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**Exploring the imagined identities of Muslim pupils
in the context of Prevent**

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education
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Declaration

This thesis submitted to the University of Warwick is my own work and has not been submitted for any previous degree at any other university.

Abstract

This thesis explores the imagined identities of Muslim pupils in the context of the UK's Prevent strategy. In particular, the thesis focuses on the imagined identities of Muslim pupils who have been born since 9/11 and in the aftermath of the 'War on Terror'. The imagined identities, that is to say the image of the Muslim pupils held in the mind, are explored from three perspectives; first, from the Government Prevent strategy, second, from the teachers surveyed for the study and third from the Muslim pupils themselves. These views were gained through document analysis, questionnaires, interviews and focus groups. The relationships between these imagined identities are then explored through a process of theorizing (Charmaz, 2014) and a framework of understanding is built up.

Three pictures emerge; the Government Prevent strategy imagines the pupil through a securitised lens as vulnerable, with the potential for extremism and at risk of being drawn into terrorism. The teachers have differing views, some imagine the Muslim pupils as safe and content in school, while others imagine the Muslim pupils to be fearful of being identified as extreme, possibly self-censoring and self-monitoring. The Muslim pupils themselves have developed two imagined identities; firstly, they imagine themselves as normal teenagers and proud members of the Muslim community; secondly, they feel imagined by others, as potential extremists and even physical threats due to their perceived association with terrorism.

This thesis is about exploration into a phenomenon, asking "what is going on here?" (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: p45). The thesis is underpinned by constructivist grounded theory methodology as developed by Charmaz (2014), which grounds the study in the data rather than a top down, predetermined theoretical position.

Exploring the imagined identities of Muslim pupils in the context of Prevent

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 - Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction to my research, presented in four sections. Firstly, I provide an overview of the research including outlining my reasons for selecting grounded theory for my methodology. Secondly, I explore my personal history as a teacher and my professional experience that led to the development of research questions for this study. This includes introducing the concept of 'imagined identities' used as a motif through my work. Thirdly, as a result of my experience, I also examine my positionality and reflexivity in relation to the subject. Finally, I provide a brief summary of my doctoral timeline and an outline of my thesis structure.

My study examines the imagined identities of Muslim secondary school pupils in the context of the Prevent duty (2015), from the UK Government's perspective, from the teachers' perspectives and from the perspectives of Muslim pupils that I surveyed and interviewed. What is meant by imagined identities will be introduced later in the chapter and will be examined in depth in Chapter 5. The Prevent strategy is one strand of the Government's counter-terror strategy known as CONTEST (HM Government, 2006). The Prevent strategy focuses on preventing people from being drawn into terrorism. When I refer to 'Muslim' pupils in this study, I use a categorisation 'Muslim' that came from the pupils themselves. I did not impose this category on them, rather when given the opportunity they self-identified as such by offering 'Muslim' as a descriptor of their identity. Although, it may seem two dimensional to only offer the one descriptor (Gallagher 2007: p9), I do not offer other intersecting descriptors from

the pupils such as gender or ethnicity in case of compromising the pupils' anonymity which remained paramount throughout the study.

The research was motivated both by the concern I felt during my professional experience as a teacher and by an emergent gap in the literature, concerning perceptions of Muslim pupils ages 11-17 in the context of the Prevent counter-terrorism legislation since 2015. In this context, there seemed to be a risk that the perception of Muslim pupils was becoming securitised. That is to say, that the figure of the Muslim pupil was seemingly being constructed as a potential extremist and an object of security concern. Therefore, research focused on Muslim pupils that asked both how they are perceived and how they feel perceived was urgently required.

This study is influenced by the methodology of grounded theory. In particular, I adopted a constructivist grounded theory methodology developed by Charmaz (2014). Significantly, grounded theory involves the generation of theory grounded in the data. Ideally, according to traditional grounded theory developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), a grounded theory researcher approaches the data for analysis free of preconceived theoretical frameworks. However, constructivist grounded theory acknowledges that all researchers arrive at the site of research with preconceptions and personal histories that might frame and shape the research. In this introduction, I present my contextual biography and acknowledge my positionality in relation to the research.

1.2 - My contextual history and development of the research questions

I became a teacher in 2008. During that year, as part of my initial teacher training, I visited Park View Academy, Birmingham. The school later became known nationally as the school at the heart of the Trojan Horse inquiry (Clarke, 2014) (an alleged Islamist plot to take over Birmingham schools in 2014), an event that will be returned to at

later point in the thesis. However, at the time, it simply impressed me as a school that was outstanding in its provision of learning for students with English as an additional language (EAL). As a result, I looked for a teaching position at a school with a strong EAL emphasis and secured a position as a Religious Education (RE) teacher in Tower Hamlets in a school with an 85% Muslim majority pupil population. From then on, the Muslim community surrounding the school became of great significance to me. In an environment where the predominant culture was different from the one in which I grew up, I wanted to understand their experience of education as a community and their pedagogical needs. I also wanted to understand how they felt perceived and how that affected their sense of self. It was seven years before I began a doctorate with the Muslim community at its centre, but the seeds of this thesis began in my early encounters with the communities of Alum Rock, Birmingham and Tower Hamlets, East London.

In Autumn 2014, the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted), the schools' inspection body, downgraded the school I worked at, from 'Outstanding' (the highest ranking) to 'inadequate' for failing to safeguard against extremism (Ofsted, 2014b). This made headlines across national media outlets because it occurred at a time of national interest due to following in the wake of the 'Trojan Horse' case. In order to tackle the potential for extremism, the school was encouraged to implement the Prevent strategy, which was not yet a statutory duty. My personal response, one of shock and concern, would sow the seeds of my subsequent research proposal. I had taught these pupils. I wondered how the pupils felt to be labelled by Ofsted as at risk of extremism and I wondered how the local school community felt to be associated with potential radicalisation. The school had a positive relationship with the local community and to downgrade the school could have been, by implication, a negative projection on the community, which in terms of social capital was already a marginalised group. The high achieving school was for many of the pupils a positive opportunity to achieve well and go on to have a university education.

As a result of this judgement, I found myself questioning a number of aspects of the situation. I wanted to explore what impact the implementation of Prevent would have upon a school environment and what effect it might have on the Muslim pupils who attended that school. I also wanted to know what implementing the strategy would look like in a school curriculum and as an aspect of safeguarding policy. Furthermore, I wanted to know how the statutory duty to implement the strategy would affect the teachers' roles and how they would manage its demands.

I could not, of course, study all these aspects and had to hone my research to a more focused research topic. My greatest concern was about the possible impact of the Prevent strategy on the perceived identities of Muslim pupils. From my classroom-based teaching and discussion with Muslim pupils, I knew they felt seen in a negative way by society, including feeling seen as associated with terrorism. I wanted to understand whether this sentiment, exhibited by the students in my classroom, extended to a wider group.

In 2015, the year following the inspection, the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act was introduced, making it a statutory duty for all educational professionals to identify and prevent people being drawn into terrorism. This led me to reflect on the Government's and teachers' perceptions of Muslim pupils. At this early stage, I felt that the Government's perceptions of the Muslim pupils needed examining as it was the Prevent policy that seemingly risked constructing the view of the Muslim pupils as potential extremists. I also felt that the teachers' perceptions of the Muslim pupils needed examining. It seemed possible that the Prevent training given to the teachers might be constructing a view of the Muslim pupil as a potential extremist or terrorist.

As I turned to the limited research available in order to develop my doctoral proposal, I found these concerns raised in the literature. For example, when researching an earlier

form of Prevent, Sian (2014) had raised the concern that the Government's preventing violent extremism (PVE) policy "centred on the Muslim 'problem'" (Sian, 2014: p186). She also raised the concern that the teachers:

"uncritically internalized the Muslim 'threat' logic" ... which "demonstrated the pervasiveness of the PVE agenda in establishing the construct of the 'dangerous' Muslim" (Sian, 2014: p191).

Sian's study had been carried out with primary school teachers and responded to an earlier incarnation of the Prevent strategy. Therefore, Sian's study indicated an opening for further exploration focused on how the more recent versions of the Government's policy constructed the Muslim pupil and focused on the ways teachers constructed a perception of the Muslim pupil.

Through my professional experience, I also felt concerned about how the Muslim pupils felt perceived in light of the counter-terrorism policies. I wanted to examine whether these policies affected how they perceived themselves and their self-construct. Again, in exploring the limited available literature for my proposal, I found research concerning how security discourses of 'radicalization' were seen to constrain the identities of Muslim students (Brown and Saeed, 2015: p1952). Awan (2012), suggested in the context of earlier manifestations of the legislation, that Muslims and by implication, Muslim pupils might be construed and feel constructed as potential extremists. Similar concerns were raised by Ali (2014) as well as Lynch, "on how the narrative of the Muslim as 'threatening other'" (Lynch, 2013: p249) affected the experience of young Muslims. Lynch further noted that "there is precious little research that clarifies for us the lived experience of Muslim youth" (Lynch, 2013: p258). Therefore, I wanted to explore whether and how the Prevent policies affected Muslim pupils' self-perceived identities.

Thus, I began to formulate a proposal that incorporated perceptions of the Muslim pupils by three entities, namely how the Muslim pupils are perceived by the Government policy, by the teachers and by the Muslim pupils themselves. I also looked to examine the relationships between these entities as I was curious about the possible interactive effects, namely whether the perception held by one of these entities affected the formation of perception held by another.

However, as I developed the research questions for my study, I realised that the idea of drawing out perceptions was epistemologically challenging. This was the case for a number of reasons. Firstly, perceptions seem more of an act of imagination than is commonly recognised. We predominately use imagination to create a picture of another, rather than recognising the figure in front of us. Secondly, I raised the question as to whether one person's perceptions can ever be known by another. How could I, as a researcher, access the perceptions of the Muslim pupils, the teachers and the Government? Struggling with the epistemological limitations on what could be known, I sought a term that would acknowledge that I could not easily know the thoughts or perceptions of another and instead there would be an element of imagining involved in the process. This brought me to the term 'imaginary' and the verb 'to imagine' which has become so central in my research.

As discussed further in Chapter 5, I drew the use of the term 'imagined' from the literature I had encountered, particularly the work of Anderson on 'Imagined Communities' who uses the word 'imagined' (1983: p6) meaning to be held in the mind. I wanted to ask what pictures were held in the mind by the teachers and ask what pictures were held by the Muslim pupils about themselves. It was even possible to ask what picture of the Muslim pupils the Government's Prevent strategy documents held through what they projected and communicated.

One risk of using the word 'imagined' was that it might imply that the picture the pupils held is 'made up'. For example, there is a risk in saying the pupils felt imagined as terrorists or imagined as threats, as it could be misinterpreted to mean that their feelings are 'make believe'. It is very important that the use of 'imagined' should not be read in this way as it risks seriously demeaning the voices of the participants.

So, I returned to my research questions and rephrased them in light of the term 'imaginary'. The resultant research questions were:

1. What is the imaginary of Muslim pupils according to the Government Prevent policies?
2. What is the imaginary of the Muslim pupils according to the teachers?
3. What is the imaginary of the Muslim pupils according to the Muslim pupils themselves?

However, on further reflection, the term 'imaginary' seemed overly vague. What was it, precisely, that was held in the mind? Archer (2003) had developed Anderson's 'Imagined Community' to apply to the identity of Muslim teenage males. I realised that in my work I also wanted to focus on identity, that is who the Muslim pupils think they are, or are seen to be. I wanted to examine the images 'held in the mind' of identities of the Muslim pupils from the different perspectives. Therefore, instead of Anderson's 'imagined community' (1986) that was held in the mind, it would be an 'imagined identity' that was held in the mind of the participants and Government documents.

Imagined identity is a constructed impression of the self or another. The term 'imagined identity' allows for and recognises the fluidity of identity, and the idea that identity is made up of a composite of impressions. It acknowledges that you cannot actually know either the self or someone else but can only imagine a number of possible aspects of identity. In my research, I wanted to gather together a set of

impressions or imagined identities of the Muslim pupils as held from three perspectives.

Therefore, my research questions became:

1. What is the imagined identity of the Muslim pupils according to the Government Prevent policies?
2. What is the imagined identity of the Muslim pupils according to the teachers?
3. What is the imagined identity of the Muslim pupils according to the Muslim pupils themselves?

Then:

4. Is there a relationship between these imagined identities?

And if so,

5. What is the relationship between the imagined identities?

Imagined identities formed the phenomenon of focus for my research and became the central motif in my research. It was then necessary to consider whether imagined identities and grounded theory could be compatible. This is because in grounded theory methodology, there could be no conceptual framework placed on to the study prior to the research taking place, as theory should arise from the data rather than a preconceived schema. However, as explained further in Chapter 5, it is important to note that imagined identities is a vacuum signifier. It has no defined meaning prior to the research. Instead, the meaning of the signifier is found using the themes arising in the analysis. Therefore, as argued in Chapter 5, I find the two are compatible.

1.3 - Positionality and reflexivity

As a result of this contextual setting and history, I wish to acknowledge my positionality in relation to the study. I acknowledge that the starting point to approaching the

subject of my research was not a position of neutrality, because that is impossible. It was instead a position of concern. My use of constructivist grounded theory, however, allowed me to acknowledge this positionality and to be reflexive (Charmaz, 2014: p13), rather than having to deny its influence as a starting point for the research. Throughout my research, I have grappled with my preconceptions, endeavouring to be honest and open, whilst at the same time recognising these preconceptions for the influence they may have on the body of research.

In addition, I had to recognise my positionality amidst the practicalities of carrying out the research. Most significantly, I approached the research as a white, female, non-Muslim, teacher-turned-researcher. This was particularly significant in my relationships with participants, especially in relation to the interviews with teachers and the focus groups with pupils.

In the following, I reflect on my positionality in relation to the participants of the study, namely the teachers and the Muslim pupils.

Firstly, in relation to the teachers interviewed in the study, I was an insider – outsider (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). That is to say, in my professional capacity having been a teacher, I could express familiarity with the teachers' positions and teaching experiences which I believe made my participants feel at ease. On the other hand, I entered the school as a researcher. This was a positioning that was perhaps more challenging to some teachers who might have felt I would be less aware of the issues of the classroom and would be possibly out of touch now that I had left it behind to become a full-time researcher.

Secondly, in relation to the Muslim pupils, as a white, non-Muslim, adult, middle class woman, I was an outsider to the pupil participants of my research. Being an outsider has made me regularly question my position as a researcher. I have been aware of my

white privilege and questioned what right I have to study an experience so far outside my own. I have regularly wondered what an outsider can bring to a site of research that would be better approached by an insider. An insider could be perceived as bringing a: “more truthful, authentic understanding of the culture under study” (Merriam et al., 2010: p411)

Therefore, I have questioned whether there is a positive in an ‘outsider’ studying the topic. However, when I have raised this question with others, a range of suggestions has been given about what an outsider, such as myself, might be able to offer to such a project.

Although no researcher can be objective, some participants felt that as a non-Muslim, I was freer to talk and write about the issues discussed in this thesis. I had not experienced the Prevent strategy as any form of threat to me, therefore I did not feel the same limitations or sense of being under suspicion that some researchers of a Muslim cultural background may have felt if approaching this topic. Many Muslims to whom I have spoken about my research topic felt restricted to speak, whereas I stood outside the experiences of my participants and therefore was viewed as being in a position to be able to say more, including being able to draw attention to the experiences of Muslim communities to wider society without the risk of being seen as biased myself.

The pupils in the study were aware of my whiteness in the focus groups. One student in a year 7 and 8 group pointed out:

“For example, Miss, when I look at you.... well, she’s white...I’m not being racist, she’s white” (Pupil 6: Elmhurst, year 7&8).

However, another pupil in the same group later adds:

“I’m sure Miss, you as well, you’re on our side” (Pupil 4: Elmhurst, year 7&8).

Therefore, the pupils noted my whiteness and could have seen it as a barrier to communicating with me but instead they seem to decide they could trust me. This trust was important and allowed for the free flow of discussion that I experienced in the focus groups. However, they could have seen my whiteness as well as my position of authority as something to be wary of.

1.4 - Doctoral timeframe

Table (A): Research timeline:

The following table shows both the timeline of my doctoral process and the national events which both shaped and had a significant effect on my data collection. These significant national events are partly included because they either set the backdrop for the study’s context in Prevent or because participants referenced them in my data collection.

2014 (March)	Trojan Horse Inquiry, Birmingham
2014 (September)	Ofsted inspection, Tower Hamlets
2015 (February)	Bethnal Green girls join ISIS
2015 (July)	Introduction of the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act
2015 (October)	Began doctoral research
2016 (February)	Pilot study
2017 (March 22nd)	Westminster Bridge terror attack
2017 (May 22nd)	Manchester Arena terror attack
2017 (June 3rd)	London Bridge terror attack

2017 (June 19th)	Finsbury Park Mosque terror attack
2017 (June - July)	Research at Elmhurst School and Oakwood School
2017 (October 16th)	Mogadishu, Somalia, terror attack
2017 (October - November)	Research at Middleoak School
2018 (January)	Research at Rosehill School
2020 (May)	Submission of thesis

1.5 - Chapter outline

The thesis is organised into 10 chapters. In the following, I provide an outline of the content of each chapter.

The first is the introduction in which I have presented an overview of my study including a brief introduction to the methodology of grounded theory and the concept of imagined identities used throughout my study.

The second chapter, the 'Context of Study', provides the context of the literature for my research. It is not called a 'Literature Review' as it traditionally might be known due to the uncomfortable relationship grounded theory has with literature reviews. This will be explained and examined in the chapter. The Context chapter covers two areas of literature, the first relating to the Prevent strategy and the second relating to literature concerning young Muslims in the context of education.

Chapter 3: 'Methodology', provides an outline of grounded theory methodology which has formed the basis of my research project. In particular, the chapter emphasises my choice of Charmaz's constructivist grounded theory.

Chapter 4 is the methods chapter and examines the different research instruments I used to gather data. These were interviews, focus groups and questionnaires. The chapter also examines the different analysis methods I used, firstly document analysis for the government policy and secondly thematic analysis for the material relating to the pupils and teachers.

The fifth chapter, 'On imagined identities', examines in greater depth the notion of imagined identities and discusses its compatibility with the methodology of grounded theory. This chapter acts as a bridge between the methodologies and analysis chapters.

Chapter 6 is the first of the trio of analysis chapters. It examines the imagined identity of Muslim pupils as found in the Government's Prevent policy.

Chapter 7 examines the imagined identities of Muslim pupils as seen by the teachers, through analysis of the teachers' questionnaires and interviews.

Chapter 8 examines the analysis of the pupils' focus groups and questionnaires. The chapter looks for what account they give of the Muslim pupils' imagined identities both according to themselves and according to how they imagine that others see them.

Chapter 9 is the discussion chapter in which I examine the relationship between the imagined identities of the Muslim pupils held by the Government policy, the teachers and the Muslim pupils themselves.

Finally, chapter 10 is the conclusion, drawing together the different aspects of the thesis in relation to the imagined identity of the Muslim pupil. It also examines the social and empirical contributions as well as the methodological and theoretical contributions that the thesis makes to the field and the wider academic community.

1.6 - Conclusion

This chapter has provided an introduction to this study, particularly in relation to my own contextual history and positionality. In the chapter, I have identified the research phenomena and the research questions that framed my study. I have introduced the notion of imagined identities and indicated that the study is influenced by grounded theory methodology. A key motivator was to explore whether the Muslim pupils felt marginalised by the perceptions of others and whether this informed their imagined identities.

In the next chapter, I examine the context of the Prevent strategy and literature relating to Muslim young people in education in order to identify the knowledge gap which, together with professional concern, justified the need for this research.

Chapter 2: Context of study

2.1 - Introduction

This chapter has been named 'Context' rather than the more traditional title of 'Literature review'. The rationale is methodological because in a grounded theory study, a literature review has a contentious positioning. In the process of using grounded theory (explored in Chapter 3) "data collection and analysis occur concurrently, rather than in a linear sequence" (Dunne, 2011: p111), therefore issues surrounding the role of existing literature in that process have often been debated. Bryant and Charmaz (2007) acknowledge that,

"Ever since the publication of 'The Discovery of Grounded Theory', concerns have arisen regarding how students and researchers should approach and use the existing literature relevant to their research topic" (p19).

Whereas most research studies engage with extant, relevant literature prior to the data collection, the early founders of grounded theory, Glaser and Strauss (1967) "originally argued explicitly against this" (Dunne, 2011: p113). They argued that a researcher should begin with their empirical data rather than with the theories. A literature review was regarded as limiting the emergent data speaking for itself. This position is supported by more recent grounded theorists including the constructivist theorist, Charmaz, whose version of grounded theory I follow in my own work. Charmaz writes that delaying the literature review can help:

"to avoid importing preconceived ideas and imposing them on your work. Delaying the review encourages you to articulate *your* ideas" (2006: p165).

Therefore, the discussion in grounded theory is not *whether* to do a literature review but rather *when* to do a literature review.

In this research, as suggested in grounded theory, I did not do a comprehensive overview of the literature at the start of this research, instead I did an overview of the context. This encompassed developing a historical and political knowledge of the context for my empirical study. This included the history of Prevent as the context of this research. My review of the literature then took place as I gathered and analysed the data. Therefore, although I have positioned this chapter in the traditional position of the literature review, that is as the second chapter, it should be understood that the contents of this chapter emerged in a non-linear fashion throughout the process of the thesis research and have been gathered here under the name of 'Context' for the practical purposes of setting the scene for the reader.

Having laid out the relationship of grounded theory to the literature review, I present the context of the research in this chapter. I begin by setting out my own positioning at the start of this study. I then set the context by tracing the history and political backdrop of the Prevent strategy, noting many of the studies carried out in response to it. Finally, I examine the few studies that have explored the identities and experiences of Muslim young people in the context of education in order to situate this study in relation to them.

2.2 - Context of study

As outlined in Chapter 1, in 2014, I was a teacher of Religious Education (RE) at a school in Tower Hamlets where the majority of pupils were of a Muslim background. I had been a teacher there for the previous five years. I choose the year 2014 to begin this account, as it was in that year that I became aware of some of the events that were to set the backdrop of this research. In March of that year, news of an alleged Islamist

plot to take over 21 schools in Birmingham hit the headlines. This became known as the Trojan Horse Inquiry. The principle school involved was Parkview school, an Ofsted rated 'Outstanding' secondary school with a majority Muslim cohort. At the time, I remember noting the demographic similarities with my own school. The 21 Birmingham schools were all inspected by Ofsted and placed in 'special measures' for failure to raise students' awareness of the risks of extremism.

The events of the Trojan Horse inquiry were accounted for in the Department for Education (DfE) report by Clarke (2014). However, academic literature on the Trojan Horse has since been produced, most significantly contesting the unfounded nature of the allegations. These in particular have included Miah in 2017 and Holmwood and O'Toole in 2018.

Whilst I kept an eye on events in Birmingham, I decided to move on with my teaching career by getting a job as a Head of Department which moved me out of Tower Hamlets. However, no sooner had I done this, when Ofsted arrived in the borough, in September 2014, and inspected 7 schools with 'no notice' inspections. This included my previous school which was downgraded from 'Outstanding' to 'Special measures' as "the school has not put in place steps to ensure that students, staff and governors understand the risks posed by extremism" (Ofsted, 2014b: p1).

Although this happened in the wake of the Trojan Horse inquiry and reached national news (Adams and Weale, 2014), it is seldom mentioned in Trojan Horse literature except by Faure Walker who refers to these events specifically in his chapter 'Counter-terrorism in the Classroom' (2018: pps 110-111). As Faure Walker writes:

"The school was criticised for not providing the students with sufficient guidance about how to keep themselves safe from extremism (Ofsted, 2014b: p7) and Ofsted's first instruction for how they could improve was that they

should adopt the Prevent Strategy (Ofsted, 2014b: p.3)” (Faure Walker, 2018: p109).

Faure Walker also notes the impact that the inspection had on other surrounding schools (p110) including leading them to become more vigilant over the pupils during prayer times and specifically Friday prayers (Jumma).

Following the events in 2014, a number of key events occurred on the national stage. The first, late in 2014, was the introduction of fundamental British values (DfE, 2014) as a key aspect of the curriculum. These had initially been introduced as part of the ‘Teacher Standards’ (DfE, 2012) but now were incorporated into the curriculum. Extremism had been defined as opposition to fundamental British values in the Prevent strategy (2011: p107) and therefore, with the explicit inclusion of fundamental British values (which will be discussed later in this chapter) into the curriculum, counter-extremism education was being introduced into schools. The second event to occur as a result of the Trojan Horse inquiry, was the introduction of the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act (2015) which made it a legal duty for all educators, as well as healthcare staff and social workers, “to have due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism” (HM Government, 2015: p3).

It was in this context, that I began to consider the topic for this research concerning the identities of Muslim pupils against the backdrop of the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act and Prevent. I found that I had stumbled across a political story that had seemingly begun in 2014 but stretched back all the way to the terrorist attack on the Twin Towers, September 11th, 2001 (9/11) when the ‘Muslim as terrorist’ narrative can be argued to have begun. Although the Twin Tower attack took place in America, the retaliation by USA and its allies, including the UK became known as the ‘War on Terror’ and had an effect worldwide.

As described in Chapter 1, I have to acknowledge that the above outline presents my positionality. I did not approach this study as a blank slate, as grounded theory is sometimes wrongly assumed to expect of a researcher (Urquhart and Fernandez, 2006). Instead I approached with thoughts, feelings, experiences and biases which, in the case of constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014: p13), I can, here, acknowledge and lay out before a reader.

In the following, I account for the story that led up to the point where, in my experience, counter-terrorism and education met, in the events of 2014. I then proceed beyond the events of 2014 to where they have led since, culminating in the terror related events of 2017-2018 during which time this research took place.

2.3 - Literature concerning the context of Prevent

The story of the context of this research begins in 2001, not with the events of 9/11 as might be expected but rather with the events of the summer of 2001 when riots took place in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham (Fortier, 2010: p20). A range of reasons have been put forward for the disturbances, such as “discrimination and disadvantage” (Finney and Simpson, 2009: p93) as well as poverty and unemployment from deindustrialisation (Bagguley and Hussain, 2019: p3). However, the official accounts at the time, such as the Cantle Report (2001) suggested that the “parallel lives” of communities were the problem (Cantle, 2001: p9). Blame was placed on the self-segregated immigrant communities (Finney and Simpson, 2009: p94) and the idea of multiculturalism which was argued to have allowed such self-segregation to flourish (Kundnani, 2002). Ten years later, David Cameron, the then Prime Minister, in his Munich speech of 2011 referred to how:

“Under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and apart from the mainstream” (2011).

Multiculturalism had been seen as the dominant narrative in political culture since the race riots of the early 1980s (Kundnani, 2002) and had been seen as the state supported normative approach to cultural diversity (Mason, 2018). Multiculturalism is defined as a programme for giving recognition to ethno-religious groups and their cultures (Heath and Demireva, 2014). However, the criticism of multiculturalism as a policy that had led to riots and claims of community segregation laid the foundation for the argument that multiculturalism as a policy was dead (Kundnani, 2002; Modood, 2008: p84; Modood, 2014: p207).

The riots of the summer of 2001, could be argued to be the point at which Muslim communities came onto the radar of education policy. The events led to the previously mentioned Cattle report (Home Office, 2001) promoting community cohesion as opposed to multiculturalism. According to Fortier (2010: p17), community cohesion was seen as a preferred framework for “managing race relations and conflict” through combining a vision of “shared belonging with strategies for managing diversity”. “Founded on concerns about separation and lack of contact between neighbouring communities” (Fortier, 2010, p20), the decision was made that schools had a central role to play in the process of community cohesion. In order to ensure that this was embedded in school policy, Ofsted included the duty to promote ‘community cohesion’ in their inspection criteria in 2008 (DCSF, 2010: p6). This inclusion of social policy in the education realm created the template for much of what was to come concerning education and counter-extremism.

The Prevent Strategy, which first emerged in 2003 as a strand of the CONTEST, counter-terrorism strategy (Qurashi, 2018: p1), was developed against the backdrop of

the decline or so called 'death' of multiculturalism (Kundnani, 2002). Since the Cattle report (2001), multiculturalism was 'scapegoated' (Mason, 2018: p23) as being the political narrative which had allowed self-segregation of communities, particularly, Muslim communities within which extremism was perceived as being able to thrive. The New Labour Government, through the Prevent strand of its counterterrorism strategy, "developed a 'heart and minds' approach to counter-terrorism that emphasized partnering and engagement with Muslim communities" (O'Toole et al., 2016: p161). Therefore, as Kundnani argues "the criticism of multiculturalism" was "embedded in the official narrative on extremism" (Kundnani, 2015: p31).

As the national policy shifted away from multiculturalism, towards a narrative of preventing extremism, so Muslim communities felt under increased pressure to demonstrate assimilation and British allegiance. Failure to assimilate was increasingly "presented as a national security threat" (Kundnani, 2015: p31) which put increased pressure on Muslim communities' notions of identity, citizenship and feelings of belonging. For Kundnani, this had increasing implications for young Muslims, who already felt British having been born here, but felt increasing pressure to adjust to societal values under an "aggressively top down" policy which only increased with the introduction of fundamental British values (Kundnani, 2015: p32). These five values identified by the UK Government as fundamental refer to democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance for different faiths and beliefs. These will be explained and explored later in the chapter.

The coming together of education policy and counter-terrorism, arguably took place after the attacks on July 7th 2005 (7/7) on the London transport network and it was then that the importance of the Prevent strategy increased (Qurashi, 2018, p2). The four bombers were identified as 'home-grown' terrorists, meaning they had attended the UK school system and yet despite this, had become terrorists in their own country. Questions were raised, by the Government, as to what education should be doing to

play a part in avoiding producing home-grown terrorists. The response, in the form of the 2008 Prevent strategy (HM Government, 2008) published under New Labour, emphasised the role of education and schools (p3) amongst other community bodies as “critical” (2008: p3) in countering violent extremism and was accompanied by a counter-terrorism toolkit produced by the Department for Children Schools and Families (DCSF, 2008). This was produced specifically for schools and called ‘Learning together to be safe’ with the subtitle of ‘A toolkit to help schools contribute to the prevention of violent extremism’ (2008). This toolkit was distributed widely to schools.

Sian critically discusses the distribution of this toolkit, noting the policy’s focus on Muslims and the ‘threat’ of Islamic extremism, arguing that it “reinforces a particular construct of a Muslim ‘threat” (p186). She argues that despite ongoing threats in Northern Ireland, there has never been any initiatives in school, such as the Prevent strategy to respond to them (p186) and the document gives little acknowledgment to other forms of violent extremism such as far right extremism (p186). Sian’s empirical study, based on semi-structured interviews (p184) took place in primary schools in the Leeds area, into the effect of ‘preventing violent extremism’ (PVE) training on teachers. Sian notes that PVE training has taken over from race awareness training (p196) and has reinforced an Islamophobic discourse (p197) which has resulted in the embedding of a spying culture in education (p196).

Sian’s empirical assessment of the Prevent strategy in school could be argued to be driven by an agenda made explicit in her account. She perceives Prevent as an aspect of a post-racial, muscular liberal agenda and therefore her empirical work seemingly aims to prove the results of that, rather than examining whether or not the policy is actually post-racial. However, Sian’s critique concerning the focus on Muslim communities fits with a number of other critiques of this initial Prevent strategy such as those of Kundnani (2009) and Thomas (2010, p445).

In 2011, the second formulation of the Prevent strategy was produced under the new Coalition Government of Prime Minister David Cameron. This revised version claimed to acknowledge the criticisms levelled at the previous manifestation of Prevent and to address them. One of these included the claim to address “the feeling in some parts of the community that they have been victims of snooping” (HM Government, 2011: p4) referring specifically to Muslim communities’ concerns that the Prevent strategy had been focused on them and even spying on them. However, the particular focus on Muslim communities, although significantly reduced in this policy, remained, as Awan’s article on the 2011 Prevent policy highlights (Awan, 2012).

The revised policy was not accompanied by an education handbook, like ‘Learning together to be safe’, but the focus remained on the vulnerability of young people to radicalisation (HM Government, 2011: p5) and the importance of education and schools in addressing that (pp67-71). Although the implementation of Prevent in schools remained non-statutory, it was within the 2011 strategy that the association of Prevent with safeguarding duties began to emerge:

“Schools can help to protect children from extremist and violent views in the same ways that they can help to safeguard children from drugs, gang violence or alcohol. Schools’ work on Prevent *needs* to be seen in this context” (HM Government, 2011: p69).

A number of other significant changes were included in the 2011 version, including the shift away from preventing violent extremism to countering non-violent extremism (HM Government, 2008: p7) and the definition of extremism as:

“vocal or active opposition to fundamental British values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance for different faiths and beliefs. We also include in our definition of extremism calls for the

death of members of our armed forces, whether in this country or overseas” (2011: p108).

