face at the data collection stage. Fouad and Brown (2000) conducted a study regarding differential status identity (DSI) as a potential conceptual framework which promotes understanding of the process by which contextual variables such as social class and race are internalised by individuals and can lead to (un)conscious bias. They also considered the psychological effects that this type of internalisation can have on the identity of an individual. This study suggests that individuals' perceptions about the competencies of a Black researcher conducting a study about race equality in ITE may have been received differently by institutions and participants due to the race of the researcher. My ethnicity as a Black researcher is not obvious to any institution at the initial point of contact, however on meeting ITE tutors and their student teachers Fouad and Brown's theory may be reinforced. At this point in time White perceptions about the competencies of a Black researcher can be affirmed. Willingness to engage or not with the research study can be based on this 'unconsciously biased' perception that White individuals hold regarding the capabilities of the Black researcher. This unconscious bias arises from the perception that universities are White spaces and that Black bodies therein are imposters and are treated as Other (Puwar, 2004). Joseph-Salisbury (2019: 12) urges the critical race theorists to not merely identify where racism exists but to contextualise it as being part of 'institutionalised whiteness and structural white supremacy' which manifests itself in microaggressions towards people of colour. The late CRT scholar Derrick Bell (1993) stated that such microaggressions should not be dealt with on an individual basis as separate threads but visualised as part of a systemic and institutionalised approach to maintaining White normative behaviour. By pinpointing colour blindness and avoidance tactics and

disrupting the Whiteness of higher education it becomes possible to reclaim the spaces in which Black bodies and discourse belong.

Hammersley (1993) advocates methodological common sense be adhered to in a field as diverse and controversial as educational inequality. Researchers need to understand their position in the researcher-participant relationship and maintain an objective stance. However, all writers bring a sense of self to their study so it is perhaps short-sighted to ignore the influence that researcher identity can have on the very subject being researched. Graham et. al (2011: 88) discuss the 'false objectivity of the conventional scholarly voice' being couched in 'false neutrality'. This complex dynamic is a constituent part of researching race issues with mainly White participants and also interviewing participants from one's own institution. This false objectivity was cited in my field notes dated 25/7/17, where I noted the comment 'Am I trying too hard to be unbiased?' with reference to giving the participants encouragement in their viewpoint even if I disagreed with them fundamentally. My justification for 'trying too hard to be unbiased' was in order to glean more information from them. False neutrality indeed. The researcher must be mindful of the participant's context and be conscious of their interactions in order to avoid future flaws in the scholarly voice (Omi and Winant, 2002; Graham et al. 2011). The maintenance of a field journal was helpful in this regard. Its usefulness in the field work process will be discussed in a later section of this chapter. For the purpose of this study I have used a research journal to make notes regarding the successes, reflections, ideas, things heard, things said by others and challenges of the data collection process. This research tool prompted my own reflexivity about the research process as it evolved, helping me to consider particular behaviours both of myself and the participants and instigate a plan of action to remedy the next interaction or resolve an issue.

Therefore, a study investigating the presence of race equality in ITE amongst mainly White participants is not without its complexities. As a Black female researcher, this study was conducted from the perspective of a Black researcher (the outsider) and not that of a female

one. I am in a very real sense an insider to both the ITE and teaching sector. I am part of the education sector. My reality is not that of marginalised and oppressed Blacks from Africa, the Caribbean, South or North America. However, the reality of being Black in Britain exacts a daily price irrespective of your position in life. At the end of the day I am a Black woman in England conducting research in predominantly White spaces. For this reason, I would also consider myself an insider of CRT (Matua, 2000).

Data Collection and Coding

The study used a qualitative approach to data collection, namely interviews and secondary documents, to determine answers to the three main research questions that focus on the following: course content in the promotion of race equality; pedagogic tools used in the promotion of race equality; and the student teacher's own development of their understanding about such issues in the classroom.

Data was collected from semi-structured interviews, course handbooks (Appendix 6) for the respective training pathways, the Teachers Standards (2012), the ITE related publications and the Equality Act 2010. For the purpose of the interviews it's worth reinforcing that the student teachers interviewed were at different stages of their training which in turn affected the level of reflection offered by some student teachers. Those participants at almost the end of their course were sometimes more reflexive in their views than those that were in their first term of teaching. This was a consideration during the interview process as well as their level of life experience. Both factors impacted on the depth of participants' reflections.

The Interviews

The role of the researcher in an interview scenario is to elicit an authentic viewpoint from the participant on a topic of mutual interest (Kvale, 1996; Cresswell, 2014). The interview is one of the most popular qualitative research tools for gathering rich data. The interviewer is able to move back and forth through the conversation re-visiting the past, clarifying and interpreting the present as well as predicting the future. The researcher is able to journey with the participants as they share their narratives regarding teacher training, race and social justice provision in ITE, their pre-entry experience of these issues ahead of joining the course (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Yin, 2009). Furthermore, the role of the interviewer is to explore their own personal line of enquiry and to ask unbiased questions in a manner that will provide responses to the research questions posed and provide an opportunity for the researcher to build a rapport with the participants in order to develop a relationship of trust between the two participants (Yin, 2009; Silverman, 2010). Building a relationship of trust between the researcher and interviewee is further enhanced by offering the participant confidentiality and anonymity as far as reasonably possible, up to the point of the study entering the public domain. This helps the participants to respond to questions in a candid manner.

Oppenheim (1992) believes that the positive rapport between the researcher and interviewee helps to maintain the respondent's interest in the interview and encourages them to answer truthfully. Parker and Lynn (2002:11) state that the interview itself can be used 'to create narratives'. Within this study this was done by employing a preamble to the main questions, by asking the participant about the type of day they had had and to invite them to share information about their journey into teaching or their role as an ITE tutor within the said programme, rather than launching straight in to the first question on the interview schedule.

Throughout the research process, every attempt was made to ensure that the process was both neutral and rigorous. Each participant was given a copy of the interview schedule

appropriate to their role (Appendix 6 and Appendix 7) ahead of the arranged interview. They were encouraged to raise any concerns about the interview questions ahead of the interview and were given the option to not answer questions they were not comfortable with. It was felt that this helped to put the participants at their ease and to build trust. Each participant was informed via the consent documentation that the interviews would be an audio-recording. They were then reminded again at the start of the interview. They were given the opportunity to withdraw from the interview at any point if they so wished. No one did. The length of each interview was determined by the willingness of the participant to speak at length and engage in conversation, in some instances time constraints affected the duration of the interview. The interviews were conducted at locations that were convenient for the participants. Locations ranged from a cafe, a fast food outlet, work offices and quiet classrooms. Most of the interviews were unhurried on my part and punctuated with moments of laughter.

Basit (2010:103) states that the semi-structured interview 'is the most favoured type of interview in educational research'. The researcher is able to formulate a set of questions that determine the direction the interview will take but there is also the flexibility and the knowledge that the researcher is at liberty to ask additional questions based upon participant responses. This allows the researcher to probe using supplementary questions devised during the course of the interview for the purpose of eliciting more elaborate and in-depth responses. Therefore, it was not possible to ask the exact same questions of all participants for each interview; rather the interview schedule provided a framework upon which the interview could hang. The directional content of the interview was therefore determined by the main questions, whereby the supplementary questions asked were very much dependent on the participant and the level of engagement within the interview. Some participants showed more enthusiasm and knowledge about race equality than others, which prompted different supplementary questions to those asked of participants who conveyed less knowledge about race equality.

The interviewer can do much to facilitate the flow of the interview by knowing when to remain quiet and rely on positive body language to do the talking. Denscombe (2003:179) notes that the interviewer can encourage the interviewee to respond by remaining silent and proffering little of one's own views. Non-verbal body language is key in this situation; sitting forward and nodding intermittently can be construed by the participant as 'Do go on'. The perceived 'silence' of the interviewer became more natural to me as the interviews increased. The interviewer should reflect on their own disposition within the process and not just the interview content. Within my field journal, I made notes on the awkwardness of some pauses with one participant in particular, where I remembered becoming quite nervous about not making the participant feel anxious because she failed to understand the question about race and was experiencing visible discomfort. In addition, notes from the field journal also revealed that I 'laughed along with participants to encourage them to divulge more' which resulted in me questioning the lengths one goes to as a researcher to remain unbiased, non-judgemental and accommodating. The semi-structured interviews, for the student teachers and tutors respectively, were designed to elicit data in response to the research questions posed and modified according to the participant role (see Appendix 6 and 7).

As the interviews were completed, they were copied to an electronic folder on my home computer where they were labelled by the participant's real name. No data was stored at my workplace for the purposes of maintaining the anonymity and confidentiality of all participants. Ahead of transcribing each interview, the participants were given a pseudonym which was recorded in my field journal. Each participants' pseudonym was used during the transcribing stage in order to maintain the participants' confidentiality and anonymity. When each interview was transcribed and coded using standard 'Simplified Transcription Symbols' (Silverman 2010: 430-431). The most noteworthy points arising from a transcript were transferred to a themes and quotes analysis grid (Appendix 8) in order to maintain an overview of each transcript's contents. The completed themes and quotes grid for each transcript, which provided a synoptic overview of a transcript's content, was then used to compare the emergent trends and phenomena across the entire data set.

It is well documented that the transcribing process is a labour intensive one (Basil, 2010; Silverman, 2010; Cohen et al., 2018). However, the advantage of recording an interview for transcribing purposes is that you can rewind the recording to listen to points numerous times and to achieve clarity. I gave most pauses in the range of one second for the shortest and up to four seconds for the longest. Using the standard Simplified Transcription Symbols made the process of transcribing and capturing the participant's viewpoint straight forward enough. On average one hour of recording necessitated approximately four hours of transcribing. It is a laborious process but one by which the researcher stands to benefit by becoming more familiar with their data and its richness. In this study the voice of White ITE tutors and those of student teachers have been brought together to illustrate the intention and outcomes. From my position as a BME insider-outsider researcher, I am able to provide a counter-perspective which is race critical regarding the data collected.

Documents

In exploring race equality provision within ITE programmes, it is prudent to consider the intention of the initial teacher training pathways under examination. The study looked at documentation produced by the State for the purpose of checking and validating teacher training programmes in England. Document analysis is useful in that it can provide a snapshot of the research landscape under scrutiny. It is a useful means of triangulation by way of validating the study in question and avoiding bias (Patton, 1990; Bowen, 2009).

McCulloch (2004) advises the use of a range of documents that represent alternative perspectives which in their own way provide a form of triangulation thus serving to overcome problems of reliability and bias. In choosing documents as a source of data for this study, it was important to consider the authenticity of the identified documents. Documents can be designed to serve the needs of particular groups therefore bringing an element of bias into the study. The documents chosen for this study are government generated and will thereby set out the government's intentions regarding ITE policy and subsequently

incorporate bias. However, in considering the nature of race equality across four ITE pathways, it appeared logical to look at governance documents for ITE. The documents considered were the Teacher Standards (2012), the Ofsted Inspection Framework for ITE (2018), the Carter Review of Initial Teacher Training (DfE, 2016) and the Equalities Act (2010).

Documents as constructions are implicitly linked to our social and cultural state but must be questioned since they are social products that should be both examined and evaluated, not simply accepted on the basis of their content (Mason, 2002; McCulloch, 2004). The inclusion of the aforementioned documents in this study is therefore by way of a counterbalance to the voice and narrative of the tutors and student teachers. In particular these documents will be scrutinised for what they do not say as much as they will be explored for what they actually state. Their inclusion in research can provide a renewed understanding of our social and historical viewpoint at a given point in time, thereby illuminating the reality of social constructs and events (Cohen et al., 2018).

Atkinson and Coffey (2011) advise caution when considering the content of documents and suggest that both the context in which the documents are produced and audience for whom they are produced for are equally important considerations. They go on, stating that documents should indeed be seen as linked to other documents and not produced in isolation; they refer to the linked nature of documents as '*inter-textuality*'. Inter-textuality for the purpose of this study will consider the Teacher Standards (2012) and the Ofsted Inspection Framework for ITE (2018) as the main documents pertaining to ITE provision, as well as the Carter Review (DfE, 2017), the Equalities Act (2010) and the course documentation for the respective ITE pathways. These documents embody the policy intentions of neoliberal politics and their imbrication may point towards common neoliberal themes of performativity and accountability.

Silverman (2000) is critical of document analysis and suggests the process turns 'talk' in to text, whilst other researchers (Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Bowden, 2009; Cohen et al 2018;) warn against the quantification of content (although this crude approach can provide an overview of the source under scrutiny by way of frequency of content terms). However, what is suggested as being a more useful approach is where the researcher demonstrates the capacity to review meaningful passages of text or other data contained within a document and discuss its relevance in relation to the research questions posed. This study used a combination of both tools to analyse documents. The aforementioned documents were screened for use of particular terms pertaining to race equality provision (quantification); a number of terms related to race equality were searched for in the documentation to identify themes related to the phenomenon of race equality provision in ITE provision in England (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

The inclusion of document analysis within this study is intended to counterbalance the personal viewpoints of the participants and improve the dependability of the data as a whole by providing not necessarily a precise, accurate, or complete summation of events but rather, providing meaning of the documents and its contribution to the issues under discussion in this study.

Field Journal

A field journal (field notes) are a key component of a researcher's field work and may involve the researcher keeping a record of ideas, observations, reflections, thoughts, conversations, emotions and reactions (Silverman, 2010; Cohen et. al, 2018). Strauss and Corbin (2008) argue that field journals may comprise of the following elements: methodological notes for the planning or completion of a task, theoretical notes that derive meaning from observational or reflective notes, analytical notes that evaluate several inferences into an abstract statement, and observational notes to capture things, said, done or heard from others. Emerson et al. (2001) contend that field notes reconstitute the world in a preserved moment and allow it to be reviewed, studied and thought about over time.

Furthermore, the field journal is a useful tool through which the researcher can purge themselves of the many ideas, sometimes negative, to occupy the researcher's head when in the field. An example of this can be seen in my field notes dated 24/3/17:

- Frustration with the field research process. School not understanding of my position; cannot do field research from behind my desk
- Need to check uni (university) emails regularly.
- Co-ordinating/ getting 4 academics to sign up for interviews on the same day is difficult. Feel as though I'm begging. Very tired.

This entry is both an example of purging and a reminder to complete an activity. My field journal is littered with similar entries that capture the methodological, theoretical, analytical and observational nature of field work. The field journal has been invaluable in helping me to reflect on what is happening in the field as I journey through it over a period of time. Fundamentally, the field journal helps to tell a story.

Coding Process and Data Analysis

Coding can be defined as the translation of question responses and participant information to specific categories for the purpose of analysis thus enabling the researcher to identify similar information (Kerlinger 1970; Cohen et.al. 2011). Miles and Huberman (1994) assert that codes should be discrete and that the coding process should start as early as possible although there is the risk that earlier coding might influence later codes. Coding is a well-established form of narrative analysis. Newby (2010) suggests some starting points for coding: a pre-existing coding structure can be used; a coding system can be devised based on theory and researcher knowledge otherwise known as concept mapping, where the researcher shows a relationship between variables captured in the data; and emergent coding where the codes attributed arise from the data itself.

The Process of Coding

This section outlines the process undertaken to code the transcripts. The coding process adopted for this study is an inductive-deductive approach. The main themes within the study are related directly to the literature review and research questions but also takes account of emergent themes. Once the interviews were transcribed and checked against the recording, a copy was sent to the respective participants who then validated it. In assigning codes, reference was made to Lofgren's (2013) basic principles for analysing interviews (label relevant pieces, decide which codes are most important, label categories that are relevant and connected, decide if there is a hierarchy amongst the categories then write up the results). The most important principle going forward was that the attributed codes reflected the research questions and literature review. Hence, close attention was paid in this regard to ensure relevance and dependability of the data for later analysis.

At the start of each new transcribing event, the main focus for each research question was written at the top of the first page of each transcript; this acted as an easy point of reference and a constant reminder of the coding themes. Not all transcript content could be coded to reflect the main research questions, therefore new codes emerged. An extract showing how codes were attributed is situated in the Figure 6:

Codes were given colours to help identify themes more easily across the data set. Guest (2012) tells us that there is a need to examine the data analysis process in order to focus on some of the data and aggregate it into smaller, more manageable themes. Themes were coded manually which was a time consuming task but nonetheless it afforded valuable time spent familiarising myself with the data; although laborious in nature compared to the efficiency of qualitative data analysis software programmes such as NVivo and Atlas, manual coding allows the researcher to revisit the data time and again and perhaps see things that were initially missed. I briefly embarked on NVivo training but felt more confident manually coding the data. I found manual coding far more interactive as I had to get to grips with the content of the data through looking and re-looking at content. I found the labelling process

informative and it helped me to make links across the data set in order to classify the themes (Appendix 9). The main themes identified in line with the literature review were: colour blindness, race equality deficit, White privilege, avoidance (time constraints) and ignoring tactics. It was important to draw upon the theoretical framework for the purpose of analysis.

<p>Text 1 <i>The initial school I worked at when I was a TA (teaching assistant) at a primary school was in N_____, a very lovely and outstanding primary school so race and social class were not particularly relevant, there were a few Pupil Premium in the class I was TA-ing in however they were directed towards me however again, not much training so thinking on my feet.</i></p>	<p>This extract from the text was coded as: Race equality/ social justice awareness Research question 3</p>
<p>Text 2 <i>HM: Absolutely, absolutely. So, you're saying the focus therefore has been largely Pupil Premium?</i> <i>A: Yes, yes, as opposed to race or race specifically I suppose.</i></p>	<p>This extract from the text was coded as: Pupil Premium focus Key quote</p>

Figure 6: Examples of coding themes

Once the main (A priori) and emergent (subsidiary) themes were coded, all codes were entered on to a spreadsheet. Each participant's transcript containing the main and sub-themes was entered on to an Excel spreadsheet; the main spreadsheet was then used to generate other spreadsheets (groups) containing similarly coded data (themes) by use of the 'sort and filter' function within the programme, in much the same way that some coding software does. Clear relationships began to emerge through this method of questioning the data. The outcome of these relationships is discussed in the 'Analysis and Findings' chapter.

Validity and Reliability

In this section of the chapter, I will provide a procedural and substantive overview of the ethical requirements surrounding this study ethically both from a theoretical and practical level. In order to conduct the main study, ethical approval has been sought from the university using the university code of research ethics and BERA guidelines (2011). University and other 'seeking ethical approval' templates were used to produce documentation to go to participants inviting them to take part in the research. Once these documents were drafted they were submitted, through the university's ethical approval link, to be checked for fitness of purpose. Privacy, anonymity and confidentiality are important considerations within any research project in order for it to be considered valid. However, individual right to privacy is comparative to public right to know (Pring, 1984). In undertaking this research, it was my intention to be non-intrusive and leave all participants in the same state they were in prior to engaging in the study. The ethical code was adhered in order to protect the privacy of the participants and therefore make them aware of their right to withdraw from all or part of the research at any point in time. Participants' names and organisations were anonymised through the use of double distancing to mask the identity, as far as possible, of the participants in this study. Participants were given assurances that I would treat their information with the utmost confidentiality until such time that this study entered the public domain, when those assurances could not be guaranteed (Cooper and Schindler, 2001).

