

## DEVELOPING EUROPEAN VALUES IN THE PRIMARY SCHOOL

First Draft 15-10-18

### General Feedback (Some comments)

- The purpose of the report is to explain contexts, but it needs to make clearer the aims and purposes of the project, both explicit and implicit.
- In addition, it might be beneficial to provide a discussion of what is to be understood by European values, and their relation to British or Belgian, German or Greek values, and contextualise them by examining their derivations, their origins and their definitions. This clarity is important, as a recent report funded by the Research Council UK showed that people find British values difficult to define, variable across time and with no obvious meaning for many people in the UK today.<sup>1</sup>
- It appears from the themes outlined in the report that the project is particularly focused upon the development, theory and practice of European values of human rights and equality, especially with regard to Muslim or ethnic minority pupils. Thus it mentions the gap between European ideals and the way in which members of minority groups may be treated in practice, and the way in which their interaction with those institutions as reproducers and interpreters of these predominant values will impact on their identity, and of “whether they are considered to pertain to a society or to be “different”. It would also be of value to consider the role of family and primary caregivers in shaping identities as well as attitudes towards mainstream values. Cooley argues that our self-concept arises out of our ability to see ourselves as others see us<sup>2</sup>. If true, the way in which Muslim or ethnic minority pupils are perceived is crucial in the development of a healthy self concept or identity. From a societal point of view, shared values and mental categories enable the construction of a shared social order or at least help us to agree on a shared narrative.
- Of course, in human interactions, we look at, and help to define, each other. However, it should be noted that in a world where globalisation often means modernisation and westernisation, there may be a power imbalance within such interactions, where the discourse is framed and presented by one side, often in English, and where Muslim communities in European societies, as also elsewhere within a modernising, globalising, troubled world, are increasingly cut off from those traditional roots which might provide a genuine alternative perspective.
- The report observes that, “ethnicity and religion has gained more influence in how people are perceived and categorised”, which is the thesis of Samuel Huntington’s influential 1993 book, “The Clash of Civilisations”. Tangential to this, and particularly problematic for Muslim communities, is that Huntington stated that the European Community rested

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<sup>1</sup> Jarvis, L, Marvin, L, and Atakav, E, (2018), British (Muslim) Values

<sup>2</sup> The looking glass self, (1902)

upon the twin foundations of European culture and Western Christianity<sup>3</sup>, and went on to explicitly argue that Western values, such as “individualism, liberalism, constitutionalism, human rights, equality, liberty, the rule of law, democracy, free markets, the separation of church and state” are not universal, and often have “little resonance” in Muslim cultures, (amongst many others)<sup>4</sup>. In a similar way, Spielman, the head of OFSTED, has also recently denied that British values are universal, although she justifies this position by citing as evidence the political situation in different countries, rather than their social and moral teachings or their aspirations and ideals.<sup>5</sup> It could be argued that just because their government is a tyranny, it does not mean that the people do not see the value in democracy. Said, (1978) in his seminal book, *Orientalism*<sup>6</sup>, had earlier argued that Europe has always defined itself in opposition to the Orient, “its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience”. This implies that a European identity is incompatible with a Muslim faith and means that children from Muslim backgrounds in European schools may feel automatically defined as outsiders or suspect, despite the evidence quoted elsewhere in the draft showing that Muslims are more supportive of European values than the wider population. It also makes clear that even the seemingly innocuous phrase, “European values” can be seen as an oppositional and politically loaded term. The very concept of British values was introduced into schools in an oppositional way through the Prevent Strategy as a reaction to fears about Islamist radicalisation<sup>7</sup>, although it has been packaged as a way for children of all backgrounds to fit in, succeed and belong<sup>8</sup>.

- It would appear to be useful, for those concerned with cohesion and integration, to both re-examine the roots of European values, and to seek common ground with Muslim traditions (among others). There is plenty of fertile ground for this due to centuries of interactions between Muslims and Christendom, and may include the direct inspiration which Locke and the architects of the American Constitution took from Ottoman religious toleration<sup>9</sup>, (Spellberg, 2014) an examination of the prophetic constitution of Medina, or the poetry of Goethe, Shelley or Coleridge.
- Religious toleration had its birth in a bloody history of religious persecution and this historical background has given two reasons for Muslims to be regarded with suspicion. Religious fanaticism eventually gave rise to a secularist reaction which regards any creed with suspicion, but especially Islam, which despite being historically far more tolerant of