Both these shifts had significant implications for schools, particularly in light of fundamental British values being introduced into schools, as described earlier.

One direct response to the revised version of the Prevent Strategy (2011) was the edited volume on ‘Counter-Radicalisation: Critical Perspectives’ (Baker Beall, Heath-Kelly and Javis, 2015) which was initially conceived of in a conference held at Kings College London in September 2012. The conference was entitled ‘Prevent and Counter-radicalisation in 2012: Challenges and Ways Forward’. The chapters in this volume address many of the concerns raised with the revised Prevent strategy of 2011. This included a critique of the Prevent strategy’s relations with community cohesion by Thomas (2015: pp36- 53), a critique of the process of radicalisation and deradicalization as a concept by Elshimi (2015: pp206-222) and a critique of the perceived racial dimensions of Prevent by Ali (2015: pp139-155).

In particular, this volume questions the concept of radicalisation as a process which is proposed by the 2011 strategy to lead to the support of violence and potentially, terrorism (Baker Beall et al., 2015: p5). The concept of radicalisation as a linear or ‘conveyor belt’ process is heavily relied upon in the 2011 strategy as the accepted way in which those receiving extremist ideas can become drawn into terrorism, yet Baker Beall et al. refer to radicalisation as an “essentially contested concept” (2015: p6). In particular, the volume includes the article by Kundnani (2012) as a chapter on ‘Radicalisation: The journey of a concept’ (Kundnani, 2015: 15-35) in which Kundnani argues that radicalisation has become a “new lens through which to view Muslim minorities” (Kundnani, 2012: p3).

In terms of education, the questioning of the concept of 'radicalisation' has significant implications for the role of schools. Schools are regarded by the 2011 Prevent strategy as essential in the counter-terrorism project to combat extremism and radicalisation. Schools are seen as both sites to prevent and intervene in the process of radicalisation. However, if radicalisation is a contested concept and does not work in the linear way that is presented in the Prevent strategy, then the effectiveness of schools as counter-radicalisation sites have to be questioned too. This issue of the process of radicalisation specifically in relation to schools has not been significantly explored by any researcher and therefore needs further examination.

So far, I have offered critical responses to both the 2008 and 2011 Prevent strategies. It was this material that laid the groundwork of my early encounters with Prevent literature. Furthermore, it was these critical approaches that led me to consider the question (later to be revised) concerning the impact of Government strategies relating to non-violent extremism on Muslim pupils in UK schools. However, being careful to "avoid preconceived ideas and imposing them" (Charmaz, 2006: p165) on this work, I also examined some of the literature defending Prevent.

Greer, from his position in the University of Bristol Law School, evaluates literature critical of Prevent. Greer makes the claim that he has "long contested the mythology of the anti-Prevent movement" (Greer and Bell, 2019). He makes the following points through a number of publications, including papers in 2017, 2018 and 2019. In all three of these, he presents challenges to the often-raised criticisms of Prevent. These include countering the idea that Prevent is a form of spying and of criminalising Muslims (2019). He challenges the idea that Prevent is a violation of human rights (2018, p1). He also argues against Prevent as counterproductive (2019). Furthermore, he suggests that it does not have a 'chilling effect' on public debate (Greer and Bell, 2018: p1). All these are argued from a legal theoretical approach and therefore do not have an empirical evidence base. The arguments also particularly relate to the implementation

of Prevent on university campuses and therefore may not adequately apply to the implementation in schools.

In 2015, the Prevent Duty was introduced and was, perhaps, the most significant event in the history of counter-extremism and schooling. The Prevent Duty made it a statutory duty for all educators, as well as other public sector staff such as healthcare workers and social workers, to have “due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism” (HM Government, 2015: p2). This meant that all these professionals would now be trained in the Prevent strategy through WRAP (Workshop to Raise Awareness on Prevent) training. It also meant that in the wake of the aforementioned Trojan Horse events, schools’ adherence to Prevent would be evaluated as part of the Ofsted criteria from September 2015.

In 2015, the Department for Education (DfE) took over responsibility from the Home Office for enacting the Prevent duty in schools, producing its own Prevent duty guidance specifically for those in education (DfE, 2015), subtitled, ‘Departmental advice for schools and childcare providers’. This document expanded on the limited advice given for schools, provided in paragraphs 57-76 of the Revised Prevent Duty guidance. It focuses on the idea that staff should be able to ‘identify children who may be vulnerable to radicalisation, and know what to do when they are identified’ (DfE, 2015: p5).

This, according to many of Prevent’s critics, would lead to many of the concerns, such as monitoring and silencing dissent (O’Donnell, 2015), and would lead to the securitisation of schools (Holmwood and O’Toole, 2018). The Prevent duty was also criticised by the National Union of Students (NUS) (2015) in ‘Preventing Prevent’, which aimed to help students counter Prevent on campuses, and the National Union of Teachers (NUT), who recommended the scrapping of the Prevent strategy (Adams,

2016) due to concerns about teachers becoming informants and the risk of the stigmatisation of Muslim students.

However, research following the 2015 Prevent duty, also began to question whether some of the theoretical concerns raised by the critics were actually manifesting in empirical studies. The following two studies explore the experiences of teachers in relation to the Prevent strategy. Both studies (Bryan, 2017; Busher et al., 2017) seem to note the teachers' compliance with the strategy.

Bryan (2017) carried out interviews with three senior leaders with responsibility to implement Prevent in their schools. In her research into the implementation of the Prevent duty, she discussed two key findings. The first was that "none of the participating teachers contested the legitimacy of the Prevent Duty requirements" (2017: p223) and second, the teachers had "little understanding of the process of radicalisation or terrorism" (p224). She used a Foucauldian governmentality lens to conclude that the teachers were self-regulating where their conduct was regulated by the state and where they sought to determine the conduct of their students (p224). Therefore, instead of the teachers reacting and refusing to carry out the duty as is suggested by the National Union of Teachers' (NUT) response (Adams, 2016), the participants of Bryan's study uncritically carried the duty out. However, the study was only carried out with three senior leaders at three schools and therefore, may not be representative.

Another study to investigate the impact of the Prevent duty on schools was carried out by Busher, Choudhury, Thomas, and Harris (2017), and investigated the teachers' experiences of the Prevent duty. The research interviewed 70 education professionals in two areas of the UK and received 225 responses to an online survey. The report noted the acceptance by most staff of the Prevent duty as safeguarding (p65). The report also "found relatively little support among respondents for the idea that the

duty has led to a ‘chilling effect’” (p6). However, it did acknowledge a concern that Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) teachers seemed to have more concerns about the Prevent duty and its effects than white British teachers, who were the majority of respondents. The report raised the idea that more research was needed to understand this.

A study produced by Parker, Chapot and Davis, in 2019, looked at the result of five years of Prevent strategy data collection in the London Borough of Kensington and Chelsea and the Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham. The research, following the Prevent teams, found that:

“Although there is no means of definitively knowing that the implementation of Prevent has not led to self-censorship, the experience of the Kensington team has found little evidence of this occurring in community settings” (Parker, Chapot and Davis, 2019: p178).

The team also found:

“little evidence of Prevent stifling discussion and on the contrary has substantial ... anecdotal evidence of individuals speaking freely and critically, and of Prevent actively encouraging discussion of sensitive topics in safe spaces” (182).

The article by Parker et al. also attempts to counter the claim that the Prevent strategy focuses on Muslim communities causing them to be a ‘suspect community’ (167).

However, neither Parker’s (2019) nor Busher’s (2017) research included pupils amongst their participants. Therefore, research into the views of children considering the impact of Prevent had not yet been carried out. As a result, the evolution of this study

emerged concerning the identities of Muslim pupils in the context of the Prevent strategy.

Having explored the academic literature in connection to the Prevent strategy, thus creating the backdrop to this research, I began an investigation into the existing literature on Muslim young people, in particular, in educational settings.

2.4 - Literature concerning Muslim young people

My academic journey into this area of research began with an empirical article examining the identities of Muslim students on a Californian university campus. “A Threat Enfleshed” (Ali, 2014). Ali used life history interviews to explore how 24 Muslim undergraduates understand their identities, amidst persistent portrayals of the Muslim as violent or a terrorist. Ali views this within the context of the sociology of othering, originating in Said’s *Orientalism* (1979). Within the study, Ali explores the limitations experienced by the students on their ability to speak freely and to express their political views. He argues that despite the focus on Muslim youth in political rhetoric and public discourse, the voices of young Muslims are rarely “engaged to speak about their experiences and beliefs” (Ali, 2014: p1244). This acted as an invitation to me to deepen this area of exploration in my own research. As a US based study, this empirical research influenced me to ask similar questions about the identities of Muslim students within the UK. It also echoed my sense of the importance of foregrounding the voices of the Muslim young people.

A similar study relating to university-aged students was carried out in the UK by Brown and Saeed (2015) who argued that state security discourses constrain Muslim students from taking a stance on political or social issues, for fear of being perceived as radical (p1956). Student activism is often regarded as one of the crucial experiences of university life and growing identity. However, instead of radicalism being conflated

with political and social action, the repeated conflation of Islam with “radical” disallows Muslim students that space. Similar to Kundnani (2009: p35), Brown and Saeed identify the problematic binary opposition of ‘moderate’ or ‘radical’ as the only two options for young Muslims. As the article posits, any action to assert themselves, including the wearing of the veil or niqab, is automatically leading them to be defined as ‘radical’ (2015: p1958). Such behaviours by the ‘at risk’ population, namely Muslim students, including not living a British lifestyle (p1953), become a cause of suspicion in universities, often perceived of as grounds of radical recruitment.

As with Ali’s study, Brown and Saeed’s article highlights the sense of caution and self-censorship that empirical studies suggest many Muslim students experience, and raises questions concerning the possible detrimental impact on their growth of personal identity. However, the question to be raised is whether these experiences of anxiety and caution are felt earlier in the school system, which is something I intended to examine in this thesis.

A third study concerning the experiences of Muslim students on university campuses in the UK, specifically examines their perceptions of the Prevent strategy (Kryiacou, Szczepek Reed, Said, Davies, 2017). This study was published in 2017, after I began my research and therefore did not influence my initial intention to study this issue, however its findings about how Muslim students feel perceived under the Prevent strategy are significant. The findings of the study indicate that the Muslim students have a number of concerns about Prevent and indicates that Prevent has a “negative impact on how British Muslim students feel about themselves and how they think others may view them” (Kryiacou et al., 2017: p107). Nevertheless, the study is of a small sample of only nine undergraduates who responded to an online questionnaire and therefore, as a non-representative sample, it requires further examination.

In addition to these studies addressing Muslim students' university campus experiences, I found two empirical studies that related to Muslim young people but not in the setting of a university. These were a further study by Saeed (2017) and a study by Lynch (2013), both relating to Muslim young people over the age of 18.

Lynch (2013) situates her study of young Muslims against the backdrop of the 'War on Terror'. The 'War on Terror' was the retaliation of the USA and its allies launched in response to September 11th attacks on the Twin Towers in New York. Her grounded theory study was conducted after 7/7 to investigate the "lived experiences of these youths given the context of the War on Terror" (p242). She particularly investigates the way "Muslim youth have become a domestic political focus of the 'War on Terror' in the United Kingdom" (p242). The study is empirical and involved semi-structured interviews with 66 participants who were aged between 18-25. However, there is no date given for the actual data collection of Lynch's study, meaning that the data could have been collected at any time onwards from 2005, and being at least 7 years old means that a more recent study into the experiences of Muslim young people is needed.

Saeed's study of "Muslim narratives of schooling in Britain" (2017) describes the securitisation of schools since the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act of 2015. It also includes accounting for Prevent and raises concerns about the role of teachers who have become "mere informants in an education system submerged in paranoia and fear" (p218). However, the young people she selects for her narratives of schooling are aged between 19-30 meaning they have not experienced the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act under the school system. Instead, Saeed asks for their memories and experiences of schools after 9/11 and 7/7. The narrative she emphasises is the change of rhetoric from the pre-9/11 designation of "Paki" to the post 9/11 status of "Would be terrorist". This means firstly that there is no empirical basis for Saeed's claims about the post 2015 situation in schools. Secondly, this raises questions about what the

experiences of young Muslims are, who have actually experienced school post 2015. Both of these concerns are addressed by my study.

One of the features of all the studies considered above is the location of the study against a security background. A question could be raised as to whether it is legitimate to consistently juxtapose the Muslim young person's experience against a backdrop of terrorism and security. One of the elements I intend to explore using the pupils' accounts of their own experience, is whether they situate themselves against a securitised backdrop or whether that persistent association is made predominantly by academics.

The studies explored up to this point, have all been of Muslim young adults, revealing the possibility of a gap in the literature concerning school-aged Muslim pupils. Two studies, however, can be raised to gain insight into the identities of the younger Muslim youth in this area, but each has their drawbacks.

The first study that addresses young Muslims under the age of 18 is by Hoque (2015). Instead of focusing only on the securitised backdrop, Hoque's in-depth ethnographic study explores the broader identity struggle experienced by six Bangladeshi Muslim teenagers, as third generation Bangladeshis from East London. He argues that they experience dual exclusion from both wider British society, who perceive them as "unBritish", and their Bangladeshi elders who construct them as "Westernised" and this has "forced many third generation Bangladeshis to seek alternative identities" (p2). This crucially takes the form of the Ummah, the worldwide Muslim community, a socio-political rather than theological status, which Hoque locates in Anderson's (1983) construct of an "imagined community" (Hoque, 2015: p17, p70, p105). In order to express the sense of separation or difference felt by those youth, Hoque like Ali, locates the participants' discourse within that of 'the other' found in Said's work (1979: p16).

Hoque's study is recent enough to discuss the impact of two significant events in current educational policy; the introduction of fundamental British Values (DfE, 2014) into schools and the impact of the Trojan Horse Inquiry (2014), an alleged takeover of schools in Birmingham by a group of Conservative Muslims (p33). In an environment motivated towards increasing hegemony focused around British Values, he argues that Bangladeshis from Tower Hamlets "have become situated outside what it means to be British" (2015: p120). However, although it is a relatively recent study, it is limited by being an ethnographic study of only six young people and is narrowly focused on the Bangladeshi community of East London. Furthermore, the study is not set in the context of education or schooling and therefore the educational experiences of young Muslims remain unexamined.

A more recent article to appear is Faure Walker's (2019) autobiographical and anecdotal account of his experiences, teaching Muslim pupils in East London. In the article, Faure Walker recounts his concerns that the Prevent duty was having a negative impact on his relationships with his students (p3). Furthermore, he describes some of the ways the pupils perceive the Prevent strategy including as a "racist and overzealous state surveillance operation" (p3). The pupils feared saying certain things to teachers as they feared being reported to the security services (p3). Pupils reported to Faure Walker that as a result of these fears they "were altering their behaviour" (2019: p370). However, as an anecdotal rather than a methodologically empirical piece, questions have to be raised concerning the validity of the account. Consequently, there is a need for an empirically based school study to test these accounts.

The literature, examined around the identities and experiences of young Muslims, raises a number of concerns and questions which indicate the possibility of some gaps. The principal gap to emerge is the need for research concerning the experiences and

self-identities of a generation of Muslim pupils born since 9/11 and their identities in education since the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act (2015) and the introduction of the Prevent duty. The research needs to be empirically based and must look to examine whether the pupils see themselves and their identities against a securitised backdrop in the context of Prevent.

In conclusion, by acknowledging the ambiguities concerning literature reviews in grounded theory, this chapter has set out to provide a context for the reader to the study that follows. First, I have acknowledged my personal positioning in relation to the study as a teacher affected by the events of 2014. Second, I have set a backdrop by outlining the history of Prevent and education, with the associated literature. Third, I have explored where the current gaps in the literature are concerning young people's educational experiences in the context of Prevent. These gaps include a need to study young Muslims of secondary school age, particularly those who have been born since 9/11 and have experienced the implementation of the Prevent duty since 2015. Therefore, in light of my teaching experience bringing to my attention this gap, I have sought to address this gap by examining the identities of Muslim secondary school pupils in the context of the Prevent strategy.

In the next chapter, I examine in greater detail the methodology of grounded theory which underlies my research. In the chapter, I specifically focus on my selection of constructivist grounded theory methodology.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 - Introduction

In the previous chapter, I examined the 'Context of the study' by reviewing the literature on young Muslims and the literature surrounding the Prevent strategy. I specifically referred to the chapter as the 'Context of the research' rather than a 'literature review' in light of the controversial positioning a literature review has in the context of grounded theory methodology. In this chapter, I examine in depth the requirements of constructivist grounded theory methodology and the ways it has shaped the development of my research.

This chapter, Methodology, therefore, is an explanation and account of grounded theory as I apply it to this study. This differs from Chapter 4, Methods, which is an explanation of the research instruments I have used in my study, namely questionnaires, focus groups and interviews.

I begin this chapter by exploring the requirements of my research and why grounded theory is the most suitable methodology. I then explain the history of grounded theory and my selection of constructivist grounded theory. I follow this with an examination of how I used grounded theory in my study to carry out data collection and analysis. Finally, I end with a discussion of a new iteration of grounded theory and how that relates to my use of the theory.

3.2 - Grounded theory methodology

Following the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act of 2015, the identities of Muslim pupils in the British school system had become increasingly important as a focus of study. However, when I began the research, schools had become increasingly difficult

to access and negotiate as sites of research due to terror attacks. These had resulted in political sensitivity and the growing securitisation around education. Therefore, a methodological approach was needed that would enable navigation around the twin concerns of sensitivity and security. In considering such restrictive research conditions, I found grounded theory to be the most suitable. In the following, I explain what grounded theory is and why I selected it as the most useful and suitable methodology for my research.

3.2.1 - The requirements of my research

My research, from the start, required that I used a methodology that was flexible, suitable for sensitive research and focused on the pupil voice. In the period of planning, before I started the thesis, there were a number of significant events that suggested I would be entering quite a tumultuous area of research. These events included the Trojan Horse inquiry in Birmingham of March 2014, the no-notice inspections of Tower Hamlets' schools in September 2014, the introduction of fundamental British values in November 2014 and finally, the introduction of the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act of July 2015. All these events had a significant impact on the nature and direction of my work and thus demonstrated that the area I hoped to study was in constant flux. This, alongside the imminent threat of terror attacks, indicated that I would need a methodology to approach my research that allowed for, and could be adapted to, a constantly changing research landscape. One key feature of grounded theory is that it is iterative (Charmaz, 2014: p15), meaning that the selection, collection and analysis of data is not linear. This cyclical process of going back and forth between the research data and analysis means that new information or circumstances could be incorporated into the study, making it an ideal tool for the researcher because they can repeatedly move between the data source and the analysis.

Grounded theory had begun and been developed in the field of qualitative nursing research (Chenitz and Swanson, 1986). Its origins in the University of California's School of Nursing, suggested that it was a theory that could address sensitive research areas. In light of the likelihood of suspicion and anxiety surrounding my topic's context concerning the Prevent duty, sensitivity was another key requirement of a suitable methodology for my research. Therefore, grounded theory's use in sensitive research, such as studies into the experiences of dying (Strauss and Glaser, 1965) or more recently, research into psychological adjustments by women's experiences of breast cancer (De Chesnay, 2014: pp91-117) made the methodology seem a suitably sensitive one to be adapted for my research.

Furthermore, grounded theory developed by focusing on the voice of the participant which was another key requirement of my research. In Glaser and Strauss' initial work, 'Awareness of Dying' (1965), the aim was to construct a theory about people's experiences of dying by focusing on the views of the patients and nurses themselves. This qualitative focus on the words and experiences of the participants, rather than the quantifiable and measurable results of medical assessment, led to the selection of grounded theory as the most effective model on which I could base my research, as my focus was to hear the experiences of the Muslim pupils and the teachers.

3.2.2 - Grounded theory rather than ethnography

Given the emphasis on adaptability, sensitivity and participant voice, it is possible to question why grounded theory was chosen rather than ethnography. It could be argued that ethnography would have successfully addressed those three requirements. Ethnography is also often selected for studies engaging those identified to be marginalised in society. However, an ethnographer's account involves the researcher becoming part of the "natural setting" (Gilbert, 2008: p145) which, in this case, would have involved embedding myself in a school for a substantial period of time to observe

(Bryman, 2008: p402), to discern patterns of behaviour and try to get closer insight into the identities of those being studied, namely, the Muslim pupils and their teachers. In light of indications from the literature and from my teaching experience that the Muslim pupils already felt observed and watched, ethnographic observations did not seem to be an appropriate or suitable method. Moreover, ethnography mostly involves a one-site case study which is examined in depth. I, on the other hand, wanted to gather a breadth of experience from across England and therefore hoped to gain a snapshot of identities from a number of different schools in a number of different areas. Furthermore, the impact of the securitised environment meant that schools, under the twin pressures of Ofsted inspections and media, were unlikely to acquiesce to such a length of apparent scrutiny for fear of possibly being identified as failing to safeguard against extremism.

I considered the potential benefits of an ethnographic study over a grounded theory study, for example, the advantages of examining narratives, life histories or in-depth one-to-one interviews with a small number of participants. Grounded theory has been argued to risk fracturing the data by shifting analysis away from the narrative towards units and categories of coding, which artificially pulls apart the narrative, and potentially, as Clarke writes, “violates the integrity of the participant” (2007: p426). However, the purpose of my research is not to tell a life history, it is to explore the imagined identities of Muslim pupils from three perspectives. This exploration of identities is in keeping with the grounded theory tradition; therefore, the maintenance of chronological narrative is not as crucial as it might be in other sites of research.

3.2.3 - The value of having no prior theoretical or conceptual framework

A final point that made grounded theory attractive at an early stage of the research, was its emphasis on having no prior theoretical or conceptual framework. This is otherwise referred to in grounded theory terms as having no prior ‘grand theory’.

'Grand theory' refers to abstract, analytical ideas based on concepts and propositions through which to approach the research. The term 'grand theory' was coined by C. Wright Mills (1959) as a reaction to the use of theories, claiming they took precedence over the particular details of empirical research (Schwandt, 2014). This heavily influenced Strauss and Glaser in their early work such as 'Discovery of Grounded theory' (1967), with Glaser later writing that the purpose of research was not the "verification of grand theory" (Glaser, 2016: p4).

The development of grounded theory methodology in the 1960s was part of a radical movement to counter the methodological assumptions of the time, including the view that the purpose of Social Science research was to hypothesise and test pre-existing theories and simply extend them (Charmaz, 2014: p7). This approach and attitude, not to simply test and extend prior theories, strongly influenced my decision not to choose a Foucauldian framework as the theoretical and conceptual base for my research and to select grounded theory instead. Several researchers in the area of the Prevent strategy have selected Foucault, such as Quartermaine (2014), Elshimi (2016: pp110-130) and Bryan (2017). In many ways, Foucauldian analysis would have been an obvious and suitable framework, as the Prevent strategy is often assumed to echo the themes of surveillance and power found in Foucault's theory (Foucault, 1977). However, I did not want to approach the study with assumptions about the Prevent strategy. Instead, I sought a method that would firmly base my study in the research locale rather than on the abstract theorising that could, arguably be found in a Foucauldian framework. This emphasis on the empirical and micro-research setting is strongly echoed in the development of grounded theory. Unlike predefined conceptual theory which relies on hypothesising and testing of prior theoretical claims, grounded research can be seen as studying a new growth emerging from the soil, with no one knowing quite what it will look like or in what direction it will grow. By asking Muslim pupils about their perceptions, I wanted their responses to be heard and lead the research. It is their responses that are rarely asked for by society (Ali, 2014: p1258),

therefore their voices should not be overshadowed by the demands of a pre-defined conceptual framework.

3.3 - The development of grounded theory

Having selected grounded theory for the reasons outlined above and decided it was suitable for my research, it was necessary to identify which version of grounded theory was to be selected.

The history of grounded theory, since its origins, has been plagued by in-fighting. Despite Glaser and Strauss co-producing the seminal work of grounded theory, "The Discovery of Grounded Theory" (1967), they soon parted ways, taking grounded theory in "somewhat divergent directions" (Charmaz, 2014: p11). These divergent directions were partly influenced by their heritage. Trained in the Chicago School, Strauss was steeped in the tradition of Mead's Symbolic Interactionism, a micro approach to social study, systemised by Blumer (1986). This emphasised a qualitative position. Glaser's approach, in contrast, reflected his quantitative training at Columbia University (Charmaz, 2014: p9). This led to two schools of thought emerging within the discipline; those who followed in the footsteps of Glaser such as Cheri Ann Hernandez (2010) and Vivian Martin (2006), and those who followed in the footsteps of Strauss such as Adele Clarke (2003, 2005), Anthony Bryant (2007) and Kathy Charmaz (2006, 2014). In order to use grounded theory, a researcher has to pick their way through the battleground and identify which trajectory they will take.

My interest immediately steered towards Strauss' tradition as opposed to Glaser's tradition, due to having a strong qualitative orientation myself. However, although Glaser and Strauss' initial work had been revolutionary at the time of its emergence, more recent postmodernist thinking has raised some challenges. Unlike Glaser, who sought to keep the methodology "pure and safe from remodelling" (2016: p7), Strauss

believed that grounded theory should be open to change and development, stating that “no inventor has permanent possession of his invention and furthermore ... would not wish to do so” (Clarke, 2005: p17). Strauss’ trajectory, therefore, allowed for freedom to develop the model in light of the postmodern challenge and this can be seen in the constructivist work of Charmaz (2014) and the situational analysis of Clarke (2003, 2005). My preferred, selected form of grounded theory is one of the most recent manifestations, Charmaz’s constructivist grounded theory (2014).

In the following, I explain some of the issues arising from early grounded theory and how these have been addressed in the more recent form of the methodology, constructivist grounded theory.

3.3.1 - Constructivist grounded theory

One element that concerned me when examining traditional grounded theory was the implication by Strauss and Glaser that there was an objective, external “reality” (1967: p98). This claim continued, albeit more tentatively, in the work of Strauss and Corbin who wrote that:

“Theory derived from data is more likely to resemble the ‘reality’ than is theory derived by putting together a series of concepts based on experience or solely through speculation” (1998: p12).

From my perspective, however, it seemed that reality was something created by the participants and the researcher, arising from the situation, and therefore there was not such a thing as objective reality to be resembled. Consequently, my thinking seemed more aligned with Charmaz’s view, who regarded reality as “a construction” (Charmaz, 2014: p13) and with Clarke who argued for reality being situational (2005).

A second area of concern for me with early grounded theory was its claim that theory is 'discovered' as in the title of Strauss and Glaser's book, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967). Furthermore, Strauss and Glaser claimed that theory *emerges* which can be perceived as a passive process, independent of the researcher. However, I was very aware of the active part that I, as the researcher, would play in the creation of theory. It would be I who picked out the themes and threads that would construct my theory. Therefore, I found an echo in Charmaz's claim that: "Research is constructed rather than discovered" (Charmaz, 2014: p13) and that "research acts are not given, they are constructed" (p13). This is supported by Braun and Clarke who write that data neither emerges nor is discovered as it denies the active role the "researcher plays in identifying patterns/ themes" (2006: p7).

This concern led on to another area of unease with early grounded theory, namely the positionality of the researcher. Traditional grounded theory suggested that the researcher could leave behind preconceptions when approaching analysis "in order to ensure that the emergence of categories would not be contaminated" (Strauss and Glaser 1967: p37). As a former teacher and someone whose Muslim pupils were affected by aspects of the Prevent strategy, it is hard or perhaps even impossible for me to erase my preconceptions. Recognising this, I found it reassuring that Charmaz acknowledges the impact of prior experience and preconceptions, stating that "researchers must examine rather than erase how their privileges and preconceptions may shape analysis" (2014: p13). Specifically, Charmaz notes that "The constructivist approach perspective shreds notions of a neutral observer" (2014: p13). As a result, constructivism recognises that research is characterised by relativism rather than the researcher's claim of objectivity, as their "values shape the very facts that they can identify" (2014: p13). Importantly, in constructivism, relativity and subjectivity become part of the epistemological discussions of grounded theory, rather than being rejected or denied.

Consequently, I selected a constructivist grounded theory approach for my research. Several other recent studies have also selected Charmaz's grounded theory for research in this area of Muslim experiences, so this confirmed its suitability. These other studies included Hargreaves (2016), concerning experiences of risk and resilience in British Muslim communities; Lynch's (2013) study of young British Muslims against the backdrop of the 'War on Terror' and Seward and Khan (2016), concerning the experiences of Muslim American adolescents in high school. All of these studies aimed to explore experience in sensitive contexts and therefore confirmed that constructivist grounded theory was a suitable theory for my area of study.

3.4 - Constructivist grounded theory in practice

Having selected Charmaz's constructivist grounded theory for my research, it was then necessary to determine how grounded theory could be used to approach the research in practice. In the following, I outline the key stages of grounded theory in practice and identify how it worked for my own research. This section, therefore, examines the process of identifying a research area, the process of collecting and analysing data, and the processes of reaching saturation and theory creation.

3.4.1 - Identifying a research area

Grounded theory research begins with the identification of a research area. However, unlike other modes of research, it is not as focused on developing a specific research question. Charmaz, in her book "Constructing Grounded Theory", does not offer much thought about this early phase of research but Strauss and Corbin (1998: pp37-40) give a little more detail. The research begins by identifying a phenomenon (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: p103). However, this designated phenomenon of interest should traditionally be selected without making assumptions. This is based in the notion that grounded theory research should neither be based on a prior theoretical framework,

nor presumptions from the researchers' prior experience. This is, of course, highly difficult and may even be impossible. Willig (2008) gives an example from Strauss and Corbin's own research which began by asking "How do women manage a pregnancy complicated by chronic illness?" (1998: p38). However, they realised they were making assumptions about the impact of chronic illness on the pregnancy, so they adjusted the research question to minimise the assumptions by asking "How do women with chronic illness experience pregnancy?" (Willig, 2008: p72).

My own initial choice of research area also included a number of assumptions. I initially intended the research to ask about the impact of the Prevent strategy on Muslim pupils. However, this had a key assumption at the heart of the research question, namely, that the Prevent strategy *had* some form of an impact. Therefore, to reduce the element of assumption in my research phenomenon, I was able to adjust the field of research to ask instead about the identities of Muslim pupils in the context of the Prevent strategy. Arguably, it is never possible to rid a research question of all assumptions and preconceptions, as, by the very fact of choosing a specific topic, presumptions have been made. However, unlike earlier forms of grounded theory which implied the researcher could rid herself of prior assumptions, Charmaz's constructivist grounded theory acknowledges the active role of the researcher in selecting a site of research from the start (Charmaz, 2014: p13). Therefore, I have sought to recognise, rather than erase my set of prior assumptions in my research.

Importantly, during a research process, the research field and research question are constantly adjusted and re-defined in light of the process of theoretical sampling, that is to say through the to-ing and fro-ing between the data source and the analysis, and through the process of constant comparative analysis. Therefore, the selection of grounded theory allows acknowledgement that the question you begin the research with, may not be the one you end with. This certainly proved true in my research.

3.4.2 - Data collection

Grounded theory encourages use of a wide variety of methods to gather 'rich data' (Charmaz, 2014: p22). Charmaz describes rich data as:

“detailed, focused and full. They reveal participants' views, feelings, intentions and actions as well as the contexts and structures of their lives” (Charmaz, 2014: p23).

As will be explored in the next chapter (Chapter 4: Methods), I selected a variety of methods for the gathering of rich data; interviews, questionnaires and focus groups as well as document analysis, all of which I developed carefully in accordance with the requirements of grounded theory.

However, one of the key features of grounded theory data collection is the way that the researcher initially collects some data, then begins analysis through open coding which produces early tentative categories that prompt the researcher to return to the field to collect further data. This is theoretical sampling, which means checking the emerging theory against the work in the field by returning to the field to test it. I was able to do this, to some extent in my research, such as being able to test the early coding and categorisation of the teachers' questionnaire data by returning to the field to test responses through the use of semi-structured interviews. Similarly, I was able to test emerging codes from the pupils' questionnaires by returning to the field and creating focus groups for further data. However, I was unable to oscillate between gathering data, testing and then gathering more data as much as grounded theory would recommend, due to the restrictions of the research locations, the schools. Due to the potential sensitivity and securitisation detailed earlier, accessing schools for one or two days of data collection was difficult to negotiate. Therefore, due to access procedures and safeguarding, it was not possible in practice to return to the research

site each time I wanted to tentatively test early codes and categorisations. Consequently, due to these restrictions, it could be argued that I was unable to complete a “full version” of grounded theory and instead I had to resort to an “abbreviated version” (Willig, 2008: p39), whereby I could not fulfil one of the principal features of grounded theory procedure. Willig (2008: p39) argues that the abbreviated version of grounded theory should only be used:

“where time or resource constraints prevent the implementation of the full version of grounded theory”.

Therefore, in light of my field restrictions, the use of abbreviated grounded theory was justified.