The three main research questions provided the initial themes to code against, but an open-minded approach was also adopted regarding emergent themes. The participant narratives through which people describe their lives (Gubrium and Holstein, 2009 cited in Silverman, 2010), were transcribed according to my experience, and the themes of this research project. The transcripts provided rich data and in trying to extract the 'truth' from what the participant was saying, the recording could be listened to numerous times to qualify what the participant's intended response was. Atkinson and Heritage (1984) remind us that the production and use of transcripts are a research as it requires close, repeated listening to which can oftentimes reveal previously unheard meanings or utterances. To illustrate the

integrity of the coding process only themes related to the research questions were coded and these codes subsequently compiled on a grid with an inference made against each code (Appendix 7 and 8).

A number of steps were taken to minimise subjective inferences of the data. For instance, a time constraint was loosely applied to the interviews by way of guidance to prevent the participant digressing too far from the core questions and the researcher potentially indulging some more than others. The time limit was for guidance purposes only. Some interviews were shorter than others but were largely dictated by the participants' willingness to engage. None of the participants were cut short; their time given to the interview was greatly appreciated and communicated as such. Each student teacher interview was designed to last between twenty to thirty five minutes whilst tutor interviews were permitted up to forty minutes in length; a semi-structured interview schedule was produced for the purpose of keeping participants (and researcher) on track for the purpose of ensuring the process was equitable for all participants, with regards to the interview content and length of discussion.

This study employed member validation for the purpose of checking the 'truth' within the transcript and coding process. Where possible I checked the validity of the transcript and coding by checking with the participant to see if they were satisfied that the data I had captured from their interview provided a true and fair view. Some of the participants had moved on in their lives and were not contactable; I was able to validate 76% (13) and 24% of participants did not (4). It was useful in having participants affirm the accuracy of their transcript. This would have in turn affirmed the accuracy of my interpretation of what they had said during the respective interviews. Indeed, asking them to check how I had coded their transcript was useful although a number of variables prevented this possibility, namely: the constraints of time, some of the participants had moved away from the case study organisations and could not be traced easily and participants may have not understood the

coding process which could have potentially complicated proceedings by entering into protracted discussions about what the coding meant.

The challenge of using semi-structured interviews was trying to ensure the participant remained on topic and did not deviate too far from the focus of the interview whilst I tried to maintain their authentic voice in response to the questions asked. Having secured their authentic voice, I then faced the challenge of endeavouring to avoid using an 'anecdotal approach to the use of data' in relation to presenting the findings, explanations and conclusion (Bryman, 1988:77). In doing so it is challenging to suppress the subjective voice of the researcher and allow the findings to speak for themselves. Fielding and Fielding (1986) proffer that the researcher's status must not be interpreted as an elevated one since their interpretation of the data cannot be taken to be a 'direct validation or refutation' of the data but merely 'another source of data and insight'. This being so, the findings chapter in this study attempts to provide an inference of the participants' narratives in relation to the themes of the study with minimal subjective inference. The presence of some (natural) subjectivity does not invalidate the study as it provides an interesting and contextualised explanation of the participants' lived experience of race equality within ITE provision.

The same can be said about the document analysis undertaken in this study. In interpreting the contents of each document, I was mindful to maintain an objective viewpoint and to suppress as far as possible my subjective voice, in order to maintain the criticality of the study. The use of a field journal was also useful as an aide memoire to ensure aspects of the study were carried out, written up or included in order to provide a full account of the field research stage and findings leading to analysis and conclusion. Through this case study I have endeavoured to produce narratives of participants that reflect a moment of time in ITE year that reflects their perspectives of race equality provision in the ITE sector.

Limitations of the Study

The study is based on well established research (Crenshaw, 1988; Bell, 1992; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Delgado and Stefanic, 2001; Gillborn, 2008; Kapoor, 2013) that supports the belief that student teacher identity affects pupil progress, which in turn is subsequently affected by White privilege and hegemony. My own ontological view has led to the research questions which considers this position further. DeVault (2010:150) states that no single study can contain everything and due to the limitations of this study it is unable to cover everything. However, it does utilise the CRT lens and specifically identify incidents of colour blindness, hegemony and White privilege within ITE, from a mainly White ITE tutor and student teacher perspective.

Although case study methodology was adopted for this study, a comprehensive profile of the participants and their organisations has not been constructed but their respective narrative accounts and their experiences are of particular importance to this study. How they have developed as practitioners on their chosen ITE pathway has illuminated the changes and victories they have experienced during their training year. However, their journey from non-critical (passive) practitioner to culturally aware (proactive) practitioner is not under scrutiny here, unlike in the study conducted by Solomon et al. (2005). It is their readiness to engage with race equality provision on their chosen ITE pathway that is of significance hence they are classified according to one of three types as previously outlined.

Qualitative samples must be large enough to provide a representative viewpoint but not too large as to become repetitive or superficial. The researcher should remain faithful to the main themes of the research and endeavour to avoid saturation (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). I was aware of the need to significantly increase the number of participants as a result of the pilot study, thus interviewing 17 participants in the main study. However, of the 17 interviewed, although not to the point of saturation due to the constraints of time, the sample was a representative view but would have benefitted further from the inclusion of

the narratives of SCITT and more BME student teachers. Unfortunately, access arrangements hindered progress in this regard.

Interviewing is one of the major ways qualitative researchers generate and collect data for their research studies (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008). This is one of the most popular means of collecting qualitative data. Yin (2009) states that a case study approach allows the researcher to develop an appreciation of a context overtime and observe the participant's lived experience. Once my data had been collected it was then ready for coding and analysis. However, researcher bias must be avoided which is why it was important for me to identify my own positionality within the study. As a researcher, I was sometimes quietly alarmed by comments made by participants, although this is not uncommon during the interviewing process (Lutterell, 2010). However, an objective distance should be maintained between the data collected and the researcher's position. The use of the CRT paradigm allowed me to explain my position and more importantly explain the perpetuation of hegemony and White privilege from a contextualised position.

Limitations of Methods

In attempting to investigate the presence of race equality within ITE provision, it became apparent following the undertaking of the literature review that the subject was vast. I ran the danger of trying to cover everything to give the study relevance and in doing so create a superficial approach to the investigation. It might then have been wise to choose one factor and explore it at length. However, due to the complexity of race issues in education I used the emergent codes and research question themes to form the basis of this study. This was sufficient up to a point but when analysing the data I recognised that I did not have data on some aspects since during the semi-structured interview I had not asked particular questions to elicit data that would have improved my findings.

The semi-structured nature of the interview questions meant that participants were generally asked similar questions. The researcher is able to formulate a set of questions that determine the direction of the interview and can probe the participant by asking supplementary questions as the researcher sees fit (Basit, 2010; Cohen et al., 2011). This can lead to in depth questioning and rich data. However, it also led to inconsistencies in the questioning as not all participants were asked the same supplementary questions. The additional asked were dependent on the response of a participant to a question, thus no two interviews were therefore the same. The participant responses were open to interpretation and this may have been correctly done or subject to researcher bias, no matter how small.

The coding process was also open to interpretation. As far as possible the main research questions provided the themes by which to code the interview data, however the emergent themes appeared which could sometimes be difficult to categorise under a main theme. This resulted in a number of standalone themes. Given the literature and the main research themes, only those emergent themes that amassed sufficient data were discussed in this study. Therefore, some themes were not discussed since the focus was specifically on race equality issues predominantly.

The other main research tool utilised within this study was document analysis at a macro-level. This took three main forms: exploring the documents for references that related directly to race equality, considering the intention and purpose of the documents, and giving due consideration to who had produced them. The documents provide a significant insight into the ITE landscape in a neoliberal climate and garner the intentions of ITE provision, and to a lesser extent the place of race equality within it. Had a micro- or meso-level form of analysis occurred instead, I may have found a deeper level of meaning within the chosen documents for this study.

Ethical Considerations

I have already discussed my position as a Black educator-researcher and described having to strike a delicate balance between respecting the views of the participants whilst maintaining a clear focus on extrapolating rich data. In addition to the qualitative nature of the study it was also necessary to consider the ethical requirements of the study. I felt that I had a duty of care to ensure that my participants were restored to their previous disposition after the interview. Their engagement with me for the purpose of the study should not fundamentally alter them. Therefore, in order to exercise the said duty ethical approval was sought using the university code of research ethics and BERA guidelines (2011). Privacy, anonymity and confidentiality are important considerations within any research project in order for it to be considered valid. However, individual right to privacy is comparative to the public right to know (Pring 1984). As a researcher I was conscious of being non-intrusive and leave all participants in the same state they were in prior to engaging in the study. In addition, it is necessary for researchers to anticipate the 'possibility of harmful information being revealed during the data collection process' (Basit 2010:61). The ethical code is to protect the privacy of the participants and therefore make them aware of their right to withdraw from all or part of the research at any point in time. Participants' names and organisations will be anonymised through the use of codes and pseudonyms.

The degree of confidentiality offered to the participant by the researcher can significantly affect the participant's willingness to be involved in the research if an 'assurance of confidentiality is weak (Kimmel 1988). Cooper and Schindler (2001:117) state that confidentiality can be protected by obtaining signed statements indicating non-disclosure of research which restricts access to the data which could be used to identify the participants. Participants were not misled about the nature of the study and were given assurances that their identity would be protected up until the point that the study or extracts from it entered the public domain. For this reason, I chose to use the double-distancing technique whereby participants' names were substituted for a code, even though I initially gave them each a

pseudonym. The issue of race is a sensitive one and I felt that double distancing offered participants greater protection.

The participants gave their verbal and written consent to participate in the study; they were informed that they were entitled to withdraw their consent at any time, which is an acceptable way of safeguarding participants throughout the interview process (Barbour, 2007). They each signed a consent form (Appendix 3). The form indicated that the interview would be an audio recording from which a transcript would be made. Participants were given their transcript to check and validate and to state whether they felt it was a true and fair view of their interview, and that they were happy for me to include it in the study. I was professional and respectful at all times, ensuring I was honest with participants at all times.

In the next chapter, I present the findings that emerged from the data collected and coding. A selection of student typologies and participant commentary is used to help the reader understand how I arrived at particular interpretations of the data, once the codes were applied in response to the main research questions.

FINDINGS EMERGING FROM DATA

5 COURSE CONTENT - COLOUR BLINDNESS AND WHITENESS

The previous chapter described the system of coding applied and how the data was analysed in line with the conceptual framework adopted for this study. This chapter and subsequent chapters will present the findings arising from three main research questions and scrutiny of ITE related documentation. The participants' narratives are multi-layered and complex but invariably linked directly to the research questions posed. The teacher typologies presented in chapter 4 will be used to analyse student teachers' readiness to adopt race equality within their own practice.

Each of the subsequent chapters presents the research findings for a research question. Within each chapter, student teacher participant responses are presented according to their typology to illustrate participant thinking as passive, reactive or progressive in response to the main research questions. The overall discussion of the findings will conclude with the findings arising from the document analysis; this will provide some context for the narratives of the participants.

At the end of each chapter a short summary will be provided to clarify the main findings arising. This will seek to aid the reader's understanding of what is under consideration and its importance to the research overall. The concluding chapter will seek to draw together the main findings of the study undertaken. At this juncture it is worth re-stating the research questions by way of a reminder of what is under consideration. The study has so far considered the (racial) neoliberal climate and the marginalisation of race equality provision within ITE. The main research questions posed were:

- What is the course content of different ITE routes (PGCE and School Direct) in respect of race equality?
- How do the pedagogical approaches used to promote race equality in ITE influence the students' learning, knowledge and practice?
- Which factors shape the students' own development of race equality awareness in an ITE context?

Participant Characteristics

In the main the White participants had little experience of working with or living in close proximity to Black communities, whilst both BME participants (L3F and L3G) spoke of their positionality within the training programme and the benefits they felt it gave them in working in a culturally diverse setting. The level of engagement of each participant varied according to their experience and time on the programme. Student teacher participants that were in the early stages of their training year were less reflective than those that were nearing completion, whilst some ITE tutors seemed unsure about how to deliver race equality provision which may in part be due to their own training experience that did not expressly teach about race equality. Villegas and Lucas (2002) identify six salient characteristics of the socially responsible practitioner which includes the need to expand the practitioner's socio-cultural consciousness and to demonstrate culturally responsive teaching. The findings highlight a need for both student teachers and ITE tutor to be engaged in cultural pedagogy (practice that is both inclusive and transformational in nature) to bring about sustainable change in the climate for learning.

The analysis of findings suggested that participants' willingness to acknowledge and manage race equality issues within the classroom may be linked with their pre-training exposure to

issues of race, social justice and otherness (Sleeter 2008; Silverman 2010). The typology section within this chapter will describe the grading process used to characterise student teachers. The findings showed that teachers that had an existing pre-entry awareness of race and social justice were the participants that were more inclined to discuss the concept of race equality provision within the classroom and their sensitivities towards these issues; conversely, those that have been raised in an all White community with little exposure to multi-ethnic communities, had a proclivity to occupy a position of avoidance or to ignore race in an educational context (Delgado and Stefanic, 2001).

Readiness for Inclusive Practice: student teacher typology

This section contains a summary table which provides an overview of the participants' disposition towards race equality in their classroom practice, and an indication of their disposition towards otherness. Their views in this regard were determined from the elicitation responses to the interview questions designed closely on the main research questions stated earlier in this chapter. The term 'disposition' refers to the psychological definition that denotes a tendency or pattern of behaviour (Perkins et. al. 1993:10).

Typologies of Student Teachers			
Typology	Group Ethnicity	Cases	Pseudonym
Passive	White British	3 cases	T2A, T3A, T3H
Reactive	White British	7 cases	T2B, T2C, T2D, T2 T2F, T3C, T3E
Proactive	Black British	2 cases	T3F, T3G

Figure 7: Student teacher typologies

Figure 7 shows the participant groupings according to their characteristics as a result of the coding and analysis of the transcripts. It provides a summary of the number of participants that were unable to demonstrate self-efficacy beyond their own needs (**passive**), were aware of issues relating to race equality and social justice in their respective schools and classrooms (**reactive**), and those that were most able to take action in relation to issues of race equality and social justice matters arising in their practice (**proactive**).

Creating the typology occurred in two phases which are illustrated in Figures 9 and 10.

Phase one considered participant responses to the interview questions posed in relation to four elements: pre-training exposure to 'otherness', references made to and understanding of the term 'socially responsible practitioner', understanding of and references to issues of social justice, and understanding of and references to issues of race equality. A 'Yes' or 'No' was attributed to their response and collated in Figure 10. Phase two of the analysis process developed responses further by attributing a score value to the Yes/ No responses in order to create a more precise picture of the student teacher characteristics. This scoring system was borne out of a discussion with my second supervisor in order to make the judgement about the participants' responses more refined. The individual element scores were as follows:

0 – No experience/ knowledge

1 – Limited understanding of race equality and social justice issues

2 – Some understanding of race equality and social justice issues

3 – Sound understanding of race equality and social justice issues

Score intervals were then decided upon. This was done by using the three typologies divided by a maximum score across the four elements of twelve. A simple computation was conducted (division of twelve divided by three) which produced the score intervals for each

typology (Figure 9 and 10). This led to the student teachers being classified according to a typology.

Score Interval	Typology Descriptor
1 - 4	Passive
5 - 8	Reactive
9 - 12	Proactive

Figure 8: Score intervals for typology descriptor

Participant Code	Ethnicity	Training Duration (months)	Pre-training: Exposure to 'otherness'	Reference to SRP	Reference to Social Justice	Reference to Race Equality
T1A	White British	Tutor		Yes	Yes	Yes
T1B	White British	Tutor		Yes	Yes	Yes
T1C	White British	Tutor		Yes	Yes	Yes
T2A	White British	8	No	Yes	Yes	No
T2B	White British	8	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
T2C	White British	9	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
T2D	White British	9	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
T2E	White British	9	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
T2F	White British	9	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
T3A	White British	2	No	No	Yes	No
T3B	White British	Tutor		No	Yes	No
T3C	White British	2	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
T3D	White British	Tutor		Yes	Yes	Yes
T3E	White British	2	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
T3F	Black British	2	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
T3G	Black British	2	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
T3H	White British	2	No	No	Yes	No

Figure 9: Student teacher disposition regarding main research themes

Figure 9 illustrates the participants' willingness to engage with elements of critical pedagogy within their practice and thereby links to Figure 11 by translating the 'Yes/No' responses to a score from zero to three for the purpose of placing each within a typology. Having totalled their scores, it was then easier to label the student teachers according to their level of engagement with elements related to inclusive practice. Thereafter they could be categorised as passive, reactive and proactive (Figure 10) according to their score total. This has been useful in qualifying my initial judgements regarding their disposition towards developing socially inclusive practice.

Participants demonstrated greater knowledge and confidence in the area of social justice showing familiarity with the term and how it might be addressed in the classroom. Alternatively, the elements referred to as 'Race Awareness' and 'Experience of Otherness' scored lower by comparison. Few of the mainly White participants had experience of communities other than their own which may have been due to avoidance or self-interest. Few of the participants had experience of the category entitled 'Disadvantage' which may have been attributable to their own level of social capital and pre-entry experience.

Participant Code	Ethnicity	Participant disposition	Level of race awareness	Reference to race	Reference to social justice	Experience of 'Otherness' pre-training	Experience of disadvantage	Total score
T2A	White British	Passive	1	1	2	0	0	4
T2E	White British	Reactive	1	1	2	1	0	5
T3A	White British	Passive	0	1	1	0	0	2
T3H	White British	Passive	1	1	1	0	0	3
T2B	White British	Reactive	2	2	3	0	0	7
T2C	White British	Reactive	2	2	2	0	0	6
T2D	White British	Reactive	2	2	2	0	2	8
T2F	White British	Reactive	1	2	2	2	1	8
T3C	White British	Reactive	2	2	3	0	0	7
T3E	White British	Reactive	1	2	2	2	1	8
T3F	Black British	Proactive	2	3	3	3	1	12
T3G	Black British	Proactive	2	3	3	3	1	12
Total Score			24	29	34	18	10	

Figure 10: Participant score based on inclusion references

Programme Content and Race Equality Provision

This research question explores the sufficiency of course content in respect of race equality provision across the four ITE pathways. The interview questions were designed around the general content of their training course. Some of participants' views were negative, but in contrast, some spoke about the positive training aspects of their respective programmes. The main training components were derived from the course handbooks (Figure 12) and from interview content regarding training components. Programme components included inclusion (SEND, behaviour generally and boys' behaviour particularly, differentiation and EAL provision), data and assessment, case studies and the teaching placement. It is fair to say that a number of the student teacher participants spoke of a training experience that was devoid of race equality provision even though they recognised the benefit of the training elements they had encountered in this regard.

Figure 11 illustrates the content of the ITE pathways explored for this study. Using the respective course handbooks (Appendix 6). Figure 11 has been constructed to provide an overview of the course content for each training pathway, as well as conveying the similarities and differences across the four training pathways.