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<sup>3</sup> Huntingdon, S, (1993) *The Clash of Civilisation*, abstract, available from [http://www.columbia.edu/itc/sipa/S6800/courseworks/foreign\\_aff\\_huntington.pdf](http://www.columbia.edu/itc/sipa/S6800/courseworks/foreign_aff_huntington.pdf), p. 3

<sup>4</sup> Op.cit. p. 6

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/amanda-spielman-speech-to-the-policy-exchange-think-tank>

<sup>6</sup> Said, E, (1978) p 9 [https://sites.evergreen.edu/politicalshakespeares/wp-content/uploads/sites/33/2014/12/Said\\_full.pdf](https://sites.evergreen.edu/politicalshakespeares/wp-content/uploads/sites/33/2014/12/Said_full.pdf)

<sup>7</sup> [https://edexec.co.uk/schools-must-help-promote-british-values-says-ofsted-chief/https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/97976/prevent-strategy-review.pdf](https://edexec.co.uk/schools-must-help-promote-british-values-says-ofsted-chief/https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/97976/prevent-strategy-review.pdf)

<sup>8</sup> <https://edexec.co.uk/schools-must-help-promote-british-values-says-ofsted-chief/>

<sup>9</sup> Spellberg, D (2014), *Thomas Jefferson's Quran, Islam and the Founders*, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform

other faiths, is viewed through the prism of European historical experience and deemed as being equivalent to Christianity at its earlier stage of development and therefore in need of modernisation and “reformation”. But secularism has also not completely succeeded in abolishing the emotional appeal of Christianity as a source of identity, and this has been exploited by far right groups as we have seen through the rise of “zombie Catholicism” in France or defense of Christian tradition by the far right in the UK. To those who see Europe as defined by its Christian past, Islam is an alien tradition which is incompatible with a European or local national identity. There are institutional factors which reinforce this: despite Britain being a democracy with a commitment to equality before the law and to the separation of Church and state, despite the fact that less than 5% of the population regularly attend any church at all, it is still enshrined in British law that the Prime Minister of the UK must be a member of the Church of England.

- The report mentions that estimates for the Muslim population in a number of European countries are consistently overestimated by at least a factor of three. This is not justifiable, but may be because migrants tend to live in high concentrations of similar ethnic backgrounds in towns like Bradford, Birmingham, Luton, Blackburn and Southall, and so tend to be more visible than if they were evenly distributed around the country. Although this is by choice, it also echos the ghettos of Europe’s past.

II.1 Racism and Anti-Muslim racism Political parties or movements to be included in the list.  
Britain First, UKIP English Defence League BNP, the English Brotherhood, Ban Islam

## II.2.5 United Kingdom - Anti-Muslim Racism

Hate crimes against Muslims form the overwhelming majority of religiously-aggravated crime, although under-reported, and are increasing in the UK both in number and in severity<sup>10</sup>. Overall, the number of attacks on Muslims reached its highest extent yet in 2017 (Faith Matters, 2018)<sup>11</sup>. Some of them included terrorist attacks on Muslim properties and places of worship, including the Finsbury Park Mosque attack which left one dead and ten injured (Kallis, (678). Attacks on Muslims are strongly gendered, with most of the perpetrators being males and most of the victims, women. Although perpetrators often say that they are against a religion, not the people, Islamophobia in practice is also associated with racism, as can be shown by analysis of the language used on online forums and webpages where hate is directed towards Muslims, where one of the most common words of abuse used is 'Paki'<sup>12</sup>. Forty percent of British Muslims are from a Pakistani background. The Runnymede trust has recommended that Islamophobia be defined as racism against Muslims<sup>13</sup>.

Hate Crime has been shown to spike after trigger events such as terrorist incidents like the Manchester Arena attack, which saw a five-fold increase in Islamophobic hate crime in the region<sup>14</sup>, (Kallis, 2018, 691), and reports of crimes in the media such as child sexual abuse scandals involving men of Pakistani Muslim backgrounds<sup>15</sup>. There was also a large spike following Brexit. The Leave campaign had played heavily on anti-immigrant feeling during the campaign, such as a poster showing a queue of refugees with the slogan, "Let's take back our borders"<sup>16</sup>.