3.4.3 - Data analysis

Analysis lies at the heart of grounded theory methodology, therefore I discuss the analysis process here rather than in the Methods Chapter. Analysis begins with initial coding (Charmaz, 2014: pp109-137): “During initial coding we study fragments of data-words, lines, segments and incidents – closely for their analytic import” (Charmaz, 2014: p109).

I carried out initial coding through a manual method rather than selecting to use NVivo, a qualitative data management programme. I initially explored the use of NVivo but this felt as if it disassociated me, as the researcher, from my data. The manual method allowed me to be more intimately acquainted with my data.

During the initial coding, I approached the data, both transcripts and questionnaires, through line by line and segment by segment coding. This involved placing analytical comments on the text line by line. These were then grouped into focused coding

(Charmaz, 2014: pp138-161) which means focusing on the most useful initial codes and then testing them against more extensive data. These focused codes can then be treated as tentative categories. In relation to my data, I reduced the coding down to the most useful. By useful, I refer to the work of Nowell, et al. which suggests that codes are “meaningful” and aim “to create sensitive, insightful, rich and trustworthy research findings” (2017: p2). However, it must be noted that the decision as to what counts as ‘useful’ is down to the researcher “who becomes the instrument for analysis, making judgements about the coding...” (2017: p2). The ‘useful’ codes revealed tentative categories in my focus group analysis such as ‘being a teenager’, ‘Britishness’, ‘anxiety’, ‘role of the media’, and ‘being Muslim’. These are just a small selection of the 30 categories developed (see appendix K). Similarly, in my teacher data, categories were drawn out, such as impacts of Prevent, influence of media, impressions of Prevent training, and teachers’ confidence. These were a few of the 14 categories which were found by grouping the initial codes (see appendix L).

In order to help me reduce my analysis down to a focused set of cautious categories, I turned to writing memos. Memos are “informal analytic notes” (Charmaz, 2014: p162). These are short pieces of writing, written by the researcher to help “raise focused codes to conceptual categories” (Charmaz, 2014: 162). I followed Charmaz’s advised method of ‘focused freewriting’ (p186) whereby the researcher “puts fingers to keyboard” (p186) for a short set length of time and allows writing to freely flow, connecting together key focused coding to explore qualitative codes and see if they form categories. Memos should be written throughout the data analysis stage and become more and more focused as the categories are reduced down. Memos “encourage you to take your emergent categories apart and break them into their components” (Charmaz, 2014: p171).

I have selected two analytic memos to demonstrate the process:

Extract of analytic memo:

Memo 1: Paints a picture of the pupils by the teachers:

Teachers in the interviews overall seem to have an impression of pupils in their schools as, on the whole, content. They describe generally aspirational and motivated pupils and describe fairly harmonious school environments. None of the teachers refer to internal conflict between students or acrimonious relationships between teachers and pupils. This gives the impression of schools that provide what are generally regarded as positive environments for the pupils.

Memo 2: Extract from comparing the teacher interviews and the teacher surveys

There seems to be a difference between the views expressed in the teacher interviews and the views expressed by the teachers in the surveys. In the questionnaire responses, teachers seem more aware of the discomfort and anxiety the pupils might be feeling. Therefore, from the teacher surveys, I seem to be able to draw out more about the teachers' imagined identities of the pupils than seem to emerge from the teacher interviews.

3.4.4 - Data saturation

The grounded theory data collection process is seen as coming to an end when the data is perceived to be saturated. Saturation means:

“that no additional data are being found whereby the sociologist can develop properties of the category. As he sees similar instances over and over again, the researcher becomes empirically confident that a category is saturated” (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: p61).

This is, therefore, the point where data collection no longer needs to be continued.

However, as Goulding acknowledges:

“the need to achieve saturation brings with it its own problems, particularly with deadlines” (Goulding, 2017: 68-69).

In my research, I could not claim to have arrived at such a point as to be ‘empirically confident’ that saturation had been reached. Completing a PhD has its own methodological and time restrictions; therefore, my research had to be cut off before a generally recognized point of saturation might be reached, although some of my research themes were beginning to be repeated. For example, the idea that the Muslim pupils felt themselves to be misrepresented in society and to be seen as associated with terrorism came up in three schools’ data. However, I find myself questioning whether saturation is ever reached. Data collection can be an ongoing process and to end it is always an artificial act on behalf of the researcher. The term ‘saturation’ itself has become contested with Dey (1999), for example, stating that the term is “imprecise” (p257). Therefore, instead of achieving saturation, Dey argues for the term ‘theoretical sufficiency’. “Sufficiency” softens the requirement for saturation by suggesting that there is enough data now to make a theory, rather than claiming ultimate completion which may be impossible. Therefore, my research had ‘theoretical sufficiency’.

3.4.5 - Theory creation

The goal of grounded theory is ultimately theorizing and theory creation. However, although this is the goal, there are many who carry out a form of grounded theory without ever creating a theory. Despite the name, grounded theory is more often used as a methodology than a theory and many studies result in being “descriptive rather than theoretical” (Charmaz, 2014: p242). Nelson illustrates this in his work concluding that:

“The fact that I did not discover a theory did not invalidate the work; the reflexive process allowed me to develop an ‘analytic story’ that was a meaningful and legitimate interpretation of my field of study” (Nelson, 2015: p23).

So why is theory so evasive? The immediate answer would be that there is a lack of clarity over what is meant by the term ‘theory’. Charmaz suggests a number of different possible meanings such as; an “empirical generalization”, a “relationship between variables”, an “abstract understanding” or a “description” (Charmaz, 2014: p241). With such varied definitions as to what might count as a theory and indeed who might adjudicate, there is a question mark around the concept of theory. Furthermore, notions as to what is meant by theory have changed since the early stages of grounded theory.

In early forms of grounded theory, such as in the work of Glaser and Strauss (1967), and in the case of Glaser’s continued work, theory relates to objective accounts of explanation (Glaser, 2002) and prediction. The theory exists as a reality in the world and the researcher’s role is to discover it. This produces a hypothesis that can be tested as a generalizable and universal account. However, more recent grounded theory has taken on a more interpretivist approach to theory, accounting for the idea that theory is not found or discovered but rather is constructed. Constructivist grounded theory critiques earlier forms of grounded theory for assuming that data and theory represent objective facts in the world, rather than subjective interpretation. Constructivists also criticise the traditional forms of grounded theory for assuming that it is possible for the researcher to bring an objective view to their research (Charmaz, 2014: p237). Instead, constructivists argue that theory depends on the researcher’s view as “it does not and cannot step outside of it” (Charmaz, 2014: p239). The theory is acknowledged to be embedded in situations and relationships. It depends on how the researcher makes meaning and interprets the meaning making of her participants. Constructivists acknowledge that the researcher heavily influences theory making and

brings with them their own presuppositions. Therefore, a researcher must be highly reflexive of their position.

In my own research, aware of my affinity to the constructivist viewpoint, I acknowledge the influence of myself as researcher on my theorising. I need to be aware of my presuppositions embedded in my research but also acknowledge, at times, the difficulty of recognising them, as at some points they might be deeply hidden.

I approached the point of theory creation with some sense of trepidation. However, a point in my research did arrive, where I regarded myself to be in the process of theorising. I use the word 'theorising' at this point, rather than the words 'theory creation', as I, like Charmaz, recognize theorising as an ongoing process rather than something that would be completed (2014: p244). I elaborate on the process of theorising, illustrated through diagrams, in Chapter 9: Discussion of relationships between imagined identities.

3.5 - Reflections on methodology of grounded theory

Having explained the process of grounded theory in the form of a step-by-step procedure, it is interesting to reflect on grounded theory's own relationship with itself as a guided methodology. Grounded theorists struggle between presenting grounded theory as a recipe with a guided narrative and presenting it as a theory creation process that gives the researcher freedom. Throughout the history of grounded theory, there have been attempts to systematize it in the form of guides. This began with Glaser and Strauss' 'The Discovery of Grounded Theory' (1967), it continued with Strauss and Corbin's 'Basics of Qualitative Research' (1998) and has most recently been presented by Charmaz in 'Constructing Grounded Theory' (2014). And yet there are repeated attempts to disassociate grounded theory from this prescriptive methodology. Strauss and Corbin caution their readers against a prescriptive reading of their text:

“No researcher should become so obsessed with following a set of coding procedures that the fluid and dynamic nature of qualitative analysis is lost.” (2015: p25)

Furthermore, these characteristics, such as theoretical sampling and coding:

“never will develop if researchers focus solely on the procedures presented in this text and apply them in a rote manner” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: p8).

So, the question raised is to what extent have I struck a balance between following a grounded theory methodology and yet not sticking to it by rote. For the methodology, I acknowledge mainly using Charmaz (2014) to guide me through the process. To have a guide felt helpful and reassuring. Yet, the need to follow the guidance also led to some concerns and anxiety when I felt that my progress did not match the recipe.

Charmaz (2006: p9) states:

“I view grounded theory methods as a set of principles and practices, not as prescriptions or packages”.

Principles and practices are perhaps the two key elements to acknowledge when conducting grounded theory. Firstly, even though the principles are often written out step-by-step and chapter by chapter, an important element to remember about grounded theory is that it is not linear. Grounded theory has to be acknowledged to be a lot messier than the systematic presentation in the accounts. The process involves moving backwards and forwards between the principles, rather than following them in order. Furthermore, the process of going back and forth between the data and analysis was more complicated in the practice of my own research, as I was unable to return to the original site of research to check and evaluate the coding with the participants. In terms of practice, although the suggestion of a step-by-step recipe implies that all studies share a universality, in practice they do not. Each study has its own characteristics that are not necessarily accounted for by the guides. Many of the

examples, for instance those given in Charmaz's work, are in-depth one-to-one interviews with adults that explore living with chronic pain or recovering after life changing illness (2014: pp110-111). However, these differ considerably from some of my own interviewing. For example, I worked with focus groups with up to eight pupils, meaning many different voices, less depth and less consistency of narrative. Therefore, although coding can still apply, it must be adapted in light of the difference in practice. The individual research project, therefore, significantly shapes the nature of the research and the grounded theory, beyond the step-by-step guide.

Therefore, instead of seeing the guidance of grounded theory as a recipe, it is perhaps more appropriate to see grounded theory as a set of tools that can be applied to each person's personal research practice. Part of the creativity of grounded theory is not just building a theory but building a methodology for your own research using the set of tools grounded theory provides.

3.5.1 - An update: a new discovery

Since carrying out my data gathering and analysis, I discovered a newer form of grounded theory published after I began my study: transformational grounded theory (Redman-MacLaren and Mills, 2015; Goulding, 2017). The theory is based on a critical realist perspective rather than a constructivist approach. This grounded theory methodology looks to transform power relations within the research through an influence from participatory action research theory and decolonizing research methodology. Interestingly however, although I came across the methodology too late to use it and did not carry out action research, I did find that some of the factors Redman-MacLaren and Mills emphasised in their developing theory, echoed some of the aspects I had already tried to address in my own research. This was particularly around the issue of promoting an equity of power between the researcher and the participants.

In transformational grounded theory, Redman-MacLaren and Mills emphasise the need to develop a version of grounded theory that addresses the power relationship between the researcher and participants. The focus is to centralise the participant in the research process, by diverging from the tradition of research subjects being transformed into research objects (Gibson, 2007: p442).

I came across similar challenges concerning the power relationship between researcher and participant in my research, but addressed them through a feminist theory as explored in Chapter 4. A particular example of where I sought to address the power imbalance was in the focus group setting with the pupils. Here, I felt that as an adult, interviewing children, there would be a power imbalance, as well as the imbalance between being a presumed teacher and pupils. I sought to address the power issue through a practical method of giving the questions to the pupils to read out to each other to discuss between them, thereby removing, to a certain extent, the power imbalance of the interviewer and participants. Transformational grounded theory, however, argues that the researcher should go further to address the imbalance by taking the participants on as co-researchers (Redman-MacLaren and Mills, 2015: p6) to contribute to analysis, coding and categorizing. Redman-MacLaren and Mills take this further, by referring to their participants as the “experts who were able to advise me as a researcher” (Redman-MacLaren and Mills, 2015: p7). In my research, influenced by feminist methodology, I also saw my participants as the ‘knowers’ (Jaggar, 2014: p250). However, in my study, this proposal of co-researchers was not feasible as I only had restricted access to the research site with the teachers and pupils, rather than the opportunity for an ongoing relationship.

Two further areas of transformational grounded theory are the influence of decolonizing research methodologies and the importance of researcher reflexivity. These both contribute to the adjustment of power relationships within the research interactions as shown above. However, Redman-MacLaren and Mills reflect on the

relationship as seen from colonizer and colonized. They draw attention to the cultural and social structural issues of hierarchy that may be at play within the research relationship. This also leads to the reflexivity on behalf of the researcher. The author of the paper and creator of transformational grounded theory, Redman-MacLaren, refers to herself as a “White Australian woman” (Redman-MacLaren, 2015: p2) who has lived and worked on Pacific Island countries for many years. This reflexivity goes further than Charmaz’s constructivist grounded theory by acknowledging specific positionality. I too have acknowledged my position as a White, British woman in my own research. It is not just my positionality as a former teacher that should be acknowledged but also my position as a non-Muslim woman interviewing majority Muslim pupils. This specific relationship had an impact and it was, at times, noted by the pupils that I was both white and non-Muslim. Exactly what impact it had is perhaps hard to say but there might have been an element of perceiving me as the ‘other’ and perhaps more than that, as the authoritarian or dominating ‘other’. There was a perception that I would not know or understand the Muslim pupils’ culture and that they must explain it or simplify it for me to help me understand. At other times, it was noted that despite me being white, I was on their side and they could trust me. Although I reflected on these concepts as part of a constructivist grounded theory, I do not feel the theory required me to be quite as explicit as transformational grounded theory demands. Therefore, it is useful to use the framework offered by transformational grounded theory to take that self-reflexivity further. In future studies, transformational grounded theory could be explored further as an aid to developing a methodology.

3.6 - Conclusion:

In this chapter, I have identified and accounted for my choice of grounded theory as a suitable methodology for my research. I found it could provide me with a flexible, sensitive methodology which focused on the voices of the participants. Through examining the fractious history of grounded theory, I have explained why I made the

choice to be influenced by the work of Charmaz rather than earlier forms of a more traditional grounded theory. This was due to her acknowledgement of the role and positionality of the researcher in constructing data, rather than previous assumptions that the researcher arrived at the research site as a blank slate. I have accounted for my grounded theory in practice by outlining the steps that I took to carry out the process, principally using Charmaz's constructivist guidance. This covered designing the research, data analysis, data saturation and theory creation and to what extent I was able to carry these out. However, I have also evaluated the extent to which grounded theory should not be treated as a step-by-step guide as the researcher needs their own freedom to examine their own data in their own specific context.

Finally, Nelson argues that one of the benefits of using grounded theory is that a researcher becomes part of a critical community (Nelson, 2015: p23). I hope that in raising the development of transformational grounded theory (MacLaren and Mills, 2015) and examining its relationship to my work, I have contributed to the ongoing conversation grounded theory continues to present.

In the next chapter, I examine the methods I used to carry out the research. These include questionnaires, focus groups and one-to-one interviews as well as document analysis. In light of this chapter, all of these methods will be examined for their suitability in the context of constructivist grounded theory.

Chapter 4: Methods

4.1 - Introduction

In the previous chapter, I explored the methodology of grounded theory that lays the foundations for this empirical research. In this chapter, I outline the central requirements for designing the research and I account for the qualitative methods employed. I describe the process of finding participant schools and the process of gaining ethical approval. I also outline the four research instruments I selected and the key principles behind them: a pupil questionnaire, a teacher questionnaire, one-to-one interviews with teachers and focus groups with pupils. Finally, I account for the methods of analysis I used and the documents I examined.

The timeline for contacting schools and data collection covered a protracted period between June 2015 and January 2018. There were several attempts over that period to access schools and even some false starts where I began the research and then the contact and 'gatekeeper' left or stopped responding. I have provided a table of school access requests and the data collection process below.

Table (B): Timeline of data collection process:

Date:	Research action:
June/ July 2015	Began to write letters to schools requesting research access – only received one response which was negative. Continued to approach schools
December 2015	Visited a possible site of research but school changed their mind about involvement

February 2016	Pilot study – pupil questionnaires, teacher questionnaires and teacher interviews (Rosehill School (A)). Unable to carry out pilot focus groups due to restricted access to pupils in lesson time.
June / July 2016	Attempt to access a school - pupil questionnaires completed – contact left
Autumn 2016	At school B, Sycamore School, teacher and pupil questionnaires were begun- did not manage to complete interviews or focus groups due to the fact that the contact stopped responding
October 2016	Teacher interviews Rosehill school (A)
June/ July 2017	Research carried out fully at Elmhurst (D) and partially at Oakwood (C) except focus groups
October/ November 2017	Research carried out fully at Middleoak (E)
January 2018	Rosehill School (A) completed pupil focus groups
Winter 2018	Transcribed focus groups
Spring 2018	Document analysis of Government Prevent related documents

4.2 - Three key requirements in designing the research instruments

In the previous chapter, I outlined some of the principles of grounded theory methodology that guide this research. In this chapter, I begin by outlining some of the key requirements that shaped my qualitative research method choices. These are: first, for the methods to be compatible with constructivist grounded theory, second, for the methods to foreground the participant voice and thirdly, to find methods suitable for sensitive research.

The first requirement shaping the methods selected was that my choice of questionnaires, interviews, focus groups and document analysis were to be compatible with the principles of constructivist grounded theory. The tenets of grounded theory have been outlined in the previous chapter but in terms of method selection, the two principals were first: “what is going on here?” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: p45) and second: the principle of simultaneous data collection and analysis (Charmaz, 2014: p34).

The question “what is going on here?” (Corbin and Strauss, 1998: p45) forms a central question of my research. To attempt to find out what is happening involves approaching the research topic from a number of different angles, trying to access a number of different viewpoints, such as those of the teachers as well as pupils. Using multiple survey methods provides access to at least some of the different angles in order to begin to gain a picture of what is happening, or at least what seems to be happening.

Simultaneous data collection and analysis (Charmaz, 2014: p34) requires the selected methods to be able to be used iteratively, forming a cyclical process of enquiry between the data collection and the analysis. Therefore, I required a two-stage process whereby the findings of the first stage could inform the development of the second stage. This led to the selection of questionnaires as a first stage data gathering tool for a broad sample. Then, this led to the second stage selection of interviews and focus groups which could develop iteratively based on the first stage. Document analysis was carried out in a cyclical process of its own, oscillating back and forth between the document content and the analysis.

The second requirement for selecting the particular research methods was the importance and centrality of being able to hear the participants’ voices, particularly the pupils’ voices. This was emphasized by Ali: “Muslim youth are discussed but are rarely

included in the conversation” (2014: p1258). This importance of focusing on the voice of the participant is firmly planted in grounded theory, as seen in the focus on the experiences of patients in Strauss and Glaser’s early work, *Awareness of Dying* (1965). Listening to the participant’s voice is also a focus in feminist research theory which also influenced my choice of methods. Using feminist standpoint theory, Devault identifies that:

“listening has often been neglected in communication research in favour of research on speech” (Devault, 1990: p101).

Therefore, in relation to researching the pupils, I sought research instruments which would firstly access the pupils’ voices. I chose questionnaires and focus groups which both allowed for the pupil voice, in a way that an observation would not. Questionnaires could be distributed to a larger number to get a general picture of the pupils’ imagined identities, then focus groups allowed for a more detailed and intimate exploration of the pupils’ ideas within a group setting. I decided on focus groups, because I felt pupils would be more comfortable in a peer group rather than in a one-to-one interview where they may feel awkward and intimidated. However, I was also aware that focus groups had their problems, such as the risk of pressure from peers to say particular things.

In relation to the teacher participants, I wanted to hear the teachers’ perceptions of the pupils’ identities, therefore, I needed to access the teachers’ voices. Similar, to the pupils’ voices, I wanted to listen to and hear the teachers’ voices as far as possible in context and as clearly as possible. I, once again, selected a questionnaire as a tool in order to hear the broader range of teachers’ voices and then I selected the one-to-one interview in order to hear responses in greater depth.

The third and perhaps the most significant requirement in shaping method selection and design, was that the methods selected needed to be suitable for sensitive research. Sensitive research refers to the idea that the project might have “unwelcome consequences” (Lee and Renzetti, 1993: p5), for example, that those taking part may fear being stigmatised or identified in some way (Lee and Renzetti, 1993: p6). Furthermore:

“research could also be threatening to the researcher as well” (Lee and Renzetti, 1993: p5).

In my research, “unwelcome consequences” referred to the risk of media or Ofsted attention on a school, as had been witnessed in the Trojan Horse inquiry, or the risk of a pupil disclosure resulting in a Prevent or safeguarding referral. It also refers to “unwelcome consequences” for the researcher, including failing to get ethical approval on the grounds of over-sensitivity or being refused entry to possible research sites. Thus, research design and method selection had to involve careful preparation for gaining ethical approval and careful consideration in wording the questions. For example, I had to think carefully how to word questions for the surveys, interviews and focus groups in order to be vetted by the schools’ gatekeepers and senior management teams who were shown the wording in advance. The significance of the power of the school gatekeeper in shaping the research process is discussed in detail by Quartermaine (2017: p548). Throughout this chapter, the struggle with question design is alluded to. Each method design brought with it its own questions about negotiating a balance between the wording being acceptable to schools, so that I could proceed, and the wording being penetrating enough to access the detail and depth I hoped for from my research. The balance required also had to involve not harming the participants in any way, for example through possible perceived stigmatisation. This negotiation of balance is explored in relation to each account of instrument design.

4.3 - The research process

4.3.1 - Finding schools

I selected qualitative methods that met the three key requirements. However, in order to carry out these methods, I had to find schools willing to take part. In the context of the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act (2015) and the subsequent duty on schools to identify and prevent people from being drawn into terrorism, the process of finding schools willing to take part in this research was a challenge. Initially, I approached 10 schools with a letter of introduction which I sent to each school. These schools had been initially selected based on geographical area, proximate to where I lived at the time. Of the ten letters I sent, I received one reply which politely explained why the school could not be involved in my research. This response implied that the school was too busy to be part of the research and inundated with requests. For the other schools, from which I received no reply, the possible range of reasons to be reluctant to be involved in this research are manifold. Other than the schools being too busy, reasons could include a concern relating to the study's focus being about Muslim pupils and being in the context of the Prevent strategy. Some schools could have been uncomfortable with the focus being on Muslim pupils, seeing that as risking drawing attention to or even stigmatising Muslim pupils in an environment where they already might feel vulnerable. This concern occurred in the case of Oakwood, School C and will be discussed later in the 'Gaining access section' (4.4.2).

Other schools might have been more concerned about hosting the research due to the context of Prevent. In light of the Trojan Horse affair which had only recently occurred in the previous year, 2014, schools may have been cautious about their involvement in the research for fear that it might risk them coming to the attention of either Ofsted or the media. Two such examples that school management teams might have been aware of would have been Park View Academy, Birmingham (Malik and Perraudin, 2014) and Sir John Cass Secondary School, Tower Hamlets (Adams and Weale, 2014) as both

made the national headlines for losing their 'outstanding' Ofsted grading for a 'Notice to improve' grading.

After the initial ten refusals, following the 'cold' approaches, I sought introductions through personal contacts. Two schools invited me in to speak with them further about the research but then failed to respond to any further follow up emails or contact. I accepted that this meant they were not happy to take part. At another two schools, I began the research process using a contact within the school but in one case the contact stopped responding and in the other, the contact left the school. In both cases, research with those schools also came to a halt. One of these schools became School B, Sycamore School, where I began the research process with teacher and pupil questionnaires, but it was not completed. Finally, over a period of a year and a half, I was able to get in touch with four schools who agreed to take part in the research under strict conditions of anonymity. Three of those four schools followed the process through to completion. These were school A, Rosehill, school D, Elmhurst, and school E, Middleoak. At Oakwood, School C, everything was completed except the focus groups which will be discussed later in the chapter.

4.3.2 - Ethical approval

Seeking ethical approval and obtaining it was a complex procedure as my research can be defined as 'sensitive' research as noted previously. According to Lee and Renzetti (1993: p3) "socially sensitive research" means "there are potential consequences or implications ... directly for the participants involved." These "potential consequences" had to be acknowledged as thoroughly as possible in my ethical approval application. However, it also had to be acknowledged that some of the "issues surrounding sensitive research are not always apparent at the outset of the research" (Dickenson-Swift, James and Liamputtong, 2008: p9). The ethical approval application (appendix A) involved exploring the potential consequences for researcher and those researched as

thoroughly as foresight would allow. The ethical guidelines followed were the British Educational Research Association (BERA) ethical guidance for educational research (2011). The key issues addressed were confidentiality, informed consent and safeguarding, however it is worth noting that these are all interwoven with each other to a certain extent.

4.3.3 - Informed Consent

A significant ethical consideration to address was informed consent by the research subjects. By this, I refer to obtaining 'informed voluntary consent' (Gregory, 2003: p35) from my participants. This took place in written and oral forms. For the teachers, this involved a participant consent form at the end of the questionnaire and at the start of the interviews. This consent form allowed the participant to agree to take part in the research with the acknowledgement that their contributions would be kept confidentially and anonymously. It also stated the ways the data would be used and that it would be kept and used only by the researcher. The pupils also had a consent box with these details to be ticked in agreement to the use of their data. If any participant did not tick the agreement box, I did not use the data.

With children, an extra layer of consent is to be sought. Children as participants in research are seen as minors and therefore are not considered to be able to give fully informed consent. Therefore, informed consent also has to be sought from the school and the parents on their behalf. This was achieved through the form of consent letters giving detail of the nature of the research and the pupils role in participating. At one school, the school felt that in a position of *loco parentis*, the school could provide informed consent on behalf of the parents rather than send a letter home to the parents.

Obtaining fully informed consent was an area of some difficulty in my research. This is because the context of the research was to explore Muslim pupils' imagined identities in the context of the Prevent Strategy. The Prevent strategy at the time had been perceived as a surveillance system, and a form of spying (Ramesh, 2015). This meant that participants may have held some preconceptions about the nature of Prevent before they encountered the research. First, I did not want my research to be mistaken for Prevent or Home Office research. Second, I did not want my participants having worry or anxiety about being part of the research. At school B, Sycamore, consent letters were sent out to parents of year 8 pupils and the majority of parents refused their consent for their children to take part, except for two parents. It was not clear what concerns the parents had about the research, but it was enough for them to refuse consent. Therefore, the key question was how I might share my research aims with the participants while at the same time, not causing them anxiety or worry. Part of my ethical considerations was to consider how the participants would perceive my research. Obtaining informed consent in my research required finding an ethical balance between overt informing and mediating the concern or worry it might create in the participant.

4.3.4 - Confidentiality

A second key ethical consideration was confidentiality (Gregory, 2003: p49). Assuring confidentiality to my participants was a key aspect of gaining informed consent. Confidentiality is "best assured on the basis of anonymising the collection of data" (Gregory, 2003: p49). Therefore, I assured my participants that their anonymity would be maintained when they participated in my research.

However, maintaining strict anonymity in my work involved not just providing pseudonyms for the participant but also for the schools. Anonymity was paramount for the participants and schools agreeing to take part. To be certain of greater anonymity, I

also geographically anonymised the schools by not disclosing their locations. The schools are simply identified as secondary, urban and in England. Other identifiers, such as demography are also not given as they might act as indicators which suggest the location of the school. For this reason, my research is not provided in the form of case studies. Case studies require a detailed description of each school's context which due to the heightened sensitivity, I could not disclose, as the contextual detail would have acted as indicators of the identity of the schools.

4.3.5 - Child protection and safeguarding

Safeguarding is the aim to protect the wellbeing of those who are vulnerable. Significantly my research did not just involve adults, that is the teachers, but also children. Research involving children is immediately more sensitive and must be carried out with great care. This immediately raises questions of safeguarding for the researcher as any research carried out with children must acknowledge the importance of safeguarding procedures (NSPCC, 2020).

Safeguarding meant adhering to the safeguarding procedures of each of the schools. One ethical issue to note when considering safeguarding is the possible clash it may have with confidentiality and anonymity. A researcher may maintain anonymity and confidentiality until a point where it might come into conflict with safeguarding, when concern about a particular child would over-ride the promise of confidentiality. There was a particular risk in my research that a child might disclose experiences of radicalisation which under the Prevent duty I would be obliged to pass on to a safeguarding lead in the school (Department for Education, 2015: p6). However, at no point in my research did this situation arise, which spared me from having to engage with the ethical challenge it would have presented.

Throughout the next sections, the accounts concerning method choice will continue to illustrate ethical considerations which I, as the researcher, was faced with at particular points throughout.

4.4 - The selected research methods:

In the following, I account for the access processes at the schools. I then explain and justify the selections I made regarding research instruments for my study into the imagined identities of Muslim pupils in the context of Prevent. I selected three qualitative methods: questionnaires, interviews and focus groups. In the following section, I account for the selection, the design, the delivery and analysis of each of these methods.

4.4.1 - Gaining access and seeking approval

As has been mentioned previously, the wording of the research instruments for data collection involved a delicate balance between gaining approval for access to the research site and gaining the depth of data needed for adequate findings. In all the schools, I showed my question wording for the various research instruments to the gatekeeper who shared it with senior management in the school. This was a crucial part of gaining access and attaining approval to carry out the research.

In all but one of the sites, the schools were happy with the questions and agreed for the research to go ahead. However, at school C, Oakwood, as has previously been mentioned, there were some concerns with the question wording. They felt the questions in the teacher interview, teacher questionnaire and pupil focus group were too focused on Muslim pupils and wanted the word 'Muslim' specifically removed from the questions as they felt it was too sensitive. Any question that used the word 'Muslim pupil' had to be changed to 'ethnic minority pupil'. However, when I did

remove the word 'Muslim' from the questions, the school were still unhappy for me to carry out the focus groups. It was not fully clear why the gatekeeper wanted the questions changed and did not allow the focus group, but it may have been linked to a concern they had about the risk of my research seemingly stigmatizing the Muslim pupils. It is possible that they deemed discussion about Muslim pupils as so sensitive in the current environment, they did not feel comfortable to address it. This incident indicates the level of concern and anxiety some schools felt in focusing on Muslim students and may account for the reason many schools refused completely to take part in my research. It is interesting that Oakwood did not refuse to take part in my research completely on viewing the questions, as I suspect other schools had done, but instead agreed to take part on a restricted basis. The challenge to access sufficient data was such that I agreed to the requested changes despite the compatibility issues this caused in my data findings.

4.4.2 – Designing the pupil questionnaire

I designed a pupil questionnaire with the aim of gathering as many viewpoints as possible. A questionnaire, more so than vocal interviews, 'allows for broad data receipt' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: p435). The idea was that they could be distributed to a whole class of thirty and to pupils of any background to avoid risk of picking out Muslim pupils specifically. This was in contrast to the later focus groups where only a small number of viewpoints would be accessed but in greater depth.

The questionnaire (see appendix D) was qualitative rather than quantitative as I wanted to access the voices of the pupils, giving them opportunity and space to express their views and opinions. The question design consisted of open questions (Gilbert, 2001: p94) which allowed the pupils to define and express themselves. Bucknall, identifies in relation to open questions, that:

“Without such opportunities, the illuminating clarifications I have sometimes been offered would have been silenced” (Clark, et al., 2014: p76).

The questionnaire wording was designed to be pupil friendly and particularly sought to consider the needs of pupils with English as an additional language (EAL). The pilot research carried out in February 2016, helped identify certain challenging wording which I adjusted to improve the accessibility of the questionnaire, such as the word ‘perceive’ being replaced with ‘see’.

Designing the questions for the questionnaire was a complex and sensitive process. An aim was to explore the imagined identities of Muslim pupils in the context of the Prevent strategy. However, it was imperative that the questionnaire should not be mistaken for a questionnaire on behalf of Prevent. A little while before designing this questionnaire, the London Borough of Waltham Forest had sent out a questionnaire to all primary pupils labelled by the media as a ‘radicalisation seeking questionnaire’ (Taylor, 2015). I did not want my questionnaire being misunderstood or mislabelled as a radicalisation assessment or attracting media attention, therefore I tried to avoid any questions that might be perceived as such. Due to the risk of perceived stigmatisation, I had not wanted to only give the questionnaire to pupils who identified as Muslim, I therefore handed the questionnaire to every member of the class and then, in analysis, identified which pupils were Muslim using question 6 (see appendix D). Instead, in the first section of the questionnaire (Q1-5, appendix D), I focused on the element of my research question concerning imagined identities. I wanted to explore how the pupils imagined themselves and how they felt imagined by others around them in their immediate environment of school and in wider society.