ITE Pathways - Training Content				
	Teach First	SCITT	School Direct	University-led PGCE
Written tasks	•	•	•	•
Behaviour for learning	•	•	•	•
Assessment for learning	•	•	•	•
Learning theory	•	•	•	•
SEND	•	•	•	•
EAL	•	•	•	•
Cultural diversity		•		
Reflective journal	•	•	•	•
Lesson observations	•	•	•	•
Pre-reading		•		
Placement	•	•	•	•
Professional responsibility	•	•	•	•
Lesson planning	•	•	•	•
Subject knowledge	•	•	•	•
Pupil care/ guidance	•	•	•	•
Use of ICT in the classroom		•		
Voice care		•		•
Group work		•		•
Data use	•	•	•	•
Pupil Premium	•	•	•	•
Career advice		•		•
Educational visits planning		•		
British values	•	•		
Closing the achievement gap		•		
Identifying other groups of learners		•		
Alternative educational provision		•		
Transition	•	•		
Shadowing (school/ teacher/ pupil)	•		•	
Numeracy				•
Research informed practice				•
Engaging learners day	•			•
Global citizenship day.	•			•

Figure 11: Main ITE components taken from institutional course documents

The study identified 32 training items extracted from ITE course handbooks from the participating providers and noted that the race equality provision and its form varied between programmes: the SCITT covered 27 items, Teach First covered 21 items, the university-led programme covered 23 whilst School Direct covered 17 of the listed items.

The common components across the four PGCE pathways include the following: written and reflective tasks, behaviour for learning, assessment for learning, learning theory, SEND, EAL, reflective journal, lesson planning, placements, professional responsibility, pupil care/ guidance, subject knowledge, Pupil Premium and data usage. There appears to be little variance between the programmes in this regard. However, the programmes differ in approaches to addressing race related issues: the SCITT offers a cultural diversity day, Teach First offers its student teachers a global citizenship day, the university-led programme offers a sustainable education day and School Direct offer nothing of that nature other than the content around Pupil Premium and EAL.

ITE Pathways – Inclusion Issues Within Course Content				
	Teach First	SCITT	School Direct	University-led PGCE
EAL	•	•	•	
SEND	•	•	•	
British values	•	•		
Cultural diversity		•		
Sustainable education				•
Global citizenship	•			
Diversity (inclusion, EAL and SEND)				•

Figure 12: Race equality and social justice in sample ITE provision

There is no mention of a race equality component in Figure 12 because it is not evident in the course handbooks for either of the four training pathways scrutinised. As a result of scrutinising course documentation for each pathway, the amount of time given to training student teachers about race equality and social justice related issues varies across the four pathways. Teach First offers its student teachers an opportunity to attend its summer institute, where new recruits have to undertake a project about disadvantage in the school they visit for a week; the SCITT offered its student teachers a 'Diversity Day' whereby a school-based professional delivers the day; School Direct offered no provision to its student teachers regarding race equality in education; and the university-led PGCE offered its student teachers a 'Sustainability Day' which was linked to the United Nations Rights of the Child. This variance in provision supports the view in the NQT Survey (2014) that race equality provision in education remains inconsistent across providers.

Programme Content and the ITE Tutor

The ITE tutors were asked questions about the relevance of race equality to the training programme; the significance of social justice and race equality to developing the student teacher's awareness; and how well the course prepares the students to meet the diverse needs of learners. Views remain mixed amongst student teachers about the worth of some aspects of their training, often favouring their subject sessions over the professional studies sessions. This view is long held by student teachers and well known by ITE trainers. ITE tutor T1B (university led PGCE) observed that:

The professional course contains all the explicit sessions about the things all teachers have got to know like social justice, like Pupil Premium, like inclusion, equal opps, (0.1) gender issues, all of those things are covered in the professional course. Every university I've worked with as an external or here, that's the programme that gets the lowest vote...

This ITE tutor discussed the education for sustainable development day which was designed to promote global awareness amongst the students. This was received with mixed views by students and T1B expressed his disappointment at the students' general lack of readiness to engage with the prepared materials:

... a number of people (student teachers) left at half time. I'm willing to admit that ...We say, you know, these are important issues, we're not here to entertain, we want you to grasp this...

There is recognition on the part of the tutor that global issues are important to the development of the student teacher. However, participant T1B admits that the way the materials are communicated to the student teachers could have been given more thought to increase levels of engagement. The tutors are acutely aware of the pressures that are being placed on ITE training programmes in the UK to deliver components in line with the Teacher Standards (2012) whilst having limited amounts of time with the student teachers. The tutors discussed where they felt the provision addressed race equality in the context of the programme but felt it was treated as an anomaly rather than an integral component of the course. In the main, the tutors recognised the significance of the training programme but admitted the constraints of time, tutor uncertainty about content regarding race equality, the need for compliance and the inflexibility of current ITE components resulted in race equality not being given sufficient time for students to process the importance of this issue. This is illustrated by tutor T1A's comments:

I'd be lying if I didn't say the first and foremost thought when I sat down with a blank piece of paper to map this out back in 2011/12 were the Teacher Standards and core competencies...I would be failing in my duties as a provider if I didn't make sure that the programme fulfilled those requirements, or (that) our matrix of our core learning could demonstrate compliance against all of those Teacher Standards.

Within this excerpt, the tutor verbalises what for him is a key motivator, the need for 'compliance', as determined by the Teacher Standards (2012). Tutor T3B's (School Direct/ Teach First) response suggests that by student teachers being in a diverse setting they will acquire the skills needed to meet the needs of pupils from different ethnic minorities.

I definitely think it's very important and I actually think that if you're training somebody to be ready to teach and give them what I call the rich toolkit that they need, perhaps there is a greater need for it to be more overt. Personally, within our Academy with what I do and who I work with I think it's just in there. It is a strong element of what they get and their understanding of those broad issues, race and social issues, economics, everything that's within it.

Her comments suggest that she feels it is significant for student teachers to be in a diverse setting even though race equality is not addressed explicitly within their training programme; her belief is that the requisite skills needed to manage such issues will be acquired by a process of osmosis, simply from being present in a diverse setting. This is a tool of Whiteness in so much as the tutor takes it for granted that student teachers will simply acquire the skills without actually examining the issue of race (Callender, 2019). The 'tools' are the critical elements that reinforce dominant ideology and maintain the intactness of White supremacy and its associated longevity. Where ITE tutors are challenged to think beyond White normative ideologies, they are likely to engage these tools to 'avoid, subvert and obfuscate' (Ibid. 31) discourses regarding race and race equality thereby protecting dominant ideologies that prevail in ITE. Tutor T3B continues with avoidance tactics by stating:

... we're all open minded anyway and there is no difference which makes for a lovely working environment in terms of that and I think it is something that we do promote highly but I just think it's, we don't see any difference.

Tutor T3B's comments illustrate the colour blind nature of some ITE tutors that denies the existence of difference in education and perpetuates a 'treat everybody' the same approach which further denies the specific needs of some groups within the school community and the relevance of race within education (Ladson-Billings, 2010). This is further echoed in the comments of tutor T1A (SCITT):

I suppose you could argue that it's surreptitiously built in to the core learning programmes that we have... Could we always do more? Absolutely but it's a fine balance between delivering on all of the key agendas. Earlier I said I had thirty-eight weeks, thirty of those are spent in school so what do with the eight weeks, forty odd days? I've got to get everything across to the trainees so you do have to balance and I would never want to rob Peter to pay Paul but you do have to make sure you have demonstrated compliance across all of the Teacher Standards and prepared them to go out in to their placement schools and in to their NQT year. So you are always juggling.

The tutor's comments about race equality and social justice being 'surreptitiously built in' and 'always juggling' reiterate the reality of designing an ITE course that yields both compliance and well prepared student teachers within a limited time frame. Nonetheless, the covert embracing of such elements suggests that race equality is being avoided by some ITE tutors. Data collected from tutor T3D (Teach First/ School Direct) suggests that the schools themselves are not always confident with what constitutes race equality – or British values for that matter – and may therefore avoid and ignore the need to deliver race equality elements as it is more comfortable to do so and act in relation to their perceived self-interest or self-preservation (Martinez, 2010). Tutor T3D continues:

...it is really important but I'm not really sure as a school how we deal with social and race issues in terms of our training. So as an initial teacher trainer,

what's our kind of training from above linked to race and social class?... I think there needs to be more training at a whole school level than just looking at initial teacher training. As a facilitator I need training.

Tutor T3D admits being unsure about the school's policy on race equality provision; as a tutor she admitted struggling to translate requirements into practical terms for student teachers. Although this tutor proffers a polite and candid view of her own position in the training process, she admits being unclear about her Academy's position on race equality and might be perceived as projecting her own insecurities in this regard on to her employer in order to avoid ownership of the deficit ITE training model that has been exposed in the interview (Bonilla-Silva, 2002). Furthermore, tutor T1C (university-led PGCE) echoes this sentiment in her comments that current provision in relation to social justice and race equality is limited.

... I think in terms of my role in leading a programme I have to fight in a similar way to those newly qualified teachers, I need to inform that transformation type thinking to influence curriculum design. My role is similar in that way, in that I need to think what's important in terms of the development of that individual child as a whole, isn't it?... for me, leading the programme, it's like, how do I influence that change? It's not about me going in and doing it but it's about me going in and helping others to facilitate that and it's not easy.

Tutor reflections during the interview process illuminated the perceived challenges faced by White ITE tutors and their colour blindness regarding provision for race equality within their respective programmes. Their discourse amplified the limits of current ITE provision in this but highlights the concept of interest divergence which justifies tutors not taking action to disrupt 'racism's ever shifting yet ever present structure' since it is not in their best interests to do so since there is no immediate gain to be had (Guinier, 2004: 100). There is an

awareness and admission by tutors about the importance of race equality within ITE but semantic tactics to justify avoiding and ignoring the need to address it.

From a student teacher perspective, there is mixed response as to the inclusion of some elements of the PGCE course. However, comments from the student teachers also suggested that there is a tight time frame within which training must take place and some things may be consciously or unconsciously set aside in favour of those prescribed by the government, namely the Teacher Standards (2012). A number of the cohort spoke of the usefulness of elements of the course in preparing them to teach whilst others did not find the content especially useful and spoke of 'thinking on their feet' in order to survive their training year. This section will consider the reflections of the different student teacher typologies to course content; at the end of the student teacher response section a brief summary of the sections key findings will be provided.

Programme Content and the Passive Student Teacher

The passive group of participants (T2A, T3A and T3H) demonstrated little efficacy in relation to race equality provision within their own practice. Their reflections on course content largely focussed on: behaviour for learning, SEND, Pupil Premium and differentiation. They largely focussed on their own immediate development regarding the requirements of the programme and were unable to reflect on the benefits of race equality components within their practice. This is perhaps not such an uncommon phenomenon amongst student teachers that are focussed on survival during their training year. That being so, participants in the passive typology did not have race equality in their peripheral vision; not until confronted with the issue is any thought given to the matter, as T3A (Teach First) demonstrates in response to my question about the impact of class and race on the pupil:

No, I don't think we talked about it at all...No, I don't think we talked about it once...I hadn't even thought about it but talking to you now that would have been a very enlightening especially because of the kind of places we go to and the graduates they get, they are going to be majority like me, come from a White middle-class background...Thinking about it now it should be something that's included.

It appears that the participant had not reflected on race equality until asked about it during the course of the interview. This response would seem to exemplify colour blindness, the 'neutrality mask' and hegemony as signifiers of White privilege (Sleeter, 2017:6). Participant T2E (Teach First) admits that the topic of race equality and social justice was 'touched on' but was limited in its provision.

Yeah, I think there was a session at summer institute that did touch on it. But I think, I dunno, I don't remember thinking this is teaching me loads. I think as a human, as someone that is generally aware of things like that, I remember having that discussion with (.) during one of the sessions. Do you bring it up, or do you not? No, I think you do and that's the consensus we got to. It's our responsibility to have those discussions and for them to occur. So I don't think that's what prepared me, but it's difficult isn't it?

It appears from the participant's comments that little constructive or memorable provision is offered by ITE tutors about race equality and social justice and that conversations in this regard remain a challenge for this participant. Participant T2A (University-led PGCE) found the placement experience most useful in helping her to process course content and 'think for herself'.

I mean I've found sitting in lectures fine, stimulating, interesting, rewarding, personally rewarding, made me want to read more about it but you don't

learn anything until that normal teacher walks out the door, shuts the door and you've got those kids in front of you and you have to deal with them by yourself...you have to think for yourself.

However, participant T3H (School Direct, Humanities) suggests the course could be improved by offering race equality and social justice as an optional component that student teachers could choose to do, since she believes there is no current explicit provision in that regard.

As far as with the uni you have residentials, core lectures and optional seminars. It would perhaps be an idea to provide an optional seminar on it (social justice and race equality), if a student teacher feels they aren't adequately prepared can make that choice but at the moment it's just not an option, it's not there to be taken. There might be a way around it, as you'll have some people who are completely aware but some absolutely wouldn't need that. I wouldn't make it core but make it an option. It's not something I could do at this stage of my training.

T3H tries to explain that race equality need not be a core training component since not everyone will need it. The student teacher's comments seem to suggest that race equality may be considered at will and are not part of the core training offering. The excerpt highlights an uncoupling of race from ITE, in that if race can serve self-interest then it is worthwhile otherwise it need not be bothered with. As Bell (1987) stated, Whites will advance the views and lives of Blacks if they envisage a benefit to their own lives or communities; in the absence of a perceived benefit being available to reinforce White superiority and dominance Gillborn (2013) suggests that interest divergence is pursued. This is where economic advantage can be accrued by the direct oppression and exclusion of Black groups in society. Behind the veil of rhetoric little changes regarding the attainment gap and general inequalities in society increase for non-White citizens. T3H's comments demonstrate

her view that race is peripheral and individualistic. Participants in the passive group do not necessarily acknowledge the value of race equality in their practice and believe it to be something that they can engage with later in their career, if at all. The study conducted by Solomon et al (2005) stated that it is increasingly important that all teachers (especially White teachers) are given an opportunity to examine 'racial ascription and social positioning', since all participants entering an ITE programme will have knowledge regarding racism and oppression and can therefore evaluate its effect.

Programme Content and the Reactive Student Teacher

This group of student teachers (T2B, T2C, T2D, T2E, T2F, T3C and T3E) showed an increased awareness of inclusion issues and the need to address them within a classroom context. They were more knowledgeable and comfortable discussing socio-economic deprivation and its effect on their students than the passive group. The reactive participants acknowledged race as being an important factor in educating but were more likely to discuss not taking account of it in their practice or requiring further training in that regard. Reflections from some participants within this group suggested that provision of social justice and race equality came too late in their training year to be of use to them in real terms.

Participant T2F (School Direct) stated that programme content focussed largely on boys' behaviour and managing behaviour for learning:

Some parts have been more useful than others...We did differentiation in June and actually (0.2)... it wasn't what we needed at the end of course...Behaviour of boys. Behaviour of girls but because I'd already done unqualified teaching the previous year, I felt like the behaviour side of things was the only thing I'd

got right [laughs] and I needed to work on the others. So, a lot of what they did was quite late.

This participant stated that some programme content was not timely and did not properly aid their development when offered by the ITE provider, hence it was necessary for the participant to 'think on her feet' in order to find out about topics on her own in order to develop her practice. Different PGCE pathways allot different hours for taught elements and the order in which components are delivered varies. There is no specific order or guidance given by the government. Hence providers deliver items as they see fit, sometimes not matching the developmental need of the student teacher. Time constraints are also a factor and a number of students appreciated that this limited what support their provider could offer in terms of race equality and social justice provision.

I think they (tutors) offer you the basics of teaching because they only get you for 9 days out of the training year...It's the only uni time you have so they stick to the basics, and within that time you're only working within your subject.

Comments from participant T2F suggest that the programme experience can be pressurised for student teachers due to the way in which university taught sessions are allocated by the respective providers. This in turn can lead to limited capacity for theory acquisition, in particular knowledge related to race equality and social justice issues in a classroom setting.

I really don't think it has. ... I felt that from my course in terms of class and race, I didn't actually learn anything.

Participant T2F's comments suggest that depending on which ITE pathway a student teacher enters will depend on the level of input they receive regarding race equality and social

justice. Participant T2A, who was on a university based PGCE pathway, spoke enthusiastically about some of the content her cohort had received in relation to differentiation and the relevance of pupil background:

Well we've had many different sessions on differentiation and the varying reasons why you need to differentiate on the grounds of student needs, what that student needs. (.2) Differentiating the outcomes for them, are you going to expect that little bit less because you know that their ability has been determined by their background. So we've had sessions on differentiation ... We had a really interesting session, a lady came in from a school in L_____ ...that was massively interesting in teaching us how the background really, really does play a big part.

Taught elements about differentiation were valued by the student but little exists by way of challenging preconceived ideas of otherness and the normative behaviour of White privilege that are held by mainly White students and tutors BME pupils' ability to learn. The value of the professional studies element of the secondary PGCE, the part that would generally facilitate topics such as race equality, was questioned by some participants as not necessarily fulfilling their needs in that regard. This may suggest a new approach is required in order to prepare student teachers to engage with issues such as race equality (Ball, 2008; Mirza and Meeto, 2012; Maguire, 2014). The commentary below from three participants on three different training pathways echoes the sentiment that race equality provision is not explicit within the course although there is evidence of social justice content.

I really don't think it has... yes, I felt that from my course in terms of class and race I didn't actually learn anything.

(Participant T2F, School Direct)

...it creates an issue within the classroom and it's interesting that there's no direction, there's no one pulling you to one side. The Pupil Premium gets direction but with race equality I would suggest (0.2) again, looking back retrospectively, there's probably not enough done.

(Participant T2B, University-led PGCE)

I think Teach First does underpin that. I don't feel that that is the strongest reason why I'm aware of inequalities. I think my English degree is one of the best educations I've ever had and we looked at post-colonialism, feminism, Marxism and we also looked at from when it started, so a lot of the education from that has made me aware of issues.

(Participant T2C, Teach First)

Participants in the reactive group acknowledge the value of race equality to their practice and would appear to have fostered a level of awareness in this regard.

Programme Content and the Proactive Student Teacher

The group entitled proactive (T3F and T3G) were willing to act to address inequality on the basis of race equality. Both were Black practitioners and had lived experience of racism and its destructive effect on individuals and communities. They attributed their familiarity with issues of race to their socio-cultural background, their pre-service experiences as well as their willingness to acquire new knowledge about race related issues. Both were quite bold in their practice and seemingly fearless. Solomon et al. (2005) state that a person's identity becomes the lens through which they see themselves and informs their understanding of others

During the school-based interview, T3F's reflections suggested that she had 'A lot' of awareness regarding social justice and race issues, as well as relevant experience of both, sometimes from a personal lived experience. She felt that her Blackness caused her to respond to the pupils in a different way to her White colleagues and saw her ethnic origin as a positive advantage when managing some students at her placement school.