Increased use of social media has been shown to be positively correlated with an increase in attacks on refugees in Germany (Muller and Schwartz, 2018<sup>17</sup>). Facebook has been criticised for failing to tackle hate crime effectively, but also because its algorithm filters people into like-minded groups so that it encourages users to think that their views are widely-shared. The mainstream media and politicians have also been accused of creating a climate in which Islamophobia is acceptable. According to a news report cited by Faith Matters in *We Fear for Our Lives*, young people believed that the media was second place in promoting Muslims in a

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<sup>10</sup> Tell Mama, (2018) Beyond the Incident: Outcomes for Victims of Anti-Muslim Prejudice <https://tellmama.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/EXECUTIVE-SUMMARY.pdf>

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<sup>12</sup> Awan, I, (2015), Islamophobia on Social Media, A Qualitative Analysis of Facebook's Walls of Hate, International Journal of Cyber Criminology, June 2016, p 6.

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/Islamophobia%20Report%202018%20FINAL.pdf>

<sup>14</sup> Kallis, Aristotle: Islamophobia in United Kingdom. National Report 2017. In Enes Baytakli and Farid Hafez (eds.): European Islamophobia Report 2017. Ankara, Istanbul, Washington DC, Kairo: SETA, 2018, p 673-706, available at: <http://www.islamophobiaeurope.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/UnitedKingdom.pdf>

<sup>15</sup> Tell Mama, (2015) We Fear For Our Lives <https://tellmama.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/We-Fear-For-Our-Lives.pdf>

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.indy100.com/article/people-are-calling-out-ukips-new-antieu-poster-for-resembling-outright-nazi-propaganda--WkTYUB18EW>

<sup>17</sup> Müller, Karsten and Schwarz, Carlo, Fanning the Flames of Hate: Social Media and Hate Crime (May 21, 2018). Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3082972> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3082972>

negative light, after terrorism<sup>18</sup>. A recent example of this is an article on the 12<sup>th</sup> of October by Richard Littlejohn, in the Daily Mail, juxtaposed next to a silhouette of a young woman wearing a headscarf, about an extremist who has repeatedly rejected accommodation offered to her by the state following her release from jail, while 1.1million families are homeless<sup>19</sup>.

Islamophobic remarks form part of the mainstream political discourse. Baroness Warsi, a former chair of the Conservative party, has persistently accused the party of having an Islamophobia problem at all levels<sup>20</sup>. In particular, the campaign against London Mayor Sadiq Khan in 2016 was accused of playing to prejudices and fears. The Muslim Council of Britain compiled a 42 page dossier of Islamophobic comments from the Conservative Debating Forum<sup>21</sup>. Following Boris Johnson's high profile comparison of women wearing niqab with letterboxes, there was an increase of attacks on Muslim women.<sup>22</sup> The current MEP and leader of UKIP, Gerard Batten has made several outrageous claims about Islam, including claiming that it is a 'Death cult'<sup>23</sup>. He recently spoke at a rally in support of Tommy Robinson, the jailed far right leader. There are also reports of some Labour party figures making Islamophobic remarks.

Muslims continue to face disadvantage in employment in terms of earnings and career progression. A report published by the Social Mobility Commission on the adult careers of children of Bangladeshi and Pakistani origins showed that, despite strong academic performance, they were far less likely to gain professional or managerial occupations.<sup>24</sup> Over 50% of young British Muslims of both genders are economically inactive. Of all minority groups, Muslims experience the worst discrimination<sup>25</sup>. Within the workplace, Muslims have come under increasing scrutiny and suspicion due to the duty on public sector workers to refer under the Prevent legislation (Qureishi, 2018)<sup>26</sup>. Muslims tend to suffer from deprivation when it comes to

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<sup>18</sup> 35 Allen, C. (2012) A Review of the evidence relating to the representation of Muslims and Islam in the British Media. University of Birmingham: Institute of Applied Social Studies, School of Social Policy. 36 See Kotecha, S. (2013) 'Quarter of young British people 'do not trust Muslims'', BBC News, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/newsbeat/24204742> (accessed: 12 December 2013)

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-6267423/RICHARD-LITTLEJOHN-cash-jihadi-nutjobs.html>

<sup>20</sup> <http://uk.businessinsider.com/islamophobia-scandal-conservative-party-goes-right-up-to-the-top-baroness-warsi-interview-2018-6>

<sup>21</sup> <https://mcb.org.uk/press-releases/tories-accused-of-turning-blind-eye-to-islamophobia-in-the-party-amid-fresh-new-revelations/>

<sup>22</sup> <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/boris-johnson-burqa-muslim-women-veil-attacks-islamophobia-letterboxes-rise-a8488651.html>

<sup>23</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/feb/18/ukip-gerard-batten-islam-muslims-quran>

<sup>24</sup> "Race Disparity Audit? Labour Market." Muslim Engagement and Development, 14 Nov. 2017, [mend.org.uk/news/race-disparity-audit-labour-market/](http://mend.org.uk/news/race-disparity-audit-labour-market/).