The second section of the questionnaire (Q6) referred to whether the pupil perceived themselves as religious, allowing the pupil to write what they felt, rather than provide a tick box list of religions by which to identify themselves. Similarly to Gallagher in her

work with urban youth (2007: p9), I wanted to give pupils the opportunity to offer their own “descriptors” of their identity. I, therefore, did not impose a category of ‘Muslim’ on the pupils but rather it came from them. It was important to me to allow the pupils to decide for themselves whether they perceived themselves as religious and also allow for a variety of answers from different members of a class who might not perceive themselves as religious. This was an important question in the analysis, as it allowed me to identify which pupils were Muslims through pupil self-identification. The questionnaire responses also allowed me to identify and compare the range of responses between Muslim and non-Muslim pupils and whether they shared or differed in perceptions. Although this is not considered in this thesis, it is an option for further research and analysis. I could have used a greater number of self-given descriptors of identity presented by the pupils in the questionnaires, but I did not want to risk compromising the individual pupil’s anonymity by giving away too much detail in thesis to allow for recognition of the pupil. The balance between self-descriptor detail and anonymity remained a delicate tension to manage throughout.

Questions 7 and 8 explored how religion might affect how the world is perceived and whether religion affects the way others view you.

The second half of the questionnaire (Q9-20) explored whether the pupils perceived school as a safe space to talk about themselves and issues that are personal to them, including their religion. One issue raised in the literature around the Prevent strategy (O’Donnell, 2015: p54) referred to the way the Prevent strategy was closing down spaces for discussion. Through these questions, I wanted to access whether the pupils felt school was a safe space in which to discuss personal issues including those of faith and religion. I wanted to know who the pupils felt safe to talk with and where they felt most safe to talk. I was particularly interested in the responses of those pupils who referred to themselves as Muslim, as the Muslim Council of Britain’s published meeting with David Anderson QC suggested that those who identify as Muslim might be feeling

more restricted to express themselves in the school environment, stating “there are serious concerns” about “the self-censorship of young children in schools” (Muslim Council of Britain, 2015: p1).

4.4.3 - Administering the pupil questionnaires

In order to distribute the questionnaires, I liaised with the gatekeeper at each school. I arranged for the questionnaires to be handed out to a class from each year group as far as was possible. The gatekeeper selected the specific tutor groups in the year that received the questionnaires. The year groups covered were key Stage 3 and key Stage 4. This meant the pupils were aged between 11 and 16. It was not possible to distribute the questionnaires to key Stage 5, the sixth form in any of the schools. This was due in part to the research process being undertaken during a period of examinations, meaning the older students were not available at the time. However, the older students did attend for the focus groups as discussed later in the chapter.

I designed the questionnaires to be hand-written. This was so that all the pupils could complete the questionnaire at the same time and as an exercise in a lesson rather than being on a computer only accessible by a link in their own time. This was to ensure that as many pupils as possible attempted the questionnaire and, if possible, completed it. In total, I received back 307 questionnaires from the five schools, however, only 242 of those questionnaire participants had ticked the box to authorize their data to be used in the research. Due to the consent box being at the end of the questionnaire, several pupils did not finish and therefore did not tick the consent box to have their data used, as is described below.

Despite obtaining sufficient data, lack of completion was a significant element among the returned questionnaires. Most pupils missed out at least one question and a proportion of the pupils did not complete it at all. A number of questions can be raised

concerning the incomplete questionnaires and the silences presented by them. Firstly, it is possible that the questionnaires were perhaps too hard for some of the pupils taking part. Despite changing some vocabulary as a consequence of the pilot, the questionnaire wording might have remained too high for some of the younger participants. Secondly, disinterest or boredom needs to be acknowledged as a possible factor. The questionnaires might have been a little too long for the given time of 20 minutes. Thirdly, the pupils may have felt an element of discomfort at answering some of the more personal questions for example, about what they do and do not feel safe to talk about in school. These many reasons for silences are discussed by Alerby and Kostenius (2011), however they argue “that these ‘non-messages’ communicate meaning even if that meaning is not always readily apparent” (Clark et al., 2014: p75). They continue by arguing that these non-responses might be impossible to interpret but to ignore the messages they might convey is “to ignore the very voices that child research seeks to hear”. Therefore, when looking back at the gaps in the responses, it is important to acknowledge the multiple reasons for the silences and acknowledge that in themselves those silences may hold meaning.

4.4.4 - Designing the teacher questionnaire

Unlike the pupil questionnaire, the teacher questionnaire was designed as an online survey which was sent to teachers via an email link. This meant that teachers could access the online survey when they had time. It also meant that the teachers could access it individually and feel their responses would be anonymous. Similar to the pupil questionnaire, as opposed to the focus group, the teacher questionnaire aimed to access a greater number of teachers than the individual teacher interviews. The survey was sent by email to all staff at each school as coordinated by the gatekeeper at each school. The aim of the survey was to achieve a breadth of viewpoints whilst the interviews aimed for depth. In total, the teacher questionnaires accessed 84 teachers’ views from five schools. This included 29 teachers from Rosehill (School A), 11 from

Sycamore (School B), 2 from Oakwood (School C), 29 from Elmhurst (School D) and 13 from Middleoak (School E).

The teachers' questionnaire (appendix E) was a qualitative survey (Wellington, 2000: p101) which involved 15 open ended questions out of 17 questions. The open-ended questions required a written response rather than a multiple choice or Likert scale response. It allowed personalised responses to the question based on an individual's understanding of the question. This allowed the teachers to interpret the questions and express their views. For example, question 2 asked, 'In your view, what are the challenges facing Muslim pupils in education?' This allowed for a range of responses in keeping with a grounded theory exploration.

The focus of the teachers' questions was on the experiences of Muslim pupils in the education system in general and specifically within the participant's school. I focused on the experiences of Muslim pupils rather than the imagined identities of Muslim pupils because experiences were more accessible to participants. I then examined the coded responses to see what the experiences implied about imagined identities. The questions explored Muslim pupils' experiences in the context of the counter-terrorism strategies. Of the three research methods, I was most explicit about the topic of my research questions in the questionnaire. I asked questions such as Q6-10 (appendix E) asking what effects these counter-extremism policies were having on the pupils, on teaching and on the future. There are a number of reasons why I chose to be more explicit in the teacher questionnaire.

A first reason was that the anonymity of the online questionnaire would permit greater breadth and explicitness of responses. In the event, the teachers seemed to trust the promise of anonymity and confidentiality in the online questionnaires. This appeared to be in stark contrast to the caution with which the teachers seemed to respond in the interviews.

Second, in the online questionnaire I felt that teachers would be able to leave questions they did not feel able to answer without discomfort, unlike in an interview where being unable to answer a question face-to-face may result in a sense of awkwardness. It was important to me that the participants did not feel distress or anxiety in the process of answering the survey questions.

The third reason was that I felt that if schools did not like the questions, they would ask me to change them. As illustrated in the case of School C, Oakwood, I changed the wording at their request.

4.4.5 - Designing the pupil focus group

The focus groups were carried out in groups of between four and eight participants. In total, I carried out eleven focus groups, involving a total of 65 pupils across three schools. This is because School C, Oakwood, as mentioned previously, were uncomfortable with the questions (appendix F) and did not want to provide permission for me to carry out the focus group with the pupils. Also, the gatekeeper at Sycamore (School B) had stopped being in touch due to personal circumstances.

In each school that took part, the pupils were selected by the teacher from a particular year group and given permission to miss a class to attend the focus group. I do not know the criteria by which the pupils were selected by the teacher as I just requested the participation of any six pupils available. The groups at both Rosehill and Middleoak were all Muslim pupils. The groups at Elmhurst, although majority Muslim, did have a couple of non-Muslim pupils in two of the three groups.

The groups sat around a table in an empty classroom or meeting room provided by the school. Sitting in a circle was important to create an atmosphere of equality. Although I

asked the pupils their names, in the transcripts the pupils simply appear as numbers for the purposes of anonymity. Each session began with an outline of my research, expectations of the session, an emphasis on the importance of anonymity and the opportunity for any questions. I also gave the pupils the option to opt-out if they felt they did not want to participate. No pupil took this option. Although consent had been sought through the school and via parents, I wanted the pupils to feel they had ownership over their involvement and could give informed consent for themselves. The focus group lasted the length of a lesson time which differed depending on the school I was in. This varied from 40 minutes at Rosehill to 1 hour and 20 minutes at Elmhurst and 1 hour at Middleoak. Afterwards, the focus groups' audio recordings were transcribed and then in accordance with my ethical approval application, the recordings were deleted. For security, the transcripts were kept on an encrypted USB stick.

I selected the focus group model of researching the pupils for a number of key reasons. I sought out the model of discussion group as I felt pupils would be more comfortable in this environment than in a one-to-one interview with an unknown adult. The focus group was deliberately selected to reduce the power imbalance found in a one-to-one interview scenario where the pupil would be interviewed by an adult. According to Barbour and Kitzinger: "focus groups inevitably reduce the researcher's power and control" (1999: p70). I sought to reduce the power of the researcher (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999: p70) further by withdrawing from the role of questioner. Instead, I provided the questions for the group on cards and the pupils asked each other the questions rather than being led by the interviewer. In this way I encouraged "participants to talk to one another" (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999: p5). The group's interaction was important to stimulate discussion and to create the unique dynamics for pupils' expressions, ideas and opinions. "Focus groups are ideal for exploring people's experiences, opinions, wishes and concerns" (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999:

p5). As moderator and facilitator, my role was to identify whose turn it was to speak, probe further or comment, and intervene to moderate if two voices spoke at once.

The pupils were presented with a pack of question cards, with which each took turns to ask the others. Discussion then followed, lasting as long as the topic raised could be discussed. The question cards were shuffled and picked up in a random order except for the 'Amina' questions (1-3) (to be explained later in the chapter) which were mostly placed at the start of the pile to warm up the group's discussion. As many questions were asked as the time would allow. Some groups completed all the questions quite quickly or felt they were repeating their answers in relation to some questions, other groups went more slowly and had some question cards left over when the time was up.

In the focus group, the questions were picked up from the pile at random. However, in order to discuss their formation and selection, I shall refer to them in the order given in the appendix (appendix F).

Among the terms used in the focus group questions is that of 'British Muslim'. This term appears in several questions, including question 4: "How might you all describe it might feel to be a British Muslim right now?" It was also included in question 5: "What are your hopes and worries in the current climate as British Muslims?" The choice to use the term 'British Muslim' was a considered decision, made after carrying out the pilot questionnaires. On these questionnaires, I had given the option for writing the participant's ethnicity. In the schools in which I researched, there were many different cultural groups, in particular Muslims from culturally different backgrounds. 'British Muslims' provided an inclusive term. Another consideration was that Hoque, in his book 'British-Islamic Identity' (2014), identified that being British and Muslim was a strong identifier among the young people in his research.

In terms of question formulation, there were 3 groups of questions. These had different purposes. First there were the introductory questions (Q1-3) which stimulated discussion and established the group as a safe space to speak. These first three questions referred to Amina, who is a fictitious 14-year-old in Year nine, who was created in order to help ease the beginning of the focus group conversation. Instead of immediately being forced to talk about themselves and their own identities, which the pupils might have been cautious to do, they could begin by imagining the possible life of a teenage Muslim girl. They could then see what they felt her identity might be. This also was intended to help warm up focus groups who had non-Muslim members, so they would feel able to contribute without feeling excluded. To create the imaginary pupil, I presented the pupils with a picture of a headscarf-wearing young teenager and asked them how Amina might think and feel about being a British Muslim teenager (Q1) and how she might imagine the future (Q3). It is possible that my selection of a particular image of a Muslim pupil, particularly a headscarf wearer, (hijabi) might have been a leading image but I wanted the pupils to be stimulated into discussion. This focus activity succeeded in stimulating discussion.

The next set of questions (Q4-14) drew the attention away from Amina and towards the participants' own experiences, identities and thoughts, for example, question 6: "What challenges do you feel face Muslim teenagers?" and question 13: "do you feel British?" These questions required the pupils to examine their experiences and their identities, and describe them, including their hopes, worries and feelings of challenge concerning being Muslim. The pupils could approach these questions from personal experience or continue to talk hypothetically as they had done concerning Amina. Similar to the teacher questionnaires, I focused more on Muslim pupils' experiences than identities and then drew out the imagined identities through analysis of the experiences.

The final four questions allowed for positivity (Q15-18). These questions included questioning what was positive about growing up in the UK at the moment (Q15) and questioning what the pupils looked forward to in the future (Q18). When I presented my pilot study group with their questionnaires in February 2016, the feedback given by the pupils was that the questions were too negative. Therefore, taking the feedback into account, I sought to give the opportunity for optimism in my focus group questions. As the questions would be shuffled and picked out at random, these more positive, hopeful questions aimed to lift the tone of the discussion. I considered this to be an important part of the researcher's ethical responsibility towards the pupils to ensure that they did not leave the focus group session feeling distressed or hopeless as a result of discussing the questions.

It is important to note that I did not use the word 'Prevent' within the questions. Despite the research being in the context of the Prevent strategy, this was a deliberate exclusion for a number of reasons. The first reason was that I was not sure that the pupils would know of or understand the concept 'Prevent'. I did not want to include it in the questions and then need to explain it to them as that might have risked ethical implications and have affected the pupils' responses. Dickenson-Swift et al. stated:

“adults might justify withholding some details, hoping to protect children from confusion or anxiety” (2008: p89).

I did not want to introduce the concepts of counter-extremism or counter-terror into the discussion as explaining the Prevent strategy could have ethical implications for the pupils' sense of being in a safe space (Jackson, 2014: p47). If the pupils already knew about the Prevent strategy and wanted to raise it in the discussion, that would have been welcomed, and it did indeed happen in some of the discussions. However, coming from the pupils themselves and their knowledge base removed the concerns listed above.

The second reason not to include the word 'Prevent' in my questions was to mitigate the likely responses of the schools. As has been highlighted, it was difficult to get schools to agree to be part of my research due to the sensitivity of the topic. Therefore, I shared my questions with the schools before carrying out the data collection as part of being open about my research. I felt schools would be more wary of the research if the concept of 'Prevent' was raised with the pupils and the school would therefore be unlikely to approve the research. I also avoided any mention of 'counter-extremism' or 'counter-terror' in the questions. As seen with school C, Oakwood, the wording of the questions was a sensitive issue concerning school access.

However, the decision not to include the word 'Prevent' in the focus group questions was a difficult choice, as it might have significantly affected the outcome of the data collection. The research aimed to examine the imagined identities of Muslim pupils in the context of Prevent and yet, for ethical reasons, I was not able to mention Prevent. Without discussion of Prevent, I would not know whether the pupils actually knew about Prevent and therefore would not know if Prevent had any impact on their imagined identities. This made it harder to analyse and evaluate the relationship between the pupils' imagined identities and the context of Prevent in which they were functioning.

4.4.6 - Designing the teacher interview

A key aspect of grounded theory is its iterative nature (Gubrium et al., 2012: p347), in the way that it requires a researcher to develop the direction of the research in light of the findings of earlier stage analysis. Therefore, the interviews were developed from early stage analysis of the initial questionnaires for teachers. The aim of the interviews was to explore in greater depth the responses found in the teachers' questionnaires. An interview is a "face to face survey method" (Gilbert, 2001: p88). The online

questionnaires had provided the opportunity for teachers to offer responses in an anonymous way. In the interviews, a smaller number of teachers had the opportunity to expand their responses face to face. I undertook approximately 6 interviews per school, with a total of 27 carried out. Each interview lasted approximately 30 minutes and was transcribed and kept on an encoded memory stick for a period of one year.

Due to the sensitivity of the topic, designing the interview questions (appendix G) was immediately challenging. The challenge was the same one that I had experienced in the design and development of each set of survey questions. However, due to the face to face nature of the interview format, the issue appeared more acute. The challenge was how to ask questions concerning the impact of the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act and the Prevent strategy without making the participants or participating schools too uncomfortable to take part and therefore opt out. With careful phrasing, I implemented two questions concerning Prevent, the first concerning Prevent training and its impact (Q8), the second concerning the implementation of other counter extremism strategies, such as fundamental British values (Q9). As discussed previously, the questions had to be designed in a careful, sensitive way to access responses from the teachers without being rejected by the school's senior management. This required a fine balance between caution and gaining sufficiently rich data. It is possible, with hindsight, that I erred too much on the side of caution concerning the questions I chose to ask in the teacher interviews. However, I also remain aware that too direct questioning concerning Prevent would have risked my not being able to carry out the research at all. I was aware of Gilbert's words that:

“Questions need to be phrased so they do not intimidate those taking part in the study” (Gilbert, 2001: p97).

Therefore, the question design for the teacher interviews must be viewed as a compromise.

To moderate this compromise, my question design was semi-structured (Gillham, 2005: p70) with open ended questions (Wellington, 2000: p106). This included questions such as “What do you perceive as controversial topics for discussion in lessons?” (Q2) followed by the question “Do you feel there are any restrictions or obstacles to these types of discussion?” (Q3b) and question 5: “In your experience, tell me about whether you feel pupils are open to discuss personal, political or religious views in the classroom?” I developed this question by specifically asking about whether *Muslim pupils* felt open to discuss personal, political and religious views (Q6). These questions about the freedom to discuss stemmed from various comments in the teachers’ questionnaire concerning the pupils’ perceived restriction in light of the Prevent strategy.

Semi-structured questions allowed for the participant to expand their answers and take their answers in the direction that they wanted, in particular, in a way they felt comfortable with. Giving power to the participant was a crucial aspect of my interview technique. Traditionally, power has been seen to be held by the interviewer over the interviewee, with the interviewer designing the questions to direct the interviewee in a pre-ordained direction. However, in designing the questions, I used a feminist approach to interviewing, whereby the interviewee was recognised as having power as the subject of the interview (Harding, 2003: p4) rather than an object to be observed and controlled. By crediting the interviewee as a subject, their position as a ‘knower’ and their value as knowledge producers (Jaggar, 2014: p249) is recognised. The participants’ words are the driving force of my study. I sought to listen to and hear their words and go where they wished to direct me through their insights and perspectives. However, it is possible that the teachers generally remained within comfortable areas in their responses, rather than in the difficult ones. Exploring the ‘uncomfortable’ areas to some extent may have deepened the insights and asked the participant to grapple with grey areas of complexity such as accessing some of the

issues concerning, for example, the feeling of responsibility teachers might have in enacting the Prevent strategy which could have emerged from question 7 on the participant's experience of the Prevent strategy training.

4.4.7 - Carrying out the interview

Other than the five pilot interviews which took place outside the classroom, interviews were carried out in the classrooms or office spaces of the teacher participants. This difference of location between the pilot and main study could be argued to have had a significant effect on the openness of the participants. The pilot interviews, conducted in 2016, took place in coffee shops, neutral areas beyond the school gates. The decision to place subsequent interviews within school grounds was accounted for by efficiency. To complete all of the interviews and focus groups within the two or three days I spent in a school, it was easier to hold the interviews on the school grounds. Due to teachers' time pressures, it made sense to access the teachers' time while they were available in the school day. However, it is necessary to acknowledge the possible difference felt by the participant within the grounds of the school, concerning a sense of restriction to speak. The implication of a possible sense of restriction can be drawn from the differences found between the responses to the teachers' online questionnaires and their one-to-one interviews. These observations are found in the following memo:

“There seems to be differences in the teacher responses to the questions found in the interview and the online survey. These differences relate mostly to the pupil experiences of being Muslim in the current climate and the possible impacts of the Prevent strategy. It seems that in the interview participants are less happy to discuss these issues than when they are writing about them online in the teacher survey.

When analysing the teacher interviews, I found very little was said by the majority of participants about the experiences of Muslim pupils. From the interviews, the teachers mostly felt confident that the Muslim pupils were confident and vocal in class and happy to speak about all issues concerning them.

However, in the online questionnaire responses, there seemed to be predominantly a different tone expressed towards the Prevent strategy and its effect on Muslim pupils. There seems to be a greater concern expressed as to its impact and potential effect on the Muslim pupils including the risk of marginalisation and alienation among other concerns.”

4.5 - Methods of analysis

In terms of analysis, I used two methods, document analysis and thematic analysis, both of which are compatible with grounded theory (Bowen, 2008; Chapman et al., 2015). I applied document analysis to the Government documents. I applied the thematic analysis to the transcripts and questionnaires of the pupils and teachers. In the following, I describe my use of both methods within the context of grounded theory.

4.5.1 - Document analysis

In terms of the document analysis element of my research, I reviewed 10 documents. These were documents relating to Government strategies concerning the prevention of non-violent extremism and were selected due to being produced between the years 2008-2015. These documents included the Prevent strategy of 2008 (HM Government) and 2011 (Home Office) plus the revised Prevent duty guidance in 2015 and two Ofsted reports, as well as affiliated documents (as described later in Chapter 6).

Table (C): Documents selected for document analysis

Documents
'Prevent Strategy: A guide for Local Partners in England' (HM Government, 2008)
'Learning Together to be Safe' (DCSF, 2008) policy toolkit
Prevent strategy (Home Office, 2011)
Tackling extremism in the UK (HM Government, 2013)
The Ofsted inspection report for Park View Academy (2014)
The Ofsted inspection report for Sir John Cass and Redcoat, Church of England Secondary School (2014)
Guidance on promoting fundamental British values through SMSC (Spiritual, moral, social and cultural) (Department for Education, 2014)
Revised Prevent duty Guidance for England and Wales (2015)
The Prevent duty (Department for Education, 2015)
Channel Duty guidance (HM Government, 2015)

To carry out document analysis on these ten documents, I began by skimming the document in a superficial examination to find the sections that referred to schools and pupils that would be relevant for my research. In some documents such as the Ofsted Reports, 'Learning together to be Safe' (DCSF, 2008) or the 'Prevent Duty Guidance' by the DfE (2015) the whole document was relevant but with others such as the 'Prevent Strategy: A Guide for local Partners in England' (HM Government, 2008) and the 'Channel Duty guidance' (HM Government, 2015) only certain aspects were pertinent. I then read the relevant extracts in a thorough examination of the document. For each document I examined, I explored the purpose and the content. I then examined the language by looking at the key terms, and then raised and questioned the assumptions in the document. This was followed by a process of interpretation, namely, what this document implies for my study of the imagined identities of Muslim pupils. Some

examples of the procedure applied to Government policy documents are to be found in the appendix H.

Document analysis fitted with the framework and expectations of grounded theory. This is demonstrated specifically by Bowen (2008) who used document analysis as part of a grounded theory methodology for his study. The process of analysis uses a grounded theory coding as outlined by both Corbin and Strauss (1998) and later by Charmaz (2014). Charmaz (2014) specifically refers to the use of documents in grounded theory research on pages 45-47. The use of document analysis in grounded theory is an accepted process and is seen to contribute to the research.

One expectation that Bowen (2009) raises of the researcher is “to demonstrate objectivity (seeking to represent the research material fairly)” (p32) in the process of document analysis. Furthermore, Bowen suggests that “reflexivity..... is usually not an issue in using documents for research purposes” (2008: p31). However, in the “deeply reflexive stance” to analysis that Charmaz’s constructivist grounded theory takes (2017: p34), the possibility of objectivity is called into question. My need for “methodological self-consciousness”, as Charmaz terms it (2017: p37) is as applicable for document analysis as it is for any other method I have used. Therefore, my consideration of how I personally came to first encounter the Prevent strategy through the Ofsted inspection of my school, needs to be acknowledged. As I approached the documents and interpreted what the policies might mean for imagined identities of the Muslim pupils, I had to bear in mind my starting point for this research and acknowledge it, but with a critical eye.

4.5.2 - Thematic analysis

For the questionnaires, the focus group transcripts, and the interview transcripts, I used a form of thematic analysis to analyse the responses. Thematic analysis can be

regarded as compatible with a grounded theory approach as shown in Chapman, Hadfield and Chapman's (2015) paper on the use of the two analytic methods concerning developing clinical services in the NHS. Chapman et al., claim that "focus on thematic analysis as the analytical approach" [is] "used most frequently in grounded theory studies" (2015: p201). Grounded theory and thematic analysis are also shown to be compatible in RAND Europe's document on 'Evaluating Interventions that Prevent or Counter Violent Extremism' (Hofman and Sutherland, 2018: pp121-125).

As an approach used in conjunction with grounded theory, the version of thematic analysis that I used was an inductive or 'bottom up' approach. The themes identified were strongly linked to the data rather than being conferred onto the data by a pre-existing theoretical framework, which would be contrary to the principles of grounded theory.

In practice, in the analysis, I took the words of the participants in the questionnaires and focus groups and created initial codes (Charmaz, 2014: p343), from which I categorised the themes. Creating themes in grounded theory can be understood as an aspect of the process of categorization, a key element of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014: p188). Categorization followed on from the initial practice of coding whereby each line, sentence or paragraph was labelled with "short statements that capture the meaning of the phrase" (Chapman, 2015: p203). Categorisation then was the process of combining the codes to result in themes.

Once I had created a range of tentative themes, or categorisations, I explored them by creating memos as seen in the Methodology chapter. Memos "serve analytic purposes" (Charmaz, 2014: p165). These memos allowed me to test out ideas, to generate and explore hypotheses, and to make connections using the themes in order to begin the move towards a point of saturation (Charmaz, 2014: p213) and eventually towards drawing out theory.

4.6 - Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has presented the different research methods used. These instruments were questionnaires, one-to-one interviews and focus groups. The chapter also introduces the methods of analysis used. These are thematic analysis and document analysis, both of which are compatible with grounded theory. The chapter also introduces the key principles at play behind those methods, including the importance of focus on the pupil's voice in grounded theory, and perhaps, the most crucial factor of sensitivity, that lies as a backdrop to all my research. Sensitivity, above all, significantly shaped the way that I worded, carried out and presented the research. Carefully negotiating my way through the context of Prevent played a significant part in the question formation and design. A route had to be negotiated between school access and the need to collate participants' honest and openly shared experiences.

In the next chapter, I examine the concept of imagined identities which lies at the heart of this thesis. I examine what the concept means, how it came about and how it is understood in my research.

Chapter 5: On 'imagined identities'

5.1- Introduction

This thesis examines the imagined identities of Muslim pupils in UK secondary schools after the introduction of the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act in 2015 and in the context of the Prevent strategy. In this chapter, I explore the concept of imagined identities; how it developed, how it was named and to what it refers. The chapter begins with an examination of where the term 'imagined identity' was drawn from and what is meant by it. It then explores the compatibility of grounded theory with imagined identities. This is followed by an examination of the tradition of exploring identity in grounded theory research. This chapter acts as a bridge between the methodology chapters and the analysis chapters.

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, the notion of 'imagined identities' developed early in the evolution of the research focus and research questions. In grounded theory terms, the imagined identities of the Muslim pupils became the phenomenon of focus of the study. In the following, I explore how the phenomenon of focus arose.

5.2 - The phenomenon of focus

As has been discussed briefly in Chapter 1, my use of the concept of imagined identities began with the challenge of 'perception'. I had initially wanted to examine the perceptions of Muslim pupils as held by the Government and teachers, as well as by the Muslim pupils themselves. In light of the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act and the duty to prevent pupils being drawn into terrorism, there was a growing concern, including in the literature, that the perceived identity of the Muslim pupil was being securitized (Muslim Council of Britain, 2015: p1; Kyriacou et al. 2017: p104; Ahmed

Chaudhry, 2018: p37). Put in another way, there was a potential risk that the Muslim pupil was being perceived in light of heightened security, as a radicalisation risk by the Government but also by the teachers, due to the Prevent training. This in turn raised the question of whether the Muslim pupils' perceptions of themselves were also being affected by being perceived as potential extremists and ultimately terrorists.

This desire to explore the perceived identity of the Muslim pupils stemmed from a history of the Muslim being perceived by others as 'Other'. Initially noted by Said, with his account of the Muslim as oriental and therefore Other or alien (1979: p207), the theme was also taken up by Ali and his account of Muslims perceived as essentially "non-rational beings" (2014: p1247). Most recently, perceptions of Muslim pupils have come to be associated with radicalisation fears and the threat of the potential jihadi going to join ISIS in Syria. This potential was illustrated in the case of the Bethnal Green girls, three 16-year-old pupils who left the UK to join ISIS and marry ISIS fighters in 2015 (Halliday et al. 2015; Dodd, 2016). Importantly, Ali wrote: "All these constructions leave (...) Muslim communities bereft of a voice to articulate their own positions" (p1247). I wanted to develop this theme of constructed identities noting not only how Muslim pupils are perceived, but also to use their own words to express how it feels and affects their own perception of self to be perceived in such a way.

However, as discussed in the Introduction chapter, there were a number of issues that arose when referring to perceptions. Firstly, perceiving is actually more of an act of imagination than is given credit for. In constructing a picture of another, we do far more imagining than perceiving. We create the picture of the other that we see, with people constructing an image more in accordance with preconceived ideas than what is in front of them. It is this act of imagination in perceiving that I want to emphasize and acknowledge. Secondly, there is an epistemological challenge with trying to know another's perception. It is not easily possible to access another's perception. Instead, we imagine another's perception. What we refer to as perceptions might be

expressions of ideas formed in the mind, held in imagination. These perhaps spill out unconsciously or through figures of speech. The speaker may not be aware that they are forming a picture for their audience through hints in sentences and spontaneous language (Quartermaine, 2019: p68). Part of my thesis is about looking at how young Muslims feel about who they are seen to be by asking them to describe this. This is an act of imagination, blending ideas about how they are perceived by others, with what they think of themselves in the world. Therefore, this act of imagination is a two-way process. It is this act of imagination in perceiving that I want to emphasize and acknowledge. This act of imagination also takes place when the teachers perceive the pupils. They cannot know the pupils' experiences and thoughts, but they imagine them and through their speech express what they imagine. Moreover, the writers of policy can be argued to imagine the subjects of their policy, that is that the policy writers of Prevent imagined a young person as its subject.

Therefore, I needed to develop a concept that would allow for the idea that it is not possible to know the thoughts of another, but that we all hold pictures of others in our mind and those pictures can come through in conversation and policy. Therefore, the ideas we hold of both ourselves and others are imagined. And those ideas we hold about who oneself or someone else is, is an imagined identity.

5.3 - How were imagined identities named?

I developed the term 'imagined identities' for the study's phenomenon of focus using the influences of Anderson on nationhood (1983), Archer on the identity construction of Muslim boys (2003) and Woodward on identity (2000, 2002).

The influence of Anderson is drawn from his book *Imagined Communities* published in 1983. Java, Indonesia, where he made his home, influenced much of his thought on nationhood (Breuilly, 2016). *Imagined Communities* was a highly influential book on

the origins of nationalism. It influenced the beginnings of the study into community as something beyond the local, something that stretches beyond the boundary of what it is to be known personally. It is the best single piece of work known in nationalism studies, bringing awareness to the little understood nature of nationalism as a phenomenon (Breuilly, 2016: p625). For Anderson, a concept imagined beyond themselves that people would go as far as to die for (Anderson, 1983: p141). This concept of an 'imagined community' has been used repeatedly in other areas of study, including the interconnected nature of Twitter followers (Gruzd, Wellman and Takhteyev, 2011), the integration of immigrant communities, such as the Sikhs into the UK, (Hall, 2004), and the experiences of learners in the language classroom (Kanno and Norton, 2003). However, in my study, it is not the 'community' element I have focused on, but rather the use of the concept 'imagined', defined by Anderson as something that lives "in the mind of each" (1983: p6).

The second influence in the development of imagined identities is the work of Louise Archer, currently Professor in the Sociology of Education at UCL. Her research focuses particularly on educational identities and inequalities. One of her key studies was on the topic of British Muslim students' identities and educational experiences, resulting in her book *Race, Masculinity and Schooling* (2003). It focused on how Muslim boys see their identities and their aspirations, as well as their views of their lives both inside and outside school. Importantly, Archer did not write the book to make British Muslim boys more "knowable" (Archer, 2003: p156), for example to teachers or researchers. That could simply be regarded as rendering the 'other' more known in the colonial or imperial desire for knowledge (Alexander, 2000: 225; Archer, 2003: p156). Instead Archer, in a post 9/11 context, focuses on representations of Muslim boys as "thinking, agentic, complex human beings, rather than the simplistic, homogenized, negative stereotypes which currently abound in the popular imagination" (Archer, 2003: p156). Archer makes reference to 'imagined communities' as those within which the boys negotiate power and struggles for authenticity both as 'Muslim' and as 'black' (Archer,

2003: p64). It is this aspect of Archer drawing on Anderson, which brings me the foundation of imagined identities.

The third influence on the development of my concept of 'Imagined identities' was the work of Kath Woodward on identity (2000; 2002; 2003). Kath Woodward, Emeritus Professor at the Open University, built her concept of identity using the influence of the social philosopher George Herbert Mead (2002: p8-9). Woodward saw the identity of the individual as multiple, referring to having a "collective identity at the local or even the global, whether through culture, religion or politics as well as having an individual identity" (2003: p19). She continued: "identity is not only a word used to make sense of 'who we are' in the global arena, it is what links the personal to the social, the 'I' to the 'me'" (2003: p19-20). Significantly, Woodward discussed identity formation in the context of September 11, with particular reference to the "oppositions and dualisms" (2003: p159) that developed and the reconfiguring of social identity positions in opposition to another, which is classified as 'other'. Particularly pertinent in relation to this study was her definition: "Identity involves how I see myself and how others see me" (2003: p20). Significantly, although the pupils in this study were only born in 2001 or after, they have been reconfiguring their identity ever since in relation to the events that occurred in that year.