I do feel like when I see the Black kids or any race other than White, if I see them not putting their all in it really upsets me because they don't realise they're falling in to the stereotype and it makes me upset because they're allowing themselves to be marginalised or to be put in a box by society. So, I feel like yeah, that does reflect on my practice sometimes because I'm then like you guys don't get it and you need to get it quick. But I don't think, at first I was like oh my gosh am I racist? [Laughs]....Because I'm like why am I so like homed in and focussed on them? Well I'm not racist, I'm just aware of how the world sees them and I don't want that.

Participant T3F is candid about the way she responds to non-White students that are not engaging constructively with their education. She is not afraid to challenge pupils about their behaviour and conduct if she feels they are not engaging properly with their education. This is something that is inherent in her as a practitioner. It is not a taught trait. Ullucci (2011) argues that positive teacher-student relations are paramount in fostering a shared understanding of race in order that it is included in teaching practice. Further to this, research has found that BME students demonstrate improved levels of achievement when they are taught by teachers from a similar racial, cultural or linguistic heritage to themselves or by those that have a greater understanding of the underlying issues (Milner, 2012). However, T3F points towards a deficit model of ITE that does not make provision for race equality:

More social justice less race equality. So more about the socio-economic background of our students, SEN, we've not really touched upon race....I can't remember any part of our training really. It was mainly about SEN, about EAL and about us talking too much when we're teaching. (0.2) I don't think Teach First touches on race that much. It's kind of like yeah there's this and that's it. It's so uncomfortable for people to talk about (it) so they just kind of like we are aware, but.

Participant T3F states that race equality is not mentioned at all on her course but issues of social justice are. She admits that race is treated as an anomaly in comparison and that no one talks about. She describes conversation about race as making White people feel uncomfortable and so it is not mentioned formally, perhaps implicitly acknowledged at best. She continues:

Yes absolutely. Knowledge is power. If you are teaching people about race equality and social justice just be aware of it. I feel like it just helps people to be, I don't know, relatable and helps them to understand what the world is like and actually help them (student teachers). Whereas if you've only got teacher trainees that (.) then they're only aware of what life has shown them and that's it, one I feel like it's a barrier in getting to know the students and, I don't know, it's like being Black automatically gives me cool points [laughs].

T3F raises an important point about the danger of not teaching about race. In the absence of a racial discourse, student teachers will view the pupils through one lens only, their own monocultural lens which leads to misconceptions about the capabilities of others (McIntosh, 1989; Levine-Rasky, 2000). She views her own identity as a Black female teacher which she feels empowered by, giving her 'cool points' and ultimately agency with Black pupils. This is a level of privilege she is aware her White peers do not have. Here, the concept of privilege

is inverted since it is T3F's Black heritage, knowledge and abilities that affords her dominance in her classroom with pupils of colour (Yosso, 2005). She continues:

Understanding certain slangs which they think they can say and lie and say that's not a bad word and I'm like, I know what that word means. Knowing a song that they're singing and you're like stop rapping and they're like Miss d'ya know that song? I feel that that helps break down barriers and obviously you can't teach people that, but trainees need to be aware of certain things.

It is evident that participant T3F values and shares in the cultural capital her pupils bring to her classes. The endorsement she is able to give them through valuing their culture helps to 'break down barriers' and create greater access to the curriculum for her students (Villegas and Lucas, 2002; Yosso, 2005). Participant T3G is less forthright in comparison to T3F. T3G held precise views about feelings of helpfulness on her ITE course whilst preparing to manage race equality issues in the classroom.

Your reading doesn't prepare you for that. They talk about social needs, emotional needs, not social needs, more mental health wise, disadvantaged yes, they deal with that, but social background is never dealt with, racial background is never dealt with. It's more to do with what is within the limitation in terms of the government, what they're spending their money on. You'd have to dig harder or have an interest in that to find out more about race equality.

It is evident from T3G's comments that race equality issues in education are not being delivered, discussed or mentioned to student teachers. It would appear that the onus is on them to seek out the information themselves if they are interested in promoting culturally aware pedagogy within their practice. Her use of the word 'dig' further suggests that race

equality is well hidden within ITE provision. An explanation for this is expressed by Shilliam (2015:32) who claims that the web of Whiteness remains 'administratively, normatively, habitually and intellectually' intact, and it is Black academics and students that suffer the ostracisation and fall out from its monoculturalism. The Parekh Report (2000) recommended that race equality and diversity in ITE was more comprehensive; almost twenty years on this is still not the case. Participant T3G states she must 'dig harder' to find out about race in education and calls for student teachers to be given an opportunity to acquire particular skills to help all pupils learn. She felt that a failure to provide such opportunities could hinder pupil progress:

It's important to ensure that they (student teachers) have an understanding of cognitive, social, emotional, physical and mental health factors that can inhibit or enhance pupil education.

Participant T3G recognises that her own skills as a mother help her to navigate the challenges of the classroom and it gives her the confidence to encourage Asian girls and boys to be more focussed and ambitious in her class. Through use of her maternal instinct and skills, she feels empowered as a student teacher to continue with her training as she is beginning to witness the difference her presence in the classroom has on some students (Mirza, 1997; Maylor, 2009):

...now I am (confident) because I think I'm reaching a point where I am kind of impacting the lives of these kids because you see some of them and it's like a thirst, taking your words really seriously and that's the joy.

In summary of research question 1, it would therefore appear that unless there is a commitment on the part of the student teacher to engage with issues of race equality and social justice in education during their training year, then the reality seems to be that little

provision is made in that regard by ITE providers, and often no provision exists in the case of tackling race equality in education.

6 PEDAGOGY IN ITE - IGNORE, AVOID AND SELF INTEREST

This section of the chapter considers the respective ITE training pathways for similarities and differences in response to the research question regarding pedagogies used in the promotion of race equality, and of those identified which influenced the students' learning, knowledge and practice.

Tutor Responses

Here tutors respond to how they feel their respective programmes promote social justice and race equality. Some responses are more confident than others, whilst one tutor in particular questions her own self efficacy in educating her team. Firstly, this study will consider what tutors believed to be strengths of their delivery model in promoting the fundamentals of social justice and race equality. Provision for EAL was generally felt to be done well across the training pathways but often cited as a response to race equality rather than being seen as a learning need that needs to be addressed. This is illustrated by tutor T1B's comments:

And while it might not be about social class and race explicitly they'll be elements of it within probably, I think probably within when they're looking at diversity, when they're looking at differentiation, special educational needs, EAL in particular – I think those elements they'll probably have those types of things they'll be reflecting on. What are the needs of those individual pupils?

There is seemingly a large degree of uncertainty around provision regarding race equality within ITE suggesting that it could happen by chance but may not. There is a misconception amongst the profession that the inclusion of EAL provision in an ITE programme constitutes adequate race equality provision. The inclusion of EAL provision in an ITE programme is for the purpose of meeting learner needs, it does not in itself constitute race equality education

in ITE. Provision must endeavour to go deeper than that. Tutor T1A comments on the variety of different provision across the partnership school in addressing aspects of the programme:

We obviously talk about the challenges facing (.) many of our students (pupils) who have SEND needs, so there are issues around equality there particularly the EAL language barrier (.2) that some of our students (trainees) will face. We also talk about equality and discrimination issues when we look at the safeguarding, child protection issues. So there are three overt sections of our programme that deliver that. Obviously when they are in placement schools each placement school is responsible for delivering its own contextualisation of those agendas and each one, even though some of our schools are two or three miles apart, each one has a very different socio-economic catchment area and therefore the context is subtly different.

Tutor T1A states that his programme (SCITT) addresses equality and discrimination issues in the context of safeguarding and child protection issues, EAL and SEND – within the parameters of government policy. Like T3B's approach, outlined in this section, inclusion is open to provider interpretation and provision varies from one provider to the next. The SCITT's partnership model tried to adopt good practice and drew upon the experience of its school practitioners to deliver elements of the ITE programme by way of sharing their expertise. Tutor T1A explained that the pedagogic approaches adopted on the programme:

There are some strands of our core learning programme and we deliver that ourselves with our expert practitioners drawn from across the partnership... There are other good and outstanding schools in our partnership, and we can learn as much from them, my lead subject tutors are drawn from the alliance of schools because they're seen as experts in that particular subject to instil that subject knowledge and pedagogy in the trainees.

The variety of pedagogic approaches is reinforced further by the demographics of the school experience. Tutor T1B considers his own research in this regard:

...a lot of people suggested that PGCE was very good at awareness raising, so it raised awareness of issues and things, but it really did depend on the practical placements and how that was applied and whether they really had practical experience to embed skills which would help them with a multicultural, multilingual classroom...Some of them said 'We were prepared very well for classrooms with students from an Asian background but much less well for the school I went to where there were a lot of kids from Africa.

Tutor T1C became quite reflective during the course of the interview with regards to current provision and how it could be improved in the future. The tutor recognised that the secondary PGCE course she leads was 'not doing enough' to promote social justice and race equality and that a week's consideration should be given to EAL, social justice, SEND and race equality respectively:

We need to think about, well, how could we do that? So, you know, we have a special educational needs week, an EAL week, a race and diversity week; so it allows for that more explicitly than we have done. So we are thinking about it but we're a bit behind really in terms of what we need to be providing...I just don't think that we're doing it enough, I don't think we're doing enough explicitly around race equality and social justice. Now social justice may well come up in specific subjects in their curriculum, in citizenship or may be R.E. (religious education). So again, they may cover it in more detail. Science? They wouldn't cover that in their curriculum but they may cover it through SEND but I do think we need to look at that model of may be a week around race equality and social justice.

Participant T1C's comments were candid regarding the insufficiency in current provision and admits the programme needs to do more to promote race equality and social justice in equal measures. Participant T3B in response to being asked about how the programmes she is responsible for promotes social justice and race equality, responded by saying:

Ok, so if I'm thinking about that, when it becomes relevant is more on the professional side, professional conduct and then being broad minded about things (.), accepting. Obviously, everything is underpinned by us promoting British values but there is a massive amount of respect for all and that is driven by those parts of the teaching standards. I'm thinking about it but I can't actually answer it completely and say hand on heart we are doing that completely...Because we're not.

The participant viewed the promotion of race equality and social justice as elements pertaining to professional conduct rather than affecting the pupils' educational context but also admits to the insufficiency of current provision in this regard. She goes on to explain her point further by stating that 'British values' and 'respect' underpin the teaching standards.

...basically I would say you just don't allow anyone to say anything bad about what really underpins being British (0.2), the government, the queen etcetera, etcetera and it's almost as though, it's not like we just talk about it, it's almost like we defend. Does that sound right?

The rhetorical nature of the tutor's statement on British values suggests that she is neither certain or confident about her understanding of what British values are or how to perhaps deliver them. This then highlights a possible training issue, in that tutors require training in how to deliver race equality, social justice and British values.

Pedagogy and the Passive Student Teacher Typology

In reflecting on the pedagogy employed on their respective ITE routes, the passive group vocalised enjoyment for the school placement, which is corroborated by the other student teacher typologies as being the most enjoyable aspect of the training process; this aspect helped them develop a better working knowledge of social justice and to a much lesser extent race equality.

I'm benefiting greatly from this second placement because it's giving me a lot more creativity which can always be transferred into a different kind of school environment.

(T2A, University-led PGCE)

That (placement experience) would definitely go first and then (0.3), I don't think we've done any CPD on it yet. I would put the university, may be second as they talk a lot about Pupil Premium and how we can tackle that and then (0.1) I'd probably go CPD and then my mentor. However, CPD and my mentor, we haven't really talked about it (social justice and race equality)...Pretty much all the learning I've done has been here (on placement) and yes, they tackled Pupil Premium and social justice but everything else I'm figuring it out as I go.

(T3A, Teach First)

Mentor sticks out the most. Incredible. Just having that one person that you can go to for anything and everything (0.1) and they still like you at the end of it...I think I was really fortunate that I got such a good mentor and she had so much experience and there wasn't a question she couldn't answer.

(T2F, School Direct)

There is no mention of race equality being ‘tackled’ by course tutors but instead the student teacher is ‘figuring out’ as she goes along. This is in line with comments made by participant T2B earlier in this chapter about ‘standing on my own two feet’. It would seem then that although some effort is made by ITE training programmes to address inclusion, diversity and equality issues, there seems to be a feeling amongst student teachers that the pedagogic approaches adopted for this purpose could go further still. In the meantime, student teachers depend on their own knowledge and skills in this regard.

If I’m honest really only A (pedagogic sessions at the university) and B (school-based CPD). There were some, not this specific, there were some sessions that did touch upon it (social justice) in the university training and residential training that I have found useful and have actually been able to use in those situations. I have had one session talking about White British underachievement, and actually what that means and what that looks like in terms of individual students, them not having a clean bed and those kind of things. It was the joining of the dots for me. Yes, I knew they were on Pupil Premium, yes I knew this but actually I hadn’t put that in to what that looks like.

(T3H, School Direct)

Here the participant admits that some of the university sessions and CPD was of use. Conversely, there were comments that showed frustration with the reflective journal and that it was arduous to complete.

I kind of have a mental conversation and make a note about what I need to improve on the next lesson so, I think it’s a bit of a burden (0.2). I found it useful. I stopped doing it about two weeks ago.

(T2A, University-led PGCE)

...I think if I'm being perfectly honest from the training I received at summer institute, I just don't remember it. I remember being a bit bored if I'm honest...Just felt like they were delivering it because they had to deliver it.

(T2E, Teach First)

The students in the passive group enjoyed the placement experience of the programme, identified the need for improved provision regarding social justice and race equality and some found the completion of the reflective journal arduous.

Pedagogy and the Reactive Student Teacher Typology

This group also enjoyed the placement experience and viewed it as the most useful part of the programme with regards to developing their knowledge about social justice and race equality in a classroom setting.

Yeah, the placement, yeah being in the classroom every day you learn something new...Such diverse people. Learning by experience, I guess.

(T3C, Teach First)

Yes. Mostly. It's (0.2) a lot harder than I thought and is definitely the toughest thing I've ever done. With all the uni work on top of learning to teach it's kind of like full on, crazy.

(T2C, Teach First)

I am loving the course, at the beginning I was so enthusiastic but...I'm so looking forward to having the Christmas holidays now.

(T3E, School Direct)

There was a general feeling amongst participants that the input given by their respective providers regarding race equality in particular, was insufficient but provision was deemed adequate for social justice issues. This is illustrated by participant T2B's reflections:

...we went to some great lectures on social justice and that sort of thing and had the sessions on some sensitive issues but there was very little in terms of actual practical advice or opportunities to speak to people that might be more aware of the current issues. Most people who were delivering the sessions were from Northfields University, who have been out of mainstream schools for however long they are now lecturers, so their information is going to be a few years behind. It might have been nice to spend more time specifically speaking about the context about the schools we were going into.

Participant T2B mentions that there is little 'practical advice' available nor opportunities to engage with experts in the field of race equality to glean knowledge from. Participant T2B also saw little of value in a university session he attended regarding global citizenship; whilst participant T3C (Teach First) felt his time on the training pathway 'paid lip service only to issues of social justice and race equality'.

I was like this is a bit pointless... Fundamentally, the student sessions, I would suggest that if you made this a sign-up nobody would go. No one would go because you don't place value on it because you could spend the time

differently because you're so busy as a student teacher. If you make it kind of mandatory, I feel that it would be kind of relevant.

(T2B, University-led PGCE)

So, there is a lot of rhetoric about social justice, about achieving social justice for the pupils and the Teach First programme is based on that principle.

Talking about how we can level the playing field, as such, for pupils who don't get opportunities because of where they live and what sort of families they're born into.

(T3C, Teach First)

The suggestion that such issues in education should be a 'mandatory' requirement for student teachers is an interesting one. The Teach First mission statement promotes fairness and claims to 'unlock the potential in all our children, not just some' (Teach First, 2017). This is contrary to the reflections of Teach First participants since they did not feel that race equality, as an aspect of justice, was explicitly promoted in its pedagogy. A Teach First report (2017) makes no explicit reference to race within its text and employs the generic term 'disadvantaged pupils' which covers all conceivable bases but none specifically with regards to inclusion. There is a need for explicit references to race within ITE. Participant T2B's reflection demonstrated his own analytical lens through which he believes current provision could be improved, despite the placement being of the greatest value in his view. Similarly, participant T2F (School Direct) comments on the limited amount of time available to attend university sessions when training on the job.

I think more so the basics (SEND, EAL, behaviour) of teaching because they only get you for 9 days out of the training year...It's the only uni time you have so they stick to the basics, and within that time you're only working within your subject.

Participants T2F and T2B were in general agreement regarding the need to improve current provision in preparing student teachers for the placement experience.

...rather than tell us what our lectures are going to be, I think we should be given more of an option and to say that this is the area that I'm struggling in because we are training on the job and everyone that I spoke to felt that this is pointless, I don't need to be in this one. Again, do more in August for September may be?

She continues:

May be ask us what we need rather than tell us what they think we need because training on the job is completely different to a normal PGCE I think.

An 'option' approach and increased student teacher autonomy is being suggested by these participants. It follows then that comments from the student teachers about the quality of the mentoring they received in relation to social justice and race equality basis varied from placement to placement. The quality of mentoring offered was dependent on the mentor's professional identity in relation to race equality and social justice. Participant T2B suggests that input on issues is dependent on them arising in the first instance:

Mentor in relation to advice? Again, I've not met with, my mentor is Sally and she's been fabulous throughout but again I've not sought advice so therefore why should she know that kind of thing.

This comment suggests that the student teacher hasn't sought information about race and social justice matters but more importantly information on these issues has not been offered

by the mentor in any regard. The comments below illustrate the influence the mentor has on the training process and the variability (NQT Survey, 2014) in the placement experience as a result of variation in the quality of mentoring.

I'd say (0.3) pedagogy looks at it (social justice and race equality) more from an analytical perspective and that does give you the facts and the figures (0.3) the sort of statistics and stuff, it does open your eyes in that sense. In terms of how to teach it, that's probably your mentor as they advise you on how to get that across, how to do it in the right way and stuff.

(T3E, School Direct)

It depends on the individual and also the school.

(T2D, Teach First)

Overall then, the reactive participants proffered clear views about the usefulness of the placement, the variable quality of mentoring in relation to issues of race equality and social justice, and that university sessions might be designed differently to adopt either optional or mandatory units of study in social justice and race equality which would improve current provision and allow the student teacher more autonomy during the ITE process.

Pedagogy and the Progressive Student Teacher Typology

This small group of participants vocalised views about the quality of their teaching placement, their mentoring experience, reading materials and reflections. With regards to reflections about the quality of mentoring, participant T3G admitted that her mentor

promoted social justice provision, since the mentor had responsibility for this across the school and offered no insights with regards to race equality.

I have Mrs M_____ who is my mentor and is in charge of Pupil Premium who is always making me aware, 'Remember that these kids are coming in from different backgrounds as annoying, as they may be they have other issues. So, she tries to kind of enlighten me a little bit and open my eyes.