<sup>25</sup> Khattab, N & Johnston, R, 2015, 'Ethno-religious identities and persisting penalties in the UK labor market'. *Social Science Journal*, vol 52., pp. 490-50

<sup>26</sup> <https://www.nature.com/articles/s41599-017-0061-9>

housing. Almost half of Muslim households live within the bottom ten percent of most deprived households in England (Social Mobility Commission Report, 2017); Muslims are excluded from the labour market and discriminated against at all levels. Poverty in the Muslim community, at 50% is far higher than the national average of 18% (Quoted in Runnymede, (2017), Islamophobia revisited).

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## II.3 Anti-Muslim Racism, discrimination and exclusion within the educational system

### II.3.5 United Kingdom Context on Islamophobia in education

#### Important Findings:

A study looking at the attainment of Muslim children, showed that Muslim children are attaining as well as non-Muslim children<sup>27</sup>. In the UK, children from Bangladeshi and Indian backgrounds now outperform white British children, and Pakistani children have narrowed the gap, performing better than Afro-caribbean children, but still fall short of the standard attained by white British children<sup>28</sup> (Gillborne, 2016). Girls perform better than boys. However, many newspaper headlines have highlighted the fact that white working class boys perform worse than any other ethnic group, although this claim has been made by examining only those eligible for free school meals and ignoring Gypsy, Roma and Traveller students completely. The claim that white working class students are the worst performing group has led to a change in attitudes to anti-racist programmes with increasing claims that such initiatives are racist, according to Gillborn, (2016)<sup>29</sup>.

For most Muslim parents, academic attainment is their priority as it is seen as a route to social mobility. Only a minority of students go to Islamic schools and some parents see them as divisive. Muslim children are overwhelmingly educated in secular, state-funded schools<sup>30</sup>. However, the uneven distribution of the Muslim population means that many are highly segregated. There are 2000 schools where more than half of children have EAL, and 60% of ethnic minority children are educated in schools where ethnic minority children are in the majority<sup>31</sup>. Parents are concerned that their children are brought up with Islamic values and practices<sup>32</sup>. Sometimes this has led to tensions where such views are seen as at variance with a Britain which is becoming increasingly secular and there are more and more calls to circumscribe the teaching and practice of religion within schools<sup>33</sup> and where controversial issues such as the use of halal meat in schools are exploited by the far right to provoke tensions between communities.

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<sup>27</sup> Nabil Khattab & Tariq Modood (2018) Accounting for British Muslim's educational attainment: gender differences and the impact of expectations, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 39:2,242-259, DOI: [10.1080/01425692.2017.1304203](https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2017.1304203)

<sup>28</sup> [http://soc-for-ed-studies.org.uk/documents/GillbornD-et-al\\_Race-Racism-and-Education.pdf](http://soc-for-ed-studies.org.uk/documents/GillbornD-et-al_Race-Racism-and-Education.pdf)

<sup>29</sup> Gillborn, D, 2016, The Monsterisation of Race Equality: How hate became honourable, in *The Runnymede School Report; Race, Equality in Contemporary Britain*, p 6-8.  
<https://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/The%20School%20Report.pdf>

<sup>30</sup> [http://www.docs.hss.ed.ac.uk/education/creid/Reports/32\\_MFEES\\_FinalRpt.pdf](http://www.docs.hss.ed.ac.uk/education/creid/Reports/32_MFEES_FinalRpt.pdf)

<sup>31</sup> *Integrated Strategies Green Paper*, March 2018

[https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/696993/Integrated\\_Communities\\_Strategy.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/696993/Integrated_Communities_Strategy.pdf)

<sup>32</sup> [http://www.docs.hss.ed.ac.uk/education/creid/Reports/32\\_MFEES\\_FinalRpt.pdf](http://www.docs.hss.ed.ac.uk/education/creid/Reports/32_MFEES_FinalRpt.pdf)

<sup>33</sup> <https://www.tes.com/news/ban-hymns-and-prayers-schools-say-academics>

Some schools with large numbers of Muslim students have been faced with increasing suspicion and criticism. The Trojan Horse scandal, where a group of schools in Birmingham were accused of attempting to introduce a Salafist curriculum into schools, or to adopt religious practices in secular schools, stirred up many allegations of discriminatory practices, although no concrete evidence of a conspiracy to take over schools was found. This led to a requirement to teach British values in schools, and a situation in which a large number of faith schools have been found to be less than good when inspected by OFSTED over this issue, with Muslim and Jewish schools facing the most negative judgments.