Through the next two sections, I explain in detail how these writers influenced the development and formation of 'imagined identities' as used uniquely in this study.

I was particularly influenced by Anderson's idea for the Imagined Community thesis, that an imagined concept is held in the mind (1983: p6), by which Anderson referred to the intangible, yet very real connection that holds people together in the concept of nationhood. Imagined identities are held in the mind and the idea of the intangible yet real connection that holds people together influenced the idea that an imagined

concept can be shared by a group. That is to say, the teachers may hold a shared imaginary of the Muslim pupil.

However, it is the intangible, yet real notion captured in the term 'imagined', that is used by Archer to apply to the identity construction of Muslim boys. Archer uses the term 'imagined' suggesting that the idea of identity is not something fixed and tangible but rather something in constant flux. This is crucial for my understanding of the pupils' identities. As Woodward suggests identity is not something bounded, restricted to an embodied "I" or "self" (Woodward, 2002: p2). 'Imagined' implies the constant reinvention and challenge that goes on in the negotiation and re-negotiation of self, rather than a fixed construct. As Archer implies, the notion of identity is fluid in construction, but it has a significant effect on the boys' sense of "who they are" (Archer, 2003: p161) The same seems to be the case for the Muslim pupils in my study whose identities are formed and re-formed in light of both how they imagine themselves and feel others imagine them.

It is Archer who makes a brief allusion to the phrase 'imagined identity' but she does not develop the notion in a systematic way; the phrase appears in a single quote: "The young men's discourses can be read as 'imagined' identity construction in which traditional notions of essentialised cultural and racial entities are constantly being reinvented and challenged (Alexander, 1996)" (Archer, 2003: p64). Here, Archer, in relation to her reference to Alexander (1996), incidentally brings together the two ideas of 'imagined' and 'identity' forming a leap from 'imagined communities' to 'imagined identity', but it is in my work that I take her brief allusion and develop the term systematically as the central phenomenon of interest in my research.

Importantly, Archer describes how: "conceptualisation of 'imagined communities' and shifting identities do not in any way imply these identities are in any way unreal or without effect or consequence" (Archer, 2003: p161), showing that to describe

something as 'imagined' does not in any way belittle or reduce it. Instead she identifies that these imagined identities can have causal effect, something significant in my work when looking at the relationships of imagined identities to one another.

In considering the evolution of the concept of imagined identities, it is also worth noting a collection of essays, entitled 'Imagined Identities' and edited by Pultar (2014), which explores identity formation in the context of globalisation. The book concerns the construction and deconstruction of identity and its engagement with culture, ethnicity and nationhood (2014: p1). Although the title is 'Imagined Identities' and it is clearly based on Anderson's 'Imagined communities', the concept of 'imagined' refers to imagining the range of topics presented in the essays, through the "possibilities of non-Western epistemologies" (2014: p13). Therefore, rather than developing a systematic understanding of what the phrase 'imagined identities' might mean, each essay simply assumes its use in the title, without deconstructing it or making reference to it. Given this lack of exploration in Pultar's use of the term, I have chosen to grow the idea stemming from Anderson's 'Imagined Communities' and develop the notion of 'imagined identities' as a unique concept in this research.

5.4 - Expanding on the idea of 'imagined'

When conceiving of the word 'identity', I refer to Woodward's notion of identity as that which "combines how I see myself and how others see me" (Woodward, 2000: p7). In order to form that notion of identity, she draws on Mead's idea that we "see ourselves" and "imagine how others might see us" (Mead, 1934). As Woodward explains: "Mead's self, or rather selves, are produced through the process of imagination" (Woodward, 2002: p9). It is the important emphasis here on the role of imagination in identity formation that I draw attention to. Identity is not a fixed concept contained within a self-construct but rather is porous and "changing" (Woodward, 2000: p39). This notion of identity referring beyond the fixed embodied

notions of 'I' and 'self' seemed to echo with the more fluid concepts of identity perception emerging from my research.

As Archer writes, identity perceptions not only refer to who we think we are, but also can be “constructed through a sense of what we are ‘not’ and how others see us and indeed how we think others see us” (Archer, 2003: p158). These create multiple positions of identity, all imagined, held both by the self of the self, but also held of the self by others. These notions go beyond the physically confined self by being expressions of a hypothetical or potential self as well as a future self and therefore relate to imagining.

When approaching the idea of exploring the perceived identities of Muslim pupils, it was clear that there was a need to capture the hypothetical and potential as part of the identity construction of the Muslim pupils, both by themselves and by others. There was a need to have a notion that captured not only perceptions relating to the present but also the future and hypothetical projections of the self and other as well. The imagined identity is formed through a combination of past experience, futurity and hypothetical potential. An ‘imagined identity’ is therefore, constantly in a state of being and becoming. This makes the notion of projection important. It also allows for numerous hypothetical options of what becoming might result in. Therefore, imagined identities allow for the realm of what could be. This might refer to projections of identity. For example, the pupil might express concern about being seen as an extremist (a projection) (Hoque, 2015: p93) or express fear of being reported in future (a potential) (Faure Walker, 2019: p370). Furthermore, the pupils cannot know how others perceive them, they can only project or imagine.

These scenarios have no concrete framing but are both expressed as a projection of potential or hypothetical selves. Similarly, the Prevent strategy can be identified as hypothetical and speculative. It relies on the pre-crime space (Heath-Kelly, 2017: p298)

and imagines a worst-case scenario of ultimate potential, terrorism. The Prevent duty aims to “prevent people being drawn into terrorism” (Department of Education, 2015: p1). It aims to prevent a person becoming radicalised and prevent them potentially carrying out a terrorist act. Therefore, the policies refer to the prevention of a hypothetical scenario, potentially occurring in the future such as the potential of the pupil to be radicalised.

None of these notions are actualities, therefore they are all expressed beyond the actual. They are intangible yet influential notions needing a mode of expression beyond the more immediate nature of embodied identity. This is best captured by the element of ‘imagined’ which allows space for the construction of potential, rather than simply actuality in terms of identity. ‘Imagined’ also allows for a more fluid notion of identity. Therefore, the term ‘imagined identities’ emerged as a way to encompass a more flexible notion of the construction of self and other.

Imagined identities can be constructed in numerous ways. They can be formed of an individual or in relation to membership of a group. In my research, pupils form imagined identities of themselves as individuals, but also variously as a group of pupils, teenagers and as Muslims. The Government, on the other hand, through policy and rhetoric, form an imagined identity of Muslim pupils as a particular demographic group in society, not as individuals. The teachers form an imagined identity of the Muslim pupils both as individuals and as a group through their teaching, pastoral roles and safeguarding duties.

The differing imagined identities that emerge concerning the Muslim pupils also have the potential to relate to one another. This will be examined in detail in the discussion in Chapter 9. The question arises as to whether the Government’s imagined identity of the pupil as potential extremist and radical, might relate to that of the teachers’, who may also have had to absorb that particular, potential imagined identity of the pupil in

order to enact the Prevent strategy. Furthermore, there is a question as to whether it is possible that the Government's imagined identity of pupils' potential relates to the pupils' perception of themselves as others see them, by making the pupils feel viewed as potential terrorists. The pupils might then form their own imagined identity in reaction to it, identifying themselves predominantly by what they are 'not' rather than by what they are. Therefore, the differing imagined identities held of the pupils may potentially effect and shape one another.

This notion of the Muslim pupils forming an imagined identity by what they are *not* rather than by what they are, is an interesting issue in relation to Woodward's theory of identity. Woodward argues that the importance of identity formation is that it consists of agency "however limited". That is to say, "we have some control in constructing our own identities" (2000: p8). At first, it might seem that the Muslim pupils have little agency in their identity formation. They imagine themselves as young, Muslim teenagers and are imagined by others as potential extremists and terrorists. The way they are seen by others and the way they see themselves do not fit together. As Woodward observes: "there is a tension between how I see myself and how I am seen by others" (2000: p11). However, the pupils' agency is not a positive agency, taking on an identity through interpellation, that is recognizing themselves in the identity of others but rather it is a negative process of agency, a counter-interpellation. Namely, rejecting, resisting and reacting to how they are seen. Therefore, a considerable element of self-identity is the result of reactive agency.

There is also an element of agency in the teachers' formation of the Muslim pupils' imagined identity. Although it is possible that they simply absorb the Government's agenda and thus form an imagined identity of the Muslim pupil as potential extremist or potential terrorist, it is also possible for them, through agency, to reject the influence of the policy as opposed to absorbing it. Thereby, a teacher might reject the

narrow lens that the pupil is on the trajectory to extremism, and instead envision the pupil as a holistic being in the process of holistic becoming.

Thus, imagined identities not only have the potential to capture potential, the hypothetical and futurity; an imagined identity also has the potential to relate to another imagined identity through being reactive to it, thus being shaped and formed by it.

5.5 - Are grounded theory and 'imagined identities' compatible?

The question of the compatibility of 'imagined identities' and grounded theory methodology is a significant one. As has been noted in Chapter 3, theoretical concepts should not be imposed on the data but rather are seen to grow or emerge from the data. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), in grounded theory: "the researcher does not begin a project with a preconceived theory in mind" (p12). At first glance, 'imagined identities' could be seen to be a preconceived theoretical construct imposed on the data and therefore the process of grounded theory is undermined. However, in the following, I will argue that grounded theory and imagined identities are compatible.

Firstly, I argue that 'imagined identities' is not a theoretical construct or ideology laid upon the data. Despite the term 'imagined' having roots in Anderson's 'Imagined Communities', 'imagined identities' does not have a theoretical basis or ideology. Instead, I argue that the term 'Imagined identities' simply becomes a signifier. What it signifies is unknown when the research begins and is discovered in the process of research. 'Imagined identities' is therefore the name of a phenomenon being looked for. I may not know what shape it takes or in what form it exists, but I cannot enter my study without intending to look for something, as I would have no research questions. Strauss and Corbin (1998) acknowledge this, stating that there must be "a type of

question that will enable the researchers to find answers to the questions that seem important” (p41).

‘Imagined identities’ therefore, become the phenomenon of interest. The phenomenon of interest can be seen as a blank canvas, it does not have predefined parameters. As the researcher, I think something is taking place, but I don’t know what it is, so I need to ask and discover. I will then learn from the emergent data what this multifaceted imagined identity could be to the participant.

I would argue that each grounded theory study sets out with a question. In the studies, cited below, each has a focus in its questioning. For example, in the study “The pathway to making change: How parents promote health for their overweight or obese child” (De Chesnay, 2014: p29-74), the phenomenon of focus is the ‘pathway’. The researcher, at the start of this study, does not know what the ‘pathway’ looks like. They may even have made the assumption that the ‘pathway’ exists at all. However, the researcher then allows the data to emerge and the participants to speak, to tell them whether there is a ‘pathway’ and if so, what it might look like.

Similarly, in the grounded theory study, “Reframing: Psychological adjustments of Chinese women at the beginning of the breast cancer experience” by Ching, Martinson and Wong (2009), the focus of the study is ‘psychological adjustment’. The authors of the study, at the start, may not know what that psychological adjustment is or perhaps even whether it exists at all. However, as the data emerges, they will come to know what form this adjustment takes for the women in their study and how, which can only emerge from the participants’ words as data sets.

In both these studies, the phenomenon of focus is a signifier rather than a theoretical construct. What they signify is not known until the data is collected and analysed and

the meaning is drawn out. In the same way, in my research topic concerning the imagined identities of Muslim pupils, 'imagined identities' becomes a signifier.

Similar to the studies above, there are presumptions in my phenomenon of interest. I have assumed an 'imagined identity' might exist and I have assumed that there is such a thing as an 'imagined identity' specifically of the Muslim pupil. The difficulty, as acknowledged by Corbin and Strauss, is that the words may already have an assumed or predefined meaning: "Concepts and phenomena often bring with them commonly held meanings and associations" (1998, p116). This may, as Strauss and Corbin recognise, bias our interpretations of the data (p116). However, as has been identified, other than the indirect link with Anderson's definition of 'imagined', 'imagined identities' is not carrying any theoretical baggage and can therefore be seen as a vacuum signifier, open to being defined through the emergence and analysis of data. Research can open up this term for exploration and analysis, allowing meanings to be drawn from the Government, teachers and pupils' words. I recognise that the signifier, 'imagined identities' could refer to a vast range of things. The term simply provides a focus point to hear and discover from the participants, a multitude of meanings.

In conclusion, although at first glance 'imagined identities' and grounded theory methodology may arguably appear incompatible, that would only be on the grounds of imagined identities being perceived as a theoretical framework or ideology. I argue that it is not. Rather, that 'imagined identities' is simply a signifier of something not yet known on approaching the research, a 'phenomenon of interest' that I wish to explore. Only as I explore it, will the data emerge and speak, to render what the signifier might signify. That is to say that 'imagined identities' is a vacuum signifier, a phenomenon to be discovered in whatever form it takes. Grounded theory provides the vehicle for that study.

5.6 - Grounded theory and the study of identities

It is important to acknowledge that finding ways to study identity and perception have been a significant element of grounded theory throughout its history and therefore, my exploration of this area is part of a long line of attempts to access this realm as a phenomenon of interest. Symbolic interactionism, through the thought of George Herbert Mead and Herbert Blumer, who both had a significant influence on Anselm Strauss, both struggled with the desire to understand the self through interactions with others. By asking questions concerning the formation of the self's identity through social interaction, symbolic interactionists tried to capture the fluidity of identity. Identity, for them, can be defined by who we think others are and who they think we are, (Charon, 2010: p144) which in turn affects how we see ourselves. This echoes some of the notions of perceived identity which I have attempted to capture through 'imagined identities'.

For Anselm Strauss, grounded theory emerged out of his belief that the work of Mead, later known as symbolic interactionism, needed an empirical method to examine these theoretical positions. He sought to understand the meanings of interactions between people (Annells, 1996: p381). Therefore, with this phenomenon of interest, Strauss sought to develop a methodology that would be able to access the views of self and others within a set study. This became the focus of early grounded theory, as shown in an "Awareness of Dying" (1965) which sought to capture the perceptions of dying patients and their nurses. This need to capture the identity and relations of self and others, continued in Charmaz's later grounded theory in the work on "Identity dilemmas of chronically ill men" (Strauss and Corbin, 1997: pp35-62) which explores men's notions of their self-identity as they encounter chronic illness. In this, Charmaz defines identity as that which "define, locate, characterise, categorize and differentiate self from others" (p37). In this way, she is referring to a concept of identity that is maintained through "past, present and future" (p49). Therefore, my work and the

emergence of 'imagined identities' can be seen as part of this grounded theory tradition, to explore the construction of identity and interaction through empirical investigation.

5.7 - Chapter conclusion

Imagined identities initially developed in response to the challenges of 'perception', that is to say, the inability for a policy to hold a perception and the epistemological limitations of knowing another's perception. The concept was named due to the influence of Anderson's notion of 'imagined' (1983: p6) simply put, to be held in the mind and Archer's developments of the concept in the light of her work on the fluid and negotiated identities of teenage Muslim males.

The verb 'to imagine' plays an important role in this research as it allows for the construction of an identity that is not fixed or actual but rather allows instead for potential, the hypothetical and futurity. Although the perceptions of Muslim pupils are all imagined, whether by the Government, the teachers or the pupils themselves, what is significant to note is that these imagined identities can relate to one another in actuality, shaping and forming them both consciously and subconsciously.

In this chapter, I have also argued that 'imagined identities' is compatible with grounded theory. That is because 'imagined identities' are a 'phenomenon of interest', to be explored, rather than a prior existing theoretical framework. It is a signifier of a current vacuum, something to be found out through analysis rather than carrying a predefined meaning. In the next three chapters, I present the analysis asking in each, what is the imagined identity of the Muslim pupils in relation to firstly, the Government policy, secondly, the teachers and thirdly the pupils themselves.

These three chapters should be seen as a trilogy in which I respond to the central research questions focusing on the phenomenon of interest, 'imagined identities'; firstly, in Chapter 6, what is the imagined identity of the Muslim pupils according to the Government policy? Secondly, in Chapter 7, what is the imagined identity of the Muslim pupils according to the teachers? Thirdly, in Chapter 8, what is the imagined identity of the Muslim pupils according to the Muslim pupils? These chapters will culminate in a discussion chapter, Chapter 9, where the nature of the relationships between the differing imagined identities are examined.

As a note to the reader, the first chapter of the trilogy, exploring the Government's imagined identity of the Muslim pupils will read and look different to the following two chapters on the teachers and the pupils. This is because the Government chapter uses the method of document analysis to explore Government documents on the Prevent strategy. The second two chapters use interviews and questionnaires as their evidence base, firstly with the teachers, and then with the pupils. Therefore, these later chapters concerning the teachers and pupil imaginings, have a different tone and structure to the Government chapter.

Chapter 6: Government strategies and imagined identities

6.1 - Introduction

In this chapter, I examine how an imagined identity of Muslim pupils is constructed in Government policy documents related to Prevent. This responds to the first of my research questions: “What is the imagined identity of the Muslim pupils according to the Government Prevent policies?” In order to examine this, I used document analysis which is explained below. I then specify the ten documents that I examined using document analysis. Finally, I identify and explore the key themes that emerge from the document analysis, which are ‘vulnerability’, ‘being at risk’ and ‘resilience’ and consider what portrait of the imagined identity of Muslim pupils might be constructed.

6.2 - Document analysis method

In the following chapter, I explore government documents concerning the need to prevent people being drawn into terrorism using the method of document analysis. Document analysis is a “systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents” (Bowen, 2009: p27). Although it is a commonly used practice, document analysis has rarely been explicitly codified as a procedure, therefore Bowen’s (2009) account is significant in presenting a systemized method. Using document analysis, I have analysed eight principal documents and two accompanying documents. The criteria for the selection of the documents was their relationship to the Prevent strand of the CONTEST strategy since 2008. These are key documents marking the development of the Prevent Strategy of 2008, 2011 and 2015, plus two Ofsted school inspection reports of 2014 and the policy introducing the promotion of fundamental British values into teaching in 2014. In the context of this study, document analysis has been applied in conjunction with grounded theory methodology, illustrated as compatible by

Bowen's study (2009: p34). The process used grounded theory coding as outlined both by Corbin and Strauss (1998) and later by Charmaz (2014).

Document analysis is presented by Bowen (2009) as an "iterative process" combining "elements of content analysis and thematic analysis" (p32). For Bowen, content analysis refers to the "process of organising information into categories relating to the central research questions of the research" (Bowen, 2009: p32). By this, Bowen is not referring to the numeric quantitative form of content analysis used in mass media research but rather "it entails a first-pass document review, in which meaningful or relevant passages of text ... are identified" (Bowen, 2009: p32). For my research, this is an important process as only certain sections of the documents will be relevant to my study and therefore, it will not be the whole document that is analysed but rather relevant aspects. These relevant aspects are selected by their references to schools and pupils. For Bowen, thematic analysis refers to a "form of pattern recognition within the data" which referred in my work to the ordering of data into themes emerging from the categorisation in terms of imagined identities.

The following table shows the ten policy documents examined through document analysis. The table of documents was previously shown in Chapter 4, however here the table also gives detail of each document's purpose and target audience which are key requirements of the process of document analysis (Bowen, 2009: p38).

6.3 - Prevent policy documents analysed through document analysis

Table D: Purpose and target audience of Prevent related document

Documents	Purpose	Target audience
<i>Prevent Strategy: A guide for Local Partners in England</i> (HM Government, 2008)	Policy for Prevent strand of CONTEST, the counter-terrorism strategy. Aims to stop people becoming or supporting terrorists and violent extremists	Local community partners such as community groups and youth workers as well as local authorities and the police.
<i>Learning Together to be Safe</i> (DCSF, 2008) policy toolkit	A toolkit to help schools contribute to the prevention of violent extremism	Educational professionals in schools
<i>Prevent strategy</i> (Home Office, 2011)	Revised policy document outlining the Prevent strand of the CONTEST (Counter-terrorism) strategy.	Public bodies and institutions such as police, schools, prisons, youth workers
<i>Tackling extremism in the UK</i> (HM Government, 2013)	Report from the Prime Minister's task force on tackling radicalisation and extremism.	A report for government departments to implement steps towards dealing with extremism.
The Ofsted inspection report for Park View Academy (2014)	A report of a secondary school inspection. The school was deemed to be in 'special measures'	The staff and governors of Park View Academy.
The Ofsted inspection report for Sir John Cass and Redcoat, Church of	A report of a secondary school inspection. The school was deemed to be in 'special	The staff and governors of Sir John Cass Church of England Secondary School.

England Secondary School (2014)	measures'	
<i>Guidance on promoting fundamental British values through SMSC (Spiritual, moral, social and cultural)</i> (Department for Education, 2014)	Department for Education guidance on delivering the promotion of fundamental British values as part of the curriculum.	Education policy makers and education professionals in schools.
<i>Revised Prevent duty Guidance for England and Wales</i> (2015)	Guidance on the statutory duty in the Counter-Terror and Security Act 2015 to have due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism	Guidance for 'specified authorities' including local authorities, prisons, schools and colleges, NHS practitioners and police.
<i>The Prevent duty</i> (Department for Education, 2015)	Departmental advice for schools and childcare providers on the statutory Prevent duty.	Educational professionals in schools and childcare.
<i>Channel Duty guidance</i> (HM Government, 2015)	Guidance for the Channel panels' roles to protect vulnerable people from being drawn into terrorism	Guidance for Channel panel members and partners of Channel panels.

6.4 - Introducing the documents

In the following section, I introduce and outline each of the documents prior to analysis.

6.4.1 - 'Prevent Strategy: A guide for Local Partners in England' (2008)

The first document to be analysed was the 2008 *'Prevent Strategy: A guide for local partners in England'*, which was produced by the New Labour Government as an aspect of the CONTEST strategy (HM Government, 2006). The CONTEST strategy is the United Kingdom's counter-terrorism strategy. The initial CONTEST strategy was produced in 2003 and had four strands Prevent, Pursue, Protect and Prepare. It was then further developed in response to the 2005 London bombings. The aim of the Prevent strand was "stopping people becoming or supporting terrorists and violent extremists" (HM Government, 2008). The perceived need for the strand was strengthened out of the concern for so called 'home-grown' terrorist threats, as seen, for example, in the 2005 London bombings, where people born and educated in the UK had been drawn into terrorism. The aim of the policy was to prevent this from happening again by working with and funding Muslim community groups to ensure those being drawn into terrorism would be exposed. Those being drawn into terrorism in this policy were exclusively seen to be Islamic: "from Al-Qaida and associated groups" (HM Government, 2008: p4). The 2008 Prevent Strategy document provided a guide for 'Local Partners in England' referring to community groups and local authority organisations to work together to prevent the development of extremism and terrorism.

6.4.2 - DCSF: *'Learning Together to be Safe'* policy toolkit (2008)

The second document was the Department of Children, Schools and Families' (DCSF) policy toolkit which accompanied the Prevent strand, entitled *'Learning Together to be Safe'* (2008). This was produced by the Labour Government as a resource to help schools contribute to the prevention of radicalisation and violent extremism amongst young people. The toolkit supplements the guidance given in the Prevent strategy

2008, “responding to calls for more practical advice specifically focused on the education context” (DSCF, 2008: p5).

6.4.3 - Prevent strategy (Home Office, 2011)

The third policy was the 2011 *Prevent Strategy*. Following the 2010 elections and the formation of the Coalition Government, a new Prevent policy was produced in 2011 under the then Home Secretary, Theresa May. The 2011 strategy claimed to make key changes to the previous 2008 Prevent policy that Labour had introduced, including a shift away from supporting and funding community projects, most specifically Muslim community projects, towards an institutional responsibility to prevent people being drawn into terrorism. These institutions included the prison service and education. This shift away from supporting community projects can be seen to be for a number of reasons. Firstly, it was believed that money was being badly used by giving it to ineffectual projects which often, the report argued: “confused the delivery of government policy to promote integration with Government policy to prevent terrorism” (Home Office, 2011: p1). This was seen to be due to a conflation of the community cohesion expectations and those expectations of counter-terror (Home Office, 2011: p3). Secondly, some of the community organisations were perceived to have extremist values and therefore should not be supported by the Coalition’s money. Thirdly, the 2011 strategy can be seen to be in line with the Government’s declaration of austerity in 2010. Instead of public money being given to fund community groups to counter extremism, as had been done under the Labour Government, the new policy focused on the use of already existing institutional channels to carry out the policy, such as teachers and prisons. In terms of education, the policy also began the shift towards presenting Prevent as a form of safeguarding, stating:

“Schools can help to protect children from extremist and violent views in the same ways that they help to safeguard children from drugs, gang violence or alcohol” (Home Office, 2011: p69).

Overall the Coalition’s 2011 strategy demonstrated a fairly significant shift from the previous policy under the Labour Government.

6.4.4 - Tackling extremism in the UK (2013)

A further document to be analysed was the Prime Minister’s task force report on ‘Tackling extremism in the UK’ (HM Government, 2013). This report was commissioned after the murder of Drummer Lee Rigby in Woolwich (2013). It aimed to look at “whether the government was doing all it could to confront extremism and radicalisation” (HM Government, 2013: p1). The purpose of the document was to look in detail at a number of areas and agree “on practical steps to address the gaps in our response” (HM Government, 2013: p2). These areas were disrupting extremists, countering extremist narratives and ideology, preventing radicalisation, integration and stopping extremism in institutions (pp2-7).

One of the most significant aspects of this document “Tackling extremism in the UK” (2013) is the emphasis on the definition of extremism, originally given in the 2011 strategy, as:

“vocal or active opposition to fundamental British values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs. We also include in our definition of extremism calls for the death of members of our armed forces whether in this country or overseas” (2013, p1).

The reference to fundamental British values becomes more significant later in education policy, but here it is being embedded as the official definition of extremism.

Although the focus in this document includes “a range of extremist individuals and organisations, including Islamists, the far right and others” (2013 :p1), the predominant focus still remains “Al Qa’ida and like-minded groups” as they remain “the greatest risk to our security” (2013 :p1).

6.4.5 - Two Ofsted reports of 2014

The next documents analysed were two Ofsted inspection reports of 2014. These two reports were selected for their association with the Trojan Horse affair in Birmingham and subsequent inspections in Tower Hamlets, London.

The first report was the account of the Ofsted inspection at a secondary school, known then as Parkview Academy Trust School, which has since changed its name. It was one of 21 schools in Birmingham seen to be involved in:

“an alleged plot by conservative and hard-line Sunnis ... to Islamicise a number of state funded schools where there were significant numbers of Muslim pupils” (Holmwood and O’Toole, 2018: p2).

The report described a school graded as “Inadequate” (Ofsted, 2014a: p1) for failing to “raise students’ awareness of the risks of extremism” (Ofsted, 2014a: p1).

The second Ofsted report was for a state secondary school in Tower Hamlets, not specifically included in the Trojan Horse affair but inspected in the aftermath. The school, Sir John Cass and Redcoat school, was also pronounced ‘Inadequate’ by Ofsted

for failing to “put in place steps to ensure that students, staff and governors understand the risks posed by extremism” (Ofsted, 2014b: p1).

These documents were selected as they illustrated the expectations upon schools to demonstrate the requirements of the Prevent strategy in practice.

6.4.6 - DfE: Promoting fundamental British values (2014)

The next document to be analysed was the guidance on ‘Promoting fundamental British values through SMSC’, (2014). SMSC refers to pupil’s spiritual, moral, social and cultural development. This document was selected because it showed a policy, developed by the Department for Education, that came about as a result of the Trojan Horse inquiry. The policy was also closely linked with the Prevent strategy, as any display of opposition to fundamental British values gave the definition of extremism. The policy was written to promote the teaching of fundamental British values which are democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance for those with different faiths and beliefs (DfE, 2014: p5). These were first introduced in 2011 in the Teachers’ Standards (DfE, 2011) and the Prevent Strategy (Home Office, 2011) but became part of the Ofsted criteria in 2014. The significance of these values is that they were introduced to teachers as part of the policy to prevent non-violent extremism through teaching fundamental British values.

6.4.7 - The Prevent Duty (2015)

The next two documents to be reviewed as part of the document analysis were the Revised Prevent Duty guidance for England and Wales, 2015 and the 2015 Department for Education (DfE) guidance “Prevent Duty: Department advice for schools and childcare providers”.

These emerged as guidance to the duty in the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act (2015) to have “due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism” (p1). This Act made a previously advisory duty into a statutory duty, for all professionals in education and health and social care, to prevent extremism and identify those vulnerable to radicalisation and vulnerable to being drawn into terrorism.

The ‘Revised Prevent Duty Guidance’ was accompanied by the DfE guidance (June 2015) which was specifically aimed at teaching professionals including ‘Governing bodies, school leaders and school staff’ (2015: p3). It aimed to help teachers understand the Prevent duty in an educational context.

6.4.8 - Channel Duty Guidance (2015)

The final document to be reviewed was the Channel Duty Guidance (2015). Channel refers to a programme of early intervention for those at risk of being drawn into terrorism and in need of safeguarding. Decisions about what support is needed by someone vulnerable to being drawn into terrorism are made by a multi-agency Channel panel involving members of the police and local authorities as well as social workers. The document gives “statutory guidance for the Channel panel members and partners of local panels” (Home Office, 2015: p1). It outlines how to identify vulnerable individuals through identifying certain indicators as well as explaining how to make a referral and the expected protocol of a panel. Although the document suggests that “there is no single way of identifying who is vulnerable to being drawn into terrorism” (2015: p10), the guidance does suggest some possible factors. These include: “peer pressure”, “influence from other people or via the internet”, “bullying”, “family tensions”, “race/ hate crime” “lack of self-esteem or identity”, and “personal and political grievances” (2015: p10).

6.5 - Themes identified through analysis

Through analysing and coding these documents section by section, I identified three themes: 'vulnerability', 'being at risk' and 'resilience'.

6.5.1 - Vulnerability

One theme that emerged from the coding was 'vulnerability'. Each document analysed referred in some way to vulnerability. The use of the term 'vulnerable' in these documents refers to a susceptibility towards being drawn into terrorism. In the following, I examine the theme of 'vulnerability' as traced through the key documents.

In the 2008 *Prevent Strategy: A guide for local partners in England*, the word 'vulnerable' is used repeatedly. The policy refers to trying to understand and assess "which groups of people may be most vulnerable to being drawn into violent extremism and why" (HM Government, 2008: p12). The policy implies that there is a type of person with specific characteristics who might be drawn into terrorism. The policy also describes how:

"Delivering an effective Prevent programme requires action by a range of agencies and frontline workers who come into contact with communities and vulnerable individuals" (HM Government, 2008: p12).

The implication from these quotes is that there is a type of person who is vulnerable. In other words, there are some people who are more susceptible to being drawn into extremism than others. This is further emphasised in the following wording:

“Our assessment is that violent extremism is caused by a combination of interlocking factors: Individuals who are vulnerable to the messages of violent extremists” (HM Government, 2008: p5).

Therefore, it is implied that one of the ‘interlocking’ factors is a vulnerability. According to this policy, the term ‘vulnerable’ does not just refer to individuals but refers to whole communities, in particular Muslim communities. “All communities should help to support those individuals, institutions and communities that are most vulnerable” (HM Government, 2008: p9).

Another interesting finding to emerge from the frequent coding of the notion ‘vulnerable’ in the 2008 policy document is the association of ‘vulnerable’ with the word ‘young’. The policy refers to “providing support for vulnerable young people” (HM Government, 2008: p10) implying that those who are younger are more susceptible to be drawn into extremism. This is emphasised in the accompanying document ‘Learning together to be safe’ (DCSF, 2008) which is a violent extremism prevention toolkit, specifically focused on young people in schools. The toolkit refers to those young people as vulnerable. For example, the toolkit aims to protect,

‘the wellbeing of particular pupils or groups who may be vulnerable to being drawn into violent extremist activity’ (DCSF, 2008: p5).

The toolkit states that:

“Schools ... can help support pupils who may be vulnerable as part of wider safeguarding responsibilities”

and also makes reference to understanding:

“how to support pupils who are vulnerable through strategies to support, challenge and protect” (DCSF, 2008: p7).

It also refers to “supporting those who may be vulnerable to being drawn into violent extremist activity” (DCSF, 2008: p33).

It is not until the 2011 Prevent document, that the policy writers actually define what is meant by ‘vulnerable’ in the context of the Prevent strategy. Vulnerable is defined as:

“the condition of being capable of being injured; difficult to defend; open to moral or ideological attack. Within Prevent, the word describes factors and characteristics associated with being susceptible to radicalisation” (Home Office, 2011: p108).