Participant T3G appears to suggest that input regarding socio-economic disadvantage from her mentor was due to the level of knowledge and awareness the mentor had in this regard. She continues:

The mentor, I would probably say from this (list provided); most of my knowledge has come from her and how the system is and what to look for...And she's got over 30 years' experience and she's worked with various types of kids and various types of situations. So, she's quite experienced.

Participant T3G rated the placement experience highly as did participant T3F, who did not value the CPD or pedagogy on offer. Participant T3G also felt the placement experience was of high value:

Teach First made us do a placement for a week and I did mine in south L_____ in C_____ and I was really scared [laughs]. Because I was like oh my gosh what are these kids going to be like? And it was really eye-opening because the head of Maths and the assistant head of Maths were past participants of Teach First...

Participant T3F describes her first placement experience as ‘eye-opening’ and showed appreciation for the insights her school-based colleagues shared with her in the first school placement. However, she admitted she was reliant on her own knowledge and pre-course experience with regards to issues of race.

Overall, the proactive group of participants was not dissimilar to the passive and reactive typologies in that they highlighted the limitations of their chosen ITE pathway in relation to race equality provision. However, the key difference emerging is that the proactive student teachers were more self-reliant and able to draw on their pre-course experience, skills, knowledge and abilities to negotiate the landscape of the diverse twenty-first century classroom. Their heritage and cultural capital empowered them to challenge racism and disadvantage with confidence in their classroom settings (Solomon et al. 2005; Yosso, 2005; Gillborn, 2008; Sleeter, 2017; Callender, 2019). This further illustrated their greater levels of self-efficacy in overcoming these barriers to pupil learning and ensuring access for all.

7 SELF DEVELOPMENT: RACE EQUALITY AWARENESS IN STUDENTS

The third main research question considers which factors shape the students' own development of race equality for classroom practice. The study so far has presented evidence that shows that although attempts are made by providers to address elements of inclusive education such as disadvantage, there are evident limitations within the current provision. Students teachers in this study have discussed these constraints and lack of provision quite candidly. The findings suggest that the strategies student teachers may employ to address race equality during their year on an ITE programme include: capitalising on their background and life experience, self-awareness and Black practitioner activism, although the latter characteristic is unique to Black practitioners it would seem. This chapter offers excerpts from the student teacher participants to illuminate these characteristics.

Student Teacher Background and Race Equality

During the interview participants T2A, T2B, T2F and T3F reflect with a high degree of contemplation, articulating the relevance of their pre-course knowledge and experience in helping them to address race equality issues in a school setting. Participant T2A states:

In terms of race issues, I think I'd probably have a greater understanding just because I've travelled a lot and I've been in many different cultures. Actually, I went to the south of the North American continent last summer and did a lot of treks around the plantations and learned a lot about American history.

Participant T2A's learned experience and exposure to other cultures by her own admission have helped her to feel more confident in dealing with matters of race equality. Participant T2B also provides examples of how his pre-course experience has helped him to manage

identity salience. Here he explains how pre-ITE programme experience as a teaching assistant (TA) helps him during his school placements.

The initial school I worked at when I was a TA (teaching assistant) was at a primary school in R_____, a very lovely and outstanding primary school so race and social class were not particularly relevant, there were a few Pupil Premium in the class I was TA-ing in however they were directed towards me. However again, not much training so thinking on my feet... at A_____ Academy, I was a learning support assistant working with behavioural difficulties and Pupil Premium children. Again and again I was thinking on my feet and became more aware (of social justice and race equality) as time proceeded.

He went on:

But again, training before that was nothing. Joined the PGCE and we've never had a session on it. Not even an afternoon on race issues or social class issues in school. It (TA role) set me up quite well that I had the training before for two years in a school setting but beyond that I would suggest probably nothing.

Participant T2B suggests that he received little preparation from his ITE provider to address race equality and social justice issues in the classroom. He explains that had it not been for his pre-programme experience as a TA then he made have found the challenges harder to manage, or perhaps ignore the issues completely as some might. Participants T2F and T2B (below), respectively, both agree that their subject knowledge has helped them to develop strategies for addressing race equality and social justice in their respective classrooms:

Yes, within my subject Ethics and Philosophy, it's coming up all the time, discrimination, prejudice, how we can overcome it. In some areas we have

what we need to work on, so yes race is a big one, in this school especially because it's so multicultural. My subject, citizenship, lends itself to the wider society. It is fundamentally covering the wider society and even humanities in general it covers the wider society and should be viewed in every subject.

These reflections show that even where time constraints operate on training pathways or there is simply a lack of provision in relation to race equality and social justice, some student teachers are able to develop their awareness further through the subjects they teach and in turn facilitate pupil validation and access to the curriculum. Next, T3F reflects on her journey into teaching, her background and how it helps her to manage race and social justice in a school setting.

I guess I've always tutored. Like after I'd done my GCSEs and when I was in A-level I tutored people in my church and people in my community. Then tutored cousins, so I've always been tutoring and last year I went to South Africa for three months for volunteering and I was the only one that could teach secondary school, primary school and A-level... I've had social class and race inequality from both sides. I've had Black people tell me I'm not Black enough and I've had White people tell me that you're well-spoken for a Black person [laughs]...I'm definitely very aware of it.

T3F's own experience of race equality and social justice issues has heightened her awareness and ability to deal with some of the school-based inequalities (Bhopal, 2015). Where she speaks of 'not Black enough', this is a slur often levelled at a Black person by another Black person because they are deemed too Eurocentric. This further highlights the gauntlet that some Black practitioners have to run in order to work in education; members of their own community label them as imposters; a more common term for this is 'coconut' where the individual appears to be black/ brown on the outside but white on the inside . It can be a hurtful slur levelled at a Black individual but also illustrates the White cultural capital yoke

that Black practitioners may inadvertently wear in order to get along and survive in what is a well documented predominantly White profession (Osler, 1997; Maylor, 2009). There has been a great deal of research that has explored the experiences of BME staff and students in HEIs and ITE alike. Much of the said research points to racism, discrimination and low expectations which has a significant impact on the lives of Black individuals' professional and student roles (Nieto, 2010; Grant and Sleeter, 2011). Wearing the White cultural capital yoke might be viewed as an assimilationist strategy by some, whilst others will deem it necessary to acquire economic freedom and avoid being Othered.

Self-awareness

Participant T3H's reflections demonstrate that her understanding of race equality and cultural awareness arise from her pre-ITE programme experience.

I'm fortunate enough to have quite a few mixed race members of my family so I do see that Caribbean side, it's not a very different culture but slightly different. Different enough to make a difference to how they interact with one another in the classroom. So, my awareness of that from a personal level is probably better than somebody who has no mixed race members of their family. So, I understand it probably a little bit more than others do but that's not through training or anything else.

This participant uses her life experience and cultural background to navigate the challenges a socio-economically and racial diverse classroom setting would pose. Participant T2C's own awareness regarding matters of race and social justice are fuelled by her own interest and knowledge of post-colonialism and its discriminatory practices have made her aware of the inequality in society. This informs her own practice and the way she teaches.

I think my English degree is one of the best educations I've ever had, and we looked at post-colonialism, feminism, Marxism ... I think that's where my knowledge of social injustice comes from.

(Participant T2C)

Stuff like that is so powerful. I'm a strong believer that art and literature is supposed to communicate those inequalities and it is supposed to educate us in that way and because this literature and stuff we are reading is so outdated, even the play is 1945 and although some of the issues could be raised in modern day, it's definitely not the same. I feel because of that it's very hard to educate the students on those subjects.

Although participant T2C recognised the importance of her subject to 'communicate those inequalities' to her pupils and therefore challenge privilege and hegemony, she admits that it is difficult to 'educate the students on those subjects' (Bhopal and Rhamie, 2014). This illustrates the typology of those student teachers this study has characterised as reactive. These participants are culturally aware and wish to engage in inclusive practice but can lack the means to do so. Participant T3E admits she does not think about the relevance of social inclusion because her socio-economic background is similar to the pupils she teaches; it is not something she has given thought to. hooks (1990) fervently argues that Whites are content to analyse Black people but pay little attention to Black perceptions of Whiteness. Whites recognise the representations of Whiteness to be good, benevolent and innocent whilst Black representations of Whiteness can amount to capriciousness, cruelty and terror. This is a trope of critical race theory. Many critical race theorists argue that laws generally omit the authentic voice of the racially subordinated, despite the marginalised having knowledge that White privileged lack (Harris, 2012). The lack of student teacher reflection in this regard is illustrated below:

...social class isn't really a big thing for me but that's because of the circles that I mix in, they're not that different (to the school) so maybe that's why.

When asked how her background might help her to deal with the challenges of race equality in her classroom, she responds by saying:

It definitely keeps you open minded which I feel you need to be. It allows you to deal with certain issues with more understanding, safeguarding issues and things like that, other cultures, with students and that (.). I don't know. It's lots of things really. Even when you've got things in the class, like today we were going around the world and doing culture, background, Eid and celebrations and what traditions we all had. We were discussing it as a class. It was lovely to hear and embrace those different cultures which I think you just need.

Although T3E states that 'social justice isn't really a big thing for me', her background and open-mindedness to otherness allows her to facilitate learning tasks that validate individual origins of her students thereby increasing the cultural capital (Bourdieu 1977). Conversely, some student teachers' level of self-awareness may be imposed by their training provider and result in the individual believing the organisation's rhetoric:

I just really liked the idea that it (Teach First) was just challenging, the expectations we have for (.) like disadvantaged kids and how we're going to tackle it and I think by sending us graduates in, even though we're not the most experienced teachers in the world, we go in with that mission, they call it the Teach First mission, to kind of have really high expectations and perhaps help these kids who might otherwise might not have a stable kind of good teacher. Although we're not experienced at all we go in with that kind of mission.

Participant T3A recognises she and her peers may not be 'the most experienced teacher in the world' but demonstrates a high degree of self-efficacy and determination nonetheless to accomplish the Teach First mission 'to unlock the potential in all our children, not just some' and try to make a difference in the lives of students from disadvantaged backgrounds (Teach First, 2017). However, T3F responds differently to the mission:

...students that you're teaching are going to be put into the wider world so why wouldn't the teachers be aware of where you're putting them in to. I feel like with Teach First especially a lot of the teacher trainees have like a messiah complex, whereby they're like we're going to go in to these schools and be amazing teachers. Just like I love the enthusiasm but let's be real now.

Her view is pragmatic and reflects the reality that all pupils will enter the world of work at some point on leaving school. Her pragmatism is in part due to her own lived experience and awareness; she thinks that practitioners should understand the reality of educating young lives in an urban setting from socio-economically challenged backgrounds. She is also fundamentally aware that some of her peers are less than realistic and adopt a seemingly colonial missionary approach to teaching in a multicultural setting. Picower (2009: 207) argues that White teachers can perceive their presence in urban schools to be 'altruistic and helpful'; they do not appreciate being told to look at themselves and know the impact of their own White identity as this is deemed another thing they must undertake by way of preparing to teach in a multicultural setting when already anxious about doing so. Participant T3A seemed realistic about the proposition of teaching in an urban setting unlike some of her peers on the Teach First programme.

Black Practitioner Activism

This phrase to capture what I felt was ontologically true. As a Black practitioner, some of us relate differently to the Black child because of our lived experience in education, we know the challenges they face daily in school due to having experienced it for ourselves. Having knowledge of the potential harshness of the education system on young Black lives, some of us approach the teaching of Black pupils differently to our White peers. The two Black student teachers, T3F and T3H, in the proactive group share insights in this regard. There are only two practitioners in this group. I wanted to include this section because it appeared significant that both BME student teachers interviewed in this study drew upon their own cultural capital and heritage in order to validate pupil experience and create greater access to the curriculum. Both practitioners spoke of being able to communicate with pupils in a way that pupils could understand whilst participant T3G went further and stated that she communicated 'with them (BME pupils) in a way their parents would at home' so they would understand the message and settle down to learn. Participant T3G spoke of 'deficit' education in terms of Black pupils' educational experience, where curriculum access is compromised due to disproportionate exclusion rates, continued low teacher expectations, a largely mono-cultural curriculum. For these reasons her pedagogical approach with Black pupils was different to that of her White peers, as a result of her contextual knowledge about educating the Black child.

Yes, I would say I am more aware especially when you're dealing with some of the (0.1) coloured students... They are the (.) Black students or Somali students, you would caution them in the way you know their mothers are doing it, so you are using the language that they probably are familiar with.

Her use of the word 'coloured' perhaps stems from her African origins where the term is still in everyday usage, whilst in Britain the terminology for Black people has evolved in British society. Alternatively, my insider position as a Black woman, may have permitted her to use the term in a non-problematic way, with the assumption that I am familiar and accepting of

that term of reference. Similarly, participant T3F drew on her Black identity to gain greater access with her students and keep them on side. She made references to the language and music that Black students referenced in her class. She spoke of how she used this access to gain kudos with her students and surreptitiously manage behaviour for learning. She is highly reflective of the practice she observes:

I also, yeah, some of the things certain teachers say about certain students and then you meet the student and then you meet the student and you're like (O.1) is it because they're of this race and they're then being stereotyped. We all have difficult students but there's a difference between a difficult student and just a bad, disruptive student. And I feel like sometimes when they're disruptive and they're of a different race they might be pushed into being a bad student. They are not bad, they are just being disruptive.

Her reflections suggest that her colleagues may be stereotyping some pupils on account of them being racist, inadvertently. This view underpins the importance of the student teacher's pre-course knowledge, experience and background in the process of developing as an inclusive practitioner. Only the Black student teachers spoke of using cultural knowledge, cultural capital, in this way to facilitate learning.

In summary of RQ3, the findings present three main ways that student teachers try to develop their own understanding and practice regarding race equality, namely by capitalising on their background and life experience, self-awareness and Black practitioner activism. The latter strategy is specific to Black student teachers, some of whom will relate differently to the pupils compared to their White peers, due a common culture (that is not the dominant White culture) and community ties.

8 ITE REGULATORY DOCUMENTS AND RACE EQUALITY

The previous three chapters the main findings from the data are presented in relation to each of the research questions. This chapter will provide the main findings arising from exploring key documents felt to be relevant to the ITE process. The study undertook the scrutiny of a number of key policy documents that frame the said provision in England, namely the Teacher Standards (2012), the Carter Review of ITT (2015), the Equalities Act 2010 and the Ofsted Inspection Framework (2019). Due to the constraints of this small-scale qualitative study, the depth to which these documents can be explored is limited but it is felt that their inclusion in this study is required since it provides an insight to the training context and is useful in locating the study within the ITE landscape.

This study has discussed the use of the CRT lens to acknowledge the existence of racism within the wider society and its institutions (Macpherson Report 1999). In employing CRT in this study it is also necessary to use critical discourse analysis to consider the nature of things said within the respective documents and reflect on the nature of the ‘top-down’ approach regarding strategy and policy, rather than a resistance approach from a ‘bottom-up’ perspective. Critical discourse analysts strive to ‘enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce or challenge relations of power and dominance in society’ (van Dijk, 2008:7). The intention of this study is in part to investigate the onslaught of ‘racial neoliberalism’ (Kapoor 2013) and the eradication of references to equality in the State’s education strategy.

The Teacher Standards

In attempting to analyse the content of the Teacher Standards (2012), it is necessary to adopt a diachronic perspective that takes account of the development of the Teacher Standards and its language usage from 1984, when the first set of statutory teacher competences were published under a Conservative government, up to the current day when the first set of standards were published under a Labour government in 1997 (Smith, 2013).

To understand the importance and development of the language used therein to construct the professional requirements, this study considers the political and hegemonic implications in arriving at the current standards and the implications for race equality provision in ITE.

In considering Competence 11 (DES, 1984), it states that student teachers will need to learn how to respond flexibly to such diversity (ability, behaviour, social background and ethnic and cultural origins) and to guard against preconceptions based on race or sex of pupils. There is evidence to suggest that in the 1984 Competences there was a level of flexibility that was required in interpreting its content and an acknowledgement that the student teacher may enter the ITE programme with preconceived ideas about pupils' gender and race. In some regards this acknowledged the effect that teachers can have on the academic achievements of pupils. This view is also influenced by the content of the Rampton Report (DES, 1981) which stated that the unintentional racism of teachers led, in part, to poor learning outcomes for many West Indian pupils within the English school system (Smith 2013). This illustrates perceptions of a deficit model of education amongst new entrants and the profession. Critical race theorists accept racism as normal and not an aberration in society and that it proliferates all levels of life as a means of maintaining hegemonics and White privilege (Delgado and Stefania, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 2009; Leonardo, 2009).

By 1989, the National Curriculum had become mandatory for schools in England. It is worthy of note that the first chair of the National Curriculum Council stated that it was made 'starkly clear' to him that any mention of multicultural education was deemed unacceptable (Tomlinson, 2005); so begins the change in lexical choices and of those invited to participate in the National Curriculum working groups, as there was a distinct lack of Black representation. This notion of deficit is important to the critical race theorists. Their belief is that such views contribute to the continuing academic low academic attainment of young Black lives in the English school system. Furthermore, critical race theorists purport that education practitioners are too accepting and uncritical of the curricular structures being purveyed, which compounds the structural racism that the National Curriculum is

constructed around (Yosso, 2005). Therefore, the need for teachers, and indeed student teachers, to contemplate otherness in the form of diversity, race and cultural deprivation is that which is outside of the norm of 'Whiteness'. Ladson-Billings (199:219) states that 'diversity...is that "thing" that is other than White'. Research has demonstrated that curricular and educational structures as well as policies in England have favoured both White and middle-class norms (Gillborn 2005, 2008, 2010; Reay 2009).

By 1993 the Dearing Review which followed the abolition of ILEA in 1990, had significantly reduced any references to race, ethnicity, gender, social background or community within the competencies. The Report was commissioned by the UK government and subsequently published in 1997. It was the largest review of Higher Education undertaken since the 1960s and its most significant recommendations was to change funding for undergraduate programmes and introduce student loans. Smith (2013:435) reports as follows:

There is no reference at all (in the standards or the accompanying guidance) to race or ethnicity, or community, or indeed gender or social background, and only an oblique reference to pupil need in competence 2.5 (under teaching strategies/pupils' learning)...which states: Newly qualified teachers should be able to: Identify and respond appropriately to relevant differences between pupils.

Smith argues that the competence is open to interpretation by both student teachers and ITE tutors alike and appears to depend on the individual's knowledge with regards to teasing out the 'relevant differences' that exist within the school population. As long as the student teacher is able to demonstrate awareness of the implicit factors affecting pupil learning and respond accordingly, the onus is shifted to the pupil to perform and react to the learning opportunities available to them. However, critical race theorists view this approach as problematic since middle-class hegemony is presented as the norm and against which 'others' will be judged, taking little account of race, equality, socio-economic background or

gender differences. The ensuing curricular and educational structure is therefore likely to perpetuate racist ideology as both normative and acceptable (Ladson-Billings, 1999).

The first set of Teacher Standards were published in 1997 under the then Labour government, having been initially developed under the Conservatives. At this point in time, the standards firmly embedded pupil attainment (taking account of gender and socio-economic differences) whilst maintaining the belief that an homogenous system of testing and assessment is equitable to all. Hence, this dichotomy represents the 'shift away from socialist to a narrower liberal conception of equality (Fairclough 2000; Driver and Martell 1999: 252).