Against this backdrop, the head of OFSTED, Amanda Spielman made a speech where she stressed the importance of an integrated approach to the teaching of British values, (Democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and religious toleration), in order to promote community cohesion and integration. Whilst praising faith schools, including Muslim ones, she raised concerns about attempts to interfere in what children are taught, participate in or wear<sup>34</sup>. For this reason, Spielman defended the decision to allow inspectors to question the wearing of headscarves by young children.

British values were first introduced as part of Prevent, the government terrorism prevention strategy which also lays down a duty upon all government employees to report concerns about radicalisation. Whilst acknowledging that far right terrorism is also a threat, a Muslim child is 44 times more likely to be referred to Prevent than a child from a different background. The twentieth anniversary report on Islamophobia by the Runnymede Trust, and the Just Yorkshire report<sup>35</sup> have both declared Prevent to be systemically racist and islamophobic.<sup>36</sup>

One other issue which is causing concern in the UK at the moment is the mental health crisis amongst young people. Britain ranked 13 out of 26 in terms of life satisfaction for young people<sup>37</sup>. 22% of girls aged 14 have self-harmed, according to a Children's Society Survey. There are indications that BEM communities can suffer from higher rates of mental illness, but more research needs to be done into exactly how support for mental health can be provided in all communities.

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<sup>34</sup> <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/amanda-spielman-s-speech-to-the-policy-exchange-think-tank>

<sup>35</sup> <http://rethinkingprevent.org.uk/>

<sup>36</sup> <https://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/Islamophobia%20Report%202018%20FINAL.pdf>.

<sup>37</sup> England recently ranked 13th out of 16 countries for children's life satisfaction.

<https://www.theguardian.com/society/2017/jun/01/britain-at-economic-and-moral-crisis-point>

### III National School Educational contexts

#### III.2.5 United Kingdom

All four countries in the UK have a separate education system. Education is compulsory from the age of 5 in all of the countries, apart from Northern Ireland where it begins at age 4. It continues until the age of 16 (18 in England). There is some selection in some areas at the age of 11, when children who pass a test may go to a grammar school. School attendance is not compulsory, and home education is permitted. There is limited government funding for nursery places, but nursery education is not compulsory. Education is divided into five stages: early years, primary, secondary, further education and higher education.

In England and Wales, the National Curriculum provides a framework for state schools, whilst some academies and private schools do not have to follow it. Religious education syllabus is devised at the local level according to local needs.

Community schools are under the control of the local authority, but academies and free schools, which may be set up by groups of business, parents, communities, or faith groups, are responsible directly to the Secretary of State for Education. In the primary sector, 60% are non-denominational community schools, 37% are either voluntary aided or voluntary controlled and the majority of these are Church of England or Roman Catholic faith schools (6,029). Many Muslim children attend Church of England schools as they tended to be built in areas with large urban immigrant populations.

There is a shortage of teachers in certain subject specialisms and certain specialist areas. There is also a problem with teacher retention, with many considering leaving the profession, complaining of long hours and constant appraisal. Nearly half of teachers in London schools leave within five years<sup>38</sup>. Many inner city schools, where ethnic minority pupils tend to live, struggle to recruit staff, as do remote rural areas. There has been a rise in unqualified teachers and in teachers who do not have a degree in the subject they teach.

One in six primary school pupils in England do not have English as a first language. There are 1300 primary schools where more than half of the pupils speak English as an additional language<sup>39</sup>. Students who speak another language at home form a majority in 11% of schools. As ethnic minority students tend to congregate in certain areas, 60% go to schools where more than half of students are from an ethnic minority<sup>40</sup>. This has led to schools in some areas with high migration to establish EAL units to support the learning of English.

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<sup>38</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2018/oct/04/teacher-crisis-hits-london-as-nearly-half-quit-within-five-years>

<sup>39</sup> <http://www.naldic.org.uk/research-and-information/eal-statistics/eal-pupils/>

<sup>40</sup> Integrated Strategies Green Paper, March 2018