This definition emphasises the notion drawn from the 2008 strategy that there are certain people who have characteristics associated with being vulnerable to extremism.

Significantly, the explanations offered in the 2011 strategy also say that:

“Radicalisation is a process not an event. During that process it is possible to intervene to prevent vulnerable people being drawn into terrorist-related activity” (Home Office, 2011: p8).

This idea of radicalisation as a process as opposed to an event was a new emphasis in the 2011 strategy and was espoused by Prime Minister David Cameron in his 2011 Munich speech (Cameron, 2011). The implications of this understanding of the theory of radicalisation is that it is possible to intervene in the process to prevent those who are vulnerable becoming radicalised. This implies there are characteristics or factors

that can be identified in relation to a vulnerable person. Observing and identifying these characteristics in a person can allow the process of radicalisation to be interrupted before the person is drawn into terrorism.

Like the 2008 policy, the 2011 policy also implies that vulnerability can refer not just to a person, but to a community:

“We judge that communities who do not (or alternatively, cannot) participate in all civic society are more likely to be vulnerable to radicalisation by all kinds of terrorist groups” (Home Office, 2011: p27).

In the ‘Prevent duty guidance’ of 2015, vulnerability also appears as a significant concept. The ‘purpose’ of the document states:

“In order for schools and childcare providers to fulfil the Prevent duty, it is essential that staff are able to identify children who may be vulnerable to radicalisation and know what to do when they are identified” (DfE, 2015: p5).

This concept of identifiers is then emphasised in the ‘Channel Duty Guidance’ which provides a form of vulnerability index. This document provides a description of the vulnerability assessment framework (HM Government, 2015: Annex C) used by Channel projects:

“to guide decisions about whether an individual needs support to address their vulnerability to being drawn into terrorism as a consequence of radicalisation and the kind of support that they need” (HM Gov, 2015: p2).

The “Vulnerability Assessment Framework” includes identifiers such as “Feelings of grievance and injustice” and “A need for identity, meaning and belonging” (HM Government, 2015: Annex C).

6.5.2 - At risk

After the initial segment by segment coding, a second categorisation I created was the “focused code” (Charmaz, 2014: p138) of ‘At risk’. I found that this theme appeared frequently in the Prevent literature between 2008 and 2015. The concept of risk relates to the notion of being at risk of extremism or radicalisation and it applies to the subject who is perceived as needing safeguarding against the risk.

In the 2008 Prevent Strategy, the term ‘at risk’ is used, for example, in the statement that:

“Local police have a critical role to play in working with local communities to build their resilience to violent extremism and intervening to support individuals at risk of violent extremism” (HM Government, 2008: p47).

The policy, therefore, notes that there are individuals at risk of extremism. References to ‘at risk’ are continued in the ‘Learning together to be safe’ document (2008). One reference refers to “supporting pupils at risk through safeguarding and crime prevention processes” (DCSF, 2008: p20). The implication here is that it is pupils specifically who are at risk of extremism and radicalisation. Another reference to ‘at risk’ states:

“If members of staff do have concerns about behaviour patterns, they should seek advice from other partners and use their professional judgment to consider whether a young person might be at risk” (DCSF, 2008: p20).

The references to 'at risk' are continued in the 2011 Prevent strategy which states that the:

“DfE will undertake the following Prevent related work in England: ensure that teachers and other school staff will know what to do when they see signs that a child is at risk of radicalisation” (Home Office, 2011: p71).

The 2011 Prevent Strategy also refers to how:

“We will build on the successful multi-agency 'Channel' programme which identifies and provides support for people at risk of radicalisation” (Home Office, 2011: p1).

The notion of at risk remains significant in the Department for Education Prevent Duty guidance (2015) which focuses specifically on training teachers to identify students who are at risk:

“The statutory guidance refers to the importance of Prevent awareness training to equip staff to identify children at risk of being drawn into terrorism and to challenge extremist ideas” (DfE, 2015: p7).

The guidance then follows on to say, “Schools and childcare providers should have clear procedures in place for protecting children at risk of radicalisation” (DfE, 2015: p6). The document also states that:

“The statutory guidance makes clear that schools and childcare providers are expected to assess the risk of children being drawn into terrorism, including support for extremist ideas that are part of terrorist ideology. This means being

able to demonstrate both a general understanding of the risks affecting children and young people in the area and a specific understanding of how to identify individual children who may be at risk of radicalisation and what to do to support them” (DfE, 2015: pp5-6).

What is important to note with the concept of ‘at risk’ is the dual positionality of the subject. The subject, a student, is both “at risk of the harm of radicalisation” and “implicitly themselves ‘risky’ because they are at risk of being drawn into terrorism by way of ‘extremist’ ideas” (Ramsay, 2017: p153). Therefore, the theme of ‘at risk’ means the educator has a complex relationship with the figure deemed ‘at risk’. This will be explored further later on in the chapter.

6.3.3 - Resilience

Through initial and focused coding, ‘resilience’ emerged as a key theme in the Prevent literature. It is the third of the key themes and stems from a reaction to the states of being vulnerable and at risk.

Although resilience is a common concept in current educational and mental health literature (Cefai, 2008; Goldstein and Brooks, 2012; Lundgaard, 2018), the definition given in the 2011 Prevent Strategy shows that the concept is meant in a very specific way in Prevent literature. It notes:

“Resilience in the context of this document means the capability of people, groups and communities to rebut and reject proponents of terrorism and the ideology that they promote” (HM Gov, 2011: p108).

Therefore, it is a lack of capacity to resist the messages of extremism that draws people into terrorism and thus people need resilience to refute the messages.

This definition clearly applies to the earlier references to resilience, such as those found in the 'Learning together to be safe' document which refers to increasing:

“the resilience of pupils and of school communities through helping pupils acquire skills and knowledge to challenge extremist views” (DCSF, 2008: p7).

The definition also applies to the later use of the term 'resilience', in documents such as the 2015 Prevent Duty guidance by the Department for Education. This describes ways in which “schools can build” resilience to radicalisation:

“by providing a safe environment for debating controversial issues and helping them understand how they can influence and participate in decision making” (DfE, 2015: p8).

The document expands on the definition by describing resilience as a character trait:

“Schools can encourage pupils to develop positive character traits through PSHE such as resilience, determination, self-esteem and confidence” (DfE, 2015: p8).

It also describes how resilience can be developed:

“Schools and childcare providers can also build pupils' resilience to radicalisation by promoting fundamental British values and enabling them to challenge extremist views” (DfE, 2015: p5).

The importance of the concept of resilience can be understood in the context of a particular radicalisation narrative, the psychological model (Kundnani, 2012: p7). In order to reduce the risk of vulnerability to radicalisation, a person must build up

resilience. This is predominantly understood in terms of a psychological narrative of radicalisation whereby a person needs to build up resilience to ideological arguments and persuasions. This model was particularly promoted by the 2011 Prevent strategy and by subsequent policies when resilience through psychological defence was seen as most appropriate for resisting ideological influences. This model was particularly emphasised in the Prime Minister David Cameron's Munich speech (5 February 2011) which referred to the "process of radicalisation".

6.3.4 - Summary of key themes

The significant findings emerging from my document analysis are the themes of being vulnerable, being 'at risk' and resilience. Added together, they tell a story of a particular radicalisation narrative that has taken form through the chronology of the Prevent documents. They depict a situation where people have factors or characteristics that make them vulnerable to extremism. The person is then at risk of being radicalised. In order to intervene to prevent the person becoming radicalised and committing a terrorist act, a person has to build up resilience to radicalisation though being able to counter and resist the pro-terror discourses.

6.6 - The construction of an imagined identity: 'the Muslim pupil'

In the following section, I shall use the key themes emerging in the data analysis to ask what imagined identity of a subject the themes create. I shall then ask to what extent that constructed subject might be perceived as the 'Muslim pupil'.

By imagined identity, I refer to the way the government policy documents, perhaps unintentionally, create an imagined figure. This figure is formed through the construction of particular characteristics depicted through policy wording and the contextual setting of the policies and associated documents. As previously indicated,

when analysed, the policies construct a picture of a vulnerable, at risk figure in need of resilience. However, to what extent that figure might refer to a pupil and more so, might refer to a Muslim, still needs to be explored.

That figure is indicated to be 'young' as several of the policies focus on the young person or the pupil. The 2008 strategy refers specifically to young people:

“We need to work together to stop people, especially young people, getting drawn into illegal activities associated with violent extremism” (HM Government, 2008: p2).

In particular, documents aimed at schools, such as the DCSF “Learning together to be safe” (2008) document and the DfE Prevent Duty Guidance (2015) specifically have pupils as their subjects of focus. Both these documents are seen to interpret the principal policies, that of the 2008 Prevent strategy and the 2015 Prevent Duty, in terms of the specific need to focus on children and young people. The DCSF document notes:

“If members of staff do have concerns about behaviour patterns, they should seek advice from other partners and use their professional judgement to consider whether a young person might be at risk” (DCSF, 2008: p20)

The DfE Prevent Duty guidance makes reference to young people at risk by stating:

“The statutory guidance refers to the importance of Prevent awareness training to equip staff to identify children at risk of being drawn into terrorism and to challenge extremist ideas” (Department for Education, 2015: p7).

Therefore, both documents are specifically focused on the vulnerability of young people to radicalisation.

However, to what extent does this vulnerable, at risk, young figure refer specifically to a Muslim pupil? There have been accounts in the literature, of the Prevent strategy being focused on Muslims. These include the Muslim Council of Britain's report of a meeting with David Anderson QC (2015), which states that the Prevent strategy has led to a situation of the "Muslim community being viewed through the prism of security" (2015: p1). Through analysis of the 2008 policy document, a focus on Muslim communities can be confirmed, including a specific focus on the threat and risk of Islamist extremism emerging from within the Muslim community. The policy states:

"We must focus on supporting the wider Muslim community to actively reject and condemn violent extremists and extremism" (HM Government, 2008: p59).

However, tracing that focus on the Muslim throughout the policies that follow the 2008 strategy is not so straightforward.

Since the 2011 strategy, specific emphasis has been added to ensure that the policy is understood to focus on preventing *any* form of extremism rather than the specifically Islamic extremism, perceived to be emanating from Muslim communities in the 2008 policy. This change is seen to address the allegations "that Prevent has been a pretext and means for spying on communities" (HM Government, 2011: p99). Nevertheless, I begin by focusing on the 2008 strategy to consider what imagined identity of Muslim pupils was to be found.

6.6.1 - 2008 strategy

Using a grounded theory methodology and document analysis, it appears that the 2008 Prevent Strategy constructs an imagined identity specifically of *Muslim pupils* as vulnerable and at risk. The policy specifically refers to ‘young Muslims’ (2008) as a figure of focus rather than Muslim pupils but it can be extrapolated that a reference to ‘young’ Muslims includes school aged pupils. The following two extracts illustrate this focus on “young Muslims”:

“Supporting local communities, organisations and institutions to challenge the messages of violent extremists who misrepresent the Islamic faith and endanger communities is critical. Muslim voices also play an important role in promoting shared values and providing young Muslims with positive British Muslim role models. Local partners should support those individuals and institutions who can effectively refute the extremist narrative and who positively articulate our shared values, and should encourage new voices to enter into the debate.” (HM Government, 2008: p17)

“The ‘Ambassadors for Islam’ project works with a group of young Muslims to build understanding and equip them with the theological arguments to counter extremist ideologies, dispel misapprehensions and develop their role as citizens, leaders and positive role models, so that they can become ‘ambassadors’ for mainstream Islam and assert their British identity” (HM Government, 2008: p20).

Both of the above projects focus specifically on Muslim young people and imply their vulnerability to radicalisation and religious extremism. Both projects suggest that resilience has to be built through equipping the “young Muslims” with the ability to refute extremist narratives. The case studies given in the 2008 Prevent Strategy do not

refer to any other form of extremism. Therefore, the 2008 policy constructs the imagined identity of the young Muslim as at risk, as vulnerable and as in need of resilience. There are a series of implications arising from these notions for the imagined identity of the Muslim pupil.

The first implication concerns 'vulnerability' as an aspect of the imagined identity of the young Muslim. Vulnerability in terms of the Prevent strategy can be seen as susceptibility. So, by presenting the young Muslim as vulnerable, the inference is that the young Muslim is *particularly* susceptible to extremist narratives and therefore is susceptible to radicalisation. This can be seen in terms of the virus metaphor put forward by Kundnani (2012). Kundnani writes:

'Radical ideology has been conceived of as a kind of virus infecting those with whom it comes into contact, either by itself or in combination with psychological processes' (Kundnani, 2012: p21).

Therefore, there is a perceived risk for a Muslim pupil, not only of contracting the virus, but of contracting it from others around them and spreading it to others around them. However, as Kundnani notes, to recognise the metaphor is not to be able to cure it:

"Even if we accept the implication that terrorism spreads like a virus from a person already infected to his associates, all we have done is explain the process of infection; we have said nothing of why the 'virus' exists in the first place" (Kundnani, 2012: p15).

If the policy presents young Muslims as vulnerable, the metaphor of radicalisation as a virus has three implications. The first is that the young Muslim or Muslim pupil is vulnerable to catching the virus and the second is that the pupil may be vulnerable to becoming a carrier of the virus and thus may infect others. As a consequence, the

young Muslim can be perceived as both a victim and a perpetrator. The third implication of radicalisation as a virus raises a question about the possibility of immunity. This is viewed as a matter of building resilience through the process of learning counter-narratives to help inoculate against the risk of radicalisation.

The second implication of the 2008 Prevent policy's construction of the imagined identity of young Muslims concerns the notion of risk. As Heath-Kelly has argued, 'the logic of PREVENT produces the British Muslim population as both "risky" and "at risk" (Heath-Kelly, 2013: p405). In this article, she is referring specifically to the 2008 policy and the young Muslim, the focus of the policy, can be seen as both threatened by radicalisation and a threat to others if radicalised. That is to say the young Muslim is regarded as both in danger and a danger to others. This dual positioning of risk makes the imagined identity of the young Muslim something that is complex to risk assess and to risk manage. Heath-Kelly refers to the pre-emptive element of "risk knowledge" (2013: p395). The young Muslim becomes a matter of risk management involving the prediction and evaluation of risk, together with identification of procedures to avoid or minimize the impact of the risk. Therefore, Heath-Kelly's reading of the implications of risk as both 'at risk' and 'risky' raises questions as to how Muslim pupils might be seen through the perspective or notion of risk. This dual positioning of risk has a significant effect, if used as a lens to see any young person but is particularly significant in terms of a lens through which to view Muslim pupils against the current backdrop of suspicion.

The third implication of the 2008 policy's construction of the imagined identity of the young Muslim concerns the notion of resilience. The young Muslim is seen to need to have resilience built up in order to be suitably immune to the risk. Resilience is to be built up through the knowledge of arguments to be used to "refute" (HM Government, 2008: p17) or "counter" (2008: p20) extremist narratives. The concept of resilience is presented as the solution to the problem of risk.

However, the emphasis on resilience could be seen to assume that the young Muslims lack resilience and have a deficit in the cultural capital needed to have immunity to extremist narratives. It could be seen to imply that Muslim pupils are particularly susceptible to extremism with less ability to defend themselves than a non-Muslim. This could echo an Orientalist reading in which the Muslim is perceived as backward (Said, 1979: p207; Ali, 2014: p1252).

In summary, the 2008 policy could be seen to present a strategy identifying “young Muslims” more as vulnerable, at risk and in need of resilience more than any other young person. This suggests a particular susceptibility of Muslim pupils to extremist narratives and radicalisation. Therefore, the 2008 strategy could be seen to present an imagined identity of Muslim pupils as particularly vulnerable to being drawn into terrorism.

6.4.2 - 2011 and beyond

Through the lens of grounded theory and document analysis, it would seem that the imagined identity of the young Muslim constructed by the 2008 policy, was not clearly reflected in the 2011 strategy revised under the Coalition Government. Although the strategy still focused predominantly on Islamic / Islamist radicalisation and Al Qa’ida terror threats (HM Gov, 2011: p5), the revised document emphasized that it addresses the vulnerability of *any* person to radicalisation, particularly “young people” (HM Gov, 2011: p5). The policy focuses much more on the process of radicalisation and the factors and ideology that “encourage people to support terrorism” (Home Office, 2011: p5):

“We judge that radicalisation is driven by an ideology which sanctions the use of violence; by propogandists for that ideology here and overseas; and by personal vulnerabilities and specific local factors” (Home Office, 2011: p5).

Therefore, the focus is less on the Muslim young person and more on the factors that could lead *any* young person to support terrorism.

For a number of reasons, therefore, the specific reference to Muslims as the subject of the policy fades and is replaced by a general need to prevent extremism developing in *any* person. The ‘subject’ of the 2011 policy still remained vulnerable, at risk and in need of resilience but it could refer to *any* person being at risk of developing extremism, whether to far right extremism or Islamist extremism or any other form of extremism (Home Office, 2011: p54). Consequently, the imagined identity of Muslim pupils in the post 2011 policy documents becomes less visible, if visible at all.

Despite a principle of grounded theory being to let go of one’s assumptions, when I began the research, I acknowledge approaching the policy documents with an assumption that these policy documents, up to the 2015 Prevent Duty, would continue to construct an imagined identity specifically of a Muslim pupil. However, as I examined the documents from 2011 onwards, through grounded theory coding and document analysis, it became apparent that it was not possible to discern much that was specific about the imagined identity of Muslim pupils as distinct from any other young person’s identity.

Nevertheless, I contend that the focus of the 2008 policy on Muslims continued to hang over perceptions of the Prevent Strategy. Ramsay argued that it was the Muslim community who continued to be identified as members of a risky or suspect community (2017: p156):

“although Prevent can be used in respect of those at risk of being influenced by right-wing, Irish Republican or any other type of ‘extremism’, Islamist terrorism has been the primary focus of recent counter-terrorism policy” (2017, p152).

O’Toole et al. writing in 2016, with acknowledgement of the 2011 strategy (2016: p174), refer to how the “logics of Prevent have been highly problematic for state-Muslim engagement” (2016: p160) which suggests that the image of the Muslim as the focus of the Prevent strategy still persisted, despite the revision in the policy. Furthermore, the ongoing emphasis on the Muslim young person by the Prevent policy is highlighted by articles from 2016 (Cobain, Ross, Evans, Mahmood) and 2019 (Cobain). These discuss the work of the Home Office’s Research, Information and Communications Unit, RICU which focuses its work on the “Prevent audience”, referring to “British Muslims” aged “15-39” (Cobain *et al.*, 2016), and suggest that Muslim young people have continued to be the predominant focus of the Prevent strategy since 2008. This could be because the imagined identity of the young person as vulnerable to being drawn into terrorism in the 2008 policy was so specifically a Muslim young person, that the image was not relinquished despite revisions to the policy in 2011.

The perception of the Muslim as the focus of policy could be seen to have continued with the Prime Minister’s task force on extremism (2013). Although the policy refers to focusing on “a range of extremist individuals and organisations, including Islamists, the far right and others”, it does focus on the “greatest risk to our security” which comes from “Al Qa’ida and like-minded groups” (2013: p1). Although, the document is keen to detach the concept of a Muslim from an Islamist fundamentalist, it proceeds to focus on the “ideology of Islamist extremism” noting that it is a “distinct ideology which should not be confused with traditional religious practice” (2013: p1). There it is an attempt here to detach the image of the Islamist extremist from the young Muslim but

arguably it did not succeed in detaching the two, as the imagined object of the policy apparently continued to persist as the young Muslim.

The idea that the Muslim pupil continued to be perceived as the focus of the Prevent strategy after 2011 is argued by Miah, in his book “Muslims, Schooling and Security” where he states that “it was the ‘Trojan Horse’ saga involving schools in Birmingham that was to provide a pivotal role in embedding the security agenda into the heart of inner city schooling” (Miah, 2017: p4). Holmwood and O’Toole also refer to the Trojan Horse inquiry and the concerns about “violent extremism, concerns that have focused on Muslim communities in particular” (2018: p127) and specifically Park View Academy and its educational trust.

As mentioned previously, the Trojan Horse events of 2014 refer to an alleged plot that involved 21 schools in Birmingham being taken over by Islamist governing bodies. It was followed by the inspection in the Autumn of 2014 in Tower Hamlets of seven schools in relation to concerns about Islamic extremism. It is in some of these Ofsted reports that the imagined identity of Muslim pupils as vulnerable, at risk and in need of resilience can be seen to reappear. Both of these schools had predominantly Muslim cohorts.

Document analysis of the Ofsted inspection reports of two secondary schools, indicate this imagined identity. These were the inspection reports for Park View Academy, Birmingham (2014) and for Sir John Cass Secondary School in Tower Hamlets. The inspection report for Park View School states that the pupils are “unaware of the risks of extremism” (2014: p1) and that “Prevent strategies” need to be made use of to “raise students’ awareness about the risks of extremism” (2014: p4). The Sir John Cass report refers to the pupils who do not “understand the risks” (2014: p1) and are not aware “of the dangersin relation to extremist views” (2014: p1). The report goes further to say that the school has not “made use of the government’s “Prevent”

strategy to identify and counter extremism” (2014: p5). Both of these reports refer to cohorts of predominantly Muslim pupils and suggest that the pupils of these schools are particularly vulnerable to extremism, at risk of radicalisation and need to be helped to build resilience to defend themselves against the risks.

Although the Trojan Horse case collapsed (Holmwood, 2017), the situation had a number of lasting impacts, one of which was the decision to introduce the teaching of fundamental British values as part of the curriculum. This was introduced in the DfE document *‘Promoting fundamental British values through SMSC’* (2014). For Hoque (2015), Holmwood (2018) and Miah (2017), the introduction of these values affected the image of the Muslim pupil, adding to the implication that Muslim pupils were ‘the other’. This suggests that this policy, concerning the introduction of fundamental British values, might contribute to forming an imagined identity of the Muslim pupil as vulnerable and at risk, and in some way oppositional to the values stated. For Hoque, British values were introduced by the DfE to “reassert Britishness, partly in reaction to the alleged take over and partly because the term is ambiguous and required definition” (Hoque, 2015: p120). Moreover, the “DfE set up Islam and Islamic values as oppositional to what it means to be British” (Hoque, 2015: p120). For Hoque, this implied that Muslim pupils, including the six East London Bengali students he was researching, were therefore situated outside the notion of what it means to be British. However, my document analysis, indicates that this interpretation should be questioned as the document itself does not suggest British values are in opposition to Islamic values specifically. Rather, it suggests that “promoting the values means challenging opinions or behaviours in school that are contrary to fundamental British values” (DfE, 2014: p5). Therefore, although the development of fundamental British values as a curriculum tool could be seen to shape the imagined identities of Muslim pupils as those in opposition to British values, there is no evidence through the document analysis to suggest that this is the case.

Furthermore, the story of the imagined identity of Muslim pupils in the 2015 Counter-Terrorism and Security Act and the Prevent Duty Guidance (DfE) documents, continues to be one of absence. There seems not to be a clear construct of the imagined identity of Muslim pupils to be found. Instead the policy refers to how to implement the statutory duty “to prevent people being drawn into terrorism” (DfE, 2015: p3) and refers to addressing all forms of extremism (Home Office, 2015: p6, p15). Therefore, the Act and the policy do not explicitly refer to the Muslim pupil. They aim to address any vulnerable individual at risk of any form of radicalisation.

6.5 - Chapter conclusion

In conclusion, the imagined identity of Muslim pupils in the Government’s policy of Prevent and associated documents, has been heavily shaped by the 2008 Prevent Strategy which presents young Muslims as vulnerable, at risk and in need of resilience. The policy since 2011, has moved away from a focus on the young Muslim. However, the image constructed by the significant 2008 policy has overshadowed subsequent policy developments, even though in 2011 and 2013, there was a detachment from that specific association. Although there are claims that the Prevent strategy continues to target Muslim students and Muslim communities, document analysis reveals that the imagined identity of Muslim pupils as vulnerable, is constructed in the initial policy and then lingers rather than being reasserted or even alluded to in the later versions of Prevent.

In the next chapter, I examine the second in the trilogy of analyses. In this chapter, I explore the teachers’ interview and questionnaire responses and examine what imagined identities of the Muslim pupils are indicated by their words.

Chapter 7: The imagined identity of the Muslim pupil: the teachers

7.1 - Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the ways in which the teachers imagine the Muslim pupils. This responds to the second of my research questions: “What is the imagined identity of Muslim pupils according to the teachers?” The teachers’ imaginings of the pupils were drawn out of 24 interviews in four of the schools (Rosehill (A), Oakwood (C), Middleoak (E) and Elmhurst (D) and 84 questionnaires in five schools including Sycamore, school B. Of the 24 interviewees, six teachers self-identified as Muslim. The rest of the teachers gave no indication of their religious or cultural background. In the questionnaires, there was no identification of participants’ religious or cultural background. In speaking to me both through the medium of the interview and the questionnaire, the teachers gave me their words which I used to build up a picture of the imagined identities of the Muslim pupils. I focused my analysis on how the teachers’ accounts show they imagined the Muslim pupils. Through my analysis, I found that the way that the teachers imagined the Muslim pupils was not uniform and there were multiple viewpoints. Therefore, drawing out the different imagined identities was quite complex.

The process of analysis occurred through the grounded theory method of initial coding (Charmaz, 2014), whereby the interview transcripts and the online questionnaire responses were coded line by line or at least section by section, with a key term or concept expressed next to that section. I then applied focused coding (Charmaz, 2014: pp138-161) which means focusing on the most useful initial codes and bringing those codes together to form key word groups. This was followed by categorizing the focused coding into themes, resulting in the thematic analysis of the study. These

categorisations resulted in themes such as imagining the pupil as vulnerable, imagining the pupil as at risk of Islamophobia, imagining the pupil as at risk of radicalisation, imagining the pupil as open to speak, and finally imagining the pupil as restricted to speak.

A majority of teachers responded to the questionnaires and the interviews thoroughly. However, not every teacher answered every question in the questionnaire. Some teachers left blank spaces or wrote responses like 'none' to the questions. In the context of the topic, it is possible to interpret the silences in these responses in a variety of ways (Kurzon,1998: p5). For some teachers, the sensitivity of the topic concerning Muslim pupils and the Prevent strategy might have made them uncomfortable. On the other hand, there may have been a shortness of time which is understandable in a teacher's busy timetable. For either reason, the silences left by participants were often hard to interpret.

In the following, I explore the thematic categories of the various ways that the teachers imagine the Muslim pupils. I begin with an exploration of how Muslim pupils are imagined as vulnerable. Through this category, I explore the further thematic categories of imagining Muslim pupils as marginalised and deprived. I then explore the category of Muslim pupils as at risk. This includes examining the risks of radicalisation and Islamophobia. Finally, I explore the category that relates to the Muslim pupils' ability to speak. This involves exploring the views of those who imagine the Muslim pupils as able to speak openly and those who imagine the Muslim pupils as restricted to speak.

In this, and the following chapter, a similar pattern is followed. In part A, I present the quotations from the interviews and questionnaires as well as analyses of these, ending each section by placing the analysis in the context of the literature. In part B, I examine the data in relation to a number of interpretations suggested by the literature.

Part A: Analysis

7.2 - Teachers imagined Muslim pupils as vulnerable

In the interviews and questionnaires, the teachers regularly raised concerns about the pupils in their care. I selected the thematic category ‘vulnerable’ to represent an aspect of the imagined identity of the Muslim pupils. The teachers’ concerns about vulnerability ranged from identifying the pupils as deprived to identifying the pupils as marginalised. Both these aspects of the category ‘vulnerability’ will be explored in the next section. When I use the word ‘vulnerable’ however, it could be perceived as referring to the Government’s defined notion of vulnerability outlined in Chapter 6, which refers to the susceptibility of pupils to radicalisation. Rather, ‘vulnerability’ in this section, refers to the teachers’ imaginings of the factors which might make the Muslim pupils seem unsafe. A number of these factors related to teachers’ imaginings of the Muslim pupils’ lives outside school.

7.2.1 - Teachers imagined Muslim pupils as deprived

All five of the schools used in this study were in areas that had levels of deprivation. The quotation below gives one teacher’s perception of the environment that some of the pupils live in:

“Kids living in tiny houses, crammed environments, huge families, socio-economically deprived, parents who aren’t particularly educated and often speak English as a second language” (Teacher 2, Elmhurst/ School D).

The quotation provides a description of the way this teacher imagined the pupils. It suggests the poverty experienced by the pupils and depicts the environments in which

they live. It raises the idea that many of the pupils and their families speak English as an additional language and have parents who are not necessarily familiar with the education system. Interestingly, speaking English as an additional language could be a positive, but for this teacher the concept is presented in a negative portrayal. Other teachers offered similar descriptions of the pupils' imagined lives in their questionnaire responses, one teacher noted:

“Crowded living conditions of some students - lack of good sleep and a place to do H/W [homework] quietly” (Q2: 65D)

This confirms the previous description of the overcrowded living conditions that some of the pupils live in. It also confirms the experiences of poverty and the effects of that on the pupils' education. The teachers' two descriptions of the pupils imagine the pupils in negative circumstances and see the pupils as vulnerable because of the restrictions and potential chaotic nature of their home environment.

These conditions were seen by the teachers as linking to other factors that lead the pupils to be vulnerable. One teacher at Middleoak highlighted that:

“The greatest risk to our students is the risk of petty crime and dropping out of education” “The law of the street outside our school is strong for our students and that's a significant risk, perhaps a greater risk than Prevent” (Teacher 1, Middleoak/ School E).

Here a teacher acknowledged the vulnerability of their pupils. The teacher noted that the risks of petty crime and drugs may be a higher risk to the pupils than radicalisation, which potentially challenges the Government's priorities. Another teacher at Rosehill mentioned the need to be aware of:

“brothers being in gangs” (Teacher 2, Rosehill/ School A).

From the data, it can be seen that deprivation is a significant aspect of the imagined identities of the Muslim pupils as vulnerable. Deprivation is often associated with vulnerability related to marginalisation.

7.2.2 - Teachers imagined the Muslim pupils as marginalised

In the teachers’ view, to experience marginalisation is to experience being peripheral or insignificant:

“Muslim students can feel marginalised from wider society. Their communities can become closed off, for a variety of reasons. They often live in poor communities and are part of large families. This can mean support and resources at home can be limited.” (Q2: 72E)

This teacher’s response suggests that the pupils feel an outsider status in relation to the rest of society. It suggests their sense of otherness. The quotation also echoes some of the previous quotations concerning the environment in which some of the pupils live; the tight-knit communities often restricted by poverty.

These communities were further described by a teacher as “insular” (Teacher 1: School E) and the pupils were described by one teacher as “Poor. Untravelled beyond 1km from home” (Q1: 37B). Another teacher referred to how “A lot of students don’t venture beyond their [area]” (Q2: 43D). This suggests that the pupils do not have opportunities to experience other parts of society and other geographical regions, so their experience is limited and restricted. Therefore, they are also marginalised through poverty and lack of opportunity.

A number of other factors were imagined by the teachers to marginalise the pupils:

“Stigma. Sometimes language barriers. Sometimes social restriction. Sometime poor integration (Q2: 25A).”

This quotation suggests stigma as a marginalisation factor but does not expand on the nature of that stigma. This could be a racial, religious or cultural stigma. The participant also identifies the marginalising effects of speaking English as an additional language, often from homes where English is not spoken. Stigma as marginalisation is further expanded upon in the following quotation:

“Students feeling stigmatised from constant media bias. They are fed up with hearing the same rhetoric of Muslims as terrorists. They can clearly see the difference between a Muslim and a terrorist. Some are afraid to discuss controversial issues for fear of being reported to Prevent. Overall most of the students see that they are treated as second class citizens because they are Muslim.” (Q2: 65D)

This quotation is more than just a description of the pupils’ environment, it captures a teacher’s frustration on behalf of the students. The teacher wants to speak up for the students who are perceived as tired of being stigmatised by the media as potential terrorists. The teacher also raises a concern about the fear created by the Prevent strategy, curbing the pupils’ ability to discuss issues.

7.2.3 - Setting the analysis in the context of the literature

In the previous two sections, I have used quotations from the data to indicate how the Muslim pupils are imagined as vulnerable due to a range of issues, such as deprivation and marginalisation, and are vulnerable to a range of issues including crime.

Deprivation and marginalisation are recognised in the literature as factors affecting Muslim pupils. For example, Shah (2017) identifies deprivation and marginalisation, as well as alienation, as factors that are growing stronger “in the case of British-born young Muslims” (p59). She identifies how this experience is leading Muslim youth to seek to become more informed about their faith identity. Similarly, Abbas (2002) notes the “economic and social marginalisation of South Asian Muslim groups” (2002: p466) when examining teacher perceptions of Muslim pupils in Birmingham. However, he notes, similar to my teacher participants, that the “teachers made it known that they truly empathised with the realities of the pupils and the cultural and social ‘baggage’ that they took with them to school” (Abbas, 2002: p466). However, it has to be acknowledged that Abbas’ research took place in the years of 1998 and 1999, nearly twenty years before my data was gathered and before significant events such as the ‘War on Terror’ which has affected the context of my participants quite considerably.