The 2002 standards were far more verbose and prescriptive in nature. Explicit references are equality characteristics. Standard one states:

...have high expectations of all pupils; respect their social, cultural, linguistic, religious and ethnic backgrounds; and are committed to raising their educational achievement.

(Standard 1.1)

The same standards also mentioned the importance of a positive learning environment in which 'diversity is valued' (S3.3.1). The onus is placed on the professional to 'take account' of the differences that pupils come to school with and to ensure that all make suitable progress. This position is in contrast to the 1993 competences. In essence, the 2002 Standards place less emphasis on pupil responsibility for progress and the need to take advantage of learning opportunities. Unfortunately, these standards fail to challenge the notions of deficit provision, since they do not 'unsettle the White middle class hegemony, and indeed may even act to further obscure operations of inequity' (Smith 2013: 438).

Consequently, unsuspecting teachers feel they address the issue of equality through their inputs and the way in which they manage behaviour for learning, however they do not recognise that the Teaching Standards (2002) are failing to understand the Eurocentric nature of such a measure. Instead, all children are judged by the same measures irrespective of background and culture, therefore perpetuating White culture and privilege as the normative standard by which others are judged (Bourdieu 1993; Foucault 2000; Kapoor, 2013). Student teachers need to understand their own racial identity and the part it plays in the dominant culture and Whiteness of the teaching profession. Race equality is significant and needs to understand if the damaging effects of colour-blindness are to cease (Smith 2013; Levine-Rasky 2000).

By 2007 the language of the standards had added a new sub-section entitled 'Achievement and Diversity'. This section of the standards ushered in phraseology such as 'achievement and diversity', 'personalised learning' and 'promoting equality and inclusion' as well as paying regard to 'diversity'. Phraseology such as 'diversity' appears to acknowledge difference but does not challenge the hegemonic requirements of the standards in the main. This ideological tool of Whiteness is evidence of the wording used within the Teacher Standards (2007) which on first glance appears inclusive and culturally embracing but in real terms is insufficient in challenging the structural racism in ITE and indeed our schools, colleges and universities generally. Hence the Teacher Standards appear to support and promote an inert commitment to 'redistributive justice' (Deem and Ozga, 1997; Ahmed, 2007; Smith, 2013). Compared to the 1993 competences, the Teacher Standards (2012) have been rationalised significantly, compared to the verboseness of the earlier competencies, and provides a concise view of the elements that a student teacher must demonstrate competence against. The discourse of the standards pre-2012, contained an implied deficit standardised by the impalpable hegemony of the White middle class; what seems apparent is that the latest standards are far more assimilationist from the point of view that the document seems to eradicate racial and cultural references (Gillborn, 2008; Hill, 2013).

In summary then, the neo-liberal climate is directly affecting the social and political context in which student teachers are being educated, furthermore this climate determines what is valued in terms of ITE course content. There is a need to re-address equality and make it present and explicit within the standards rather than hidden and socio-culturally impalpable. There is a need to promote a critically reflexive approach to ITE that embraces critical Whiteness studies, both aspects of which will be discussed further in the analysis of findings chapter. The colour blindness and hegemony apparent within the Teacher Standards (2012) can also be seen in other documents pertaining to teacher training which will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

The Carter Review

In 2014 the then Secretary of State invited Sir Andrew Carter to conduct a review of ITE. The purpose of the Review was to identify the core high quality elements of ITE as well as improving the transparency of the training offers process and overall access to ITE courses. The main aims of the Review were to define effective ITE practice, assess the extent to which the system currently delivered effective ITE, recommend where and how improvements could be made and recommend ways to improve choice in the ITE system by improving the transparency of course content and method (Carter Review 2015).

In essence then, the Review seems to have been undertaken to identify the strengths within ITE (or ITT as the Review terms it), current effectiveness, any improvements that could be made and to improve the quality of actual course content and delivery. The use of the term 'transparency' is an interesting one since it suggests that perhaps the ITE process has perhaps been anything but. A business dictionary definition of the term 'transparency' states a 'Lack of hidden agendas and conditions, accompanied by the availability of full information required for collaboration, co-operation and collective decision-making'. Going forward it

would seem that this is what the Review sought to establish for ITE in the future. That said, the starting point of the Review panel was somewhat controversial.

The Review's intention was to comprehensively improve the parts of ITE provision that were less effective than others, therefore extricating those parts that were working well and potentially improving those aspects that were less effective. Within the Review's methodology it references the NQT Survey (2014). In relation to race equality, the survey contains a section entitled 'Teaching Pupils from all Ethnic Backgrounds' and although this section's rates NQT confidence as significantly improved compared to previous years, this aspect of ITE provision still has one of the lowest satisfaction ratings year on year amongst NQTs. As previously stated in chapter 2, although increases were observed in student teacher responses regarding readiness to teach in a diverse classroom setting from 2004 to 2014. Overall, NQTs in 2014 rated the diversity training they received as good or better (73%). Although there was an increase in the overall rating, this aspect of ITE programmes remained the poorest performing aspect of student teacher training. To this end the data from the National College for Teaching and Leadership showed this improved picture:

When asked about their preparation to teach pupils from all ethnic backgrounds, 73% of 2,383 secondary-trained respondents rated their training as good (37%) and very good (36%). This is compared to the lower 66% of respondents in 2013, a statistically significant difference. The difference is wholly explained by an increase of eight percentage points in the very good ratings. Notwithstanding these perceived improvements, this is still amongst the least positively rated aspects of training.

(NCTL, 2014:)

The picture is the same for primary student teachers:

Sixty six percent of the 2,873 primary-trained NQTs rated their preparation to teach pupils from all ethnic backgrounds as good (39%) and very good (27%), compared to 64% in the 2013 survey, a small but statistically significant difference. Although this continues a strong positive trend in response to this question since 2008, this is one of the lower rated aspects of teacher training for primary trainees.

(NCTL, 2014: 48)

By 2015 questions related to diversity training had been removed from the NQT survey. The Carter Review was published in 2015 under the Lib-Con coalition which was supportive of it. Under the coalition government it was stated that it was important for new entrant teachers to be:

...fully equipped for success with a depth of subject knowledge, practical behaviour management strategies, a sound understanding of special educational needs, and an ability to use the most up-to-date research on how pupils learn that they need to be outstanding professionals. Evidence is also clear about the important role that high-quality, school-based mentors play in supporting our new teachers through initial training and into their early career development.

The government response placed clear markers against ITE content they deemed important in training new entrant teachers (subject knowledge, behaviour management, special educational needs, current research regarding teaching and learning strategies and good mentors) whilst the Review itself makes no mention of terms such as 'inclusion', 'community', 'equality', 'social justice' or 'socio-economic disadvantage'. This is of course in

keeping with the current language of the Teacher Standards (2012) which also appears to be a socially and culturally colour blind policy document, since it implicitly promotes a more 'overtly assimilationist training' agenda, or at least references and 'signs of racial and cultural difference' (Gillborn, 2008:73; Smith, 2013: 442).

Detailed and systematic analysis of the Carter Review exposes it as being a nuanced and rather complex document that contains several conflicting voices rather than a streamlined approach to ITE. These complexities are considered in detail by Mutton et al. (2017: 18-19) who identify that some of the issues raised by the Review present global tensions and are not restricted to the English ITE context.

Having considered the content of the Carter Review, it is evident that references to race, culture and equality are not included. The term 'review' means to talk or think about something with a view to making changes. This in essence has been what the Carter Review has achieved but the colour blind nature of this review of ITE omits any commentary on inclusion other than SEND. Knowing how far reaching the terms of the review were, equality has been overlooked in order "to respond to the twin revolutions of globalisation and the knowledge economy" (Giddens 2006), which echo Tony Blair's comment, "Education is the best economic policy we have" (Furlong 2013). The exclusion of terms such as race equality and diversity from the document is serving to create a profession that is reliant on the ideological tools of White dominance and self-interest, thereby favouring a target driven context which in turn places the onus of achievement squarely on the shoulders of the child irrespective of their cultural or social background (Wilkins, 2015). All pupils are treated the same, there is no acknowledgement of difference. This is a CRT trope, whereby race and difference is ignored or even avoided in order to maintain the status quo in favour of the White, economically powerful majority. There is an implied hostility towards race, racism and cultural difference which Yoon (2012:590) refers to as 'paradoxes, contradictions and hypocrisies' which serve to maintain the constructs of Whiteness and privilege. There is no explicit language within the Carter Review to suggest it is inclusive or tolerant or aware of race, racism or cultural differences.

The term 'diversity' appears within the Review in relation to the 'diversity of routes' into teaching and 'Diversity of provision' (Carter Review, 2015). The Review appears to have focussed on those aspects that were rated as 'good' and 'outstanding' by training providers, student teachers and Ofsted.

In summary then, the Carter Review (2015) promotes the racial neoliberal agenda further by marginalising race and social justice. It purports that the areas of training to be focussed on are subject knowledge, behaviour for learning, SEND and assessment primarily. The then Lib-Con government welcomed the Review's recommendation as it not only reinforced the government's education policy but also confirmed the global agenda for education regarding standardisation and marketisation.

The Equality Act 2010 and ITE

As previously mentioned in earlier sections, the language of documents associated with ITE uses a deficit language that does not acknowledge social justice and to a greater degree, fails to affirm the existence of race. Goldberg (2009: 331) states that an outcome of this deficit language in government policy is 'racelessness' which he understands to be a 'cultural corollary for emergent neoliberal political economies. 'Racelessness' is a recurrent theme within the documents this study has considered for the purpose of discovering race equality and social provision within ITE. The Equalities Act 2010 (EA2010) is sadly no exception, since its impact within education is not well documented and there is a need to look at other government social provision in order to determine the legislation's effect, namely the criminal justice system and health.

The EA2010 is the rationalisation of 116 pieces of English legislation which 'simplifies, strengthens and harmonises the current legislation' to provide a framework that protects the rights of individuals and advances 'equality of opportunity to all' (European and Human

Rights Commission, 2017). The nine main pieces of legislation the Act incorporates are the Equal Pay Act 1970, the Sex Discrimination Act 1975, the Race Relations Act 1976, the Disability Discrimination Act 1995, the Employment Equality (Religion or Belief) Regulations 2003, the Employment Equality (Sexual Orientation) Regulations 2003, the Employment Equality (Age) Regulations 2006, the Equality Act 2006, Part 2 and the Equality Act (Sexual Orientation) Regulations 2007.

The EA2010 makes it illegal to discriminate against particular characteristics and at the heart of this piece of legislation is to offer protection to people in the workplace. The protected characteristics include: age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex and sexual orientation. The identification of the said 'characteristics' follows EU guidance and attempts to acknowledge the existence of structural racism (Chachamu, 2017:119). Little has changed in this regard for schools and education institutions, in that they cannot unlawfully discriminate against pupils because of their sex, race, disability, religion or belief or sexual orientation.

Changes embodied by the EA2010 focus most significantly on gender reassignment and disability, as well as pregnancy and maternity. The EA2010 purports nothing new by way of protection in relation to race, which is not surprising in light of racial neoliberal policy (Kapoor, 2013). In some respects, the law is to be commended for its attempt to ratify legislation in this regard. This gesture is generally always well received by those trying to apply the said law since English law can often be said to be out of step with the contemporary times in which it sometimes operates. However, what the coalition government and statute maker have done with the Equalities Act is to consolidate the various pieces of legislation pertaining to the rights of the individual to achieve equality for all.

From a search of the literature related to the EA2010, it is apparent that much has been written about the impact of the Act on disability, workplace rights and gender (Conley and Page, 2010; Lawson, 2011; Solanke, 2011). However, far less is available in relation to criticism of the Act in relation to race provision and education. This led to a need to broaden the search with regards to the impact of the Equalities Act and obtain evidence to consider whether race relations provision have improved as a result of amalgamating the law regarding matters of discrimination. The present government has attempted to bring the law of discrimination and inclusion under one roof through intersectionality. However, what has resulted is the siloed effect of equalities law and the different aspects of equalities right vying for position. This is evident when for example conditions for Black and Muslim prisoners within the criminal justice system are considered (Bosworth and Carrabine, 2001; Young Review, 2016; Quraishi, 2017). The EA2010 has made little or no difference to their conditions within Her Majesty's prisons up and down the land. Teams specialising in race improvement for prisoners have slowly been diminished and subsequently provision regarding the needs of Black prisoners lessened. Baroness Young (2016) calls for those responsible for transformative rehabilitation to engage with the reality of structural racism and discrimination within the criminal justice system and effectively address it. Critical race theorists acknowledge that racism is not unique to the criminal justice system, where it originated in the United States in the 1950s, but prevails in society and is evident in education and ITE specifically (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Levine-Raskey, 2000; Chadderton, 2014). Similarly then, the teaching profession must engage in awareness raising of structural racism and its blight on the lives of Black pupils' academic achievements by beginning to deconstruct the inequitable components of Whiteness and hegemony.

The EA2010 has done little to bridge the social isolation that many Black student teachers experience during their training year. Furthermore, if they succeed and complete the training period and enter the teaching profession, Black teachers face the possibility of isolation and disparate rates of career progression compared to their White counterparts (Agjebo, 2007; Maylor, 2009; Alexander et al. 2015). The EA2010 does not fundamentally protect against the outcomes of inequalities but makes it illegal to discriminate against

particular characteristics that might cause inequality. The effectiveness of the EA2010 and its ability to narrow inequality in ITE is at the behest of ITE trainers, in that challenging racism and inequality is in their power; the dominant White majority of ITE tutors have the locus of control in creating and promoting equality in the classroom.

In essence then, the EA2010 adds very little by way of newness to the law on race equality, rather it adds to other areas such as gender and disability instead, clarifying developments in the law regarding these areas whilst leaving the race strand of equality untouched. By placing all equality strands under one heading, equality strands must now seemingly compete for status on the socio-political global stage. This more often than not results in issues of race being ignored in favour of gender and disability. Goldberg (2002: 1) argues that 'Racial theory of late has become weary' and that perhaps we have become so successful at promoting racial ideology that the language of race has been appropriated and is perhaps now treated as a point of reference rather than a need for action in so much as the liberalism stemming from the seventeenth century – ranging from the legislative compliance of slavery to colonial rule through to immigration, crime and education policy – has served the dominance of White privilege and colour blindness.

Ofsted ITE Inspection Framework 2018: Comparison to other ITE documents

This study seeks to consider whether documents associated with ITE contain references to race equality provision. The initial teacher education inspection handbook (2018) sets out the statutory basis and framework for initial teacher education (ITE) inspections in England from April 2019, against which Ofsted's judgements are made regarding the sufficiency of ITE provision.

The study is primarily concerned with the content of ITE pathways and their sufficiency in preparing student teachers for the rigours of a diverse classroom setting, in relation to

managing issues of social justice and race equality. So far this study has reported on the increasing narrow discourse on race contained within educational policy documents. The initial teacher education documents considered to this point have shown there to be a government focus on subject knowledge, behaviour for learning, SEND and assessment primarily – the language of the documents considered thus far have been ‘raceless’ (Goldberg, 2009) and devoid of references to social justice characteristics and socio-economic considerations.

An exploration of the of the documents pertaining to the training and inspection of student teachers and providers was undertaken. A search was conducted on 13 keywords within each document which was related to race equality and social justice. The choice of words and phrases was informed by the literature review in chapter 2 and my knowledge experience of race and social justice lexis. A combination of 12 words and phrases were searched for, the results of which are illustrated in Figure 13.

Keywords/ phrases	Teachers' Standards (2011)	Ofsted Inspection Framework for ITE Providers (2018)	Carter Review (2015)
Community	2	0	8
Compliance	0	5	1
Diversity	0	7	2
Equalities Act 2010	0	0	0
Equality	1	8	2
Inclusion	0	0	1
Inequality	0	0	0
Macpherson	0	0	0
Race	0	0	0
Race Relations Amendment Act 2000	0	0	0
Racism	0	0	0
Social disadvantage	0	0	0
Social Justice	0	0	0

Figure 13: Frequency of keywords in document analysis

The Teacher Standards (2012) mention that recruitment should reflect the wider educational community whilst the Carter Review uses the term 'community' in relation to school partnerships rather than serving the wider community. The Ofsted inspection framework uses the term 'equality' in the context of a phrase the document uses systematically on seven occasions by way of a legislative requirement it appears:

Initial teacher training is compliant with statutory criteria and requirements and/or all relevant legislation, including that related to promoting equality and diversity, eliminating discrimination and safeguarding.

The term 'compliance' is cited five times in the inspection framework (2018), once in the Carter Review (2015) and zero times in the Teacher Standards (2012). These findings might explain the need for compliance that currently seems to drive ITE providers.

In summary then, this chapter has attempted to present the documents I feel are most relevant to training student teachers for a diverse setting in which race equality should play a part. The documents chosen have been scrutinised regarding their race equality component and have found to be lacking in this regard. What is significant is that of the four documents considered there is little mention of diversity and race particularly. Where the term diversity is employed it is part of a generic statement within the Ofsted inspection framework for ITE providers and the term equality is referenced therein in terms of the Equality Act 2010. The Equality Act itself makes no new additional changes or references to existing provision in English law. However, the Act does offer improved guidance and protection in terms of gender reassignment, disability, pregnancy and maternity. Racism in British society remains an issue, especially by those who are subjected to and harmed by it. These findings suggest that racial neoliberal education policies are systematically removing references to race and social disadvantage (Kapoor, 2013; Wilkins). Within the education neoliberal climate racial discourse, references to race and diversity are either avoided, ignored or marginalised. This stance is reflected in ITE related documentation which would point, perhaps logically, to the absence of race equality in ITE provision.

9 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

At the start of this study I wanted to understand why African Caribbean pupils were perpetually amongst the lowest achieving ethnic group in our schools. From the days when I trained to be a teacher and found on the library shelf Coard's (1972) seminal work, things remain the same for the African Caribbean child in the British school system.

Epistemologically, I knew Black academic success was possible, both from a historical perspective and from personal experience. The longer I remained in education the more baffled I became as to why the attainment gap remained and African Caribbean boys in particular languished at the bottom of the academic ladder (Wright, 2013). Many studies have observed, analysed and evaluated the Black community but what I know to be true is the high value Black parents and indeed the Black community place upon education. Of course, there are variables such as housing, employment and access to cultural capital that can affect levels of individual achievement but the Black community has always viewed education as a liberating force and a means of economic advancement. Despite this there has been little progress in the field of education and race equality irrespective of legislation, policies and frameworks for improvement and equality. The lens of CRT, critical Whiteness studies, and the work of Gillborn and Ladson-Billings has brought me to an understanding that the maintenance of the attainment gap and inequalities are strategic in the maintenance of White dominance, White economic advantage and hegemonic practices that uphold the status quo.