In other literature, these vulnerability factors, including deprivation and marginalisation, are seen as factors and indicators leading to radicalisation. In a Parliamentary document (House of Commons, 2010), deprivation and marginalisation are identified as ‘risk factors’ for radicalisation. The Government document acknowledges that there is “no single cause which puts an individual on the pathway to radicalisation” (2010: Section 55) but they describe the “factors that may contribute” (2010: Section 55). These factors are also echoed in an EU counter-radicalisation strategy (Staun, 2008: pp20-21). However, the teachers’ responses suggest that identifying deprivation and marginalisation as factors for radicalisation is not their priority in terms of responding to the pupils. In the following section, I examine to what extent the teachers might view radicalisation amongst the pupils as an issue to address.

7.3 - Teachers imagined the Muslim pupils as at risk

Another theme to emerge from the analysis concerned the way the teachers imagined the Muslim pupils as at risk. The two main areas of risk were in relation to radicalisation and Islamophobia.

7.3.1 - Teachers imagined the pupils as at risk of radicalisation

Despite radicalisation being such a central part of the Government's imagined identity of the pupil (as shown in the previous chapter), particularly as a result of perceived vulnerability, teachers only rarely mentioned any sense of the Muslim pupils being at risk of radicalisation.

One incident, however, did arise which concerned some teachers. This occurred at Elmhurst school (School D) where the pupils were seen to be at risk due to a very specific incident concerning some students sharing a video of the London Bridge attacks being a hoax (Field notes). According to the teachers, the pupils had been circulating this video and it had come to the attention of a teacher who had raised the incident as a safeguarding issue. One teacher noted that this issue stemmed from the environment outside school:

“Obviously, the stuff about conspiracy theories, they are not learning any of that at school, it's all at home and through sending each other viral videos.”
(Teacher 3, Elmhurst/ School D).

This teacher emphasised the role that the internet plays in the issue of risk. Another teacher noted the powerlessness of teachers in relation to online risks:

“A lot of kids have unfettered access to the internet at home, so no matter what we do here, they have that access at home.” (Teacher 2, Elmhurst/ School D)

The idea that pupils were at risk to ideas in the home environment was raised several times. One teacher noted:

“I do think there are some girls that.... definitely do live in vulnerable environments - maybe they are being exposed to ideas at home” (Teacher 4, Elmhurst/ School D).

Although the video incident was not referred to by teachers as a radicalisation risk, it suggested a concern about the pupils being at risk of extremist or radicalizing ideas and showed that the teachers involved responded through a safeguarding channel. It suggested that the teachers were aware of such issues and took precautionary measures to address them. Another example of when a teacher showed concerned awareness, was when responding to the Charlie Hebdo attack (2015), when one teacher noted:

“there were some students who had opinions that justified the violence to some extent...so that was difficult” (Teacher 1, Rosehill/ School A).

This teacher was referring to the Charlie Hebdo attacks of 7th January 2015 (Petrikowski, 2019) when two Islamist gunmen killed 12 people at the satirical magazine’s offices in Paris, in retaliation for the magazine depicting images of the Prophet Mohammad. The teacher referred to the way that some students in the class suggested the drawn cartoons of the Prophet Mohammad, which is haram (forbidden) in Islam, justified the violence and raised concern about it.

At Oakwood (School C), there was a keen awareness of the need to look out for pupils at risk of radicalisation. This included both situations of far right, as well as Islamist extremism. The teachers were vigilant in this and expressed the need to be aware:

“So, for instance we had a comment that was made in a RE lesson by a child about their views about something and his behaviour had changed slightly, so therefore we have to report that” (Teacher 4, Oakwood/ School C).

Another teacher noted that:

“we have had, in response to training, a couple of instances... and following on from that we’ve submitted referral forms to children’s services” (Teacher 5, Oakwood/ School C).

Of the five schools in my study, this was the only school in which reference was made to making referrals. It was also significant that this school seemed to take on the rhetoric of the Government policy most noticeably, with teachers mentioning the signs of radicalisation such as a child’s views and changes in behaviour. Therefore, it can be suggested that these are examples of the ways in which teachers are becoming part of a perceived securitisation of schools.

These examples might lead to the suggestion that the teachers’ and Government’s imagined identities of the pupil have some overlap, that for both, the pupil is vulnerable and at risk of radicalisation. However, as the risk of radicalisation was only mentioned briefly amongst the teachers, it is possible that despite their Prevent training, the securitised lens of seeing the pupils at risk of radicalisation was not dominant.

7.3.2 - Teachers imagined the pupils as affected by Islamophobia

Analysis suggests that vulnerability to Islamophobia was a significant aspect of the imagined identity of the Muslim pupils held by the teachers. It was acknowledged as a difficulty that the Muslim pupils had to manage in their lives. One teacher in the survey wrote:

“Increasing Islamophobia must be having an impact on them” (Q2: 4A).

This suggests that the occurrences of Islamophobia are growing. This might be viewed as a result of the recent terror attacks that had happened about this time but also ‘Brexit’, the referendum on the UK leaving the European Union which had occurred the year before in June 2016. A number of sources suggest that the Brexit referendum could be seen to have linked to increased cases of Islamophobia in the months following it (Mend, 2017; Weaver, 2018; Marsh, 2018).

In an interview, one Muslim teacher focused on the Muslim pupils’ experiences of Islamophobia and the silence that often accompanied these experiences:

“Out of a class of thirty year 7 students, four or five Muslim students put up their hand to say either ... a family member had been attacked ... or someone they knew had been attacked quite horribly. Now I have no idea, you know, and I said “have you told anyone?” and they said ‘No, we don’t talk about these things’... I did kind of wonder if there are opportunities to talk about these things. [Other class members] could go through their whole school life and you wouldn’t know that your school mate’s mother had been beaten up because she was Muslim. And that actually is quite sad if you are not able to talk about these things”.

The teacher went on further to say:

“You know....it did not feel like something that could be talked about. I feel like it was something that was shameful” (Teacher 4, Rosehill/School A).

Here the teacher imagined the Muslim pupils and their families to be vulnerable to Islamophobia. However due to the silence surrounding their experiences, the teacher felt powerless, expressing feelings of sadness that the pupils could not talk about these experiences and raising the idea that there was a lack of opportunity to talk about these experiences. The teacher also acknowledged the sense of shame that restricts the pupils so much and makes them unable to mention the Islamophobia they have experienced. It suggests that the teacher felt that the Muslim pupils do not have a voice and possibly do not feel valued enough for it to be important that they raise it. A person being attacked “because she was Muslim” is implied not to be worth reporting. The fact that the Muslim pupils shared these experiences with this teacher suggests the pupils must have valued the teacher and felt safe. The teacher they shared their experiences with was Muslim.

Although this was quite a distinctive example, several teachers referred to the frequent Islamophobic experiences they believed the pupils faced. There were comments about students feeling targeted through wearing a headscarf (Q6: 60D) and pupils receiving unwanted attention when they walked in public (Q2: 52D). It was also believed that Islamophobia was potentially an increasing experience which significantly affected the pupils’ sense of safety. The result, identified by one teacher, was that:

“Students are worried / scared. Unfortunately, the Finsbury Park attack and media coverage confirmed that.” (Q10: 50D)

This teacher was concerned about an increase in fearfulness they imagined to be felt amongst the Muslim pupils. The 'Finsbury Park attack' referred to an event when a car, driven by Darren Osborne, drove into a group of worshippers outside the Finsbury Park mosque after evening prayers during Ramadan, 2017 (Malkin et al., 2017). This event seemingly confirmed fears held that there would be a backlash act of violence or terror against Muslims

7.3.3 - Setting the analysis in context of literature

In this section, I have examined the teachers' imaginings of the Muslim pupils as being at risk. The state of being at risk takes two very different forms; on the one hand the pupils are seen as at risk of radicalisation and on the other hand, they are seen as at risk of Islamophobia.

All of the teachers in my interviews responded to question 8 (see appendix G), except one (Teacher 4, Rosehill/school A), showing they had attended Prevent training and therefore had been encouraged to see the pupils in light of the risks of radicalisation. In terms of situating my study amidst the literature, perceiving the pupils as at risk from radicalisation is a feature of the Government literature. The teachers have a statutory duty to identify a pupil at risk of being drawn into terrorism (Department for Education, 2015: p4). For the most part, the teachers seem to perceive their duty in the context of safeguarding the pupils, identifying such risks as recognising the dangers of the internet. This sits in line with the findings of Busher et al., that Prevent is regarded as an aspect of safeguarding (2017: p23). Oakwood (School C), in particular, had taken on the language of safeguarding against radicalisation. However, although some teachers did occasionally express concern about radicalisation, it was not a dominant theme amongst the teachers.

Some teachers, however, also showed an awareness of the pupils as at risk of and affected by Islamophobia, particularly the girls wearing headscarves. Although the concept of Islamophobia is not explicitly mentioned in Abbas' article, it is possible that in the teachers' concern for the pupils' experiences of Islamophobia, some showed that they "truly empathised with the realities of the pupils and the cultural and social 'baggage' that they took with them to school" (Abbas, 2010: p466). Islamophobia is recognised as an issue dealt with by the Muslim pupils in Shah's chapter (2017), although here, the teachers are often identified as not appropriately responding (2017: p60). In the schools that I visited, a few teachers seemed keen to raise the Islamophobic experiences faced by the pupils, however, others did not raise it. What is perhaps important to note is the surrounding silence that one Muslim teacher observed in relation to issues of Islamophobia (Teacher 4, Rosehill/School A). In which case, it is not surprising that it is only mentioned by a few.

7.4 - Teachers imagined the pupils' ability to speak openly

A third theme to be considered in relation to the imagined identities of the Muslim pupils is whether the pupils felt able to speak openly about their religion, their beliefs and their culture. In this section, I examine ways in which the Muslim pupils are imagined as open to speak and ways in which the pupils are imagined as restricted to speak.

7.4.1 - Pupils imagined as able to speak openly

In contrast to the perception of pupils as vulnerable outside school, some teachers imagined the pupils to be safe and able to speak freely within school. One teacher expressed this when saying:

“I think the students probably feel safer talking about their ideas in school than they might do in public” (Teacher 5, Rosehill/ School A).

Another teacher also saw the school as a safe place as opposed to the Islamophobia experienced outside:

“I would say Islamophobia is something they certainly face in wider society, but I think [Middleoak] is a bit of a different case because most of the children are Muslim at the school and so the students are surrounded by likeminded people” (Q2: 77E)

Other teachers echoed the sense of safety they imagined the pupils to feel. They described the pupils’ openness to discussion. A teacher who had taught RE for a year said that the pupils are:

“really quite happy or open to discuss issues like Just War and lesser jihad” (Teacher 6, Middleoak/ School E).

These are topics that it could be seen as controversial to teach. Teaching about ‘Just War’ involves exploring reasons that might justify going to war, in particular in this case, the religious reasons that might justify going to war, and ‘lesser jihad’ is about justifying defending Islam from threat, through examining reasons for fighting the enemy in the context of Islam. It, therefore, implies that if the Muslim pupils feel able to discuss these potentially contentious topics, they must feel safe to talk in lessons and in school, as they are not fearful to discuss controversial issues. This scenario implies that the pupils do not avoid speaking for fear they present something extremist.

One teacher felt that the pupils did not restrict or censor themselves. This is because they regularly got into trouble for not checking what they said:

“...the number of students who make homophobic comments would perhaps suggest they don’t check what they say before it comes out of their mouth because they know they will be challenged if they make a homophobic comment.” (Teacher 2, Middleoak/ School E).

A further number of teachers imagined that the pupils felt safe in school due to the systems and structures the school has in place to support the pupils. Teachers referred to school structures such as the tutor system, mentoring support systems or the delivery of the PSHE curriculum as providing spaces in which, it was hoped, the pupils find the space to talk and be open. These were very much described as spaces created for the purpose of providing safety and reassurance:

“We managed to facilitate that safe space for them” (Teacher 7, Oakwood/ School C).

“I think we do provide a safe space because we have a house system” (Teacher 2, Oakwood/School C).

Another way that the teachers felt that the pupils were open and safe to speak in school was when the teacher themselves shared something with the pupils about their own experience or life. One Muslim teacher described how:

“I think of myself being of a similar faith to them, they will say certain things that I am not sure whether they might say to other staff. They feel comfortable in that sense.” (Teacher 3, Middleoak/ School E).

Another teacher described how:

“I talk about my own viewpoint as well. I was brought up a strict Muslim, my dad married my mum who’s Catholic” (Teacher 1, Oakwood/ School C).

Furthermore, one Muslim teacher felt that pupils had opened up about some of the prejudice and Islamophobia they had experienced because the teacher had shared an experience themselves:

“It started with me saying that my brother had been beaten up and I wonder if that made them feel comfortable saying.... you know...because it did not feel like something that could be talked about.” (Teacher 4, Rosehill/School A).

Therefore, teachers sharing their own experiences, as well as their faith and background, seemed like a significant way they imagined enabling the Muslim pupils to feel safe and able to speak openly in school.

7.4.2 - Setting the analysis in the context of the literature

There is a general sense among the teachers that the schools in which I researched are positive environments for the Muslim pupils (see memo 1: p58). Several teachers imagined the Muslim pupils feeling a sense of safety in school. They presented Muslim pupils as safe due to a number of factors such as the environment of the school, the diversity amongst the staff, particularly having Muslims teachers on the staff, and a feeling of familiarity between the pupils and the teachers. However, when looking to set this analysis in the context of literature, there seems very little, if any that explores the perspectives of teachers on the Muslim pupils identifying as safe in their schools.

From the data, it seems clear from some teachers that there is an impression of school providing a safe space for all pupils to be open and discuss. By safe space, I refer to Flensner and Von der Lippe's definition of safe space meaning:

“classrooms where students can speak freely, without being afraid of their peers or their teacher” (2019: p276).

The safe space allows the classroom to be open to “all kinds of perspectives and positions coming from the students” (p276). However, whether the classroom can ever be such a space is questioned by Flensner et al. (p276). They raise this question in light of the potential clash of opinions which inevitably raise themselves in classrooms, particularly over controversial issues. My own research on the other hand, would raise questions about the possibility of the classroom as a safe space, due to the Muslim pupils' sense of being under scrutiny from the teacher, (Lockley-Scott, 2019: p46). These concerns will be raised in the next section.

7.5 - Muslim pupils imagined as restricted to speak in school

In other responses, it appeared that the teachers imagined the Muslim pupils to feel unsafe in school. One indicator of this concerns a perception by the teachers that the pupils felt restricted to speak. For example, one teacher raised the issue that:

“Pupils are afraid to voice their concerns, afraid to ask questions” (Q6:32B).

This is echoed by another teacher who asserts that the pupils are:

“Fearful to discuss controversial topics” (Q2: 65D).

“Pupils don’t feel they can openly ask questions about things they are not sure about without feeling worried” (Q10: 28B).

This perception of anxiety and fear was expressed in many more responses across all schools, except for Oakwood (school C). However, it must be acknowledged that being worried to voice concerns is a common aspect of being a pupil. Many pupils, from any background, feel worried to talk in class or raise questions with their teacher for a number of reasons, including feeling self-conscious in front of their classmates and peers. For example, one teacher noted about all pupils that:

“suddenly when it comes to them saying something where someone else could possibly judge them, their background or their family, that’s when they close off” (Teacher 7, Oakwood/ School C).

However, the heavy emphasis given to pupils being ‘afraid’ and ‘fearful’ in the responses might imply more than self-conscious peer pressure. These concerns are often linked by the teachers to concern about the Muslim pupils’ fear of being labelled extremist. One teacher wrote that:

“The Muslim students could feel like they cannot express their religious views in case someone thinks they are radicalised” (Q2: 24A).

Another teacher wrote:

“There is sense that Muslim pupils will avoid bringing up a topic at the risk of being suspected of radicalisation. They simply don’t want the potential hassle to explain what they are saying, so they chose not to say anything at all” (Q10: 13A).

Another teacher observed that:

“They [the pupils] find it very difficult to enjoy and talk about their faith and feel happy about it. They always look over to see if someone is listening as they may be labelled extreme from someone else’s point of view” (Q10: 38B).

These quotations suggest that these teachers imagine the Muslim pupils to feel under suspicion. They imagine that the Muslim pupils ‘avoid’ or find it ‘difficult’ to bring up the topic of their faith in case they are labelled as extreme or radicalised. The teachers’ sense that the pupils feel watched, judged and overheard by others, implying that the pupils do not know who to trust. Furthermore, there is a sense of resigned fatigue expressed by one of the teachers on behalf of the pupils when the teacher said:

“They simply don’t want the potential hassle” (Q10: 13A).

This implies that the teachers perceive the Muslim pupils to be tired of having to manage being seen as extremist and they just do not want to have to negotiate it anymore.

Some teachers saw this sense of restriction to speak as a product of the current climate of Islamophobia:

“The vast majority are limited by the labels enforced upon them due to the current climate” (Q2: 46D).

However, some of this sense of the pupils’ restriction to speak is seen by teachers as specifically a product of the Prevent strategy which the teachers have a duty to implement. One teacher asserted that:

“Prevent is scaring the pupils out of fear of being labelled an extremist” (Q6: 67D).

Other teachers referred to the way “it destroys trust between pupil and teacher” (Q6: 24A) and it “stigmatizes” (Q6: 9A), suggesting that the Prevent strategy negatively affects relationships in the classroom. The result is that it “creates a sense of fear” (Q6: 24A) amongst the Muslim pupils, leading them to be “less willing to express their views” (Q6: 9A) in case they are identified as extreme. In particular, one teacher referred to how the pupils are less likely to talk about “their religion or mosques” (Q6: 50D), suggesting that it is specifically personal religious experiences that they feel restricted from talking about. The implications of this are that the Prevent policy, according to the teachers, causes self-censoring by the pupils:

“I think it [Prevent] can make students feel they are not allowed to talk about certain issues that may set off alarm bells” (Q6: 43D).

“I am not sure about the majority, but some pupils have said to me they feel they cannot say certain things” (Q10: 38D).

This remark is significant as it suggests the pupils have approached the teacher to communicate their concerns about not being able to say certain things. This suggests that they must have a certain amount of trust for that teacher. The teacher is able to directly raise the concerns of the pupils due to this and speak on their behalf.

One teacher at Elmhurst described how she felt the pupils viewed Prevent:

“Something that monitors them, something that is trying to catch them out... [The pupils] are scared of the Prevent strategy”. The pupils “view it suspiciously because their families view it suspiciously because the Muslim community view

it very suspiciously.....They will have heard these stories and to them it is like they are just waiting to get us. It has instilled a fear in the community, even if it is not the intention” (Teacher 2, Elmhurst/ School D).

These responses not only indicate what the teacher imagines the Muslim pupils think about Prevent, namely with suspicion, but also why they think in that way about Prevent. Significantly, the teacher, a Muslim, imagined that the pupils do not learn about Prevent through school but rather through their communities, almost in the form of rumour. Prevent, in this response, is treated almost as an anthropomorphic force, with a life of its own; “monitoring”, “trying to catch them out” and “waiting to get us”. Importantly, the teacher noted that Prevent has taken on this fearful image, even if this was not the official intention.

One teacher referred not just to the impact of the environment of Prevent on the imagined identities of the pupils, but also the environmental impact on the teacher:

“In some situations, discussion has been stifled and I am more reluctant to explore potentially controversial issues with the students.” (Q10: 43D).

The implication that discussion has been ‘stifled’, suggests that the teachers are also self-censoring to an extent. This is shown, further, in the following example where a Muslim teacher referred to their fear that their own views might count as extremist under Prevent:

“I feel really bad because as a teacher, a student came to me for some information...and I should be free enough to give that...because under Prevent what is an extremist view? And is that an extremist view and goes against British Values... but then you know...just because I’ve got a different value...But then you talk about freedom of speech then...is that allowed or not? The

kids...they even ask that question. So, it's always very difficult and because Prevent is so vague in the sense that it's very hard for us to determine what is an extreme value...extremist views and stuff..." (Teacher 5, Elmhurst/School D)

In this quote, the teacher raised concerns about their own sense of risk and how to know what is extreme. The teacher did not mention the topic they are concerned about raising, but this may well be homosexuality whereby the teacher's views do not necessarily fit with the liberal values of the country. They wanted to know to what extent they can discuss this as an issue and equally whether they can offer advice to the pupils, on an issue they are aware they struggle with.

This concern about what is perceived as extremist was also echoed by another teacher in the questionnaire:

"Being Muslim myself, I feel as though I have to be very careful about what I say in case it is misconstrued. Particularly in front of the students I would like to offer a balanced opinion between religious perspective alongside the media's portrayal of events but I do worry that simply be even quoting from the Qur'an or referring to the Prophet may come across as fanatical to some, when in fact it is merely to point out that the foundations of Islam ultimately promote peace" (Q10: 75E).

At the same time, there was acknowledgement by some teachers that Prevent is necessary. As one Muslim teacher said:

"Prevent is all to do with safeguarding and I think it is an important risk in today's climate to solve. To spot that and deal with that and be active." (Teacher 3, Middleoak/ School E).

This teacher perceived a need for Prevent. The teacher focused specifically on the importance of the safeguarding element which is significant, and which other teachers have noted too. However, unlike the other teachers' points of view in this section, this teacher does not distance themselves from the strategy. In fact, the teacher proactively takes responsibility "to spot and deal with it". In contrast, many teachers refer to the Prevent strategy in a way that distances themselves from their responsibility to implement it. They describe the way Prevent stifles or stigmatises in such a way that implies they have nothing to do with the enactment or outcome of the policy, despite each having a duty to implement it.

However, despite a number of teachers raising their concerns about the impact of Prevent on the pupils, a causal connection between Prevent and the experiences of the Muslim pupils' sense of safety in the classroom can be questioned due to the lack of certainty as to whether the pupils know about Prevent. One teacher confidently asserted that:

'the kids know about Prevent, so it hinders them in that sense' (Teacher 2, Elmhurst/ school D).

However, other teachers were less certain:

"They know the ideas.... Not the word itself" (Teacher 1, Middleoak/ School E).

"I think some of our older students might know that it is a Government strategy or agenda or that it is something schools have to do but I don't think the vast majority of students know that it is something" (Teacher 4, Elmhurst/school D).

One teacher suggested that Prevent was "all behind the scenes" (Teacher 3, Elmhurst/ School D), implying that it was something kept almost deliberately hidden from the

pupils by the teachers. To what extent the intention to hide it was deliberate is an interesting question to raise in future research.

Two possible scenarios emerge from the teachers' descriptions. The first is that the pupils knew about the concept and ideas of Prevent but did not know the word itself. The second is that the pupils did not actually know anything about it. If Prevent is neither known about nor understood by the pupils, it has to be questioned whether it is having such a direct impact on the Muslim pupils and their seemingly restricted behaviour. Secondly, if the restriction is not caused by Prevent, questions have to be raised concerning what *is* causing the sense of restriction.

Furthermore, from the perspectives of teachers at Rosehill (school A), the Prevent strategy can be perceived to have had little impact on the pupils from the teachers' perspective because the teachers seemed fairly disinterested in the policy themselves and did not find the training very helpful:

“My Prevent training has had zero impact on me personally. I found it ...a complete waste of time” (Teacher 3, Rosehill/ School A).

Another teacher described it as:

“Well Prevent training ... was erm ... ultimately a futile exercise” (Teacher 1, Rosehill/ school A).

Other teachers felt that its impact had been minimal, if it had had any effect at all. One teacher wrote that:

‘I don't think there have been any changes so far’ (Q10: 16A)

The implication here is that the teachers attended the training but did not feel it changed their mindset and had little impact on their viewpoint. This is in contrast to a teacher at school C, who felt that the Prevent training did change their perspective:

“Before the training, there was a question about are you concerned about anybody in school and I said ‘no’. After the training, I actually went straight to one of the heads of house and said I think this child might be being radicalised because of X, Y, and Z. And we were like, ‘oh my God, yes, it could be true’. So, it changed our mind-set. It changed my mind-set away from, and I don’t class myself as being racist or xenophobic or anything like that, but away from it will be Muslim students who are radicalised, it could be anyone as long as they are vulnerable” (Teacher 6, Oakwood/ School C).

In the case of this teacher and others at their school, the Prevent training did change their way of viewing the pupils. These teachers began to see their pupils in relation to a lens of vulnerability to radicalisation.

On the other hand, some teachers hardly mentioned the Prevent strategy in their responses, the absence of it, suggesting a lack of impact or a disinterest. In a busy teaching timetable, there is little time for additional weight on a teacher’s time and Prevent can be seen as an additional weight. However, analysing what is absent in an answer and why, remains only an interpretation and cannot be confirmed without further exploration.

7.5 - Setting the analysis in the context of the literature

In the section above, I have explored the ways in which the teachers imagined the Muslim pupils as restricted to speak openly in a school environment. These include the ways that teachers imagined Muslim pupils to be restricted by fear of peer pressure,

fear of being labelled extremist and finally, fear of the Prevent strategy and of the possibility of being reported. Articles such as O'Donnell's (2018: p991) have argued theoretically, that the Prevent strategy risks shutting down free speech and preventing people raising concerns. Other empirical studies have confirmed this, such as Kyriacou et al. (2017) and Ahmed Choudhry (2018). The idea that the teachers reference the Muslim pupils' anxiety about being labelled extremist and reported through Prevent, is written about in Faure Walker's work. As a teacher, he acknowledged that Prevent was having a negative impact on his relationship with his students (2019: p370). He wrote: "I became concerned that Prevent was having a negative impact on the school experience of children who I worked with". The pupils "feared that they were being targeted by Prevent" (2019: p370).

There appears at first glance to be a clash between Muslim pupils imagined as unsafe in school and Muslim pupils imagined as experiencing a sense of safety in school. However, these are not necessarily in direct opposition. The areas of anxiety do not seem to be all aspects of school life. The mentors and the support mechanisms may well help the students with their learning. The areas of fear and anxiety seem to be directly related to speaking openly within school, whether answering questions in a class or speaking out loud in class discussion. The sense of fear seems to be most commonly associated with giving religious views or expressing some aspect of their religion. Therefore, day to day school experiences such as answering a question in Maths, where the answer is a clear right or wrong seems to be fairly safe for the Muslim students from the teachers' perspective. However, the teachers' responses suggest that when expressing a personal or religious view, that is when they perceive the Muslim pupils to become more fearful and restricted in their responses.

7.6 - A composite imagined identity of the Muslim pupils: A summary

Drawing together the questionnaire and interview responses from the teachers, I conclude that there is no singular imagined identity of the Muslim pupil. There are, however, some generally common aspects such as the Muslim pupils are imagined as vulnerable, often in light of deprivation and marginalisation.

The interesting thing to note is that the majority of teachers do not share the imagined identity held by the Government of the pupil as vulnerable to radicalisation and extremism. This is significant, as it suggests that the teachers are not absorbing the securitising message of the Prevent training or they are ignoring it and prioritising other safeguarding concerns. Instead, a number of teachers imagine Muslim pupils as significantly vulnerable to and affected by Islamophobia.

Interestingly, a main division amongst the teachers is found in imagining Muslim pupils in relation to the ability to speak openly in school. There are some teachers who imagine Muslim pupils as able to speak openly in school, whereas other teachers imagine Muslim pupils to be restricted in speaking openly in school. The teachers also seem to be significantly divided concerning the environment that may lead to that restriction of speech. Some teachers see the school environment as positive and imagine the pupils as unrestricted in their ability to speak about issues or concerns in school. Others imagine the presence of the Prevent strategy to have had an effect on limiting and restricting the speech of the Muslim pupils, and therefore the imagined identity of the Muslim pupil, for them, is one that self-censors out of fear of being labelled extremist.

It is not clear which of these aspects of the imagined identities is held most strongly; whether those voices that see the pupil as restricted are more or less dominant than those who regard the Muslim pupils as free and open to speak. Significantly, all these

possible aspects are held of the imagined identity even if, at times, they are contradictory. What is important is that this provides some sense of the teachers' imaginings of the Muslim pupils.

In the next section of this chapter, part B, I put forward the composite imaginings the teachers express of the Muslim pupils and explore the positioning of the teacher in relation to some of the interpretations given in the literature.

7.7 - Part B: Discussion: How teachers in the literature imagined Muslim pupils in the context of Prevent

Through an exploration of the data, it appears that the teachers are not uniform in how they imagine the Muslim pupils. As a result, a number of differing themes emerge from the data. Most significant are the themes concerning the teachers' imagining of the pupil as vulnerable, the theme identifying that the Muslim pupils are open and happy to speak, and the contrasting theme of imagining that the Muslim pupils are restricted to speak.

In the following discussion, I originally sought to examine literature concerning how teachers perceive Muslim pupils in the context of the Prevent Duty, but I found very little discussion of this in the literature except in Ahmed Chaudhry's work (2018) in which "the teachers began to see the students as prone to radicalisation" (p2). Looking further, through an exploration of related literature, I found literature on how the roles of teachers might be constructed in the context of Prevent and asked what the construction of these roles might mean or imply for the imagined identities of the Muslim pupils. I then asked whether these implied imagined identities seem to be demonstrated in my findings.

One way in which the literature depicts the role of teacher in the context of Prevent, is as occupying the position of a 'vigilant subject' (Emerson, 2018) in relation to the pupils. 'Vigilant subjects' refers to the way that government policy governs individuals and produces a subject who both monitors the self and monitors others (p284). It is based on a Foucauldian notion of governmentality. In the case of Prevent, the individual is tasked with preventing radicalisation by:

“responding to threats that have not only not yet fully formed (signs of radicalisation) but also not even yet emerged (vulnerable individuals)” (p285).

Emerson particularly refers to those educators in higher education who have come to be vigilant subjects under the requirement and training of the Prevent Duty, especially since 2015 (p291), after it became statutory. However, the notion of 'vigilant subject' could easily be seen to also refer to schoolteachers in the context of Prevent.

If the teachers have, as the literature suggests, come to occupy the position of a vigilant subject, this has a significant bearing on the subsequent imagined identity of the Muslim pupil. It implies that the teachers might securitize the relationship between themselves and the pupils and as a result might securitize the imagined identity of the Muslim pupil. It further suggests the teachers might construct an imagined identity of Muslim pupils as problematic, due to the teachers looking out for vulnerable individuals.

However, to what extent do I see this depiction expressed within my data? There are examples in the data of teachers who occupy this position of 'vigilant subject' to a certain extent, imagining the pupils through a securitized lens. These are particularly the teachers from school C (Oakwood) who refer to the identifiers of radicalisation and a teacher from school E, Middleoak, who refers to the duty to “spot and deal with it” (Teacher 3, Middleoak/School E) and actively safeguard against it. For these teachers,

their role as vigilant subjects seems to fit with their duty as educators to safeguard. This echoes with Busher et al.'s findings about teacher perceptions of the Prevent strategy, where the respondents predominantly thought of the Prevent Duty "as an additional element of safeguarding" (2017: p23).

Nevertheless, many of those I interviewed and questioned resisted seeing their relationship with the Muslim pupils as securitized. These teachers, including some from school A, Rosehill, showed their resistance to the Prevent strategy through an act of 'off kilter' resistance (Butz and Ripmeester, 1999), by denying the influence of the Prevent strategy on them. The Prevent training regarded as implementing the duty with educators, can be seen to have had little impact on several of the teachers who describe it as a "futile exercise", "a waste of time" and of "zero impact". Using these descriptions, the teachers do not seem to have incorporated the duty or the 'security lens' into their practice. Therefore, it can be implied that they do not imagine Muslim pupils through a lens of security indicated by the vigilant subject positioning.

Another possible interpretation from the literature concerning the teachers' roles in the context of Prevent is the argument that views the teacher in the role of informer. This perspective is suggested by Ahmed Chaudhry (2018), Sian (2015), Saeed (2017: p220), O'Donnell (2016: p67) and Faure Walker (2019) among others. Similar to the 'vigilant subject' positioning, this perspective suggests that the Muslim pupils are imagined as suspicious and susceptible to radicalisation. However, from my data, this term 'informer', or 'spy' in the case of Sian's (2014) and Ramsay's work (2017, p155), could be seen as too strong to use in relation to the teacher participants of this research. The teachers in my study would not necessarily recognise or imagine themselves in this position and seem not to expansively imagine the pupils as a radicalisation threat. Both the terms 'informer' and 'spy' could be seen as heavily reductive of the role of the teacher and fail to acknowledge the complexity of a teachers' position.

However, although the teachers would not recognise themselves in this position of 'informer', some of the teachers referred to the imagined vulnerability of the Muslim pupils, expressing terms such as 'afraid', 'fearful' and 'scared' for how they imagined aspects of the Muslim pupils' identity. Therefore, from the teachers' perspective, the Muslim pupils seem to be perceived as experiencing what could be interpreted as a 'chilling effect'. The 'chilling effect' is defined by Sidhu (2007: p376) as:

“when individuals otherwise interested in engaging in lawful activity are deterred from doing so in light of perceived or actual government regulation of that activity.”