There is no doubt that ITE plays its part in the dominance discourse through the on-going microaggressions towards Black academic staff and students, and the institutional racism evident in the inaction of mainly White ITE tutors. This is perpetuated through Whiteness as normative behaviour and the othering of that which is not (Macpherson, 1999; Gillborn and Mirza, 2000; Maylor, 2009). Furthermore, the Academy remains a White space in which Black bodies are viewed as alien (Joseph-Salisbury, 2019). The willingness of ITE tutors and student teachers to facilitate race equality within their practice is dependent on life

experience and an individual's confidence in this regard. The Teacher Standards have become more assimilationist and ignore references to race or race equality. ITE tutors and student teachers logically focus on the content of each standard in order to achieve compliance in what is already a frenetic landscape. If individuals are not predisposed to the significance of race equality in education, then the likelihood is that provision will not be made. Although rhetoric exists around the facilitation of diversity and race equality in ITE and wider society, the reality is that Whiteness as a dominant discourse prevails through the maintenance of constructs such as racism that sustain White privilege and power.

The first of this study's research questions considered ITE course content in relation to making provision for race equality. There is no doubt in my mind that ITE contributes to the perpetual underachievement of Black students, it certainly is not challenging it. This is not a simplistic argument, as I am aware that there are a number of variables at play in the education equation impacting on an individual at one point in time. However, to negate the contribution that ITE provision makes to sustaining educational attainment differences between ethnic groups is to accept the polarisation of education in a neoliberal climate, and fundamentally avoid engaging in a discourse towards developing critical pedagogy at a time when race remains relevant (Ladson- Billings 2004; Tyrone and Navarro, 2016). Furthermore, the existence of structural racism was discussed at length in the Macpherson Report (1999: 6.34) which cited institutional racism as being the 'collective failure of an organisation' to provide a duty of care to people on the basis of 'their colour, culture or ethnic origin'.

The 'unwitting prejudice' to which the Report refers to is perpetuated by ITE provision in England and may contribute to the harm caused to the educational outcomes of Black pupils in British schools. Lander (2010: 113) goes further still and identifies 'Whiteness as a discourse which pervades the thinking, action and inaction of ITE tutors. There is no single prevailing factor that causes the deficit provision within ITE in relation to race equality but a

combination of factors which create a complex training landscape amidst a hegemonic broth.

ITE and Race Equality Provision

At this juncture it is useful to pull together the main research questions with the theoretical framework. There is a need to convey that the concept of Whiteness and its associated privilege are transmitted through socio-linguistic codes, cultural capital and discipline (Bernstein, 1977; Foucault, 1980; Bourdieu, 1982). This is evidenced in some of the tutors' narratives. For example when one ITE tutor was asked whether race equality was evident in ITE responded by stating the it is covered by the EAL strand and through being in a diverse teaching setting and stated that his time with the student teachers was limited and therefore there was only so much that he was able to physically fit in to the programme. In terms of race equality being evident in this tutor's programme it is apparent that his own reticence to make the time to include explicit provision for his student teachers would impact on their preparedness to manage issues of race equality within their own classrooms. The tutor failed to realise that his own reticence amounted to an avoidance tactic which signalled inaction on the part of ITE tutor role to make adequate provision in this regard. Schlosser (2012:36) argues that Bourdieu's habitus and Foucault's theory of discipline share commonalities and by juxtaposing the two theories a 'state of being handed down by no one but accepted by everyone' results. Deconstructed this implies that ITE tutors can avoid and ignore explicit references to race equality because this is the norm, and no one will challenge it necessarily. Furthermore, the use of socio-linguistic codes allows racial neoliberal forms of communication to dominate and not be challenged. Thus, for ITE tutors to avoid initiating a discourse on race equality is seen by a White majority within a university space as normative behaviour. This ideological tool of Whiteness allows hegemonic practices to prevail and reinforces the dominant discourse of Whiteness (Picower, 2009).

Having elected to consider race equality across four ITE pathways, no discernible difference was noted in either pathways' treatment of race equality provision. Race equality provision was not a component that was satisfactorily covered by any of the ITE programmes

considered. Student teachers in each of the three typologies stated that they felt inclusion and diversity were important, but not all of them believed they were able to develop that aspect of their practice whilst in their training year (Bhopal and Rhamie, 2014). This was particularly the case for those that had lived in a predominantly White area and had little experience of diverse communities. Nonetheless, the data illustrated their willingness to engage in issues of inclusion but some expressed the ability to do so through their interaction with pupils and the methods they employed in their teaching. Overall, most were reflexive about their practice and the need to make a difference to the education of all pupils in their care. Their identities as Black or White practitioners was unchangeable and influenced the way in which they interacted with pupils but their willingness to grow as inclusive educators was not fixed since all expressed a willingness to embrace inclusion and deepen their understanding of issues of race given the opportunity to do so. One participant in particular stated that although she felt unable to engage with race equality issues during her training year, it was certainly an aspect of her practice that she would willingly explore once qualified (Ibid. 321). When asked whether they had received adequate training in this regard they commented that race equality was either not covered explicitly or they had had an afternoon session that considered diversity. The ITE training landscape in respect of race equality remains patchy at best although the student teacher's identity and life experience appears significant in their readiness to engage in issues of race equality in education.

The ITE course content is generally shaped by the requirements of the Teacher Standards (2012) which provides tutors and programme leaders with vague guidance regarding valid ITE content that ultimately leads to course compliance. Wilkins (2014) quite rightly highlights the importance of virtually everything ITE providers do is related to inspection outcomes determined by Ofsted criteria; performativity demonstrated against regulatory compliance ultimately results in maintaining one's funding allocation for ITE. Therefore, the price of non-compliance or innovation in ITE, in these stricken times, would seem to be professional suicide. It seems therefore logical to assume that if the funding formula does not change any time soon then this compliance by duress (Wilkins and Wood 2009) will continue to

marginalise race equality issues in teacher training, upheld by an ever-narrowing inspection framework (Ofsted, 2019).

Regarding the course content, student teachers felt that there was a time constraint in operation which resulted in them having inadequate time and opportunities to explore race equality. Some participants expressed the view that they supported one another in this regard through sharing of practice and discourse. The content of the four training pathways under consideration were mapped out and featured inclusion in different forms. The SCITT pathways was able to demonstrate a full day of instruction regarding diversity whilst provision amongst other providers varied. Student teachers' narratives, nor particular typologies, expressed more dissatisfaction with their course than others. Gorard's (2016) study of NQTs argued that the average levels of satisfaction for NQTs differ by gender, disability, ethnicity and age. He suggests that the variability across the two main training routes which are school and university led, demonstrate as much variability in levels of satisfaction as the providers are different. Therefore, no training pathway stands out as an exemplar. The ITE experience seems to be the same across the training landscape. The general response to research question two regarding pedagogies for promoting race equality, student teachers felt that little or no time was given to developing race equality strategies explicitly that in turn were helpful or equipped them with strategies to address race issues in the classroom. One participant in particular spoke of the need to be able to 'think on your feet' by way of dealing with the challenges these educational issues posed; alternatively if 'think on your feet' was not an option then it was felt that the mentors were a reliable source of information, although none were reported to have provided specific guidance on matters of race equality. As the student teachers' mentors were all White this might explain why tackling race in the classroom was not broached with the student teacher participants. If White ITE tutors in the main are responsible for preparing new entrant teachers and have not received race awareness training themselves then this will not be a conscious action on their part regarding the upskilling of student teachers for diversity in the classroom (Villegas and Lucas, 2002).

The school experience was deemed the most enjoyable element of all pathways considered in this study with regards to developing self-awareness and experience of managing race equality and social justice in the classroom (Lave and Wenger 2009). This in part is due to the 'on the job' application as opposed to time spent in university or provider sessions, perceived by students as 'time away from the classroom'. This aspect of the training provides valuable socialisation time for student teachers, especially for those that have little or no experience of multi-ethnic communities in an urban setting. The university/ SCITT sessions were rated by students as being one of the least valuable aspects of the course other than subject knowledge sessions since they could see how they directly related to their time in the school; they also stated that they valued 'experts' giving talks. The expert talks allowed the students valuable insights into school life as opposed to academics that were viewed as not having practiced in schools for a long time. Student teachers also enjoyed working with their peers in order to learn and improve their practice, which reiterates the value and importance of providing student teachers with the space to engage in discourses related to their practice.

The tutor and student teacher participants held opposing views regarding the usefulness and purpose of the reflective journal. As would be expected the tutors stipulated it was a mandatory training requirement that helped the students to develop their practice. There is an ITE provider perspective that reflection is a useful pedagogic tool in teacher development (Cochran-Smith and Zeichner 2005). The journal's level of perceived usefulness then is dependent on the individual's ability to reflect and for some student teachers this is easier for some than it is for others (Dewey, 1989; Mohamed 2014: 226). It would appear from the findings and the literature review that the journal, although one of the least popular aspects of the ITE programme with student teachers, does allow the student teacher to reflect and move towards reflexive practice as they develop as practitioner (Luttenberg and Bergen, 2008, Bolton, 2010; Mohamed, 2014). Participants both identified that there is currently little room in the ITE programme for race equality provision, as they try to balance the other required components of the course to ensure compliance. Student teachers called for either mandatory or optional sessions that are dedicated to raising cultural awareness during their

training period so that they in turn can build deep learning in their classrooms through the use of participatory pedagogies (Furlong and Lawn, 2011; Durdan et al. 2016). This study has demonstrated that the vast majority of student teachers in the sample were either classified as passive or reactive practitioners. Only two practitioners in the study can be classified as proactive and they were both from Black communities. Therefore, there is a need for critical White studies in order to give students the opportunity to explore and understand the following: race as a social construct, White supremacy, dominance discourse and polarisation in education (McIntosh, 1998; Villegas and Lucas, 2002; Olsen and Craig, 2012).

The third research question asked student teachers to reflect on which aspect of their training helped them to develop an awareness of race equality. They were required to reflect on the main training components (course content, pedagogy, the mentor and pre-course experience). Bhopal and Rhamie (2015: 1) make the point that student teachers are aware of the importance of these issues but are, as previously discussed, helpless to know how to tackle such issues when faced with them in the classroom. Greater training is required in this regard. The development of self-identity is an important aspect of a student teacher's ability to manage the race equality issues that present in the classroom; Giddens (2001: 186) asserts that teacher identity is constructed on a daily dynamic basis since 'self-identity has to be continually reordered against the backdrop of shifting experiences of day to day life and the fragmenting tendencies of modern institutions'. Teacher identity is shaped by professional interactions and composed of three main dimensions: the actual self (personal), the ought self (societal) and ideal self (ultimate). This knowledge of self gives rise to successful practice (Lauriala and Kukkonen, 2005; Hamachek, 1999) which would seem logical in the development of these characteristics in our new entrant teachers.

The semi-structured interviews conducted revealed that some student teachers were more able and willing to both reflect and effect change in their classroom whilst there were those that did not envisage holding any power to change the dynamic in their classroom other than to maintain the status quo. Participants were classified using a triadic typology in

relation to their willingness to engage in inclusive pedagogies. Dewey (1934:50) warns against the perils of not doing so, stating that 'If the artist does not perfect a new vision in his process of doing, he acts mechanically and repeats some old model fixed like a blueprint in his mind'. Those students that spoke of having no power to make any change in their classroom practice continued with their passive and reactive approach to teaching and learning, never giving any thought to issues of race. Student teachers that have had little or no exposure to multi-ethnic communities and did not feel that race equality was not something they felt they were ready or able to address at that point in their practice, must be challenged during their careers to look at themselves, their identity and the impact that White privilege has on those they are teaching. ITE programmes can help to begin this discourse and change how we educate our new entrant teachers (Foucault, 1995; Bourdieu, 1977; Denzin, 2017) and counteract the culture of performativity and high accountability.

Those classified as reactive were the student teachers that were willing to take action if the situation demanded it. This group had an ability to 'think on your feet', their pre-course experiences helped them prepare better for managing the learning of students from different ethnic backgrounds and were willing to research aspects of race and social justice through interactions with their mentor and other staff as well as drawing on the support of peers on their training pathway. The third group were classified as proactive since they spoke of affecting change in their classroom and respective faculties, they enjoyed excellent relationships with their pupils, were able to relate from a cultural perspective to the pupils they taught, were willing to challenge student misconceptions and conduct 'you guys don't get it and you need to get it quick' (participant T3F). This participant spoke about the lived reality of being Black, having experienced education from different perspectives and understanding the culture of the ethnic minority pupils in the school which helped her to relate better to the young people and build relationships of trust. She spoke of not being colour blind by choice for an easy life and prepared for the *modus operandi* where she felt able to effect change. The key difference between the proactive group compared to the reactive group is that the proactive individuals possess the ability to take action for the

common good on an independent basis; this I feel is a result of them being both self and contextually aware with an infinite ability to challenge the status quo.

In summary then, the ITE programmes need to promote culturally aware pedagogy to ensure all pupils genuinely have equal access to the curriculum. This could start by providing a safe place for student teachers to discuss issues of race. Course components need to adopt a less White privileged and normative perspective, and embrace the global reality of cultural diversity, rather than the microcosmic viewpoint it currently illuminates. ITE providers cannot be expected to discriminate against potential student teachers wishing to join their programme, however during the recruitment process prospective student teachers should be expected to enter in to conversation about their pre-service experience of 'otherness' and how they might develop their knowledge further on race equality issues in education and its significance to classroom management in relation to teaching and learning. This by no means eradicates White supremacy but it does begin the dialogue of student teachers contemplating their own identity and its impact on those they are responsible for. This in turn has training implications for ITE tutors, who should be encouraged to explore their own identity and its potential impact on those they are responsible for training. Although the teaching and learning landscape has changed significantly over the past 30 years, the profession needs to begin to look at its own identity and the impact it has on others that are not White, privileged or part of the dominance discourse. If ITE providers continue to exercise colour blindness in schools and HEIs, delivering course content from a White hegemonic perspective, it can expect the same results from the same 'old model fixed like a blueprint' (Dewey, 1937:50).

In the next section, I will discuss how these findings connect to the research and are an original contribution to existing knowledge regarding the significance of race equality in ITE.

The Contribution and Uniqueness of this Work

The combination of CRT and Whiteness Studies is a unique contribution to the field, as is the study as a whole since there does not appear to be another study that has considered the narratives of ITE tutors and student teachers with respect to race equality provision in ITE - it tends to be one group or the other, not a combination of both. The combination of CRT and White privilege demonstrates the influence of dominance discourse and its oppressive effect. CRT does not merely name racism as an aberration of the daily lives of people of colour but illustrates its entrenched nature in the fabric of society. Specifically, within ITE institutional racism is established through a hegemonic system of ITE tutors' socio-linguistic codes, cultural capital and power and maintained through use of the tools of Whiteness which construct the structures of domination. Racism is embedded in the ITE related documents, policies and laws governing compliance which the literature review and theoretical framework have considered. Evidence from the data collected demonstrates and supports the notion that White privilege permeates the thinking of White student teachers and ITE tutors in an unconscious manner to uphold dominant racial ideology. Leonardo (2009) asserts that Whiteness still remains at the centre of curriculum and culture; its racialisation remains at the centre whilst deracialisation stays at the margins. To this end then the triadic typology as outlined in chapter 4 based on the work of academics such as Solomon et al (2005) in order to classify student teachers' willingness to engage with race equality. The categories of passive, reactive and progressive are helpful in gauging the possible level of support a student teacher might need in order to develop inclusive practice. Student teachers that show a desire to engage with race equality issues but lack confidence as knowing how to could be given personalised support in this regard using the typology.

In relation to this study ITE tutors have described at great lengths the pursuit of compliance for students on their programmes in the time available and the struggles of accommodating race equality provision in addition to the Teacher Standards' requirements. It seems in these instances that race equality provision is viewed as a bolt-on and not as an integral part of preparing new entrant teachers for a profession that serves diverse learners. Colour blindness, not seeing not and not knowing, is a CRT trope that links to the tools of Whiteness used to consciously or unconsciously maintain advantage over and oppress people of colour.

This is a means by which White people can ignore and avoid the issue of race and continue their lives in ignorant bliss. Some tutors and student teachers expressed a similar view. hooks (2013) argues that White supremacist thinking is creeping into our children's subconscious imaginations through mass media and we are powerless to protect them from its invasion. The surreptitious perpetuation of racism in a system of White supremacy and privilege maintains the constructs of institutional racism. This study has shown that ITE tutors and mainly White student teachers' narratives are testament to this view. White privilege and hegemonic practices perpetuate dominant racial ideology and continues to marginalise people of colour caught in the web of whiteness. Using the tenets of colour blindness, avoidance tactics and the myth of neutrality in education, the study has sought to tease out the various ways in which Whiteness and privilege is embedded in the structures of ITE. By broadening the discourse and making it the responsibility of all stakeholders Whiteness can be constructively disrupted.

Reflections and Improvement

The tools of Whiteness are there to uphold discourse violence and promote White privilege to sustain dominance through status, knowledge and economics. I enjoyed collecting the narratives of ITE tutors and student teachers. Indeed, they commented on the usefulness in having a conversation with me as it enabled them to reflect on their practice, time which they would not have ordinarily been given to do so. I have gained a significant amount of confidence, experience and knowledge from undertaking this research, both as a professional and on a personal level. I know that this study could have been improved by interviewing student teachers from the SCITT and including more ethnic minority students. What is more, rather than only interviewing ITE tutors and students from secondary education, I could also have included primary practitioners. I know Delgado and Stefanic's (2001) theory is not perfect and I am aware of criticism levelled against it in relation to its own inherent weaknesses. I consider this research, although not perfect, to be the start of a new dawn. There is limited research regarding a joint study of tutors and student teachers in

the transmission of race equality in ITE. More research needs to be undertaken in order to transform ITE content and pedagogy.

Disseminating and Professional Practice

Underpinning this study is the existence of institutional racism in ITE explored through the lens of CRT and White privilege. Whilst the study has allowed for the narratives of ITE tutors and student teachers to be heard, it has also provided participants with the space to process their own ideas about the place of race equality in ITE and education more widely. Regarding professional practice, there is a need for HEI staff, not just ITE tutors, to receive ongoing professional development regarding issues of race. This alone will not combat the effects of racism on the lives of people of colour but it will begin a discourse and may cause mainly White tutors in the academy to consider the impact of their identity on their students' learning outcomes. Change within ITE is also dependent on providing spaces in which a racial discourse can occur. ITE tutors should be made aware of this and actively seek a series of times at which this dialogue can take place amongst the student body. The current inconsistent approach in ITE that ranges from a lecture to a full day's content on race equality needs to be standardised in order to negate the variability across ITE programmes. Mintz et al. (2020) asserts that self-efficacy amongst student teachers increases when they receive enhanced input regarding race and that such interventions can be administered in the second and third term of training to allow them to integrate ideas into their practice. Student teacher recruitment might also be revised. It might be useful, but not fool proof, to adopt a similar typology as the one used in this study to score potential recruits to ITE programmes regarding their level of race awareness. This would allow ITE tutors to personalise the level of support given to a student teacher in relation to developing inclusion strategies.

This work needs to be disseminated firstly to the education Trust I work for who also sponsored the study and then to those responsible for ITE in my school. Secondly, there is a need for this work to contribute to changes in ITE policy. This can be done through activism regarding the decolonisation of education. Furthermore, through the publication of papers

and the presentations at key conferences, it is hoped these findings may inspire others to use of CRT as the theoretical framework in their own research or to help advance the research in the field of race equality in ITE. Lander (2010: 122) makes a valid point that there is a need to return to the Swann Report (1985) recommendation that all ITE tutors have experience of working and teaching in a diverse setting. Thirty-five years on it is questionable whether this recommendation has been addressed.

ITE Policy Implications

The combination of CRT and ITE is an important contribution to the field, since there is little by way of research regarding race equality provision within ITE training pathways. This study examines the deficit provision from a Black activist-researcher-educator perspective. Much has been written about the academic underachievement of Black children in British schools but there has, for whatever reason, been a reticence on the part of the profession to examine how ITE provision continues to fail to prepare student teachers to enter the profession ready to manage issues of race inequality (Crenshaw, 1988; Bell, 1992; Ladson-Billings, 1995, Solorzano and Villalpando, 1998). Gillborn (2008) theorises about racism in education and its effects as being conspiratorial or coincidental but laid bare feels like an act of denial on the part of White educators and policy makers for the purpose of strategically and economically disadvantaging people of colour.

CRT views racism as structural and recognises colour-blindness as a hegemonic tool of Whiteness used to suppress the lives of ethnic minority communities and individuals from both a policy, economic and cultural perspective. The current climate is a hostile one in which racial neoliberalism mutes references to race equality in policy documents, whilst surveillance and State control are increasing in everyday life. This study calls for the government and ITE providers to right the current wrongs by ITE related policy and programme provision to explicitly take account of race equality, Whiteness and privilege. In

order to disrupt the normative practices of Whiteness in education, Whiteness studies should be a compulsory component on all ITE programmes for the purpose of student teachers and ITE tutors understanding the need for and importance of culturally aware practice which can lead to genuinely inclusive pedagogy (Giroux, 1997; Bhopal and Rhamie, 2012).

This orchestrated denial of equitable policy, White economic advancement and cultural dominance has heralded a collective response by Black communities in the form of movements such as Black Lives Matter, which fight for social justice and equality for people of colour in the law, education, employment and housing - fundamental human rights. CRT rightly assumes the position that racism is not an anomaly but a social construct (Leonardo, 2009; Delgado and Stefani, 2017) which changes according to society, dependent on the needs of the ruling classes in order to maintain control of the hegemonic tools that uphold the status quo by which they (White people) acquire social, political and economic benefit. This study has explored ITE provision in England across four training pathways to demonstrate the inculcation and influence of White privilege and hegemonic practices of ITE tutors and student teachers alike. Training programmes are delivered by largely White, middle-class tutors that through unconscious bias, colour blindness and structural racism provide course content that reflects the global and national economic interest (Bhopal and Rhamie, 2012) of Whiteness. This unnamed and unquestioned political system helps to maintain White supremacy in the form of capitalism (Mills, 1997; Gillborn, 2005) for the advancement and protection of White society through increased inequality. Black people are living in a time of interest-divergence where neoliberal education policy discriminates against the Black child and Black communities in order that White communities and White children can maintain both power and privilege through increased racial inequality (Gillborn, 2013). The safeguarding of White privilege is evident in the reform of educational policy, through the introduction of the Academies programme and English Baccalaureate, neither of which serve the academic advancement of the Black child (Ibid.). There is a global appetite for interest-divergence, whereby 'otherness' becomes the marginalised and unquestioned

normative practice. Race equality needs to be put back on the national agenda and this could start with references to race equality within the Teacher Standards (2012).

In response to Ladson-Billings' (2010) question, 'Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education?', CRT is a necessary framework through which to evaluate the ongoing cycle of academic underachievement, low employment, poor housing and hostility experienced by the ethnic minority diaspora. Furthermore, for those that are activists in education trying to change the habitus of contemporary life through the written word or physical demonstrations, critical race theory offers a lens through which to initiate critical pedagogy and sustained reform. Bonilla-Silva (2002:63) asserts that if there is to be a new racial ideology, activists must be aware of the 'arsenal of rhetorical tools' used to evade the appearance of racism. Conversely, education policy makers must acknowledge the pernicious effects of racism and White privilege and endeavour to develop policy free from rhetoric and colour blindness.

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10 APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 - Overview

The Pilot Study

In order to improve the validity and reliability of the research a pilot study should be conducted (Basit, 2010). It's important that the pilot study sample is representative of the main study and for this reason Provider C was selected (see chapter 2) as the school I would include in the main study and access to participants was straightforward from an insider-researcher perspective. The data for the pilot was drawn from a cohort of four participants, three student teachers and one ITE tutor, none of which were from a BME background – a factor I would try to rectify for the main study. However, the cohort were representative of the types of participants I would interview in the main study. Student teachers self-selected for participation in the pilot although the ITE co-ordinator was approached directly as they were the only one in the school.

Design

The pilot study made use of semi-structured interviews, document analysis and an online survey. The research was gathered over a period of a term. Integral to the research design was the desire to engage and challenge the conceptual understanding of the participants about the nature of race equality provision in ITE. I believed that a one-to-one interview would afford me rich data and the semi-structured nature of the questions would allow me to probe the participant more deeply on matters of interest that arose during the course of the interview. The sample was small and time was of the essence. I therefore took the decision to design a short online survey in order to increase the number of participant responses during the data collection period. I publicised the link to a university-based ITE provider that had links with Provider C and to student teachers at Provider C's school. This proved futile since I received 4 responses in total. Going forward to the main study I decided not to employ the survey as a research tool due to the low response rate. However, I did continue with the semi-structured interviews and document analysis for the purpose of the main study.

A set of emergent themes arose in line with my conceptual understanding based upon the literature reviewed and my personal interest in wishing to improve the race equality element of ITE provision. The main themes are listed below:

- Student teachers' pre-service knowledge about race equality.
- Current ITE provision re. race equality (pedagogy and content)
- Current ITE provision re. race equality (pedagogy and content)
- The relevance of student-teacher background/ identity
- Student teachers' ideas about what constitutes effective pedagogy.
- The positive characteristics of the Teach First programme and School Direct

Findings

The main findings from the pilot are outlined below:

- Student teachers come from different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds; this appears to have a bearing on their willingness to engage with race equality and social justice issues.
- Pre-service knowledge affects student teachers' perceptions of the importance of race equality and social justice in education.
- Within ITE provision is made for social justice; no such provision exists for race equality provision in ITE.
- Student teachers would welcome a discrete unit on race and social justice within their respective training pathway.

- The Teach First summer institute appeared to better prepare student teachers to teach in a diverse context.
- A total of ten words and phrases were chosen that related to race equality and social justice; the frequency within which they appeared in the Teacher Standards (2012) and the Ofsted Inspection Framework for ITE providers (2014) was investigated. The only two phrases that appeared were 'diversity' (seven times) and 'equality' (nine times) within both of these ITE documents. This suggested a lack of provision or discourse about race and social justice within core ITE documents.

Lessons learned

On reflection, as a result of undertaking this pilot, I was able to clarify how I would proceed for the main study. There were a number of issues I reflected on and was enlightened by:

- Sample size – the sample for the pilot was too small to proffer a representative viewpoint of student teachers and ITE tutors; I needed to increase the sample group significantly. The target figure I set myself as a result of the pilot was 24 participants.
- Online survey – on reflection I struggled with access to participants and was not as confident in seeking access. From an administrative perspective the internet survey was easy to administer and the data captured was processed automatically (Basis, 2010). However, overall

access to participants, in school and on the university-based ITE course, could have been better planned. Detailed planning regarding access to email addresses would have made use of this tool more successful.

- Mixed Methods Methodology (MMM) - I thought the main study would utilise MMM, where the researcher's knowledge claims are made on a pragmatic basis as a result of the simultaneous or sequential collection of data to understand the research problem (Cresswell, 2003). However, on receiving a poor response to the online

survey I decided I would use qualitative data, since I was familiar with aspects of this type of data collection having used both semi-structured interviews and document analysis during my Masters research.

- Time constraints – this is a limited resource and should be used efficiently during the data capture stage. A research schedule would help make the most of the time available and administrative tasks, such as access to participants, could be done ahead of the actual field research period once ethical approval has been gained.

Influence on main study design

The outcomes of the pilot have influenced the main study in the following way:

- Confirmed that more participants were required to ensure the results were valid and reliable.
- Access to more than one ITE provider would provide a better overview of current ITE provision in relation social justice and race equality within respective pathways.
- Clarified the methodology and research tools that would be used for the main study.

Appendix 2 – Participant Letter



School of Education, University of Leicester, 21 University Road, Leicester LE1 7RF Tel: 0116 252 3688 Email: soed@leicester.ac.uk

Your views about: Preparing Socially Responsible Teachers – race equality and social justice delivery on ITE pathways

Information for Student Teacher Participants
--

Dear Student Teacher

I am writing to ask if you would be prepared to help me with a study about your experiences of initial teacher education in relation to developing you as a socially responsible practitioner. The project is being supervised by Professor Chris Wilkins of the University of Leicester. From this research insights will be gained into:

- a) The course content of different ITE pathways in respect of race equality and social justice;*
- b) Identification of pedagogical approaches adopted for the promotion of race equality and social justice on ITE courses;*
- c) The influences ITE policy and course structure on the development of race equality and social justice delivery on ITE pathways.*

The aim of the study is to investigate how the delivery of race equality and social justice content on ITE pathways prepares student teachers, like yourself, to be socially responsible teachers. Your views will help to improve the way information is provided and how future ITE courses are structured. The attached leaflet has a lot more information about the research and what would be involved in taking part. I ask that you read it before making any decision about participating.

If you think you would be happy to participate in the study, I would request that **you are available to be interviewed once over two terms for a total of 20 minutes** in order to track your development as socially responsible practitioner. I would also like you to be able to share with me extracts from your reflective journal and any assignments where you feel you are developing as a socially responsible practitioner. The nature of the access can be negotiated to ensure you are happy with the level of disclosure.

The interviews will be recorded (audio). Recordings and transcripts will be stored securely. Only my supervisor and I will have access to the data. If there is a withdrawal of consent the data will be destroyed. No information leading to the identification of you will be included in any publication or distribution of the results. Your involvement is voluntary and you may withdraw permission at any time during the study.

Appendix 3 – Consent Form

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Consent form for persons participating in a research project

Preparing Socially Responsible Teachers – race equality and social justice delivery on ITE pathways

Name of participant:

Participant email:

Participant mobile number:

Name of principal investigator(s): Miss Heather McClue

Please tick the appropriate boxes	Yes	No
Taking Part		
I have read and understood the project information sheet dated February 2017.		
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.		
I agree to take part in the project. Taking part in the project will include being interviewed and recorded (audio)		
I understand that my taking part is voluntary; I can withdraw from the study at any time and I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part.		
Use of the information I provide for this project only		
I understand my personal details such as phone number and address will not be revealed to people outside the project.		
I understand that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs.		
Please choose one of the following two options:		
I would like my real name used in the above		
I would not like my real name to be used in the above.		
Use of the information I provide beyond this project		
I agree for the data I provide to be archived at the University of Leicester		
I understand that other genuine researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.		
I understand that other genuine researchers may use my words in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.		
So we can use the information you provide legally		
I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials related to this project to Heather McClue.		

(please tick)

I consent to this interview being audio-taped ☐ yes ☐ no

I wish to receive a copy of the summary project report on research findings ☐ yes ☐ no

Participant signature:

Date:

Appendix 4 - Student Teacher Interview Schedule

1. Name and your training programme.
2. Before starting your training what awareness did you have of social class and race issues?
3. What aspect of social class and race equality have been challenged since starting your training or does it remain the same?
4. During your training year should you be made aware of issues regarding race equality and social disadvantage and the potential impact on children from different cultural backgrounds? If so, how might this impact on your own training needs?
5. In what ways do you feel your training is preparing you to meet the different range of student needs within your classroom, especially with regards to race inequality and social justice?
6. Could your course delivery be improved in respect of raising awareness about race equality and social justice?
7. Which elements of the training experience made a difference to the understanding of these issues:
 - a. Pedagogic sessions at your university?
 - b. CPD sessions?
 - c. The pedagogic/ placement experience?
 - d. Your mentor in relation to advice given about race equality and social justice issues?
 - e. Any other?

Appendix 5 - ITE Tutor Interview Schedule

1. Name, your role and your training programme.
2. Social class and race issues: how relevant do you feel these aspects are when training student teachers today?
3. Are social class and race equality perspectives challenged within the training programme you deliver?
4. How relevant is it that trainees should be made aware of issues regarding race equality and social disadvantage in education/ wider society when training to become a teacher?
5. In what ways do you feel the training is preparing student teachers to meet the different range of pupil needs within a classroom setting, especially with regards to race equality and social justice?
6. What facets of the course do you help the student teachers to develop their own awareness of race equality and social justice issues in education?
 - a. Pedagogic sessions at your university?
 - b. CPD sessions?
 - c. The pedagogic/ placement experience?
 - d. Your mentor in relation to advice given about race equality and social justice issues?
 - e. Any other?
8. To what extent do you think the social or political climate influence what is deemed relevant within a teacher training programme?

Appendix 6 - List of institution programme documents scrutinised for content

- 4) SCITT ITE Partnership Handbook
- 5) SCITT Core Learning Handbook
- 6) Teach First Programme Guide
- 7) School Direct Training Handbook (University Partner)
- 8) Universityled PGCE Programme Handbook
- 9) University-led PGCE Subject handbooks

APPENDIX 7 – Example of Coded Transcript

A: There is almost that divide in the classroom = **DIVIDE**

HM: Bourdieu's capital. Definitely. **CULT. K**

A: Second generation British are more assimilated within the classroom to be receptive to an extent. **BRIT. VAL.**
Very interesting that.

HM: Yes it is, it is. Ok let's move on then. So, what aspects of race equality and class have been challenged since you started your training? I think you've kind of touched on this anyway but with regards to one's ideas about both issues, has your training addressed it in any way, shape or form?

PP Agenda
A: I think there is direction (given) to pupil premium, you know you have that. I suppose if you look at the backgrounds of the pupils that are pupil premium it is kind of underprivileged, kind of social class issue there. So it creates an interesting (0.2) kind of perspective, within the kind of classroom but you are aware of that because it's on the register. Something so simple that on your classes you have like a 'P' next to the name, you are very aware of that and because some schools have a very high percentage of pupil premium pupils they deliver a good amount of extra-curricular, I suppose = **Pupil premium highlighted**

HM: = Enrichment → **Provn = PP enrich**

A: Enrichment, yes, sorry.

HM: That's alright. **Anon**

A: May be if **As** didn't have that five percent pupil premium, that pot of money was smaller, they'd have to be more selective with it and I suppose that it a social class issue again. Actually if that pot of money is smaller they may have X amount of pupils and they can't stretch it as far. They can only buy three pupils text books not all of them so it creates a kind of an issue. **PP Fund**

PP
HM: Absolutely, absolutely. So you're saying the focus therefore has been largely pupil premium? **PP Focus**

A: **X** Yes, yes, as opposed to race or race specifically I suppose. In my next job in September, they picked up on their Ofsted report pushing (0.4) not race having ethnic minorities in the school they kind of failed but looking around, I had a quick look around afterwards, there is no direction for that. There is no one going actually you need this, you need that and therefore at that point you're just saying you're not dealing with this very well. O.k. how do you deal with it? There's no direction from the government or even Ofsted or, and it's school led and the fundamental issue with it being school led it can fail. **Key Q.**
None dealing with race issues
No race direction

HM: Exactly, or you may not do it.

A: It may fall by the wayside. If you've got a majority population of white working class verses white middle class at what point does it become a priority in the classroom because fundamentally there may be three percent in the school. **Which takes priority?**
CLASS

HM: It's not right but =

A: It's not right but it's what's done.

HM: And it's also, as you quite rightly say, it's to do with the amount of money that's in the pot. If you have three then they are not going to be top priority necessarily. **FUNDING**

A: But again, as I said, it creates an issue within the classroom and it's interesting that there's no direction, there's no one pulling you to one side. The pupil premium gets direction but with race equality would suggest (0.2) again, looking back retrospectively, there's probably enough done. Following a quick google search it came up with nothing, so where does that go? **PP ve**
RE pom

HM: So a lack of strategy? **STRATEGY??**
Key quote

APPENDIX 8 – Codes/ Themes Grid

1/2

Interview: ANDREW (AM)

MAIN CODES, THEMES ARISING FROM INTERVIEW

CODE	MEANING / Notes
Subj	Citizenship/Global awareness
PGCE	Pathway.
RQ3	Citizenship bkgrd; student awareness.
RQ3	Exp. as TA (no SJ/RE issues). Same PP.
Th on Ft (RQ3)	Thinking on own feet; participant initiative.
(T) RE/SJ	Time poor for these issues. ...an afternoon on race issues or soc. issues...
(RQ3) Th on Ft.	Reactionary rather than proactive. (think on feet)
(RQ2) PP	Each placement very diff.
PWR (power)	'...it's very interesting to see the power shifts in the classroom... hidden kinda power kinda thing dynamic? (cultural capital - Bourdieu)
CL. DIV	→ Bourdieu
PP	→ Emphasis on PP; PP agenda pushed; at what cost?
KEY Q (PP)	'... focus on PP?' 'Yes, yes as opposed to race specifically... no direction for that... this very well!'
CLASS	WNC v. MID. CL. → 'at what point does it become a priority?'
RQ3 (citizenship)	Subj. lends itself well to informing society.
(T) RQ3	Time constraints on training prog'
Not. RQ3 (RQ3)	Participant bkgr. 'I came out of uni... would have struggled!'
BREXT	Queen exp. helped with training.

① {

② {

③ {

APPENDIX 9 – TABLE OF CODING THEMES

Emerging Themes	DEFINITELY	YES	POSSIBLY
RQ1: Course content of ITE routes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Behaviour Mentor Placement EAL SEND Pupil Premium Teach First ‘Messiah’ Message Increase RE provision 	✓		
RQ2: Pedagogical approaches influencing student learning, knowledge and practice regarding SJ/RE.	✓		
RQ3: Factors shaping students’ own understanding and development of SJ/RE issues in an educational setting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Background of trainee DIY (student teachers working independently/ helping each other to develop and understand RE/SJ issues in education) 	✓		
Class re. poverty			X
Self-reflection			X
White privilege <ul style="list-style-type: none"> White liberalism/ no problem here White working class (WWC) British values Black practitioner syndrome (counter intuitive response) 	✓		
Student teacher challenges (RE/SJ)			X
Cultural capital			X
Abuse towards student teachers (called racist)			X
Respect			X
Tolerance			X
Socially responsible practice (SRP)			x
Time constraints on training provision 1 day training provision for RE/SJ	✓		
Transformational education			x
Recruitment awareness			X
Upskilling staff (deficit position)			X
Stereotyped views of pupils			X
Naïve/ not classroom ready			x