Several teachers voiced concerns about the way that the Muslim pupils seemed afraid to ask questions and fearful to discuss certain topics. This 'chilling effect' is implied to exist due to the Muslim pupils being fearful of being labelled extremist.

The 'chilling effect' has had a disputed position in the literature around Prevent. In a 2016 report by Rights Watch UK, based on 20 interviews with students, parents and teachers, it was concluded that the Prevent strategy was having a 'chilling effect' "on discussions of political and religious issues in the safe space of school" (Right Watch UK, 2016: p4). This 'chilling effect' was also presented in Muslim Council of Britain's report (2016: p7) and by Ramsay's study on whether Prevent creates a safe space (2017: p155). However, Busher et al. (2017), in their study of teachers' views of the Prevent strategy, reported that:

“We've found relatively little support among respondents for the idea that the duty has led to a 'chilling effect' on conversations with pupils in the classroom and beyond" (p6).

As seen from my data, some of my respondents would agree with Busher et al., noting that the Muslim pupils in their care seem open and happy to discuss topics, including those that could be perceived as sensitive such as jihad in the context of a RE lesson.

The contradiction found here in my research is that the Muslim pupils are imagined as fearful and affected by a chilling effect and yet the teachers do not see themselves as causing the fear or the chilling effect. The cause of the 'chilling effect' is implied by both the Muslim Council of Britain (2016, p7) and Rights Watch UK (2016) to be the Prevent strategy and yet, the pupils, from the impressions of many of the teachers, do not know about the Prevent strategy, therefore the question has to be raised as to whether their speech is limited by it. If their speech is not limited directly by the Prevent strategy, it must be asked in what other ways Muslim pupils might be imagined to be limited in speaking freely. One way the Muslim pupils might be limited is by the rumour of Prevent, not known about through the school but heard about in a vague way from the community in which they live. However, it is possible that the ability to speak openly is limited more so by the sense of vulnerability the Muslim pupils are imagined as feeling in the context of Islamophobia. Many teachers imagined the Muslim pupils as feeling marginalised and restricted in society and therefore that sense of restriction could be seen to be seeping into school life. On the other hand, it needs to be acknowledged that some teachers do not perceive the Muslim pupils as being restricted in their speech at all.

In conclusion, the literature presents a number of interpretations of the role of teachers in the context of Prevent. In exploring these interpretations, I have asked what they mean for how the teachers might imagine the Muslim pupil. I have then asked whether these imagined identities are held by the teacher participants in this research. I have explored the implications of 'vigilant subject' and the implication of the teacher as informer for the imagined identity of the Muslim pupil. I have also explored the possibility of a chilling effect and its potential sources.

I have concluded that some of the imagined identities implied and presented as possible by the literature are found in my research. My teacher participants did not predominantly seem to imagine the Muslim pupils through a securitised lens. Some imagined the pupils as open to speak and feeling safe, others expressed concern through imagining Muslim pupils as vulnerable and restricted in their ability to speak. On the other hand, some teachers' imaginings of the Muslim pupils implied there is a sort of 'chilling effect' on the Muslim pupils' ability to speak but the teachers did not acknowledge themselves as the cause of that restriction. Therefore, as the researcher, I am left with a question concerning how the seeming chilling effect might come about.

7.8 – Chapter conclusion

In conclusion, having examined the data, I find that there is no uniformity in the way in which the teachers imagined the Muslim pupils. However, there are some shared themes, for instance, imagining a sense of vulnerability in relation to the Muslim pupils, in particular concerning deprivation, marginalisation and Islamophobia. In light of finding that there is no common imagined identity, the main division relates to some teachers who imagined the Muslim pupils to feel free and open to speak in school, perhaps due to the pastoral systems or likeminded students in their school, and those teachers who imagined the Muslim pupils as restricted to speak in school. This did not correlate to specific schools but was scattered amongst the schools. Although the teachers' voices represented a variety of viewpoints on the aspects of the imagined identity, the strength of the concern raised about the restriction upon speech imagined to be felt by the Muslim pupils, indicates that this is a dominant concern. However, adopting a grounded approach to the data, the reasons for this restriction in speech remain unclear. Some teachers raised the idea that the pupils are afraid of Prevent, but

it is unclear as to whether the pupils know of Prevent, therefore the impact it has directly must be questioned.

In the next chapter, the third of the chapters in the trilogy of analyses, I examine the imagined identities of the Muslim pupils according to the voices of the pupils themselves.

Chapter 8: The imagined identities of Muslim pupils according to the pupils themselves

8.1 - Introduction

This chapter explores the imagined identities of the Muslim pupils according to the Muslim pupils themselves. This responds to the third of my research questions. In this chapter, I use the themes I developed through analytic coding to draw out a picture of how the pupils imagine themselves, how they feel others imagine them, as well as how they imagine others. In total, 63 pupils took part in the focus groups (see appendix F) and 242 pupils provided consent for the use of questionnaires (see appendix D), out of a total of 307 returned questionnaires. The pupils were from year groups ranging from key stage three through to key stage five.

As in Chapter 7, in the first part of this chapter, Part A, I present and explore the themes concerning the imagined identities of the pupils and then locate them amidst other empirical studies of young Muslims. In part B, I situate and interpret these voices within the context of theories and debates from the literature.

The first half of the chapter, Part A, is made up of three sections. Firstly, I explore how the Muslim pupils imagine themselves according to the themes drawn from the analysis. Then in the second section, I explore how the Muslim pupils feel imagined by others. Thirdly, I explore how the Muslim pupils imagine others. Although this third section does not appear to be directly relevant to the examination of the pupils' imagined identities, how Muslim pupils imagine others is a key aspect of who they are. How the pupils imagine others reveals much about their own imagined identities of themselves.

8.2 - How the pupils imagined themselves

In the following section, I explore the themes which were drawn out of the analysis of the ways in which the Muslim pupils imagined themselves according to their own accounts of themselves. The pupils involved in the study could be seen to imagine themselves in a number of different ways. These included firstly, identifying as Muslim, secondly identifying as a teenager and thirdly identifying themselves in relation to Britishness. The pupils also expressed how they felt about imagining themselves in these ways.

8.2.1 - As a Muslim

Analysis indicates that the predominant way that the pupils imagined themselves was as Muslim. The pupils seemed to *imagine themselves* foremost as part of a community of Muslims. This seemed to be their principal self-identifier as keenly asserted in both their questionnaires and focus group discussions. The pupils appeared to imagine this community as a sense of 'us' with a sense of being part of a unified whole. The feelings they attached to this included a sense of pride and a sense of positivity. However, their feelings of *being imagined* as members of a Muslim community also exuded a sense of fear and caution. These differing feelings will be explored below.

Firstly, I examine the sense of being part of a Muslim community and the feelings associated with identifying with this. A significant number of pupils expressed their pride and positivity towards their identity as Muslim:

“I’m glad that I am Muslim” (Pupil 1, Year 7, Elmhurst).

“I think it is a good thing I am a Muslim right now as Islam is a way of life, I always think about if I wasn’t a Muslim, I’d actually convert to Islam if I wasn’t Muslim.” (Pupil 5, Year 9, Middleoak)

These expressions of Muslim faith and identity came through as the heart of many of the pupils’ descriptions of themselves. The centrality of this identifier was consistent throughout the age groups and ethnicities of the pupils:

“Sometimes I think to myself, feel that ... it is hard to be a Muslim ... cos it’s like yeah... But its positive ... Cos you have to pray five prayers every day and you can’t do this. Especially for females, there are many things. Like you have to wear a scarf ... You have to fully cover your body ...” (Pupil 2, Year 8, Middleoak).

“I feel like it’s something good. Something to be proud of ... Being a Muslim now people might judge you but it’s about being faithful to your religion and waiting for the Last Day. And like if you want to you can dress how you want and being a Muslim right now, for me, is a good thing. I love my religion. [Laughs] I feel like Muslims really ... it’s just like being happy and you have someone to turn to if you can’t talk to anyone, you can talk to Allah.” (Pupil 5, Year 9, Middleoak).

The feelings of pride and positivity can be seen in a number of ways. The pupils were proud of their adherence to their faith and their identity. They wanted to assert it and express their positivity in that central aspect of themselves, in spite of some of the difficulties it presented at times, such as feeling judged or having to cover up. However, the assertion of pride may also be interpreted as defensive. They might have felt that an aspect of their identity is under attack and may have felt a need to assert it with strength and confidence, particularly in front of a non-Muslim researcher. From

the pupils' expressions of themselves, it would seem that there is an element of both these reasons. However, due to the passion in the pupils' voices, I came to feel that they would have liked to give greater weight to their notion of pride and positivity in being Muslim, rather than to merely see the assertion as a defensive reaction to a perception of Islam in society.

During the course of discussions with the pupils, I found that a way that the pupils defined themselves as part of the community is as 'us', which suggests that they present a strong sense of being part of an immediate and a wider community. This community is both the local vicinity around their home and school but also the wider community of Muslims nationally and globally, the ummah:

"I'm very proud to be Muslim after all the hardships and what everyone thinks about us and everything. I am proud to be still with my religion after what everybody thinks of us ... and still show that our religion is not violent. It isn't what some portray it as, its peaceful. It's about harmony, it's about loving each other, it's about everyone being together, going through everything together..."
(Pupil 3, Year 9, Middleoak)

For this pupil, 'us' is seen as a unifier. Here the student was associating themselves with other members of their community of Muslims in a shared experience of hardships and a shared socially negative image.

However, the connotations of seeing themselves as 'us' could also mean as opposed to 'them'. The above quote infers that 'everybody', namely, those who are not Muslim, think of 'us' in a particular and negative way. This sense was common in the pupils' descriptions, for example:

“I think she hopes that Muslim people are thought of as normal people not as very violent or what is shown in the media and what the media is portraying **us** as... And then Muslims yeah ... she hopes that she would be seen as a British citizen as well, because people think that Muslims are just migrants, when she might have been born in this country as well.” (Pupil 3: Year 9, Middleoak)

This quotation indicates that the media’s negative portrayal of the Muslim community makes the media a ‘them’ in opposition to ‘us’. Other pupil statements also referred to the media as presenting a negative image of Muslim communities. Therefore, one way in which the pupils’ sense of ‘us’ was brought together was in opposition to the media portrayal.

In the pupils’ portrayal of the Muslim community as ‘us’, two possible sources of opposition were suggested, the first were those who are non-Muslim and the second was the media. However, examining the pupils’ statements, it may not be necessary to try to identify who the ‘us’ is against, as the importance might simply be in the sense of the strength of being ‘us’.

In further analysis of the pupils’ discussion, a third set of feelings associated with the pupils’ identification with the Muslim community arose. This was a sense of caution which was expressed alongside a sense of being uncertain and scared. These feelings were a significant element of the pupils’ vocal contributions and were frequently returned to. This might have been partly due to the timing of the interviews which occurred in the aftermath of a series of terror attacks over the previous weeks and months of 2017, including the Westminster Bridge attack (22/03/2017), the Manchester Arena attack (22/05/2017), as well as the London Bridge attack (3/06/2017) and the Finsbury Park Mosque attack (19/06/2017):

“...do we have that much hope for the future right now? ...Stuff that’s happening is kind of frightening...The current attacks here especially...and it seems we have been targeted a lot this week and the week before... Will stuff like this continue or will it change?” (Pupil 6, Year 7&8, Elmhurst)

“Yeah, I think what is funny is some people don’t realise that we are in the same boat as them... we also fear extremism because we don’t consider them [the terrorists] Muslims, and I feel like that is not recognised enough ... We’re also terrified...we really are...” (Pupil 4, Year 12, Elmhurst)

These extracts suggest that the pupils, being Muslim, had feelings of fear, both of being caught in terror attacks and a fear of being caught in an Islamophobic attack in the aftermath. It also suggests that those who carried out the terror attacks were not considered to be associated with the pupils’ sense of identification with the Muslim community.

Furthermore, the pupils implied that the general environment is something to fear. “I don’t feel safe” (Questionnaire: Pupil 9A, Rosehill). They specifically expressed that fear manifesting itself in their everyday lives, including the walk to school:

“...my house is what...ten minutes from here...there is a lot that can happen in that ten minutes...and you’re not really sure what to do... You can stay with friends...but obviously you’re not going to take short cuts...but the one thing your parents can say is be in the public eye, don’t stray off...but that’s where the danger lies now... so where are you safe?” (Pupil 3, Y12, Elmhurst)

As I analysed the pupils’ discussion of these feelings, it emerged that the experience of fear was not just felt by the pupils themselves but also was expressed in forms of concern by their parents.

“Cos the thing is the only thing your parents can really say to you is stay safe...cos they’re scared for their life as well...” (Pupil 3, Year 12, Elmhurst)

This sense of not even being safe on their way to school, implies that the state of fear had even infiltrated the sense of safety normally found in their immediate community.

“I feel that we’re sort of in a tight knit community so.... before everything that happened, I felt safe” (Pupil 5, Year 12, Elmhurst).

As a space, it was their home and surroundings that many of the pupils expressed as somewhere they felt was safe. Yet with the fear of attacks, even these spaces became places to be wary of. Their community, previously associated with safety, could now be seen to be less safe. Instead, a sense of caution seemed to have emerged:

Student 3: I don’t feel judged because it’s such a diverse area. I don’t really feel on edge because even if something was to happen there’s people around me, so I feel quite safe and protected.

Interviewer: What about you?

Student 2: I feel the same because I live in [this area] as well, so I don’t really feel like anyone has anything against me but when there has been like attacks, like the attacks just recently then, like now it’s died down about Muslims being like bad or terrorists but erm.... When there is a terrorist attack it definitely goes up and people think like worse and worse about Muslims, as more terrorist attacks happen.

Student 1: You can’t help but feel there are like more and more people that like dislike Muslims and like [name] said, like you feel on edge if you like read on the news that like Muslims have done this like terrorist attack and you feel like maybe when you turn up to school, or maybe not necessarily in school because

I think everyone is used to the environment of being surrounded by Muslims and other diverse people but maybe like if you are going somewhere and there is more of a like white community or a community of a different religion, they might see you as more of a negative person or as someone that they won't like.
(Year 9, Rosehill School)

The feeling of caution and fear is described in this extract as being 'on edge'. The pupils described themselves 'on edge' concerning reactions to Muslims in the aftermath of a terror attack. The pupils had to become constantly vigilant, aware of threat on a daily basis and of becoming a target of violence: "Wearing certain clothes ... could end up making you a target" (Pupil 2, Year 9 and 10, Elmhurst). "Certain clothes" in this sense probably referred to the hijab, a jilbab, the long loose garment worn by women or a thobe, a male prayer outfit. They are clothes which mean someone can be identified as a Muslim and are rendered visible. This "on edge" state could be seen as a dominant aspect of the pupils' identity, as the following extract communicates:

"I think there is a general fear ...everything contributes towards your fear of the future... generally, as teenagers, forget being Muslim, forget being Asian...you fear the future, I mean, what am I going to do at university, what am I going to do as a career? You fear that in general, because that is what you are supposed to do, you question yourself as a teenager...but adding onto that ...the fact that you are Muslim, there is a new level of fear...you are not just fearing how much money you are going to make in five years' time, its am I going to be safe going to my job? Am I going to be safe going to uni? Am I safe to travel outside [this area]? Can I go to campus-based universities? Can I go to Cambridge? Can I go to Oxford? Your intellectual ability, it might be really great but if you are not safe, then you are very, very limited and your fear increases so much that you just don't want to do anything. Cos I know that I could do so much, we could all do so much...everyone here has capabilities but if we are limited by fear...then

there is not much you can do. It's not something you can control" (Pupil 4, Year 12, Elmhurst).

As the above contribution expresses, fear seemed to be a significant and dominating aspect of being Muslim. The feeling of fear seems to be limiting and restricting and has the power to define the life choices of the pupils and take away opportunities. One pupil summed up the sense of vulnerability associated with being a Muslim:

"Most of the time, you are scared of the world." (Pupil 3, Year 10a, Middleoak).

This implies a central aspect of the pupils' imagined identity is being fearful. One pupil expressed this fear describing how she or he see:

"A divide starting between Muslims and English people. We are blamed for the recent terrorist attacks which make us fear expressing our faith" (Questionnaire: Pupil 63D Elmhurst).

Therefore, the pupil identifies fear as limiting their ability to express the centrality of their identity; their faith. The pupil also distinguishes between a 'Muslim' and an 'English' person. Interestingly, they do not identify as an English Muslim, implying that they see being Muslim as something 'other' to being English. They seem to see the two identities as in opposition.

8.2.2 - As a teenager

A second way the pupils imagined themselves was as a teenager, in particular a Muslim teenager. Nearly all the pupils interviewed and surveyed were 13 and above, except a few in year seven at Elmhurst, so a significant identity was that of an adolescent. This was accompanied by the much-discussed feeling of normality.

“... what I wanted to say is that being a teenager ... you’re growing up and you’re learning a lot about yourself ... and erm ... what I wanted to say is ... for a normal teenager...what is considered as responsibilities like studying for an exam or doing your GCSEs, listening to teachers, you know ... little responsibilities ... you know ... but I feel like, when you are a Muslim teenager, those responsibilities change, it’s coming home at a certain time because if you exceed that time limit you are sort of just more vulnerable...” (Pupil 2, Year 9+10, Elmhurst)

Here the pupil described the experience of being a ‘normal’ teenager with the usual challenges facing them such as exams. However, the pupil also identified their sense that being a Muslim teenager added additional challenges to the experience of being an adolescent.

That which is further raised in this extract, is a discussion about normalcy which seemed to permeate through many of the pupils’ comments. Here the pupil suggested that as a Muslim teenager they are not ‘normal’, but this is disputed by a number of other Muslim pupils who asserted very clearly their normality as teenagers:

“I feel just normal because there’s loads of Muslims in Britain and everything’s normal. So, there is nothing different about everybody.” (Pupil 3, Year 7, Rosehill)

“Well I think there is nothing I feel that makes being a Muslim different from any other student at school. Yeah, inside of school. Yeah, I don’t think there is anything other that separates us from another person.” (Pupil 2, Year 9, Elmhurst)

These expressions of normality are complex and are open to a variety of possible interpretations. It is possible to see the statement of normality as defensive, in the same way as the need to predominantly identify as Muslim, trying to assert an identity against a publicly perceived one of difference. Instead, they want to emphasize the similarities with others of their age. This keenness to assert normality seems to be the same for the pupils interviewed in each school and of each age group.

It is also possible to question whether the pupils felt the need to assert to me, a non-Muslim researcher, their normality, in the face of the assumption that I might have perceived them as different and need persuading otherwise. Possibly if the researcher had been Muslim, the pupils may have felt less need to assert their normality.

However, the notion of “normal” can also be identified as an expression of their ordinary adolescent lives as part of being a teenager. This could be seen as summarizing their experience of change, emotional development, and the experience of trying to find their way in life. The image of ‘normal’ could therefore be seen to be an expression of a typical teenage state.

The notion of normal also refers to pupils’ ideas and hopes for the future. They are teenagers who have choices, who want to go to university, get a job, get married and have children. They have “hopes for a steady career, family, normal life” (Pupil 3, Year 10a, Middleoak). They have hope for “having children and a family of my own” (Pupil 4, Year 10b, Middleoak). They hope to “build yourself a future, go to college and university” (Student 3, Year 11, Middleoak) and hope to “go to university” (Pupil 4, Year 12, Elmhurst).

In this expression of hope for the future, the emphasis on agency and choice in this future is emphasised by the students. They expressed the notion of choice and options:

“It’s your choice. You choose what you want to do” (Student 6, Year 7 & 8, Elmhurst)

However, there was also reference made to how sometimes their own emphasis on marriage, settling down and having children is different to others of their age who are not Muslim (Student 1, Year 12, Rosehill School).

Importantly, one student points out that “I don’t think there is any ‘normal’ teenager” (Student 3, Year 9 and 10, Elmhurst) which is an observant point. However, as the pupils used this notion of ‘normal’ so frequently, it is important for the researcher to recognise the pupils meant something by it.

8.2.3 - As British

An interesting aspect of the Muslim pupils’ imagined identity was the way that they related to being British. On the questionnaires, a number of pupils chose to write their identity as a hyphenated identity, that is as part British. The important use of a hyphen in stating a person’s identity is expressed by Sara Ahmed (2018). She describes how “on one side of the hyphen I am American. On the other side of the hyphen I am East Indian.” She talks of the struggle of those with hyphenated identities: “Kids that live a hyphenated life are constantly trying to get it right on both sides of the hyphen” (Ahmed, 2018). In my research, these hyphenated identities included: “Indian British” (Pupil 62E: Middleoak), “British Bangladeshi” (Pupil 63D: Elmhurst), “British African” (Pupil 3B: Sycamore), and “British Asian” (Pupil 113C: Oakwood) amongst others. Traditionally, a sense of belonging to a state is symbolised in the form of a passport, which many of the pupils would have held. However, their feelings of relationship to Britishness were more complex. Several of the students stated their pride in being British Muslim:

“I feel proud to be a British Muslim” (Pupil 4, Year 7, Rosehill).

Others, however, had a more complex notion of themselves in relation to being British.

Some of the boys referred to the experience of being British by passport, but not feeling British:

Student 3: Yeah, you don't have the mindset of a British person cos you're from different countries.

Interviewer: So what is the mindset?

Student 5: I think it's to do with the food, like bacon. Fish and chips. Curry (Year 11, Middleoak).

This suggests that although they were British citizens, they felt a cultural dissonance. This sense is also reflected in the extract below in which a student referred to the notion of being Somali first and foremost:

Student 3: I feel you put your ethnicity above like your national identity I guess ... its like you're Somalian Muslim and then you are British. You don't really say that you are British first. I wouldn't really count myself as British to be honest even though I do live in Britain ... I wouldn't ever say I was British if someone was to ask me.

Interviewer: Why?

Student 3: I don't know, I just wouldn't want to say that I am British, I don't feel it ... I just feel that what Britain does, especially the Government to other places [indistinct], places I was brought up ... I just wouldn't include myself as part of it. I just wouldn't want people to be like oh she's British. I want someone to be like she's Somali. It's not about I'm not proud to be British, my passport is British. I just don't feel I relate to the typical British person.

Interviewer: That's really interesting. Are you proud of being Somali?

Student 3: Yes, because I have the Somali values and culture, I am more in that than I am British culture. I speak Somali at home (Year 12 Rosehill).

Another student echoed this pride in her culture through a sense of her growing appreciation of herself as Bengali:

"I think as I have grown older, I feel I have been embracing my culture a lot more. I feel more proud to be Bengali like ... I am brown. But like ... back when we were younger we'd say 'oh you're so black'... it used to be used as such a derogatory term...you've gone so dark...or I'd want to be like my white friends...not that I had a lot because it was Bengali [unclear word] ... erm ... but now like I feel like a lot more empowered ... I put on henna, like yes. ... this is my culture ... erm ... as the generations have gone by, there is a lot more empowerment in our culture and our religion and I think there is a lot more freedom...if you take away what's happening, there is a lot more freedom" (Pupil 5, Year12, Elmhurst).

In these extracts, the pupils communicated some sense of how they imagine themselves in relation to Britishness. The majority of students, whatever their background, seem to have referred to a certain need to balance or negotiate the two (or more) identities. As one student stated:

"I can be Bengali and British and Muslim. It's just how you balance it and you work it out." (Pupil 3, Year 12, Elmhurst).

There are a few references made in the focus groups to the idea of having two lives:

“Well I think the thing about the two worlds...is like...this is for everybody, everybody’s got two worlds” (Pupil 7, Year9+10, Elmhurst).

I found this idea of ‘two worlds’ interesting. The pupils seemed to refer to their home lives as opposed to their school lives at various points in their discussions, identifying the culture and expectations as being different. However, it is possible to exaggerate this difference in worlds, as the pupil above noted “everybody’s got two worlds”. Pragmatically, as is also noted above, “It’s just how you balance and work it out”.

8.2.4 - Setting the analysis in the context of literature

In the section above, I have presented the way that the pupils imagine themselves based on descriptions they have given of themselves in the focus group and questionnaire responses. Despite the fact they were from different geographical locations, the pupils express a high level of consistency between them concerning how they imagine themselves. Furthermore, their responses have echoes with other studies and literature concerning the identities and experiences of Muslim pupils.

The pupils imagine themselves as predominantly Muslim and as part of a community of Muslims. This is conveyed by their descriptions of their feelings of pride and sense of connection with others who are Muslim. The dominance of imagining themselves as Muslim is echoed in the findings of other studies. This includes the grounded theory study of Lynch, concerning 66 young Muslims, in which the participants identified being Muslim as a “central element of their identity” (2013: p250). Likewise, this is reflected in the work of Hoque whose six adolescent participants in Tower Hamlets variously referred to being Muslim as their ‘main identity’ (2015: p96) and as a “vital part” of their identity (2015: p73). As part of a community, the Muslim pupils also presented and imagined themselves as having agency over their identity. Like the Muslim participants of Hargreaves’ research, the Muslim pupils in my study did not

present themselves or their community as victims (2016: p2617). Their descriptions of themselves often included words like “confident” (Questionnaire 2E), “strong” (Questionnaire 69D), “outgoing” (Questionnaire 68D), not descriptions to suggest victimhood.

Despite the pride and positivity however, it is also possible to suggest that there was a certain element of vulnerability and defensiveness in the Muslim pupils’ identifying of themselves with a community, in terms of assuming a potential criticism or rejection by others outside that community. The need, by the pupils, to assert their normality could be seen to reflect the way that, as Lynch identifies, the pupils are often positioned “outside normal society in the public sphere” (2013: p249). Furthermore, the pupils’ need to define as “us” suggested they have a strong notion of division in society. This sense is reflected in Hoque’s study. His participants particularly attributed this division to race, noting that the ‘us’ is most often felt to be against ‘them’ as white people (Hoque, 2015: p79). For my student participants, the notion of ‘us and them’ lies in the sense of division between Muslims and non-Muslims and could be seen to be partly constructed by the media.

That which is less reflected in Lynch and Hoque’s studies is the pervasive aspect of fear felt and expressed strongly by the Muslim pupils in my research. Partly, this might reflect the difference in the date and timing of research, Lynch’s work being prior to 2013 and Hoque’s being prior to 2015, as opposed to my data collection being in 2017-2018 in the immediate wake of several terror attacks.

In terms of the way the pupils imagine themselves in relation to Britishness, the findings are in line with many previous researchers’ discussions of the negotiations and tensions around holding multiple identities. In his book, Hoque (2015, p119) refers to a documentary by Selway (2010) which “highlighted how British Bangladeshis are constantly negotiating the ‘three me’s’ of being a Muslim, British Westerner and

Bangladeshi’”. However, the UK Government’s British values agenda (2014), which the pupils did not suggest particular knowledge of despite posters being up around the school (School E Field Notes, 2017), seemingly requires adherence to one, unified identity as British, not necessarily acknowledging that the pupils’ identities are “multiple” (Sen, 2006) and “flexible” (Geaves, 2005, p75; Kawale, 2003). That is that the pupils are constantly negotiating and “shifting” (Ahmed, 2005) between their hyphenated identities, as one pupil said: “between two worlds” (Pupil 7, Year9+10, Elmhurst), those significantly of school and home. This shifting identity is particularly shown in the pupil who felt herself associating more with her Bengali identity as she grew older (Pupil 5, Year12, Elmhurst). In terms of the pupil who identified as Somali foremost (Pupil 3: Year 12 Rosehill), again she may shift. As she explained, she has a British passport, so when needed she can identity as British, but for her, she is in a time and place in her life where she wants to foreground her Somali identity and feels passionately about it. By not acknowledging the multiple and shifting identities of the pupils, the agenda of British values fails significantly to do what multiculturalism had done which was to allow Britishness to encompass multiple hyphenated identities (Modood, 2017). Keddie, building on Modood (2007), refers to this as “forms of Britishness that reflect the right kind of multiculturalism” (Keddie, 2014: p553).

8.3 - How did the pupils imagine others to see them?

So far, I have explored how the pupils imagine themselves as part of the Muslim community, and in this section, I shall explore how the pupils feel imagined by others. This is not how others *actually* imagine them but rather how the pupils *feel* imagined by others.

Grounded in the data, this section was developed from a range of comments and references to how the Muslim pupils felt seen by others in society. It uses the coding

and categorization process to draw out the main themes related to the pupils' perceptions of themselves by others. These central themes drawn out are being imagined as 'terrorists' and 'as a threat' and as an object of another's judgement.

8.3.1 - As terrorists

One of the dominant identities that the Muslim pupils imagined others held of them is related to the perception that Muslims are associated with terrorism. This was expressed by pupils from nearly every school and across the year groups. Examples of such extracts are given below:

"The word terrorism is highly linked to Muslims" (Pupil 5, Year 11, Middleoak).

A strong sense of injustice and unfairness was expressed by the pupils at this association of Muslims and terrorism, and a sense of frustration was expressed at the persistence of it:

"They say that Muslims are terrorists and it isn't fair cos we're not." (Pupil 1, Year 8, Middleoak)

"Like Muslim terrorist attacks so then people will pick up on that and believe the stereotype that all Muslims are terrorists." (Pupil 2, Year 9, Rosehill)

This sense that Muslims are associated with terrorism is also believed to be perpetuated by the media:

"The media allows strangers to believe all Muslims are terrorists"
(Questionnaire: Pupil 62D: Elmhurst)

The comment below links the media to associating Islam and terror. For a large proportion of pupils, the media was perceived to be creating, or at least perpetuating, the rhetoric around Muslims and their association with terrorism. This extract shows the pupil was reacting to the racial stereotype of Muslims as terrorists, as presented in the media:

“I feel ashamed about what the media is portraying against Muslims. Making it as if we are all terrorists and we’re all the same. But no ... there is like a group of terrorists they are like jihadis, or whatever ..., the religion of Islam teaches us to be peaceful and to spread peace and harmony, love... It hurts obviously because they say all Muslims are the same but it’s not true, they haven’t even... they just judge us by race as well...” [indistinct] (Pupil 1, Year 9, Middleoak)

It is important to note that the context of these extracts was during the years 2017 and early 2018 in the wake of the series of terror attacks in 2017. However, the sense of association between Muslims and terrorism is an ongoing association whether or not there have been recent terror attacks:

“Obviously when there is a terrorist attack, especially in like [city name], I do feel a bit on edge like people are judging me because obviously I wear headscarf so ...cause of media and stuff...” (Pupil 4, Y9, Rosehill)

It should be acknowledged, at this point, that all of the pupils taking part in this study were born during or after 2001, therefore they do not have memories of 9/11. However, the association of Islam and terrorism created in the ‘War on Terror’ has formed a backdrop to their whole lives:

“like the media especially ... tend to nit-pick on the bad stuff that our religion portrays ... but they don’t realise that these people who do these acts ...these

horrible acts ... these terrorist attacks ... it's not Muslim ..." (Pupil 3, Y12, Elmhurst)

Here, as with other extracts, it is possible to see the pupils' plea for Islam to be detached from terrorism and their identity to be detached from an association with terror. They were keen to distance themselves from and reject the terrorist as someone who does not hold the true values of Islam and therefore is not to be seen as a member of their community. The pupils were trying to call out the mistaken link between Islam and terror and were trying to persuade society, particularly those who do not "realise", that Muslims and terrorism are not connected.

8.3.2 - As a threat

The extracts above lead on to another way in which the pupils felt they were imagined, that is as a physical threat to others. One student described how they felt seen by society as "frightening" and "dangerous" (Questionnaire: Pupil 79D: Elmhurst). That is to say, the Muslim pupils felt that their physical presence is seen as an intimidation to others:

"Other people may be cautious of me or avoid me, because the news/ media makes Muslims seem bad, they think we're violent" (Questionnaire:16E: Middleoak).

Another student reflected this sense of feeling like a physical threat in his account of walking down the street:

"Like sometimes you know when you're walking in the street you've got a non-Muslim walking ahead of you...if they're coming towards you, they probably will

cross the road because you're Muslim because of what you are wearing." (Pupil 3: Year 10, Middleoak)

A pupil at Rosehill School gave an account that illustrates their awareness of their seemingly visceral impact on others:

"...outside school there are people who are scared of Muslims... You can tell, you can actually tell because one time I went somewhere, and I sat down, and a woman moved away from me because she didn't want to be next to me. So, you can tell, they just give you a look like.... You can see in their faces, they don't want to be near you" (Student 3: Y12, Rosehill).

A key stage three pupil from Elmhurst echoed this imagined sense of having a physically threatening effect upon others:

"....some people are judgemental and they just think oh...that person is probably going to attack me or do something that terrorists do...like...it's like...it causes an effect on people...cos you think in a certain way...and I don't think people...well it's not actually the truth...it's just that they are affected by...one or two things that have happened..." (Pupil 5, Year 7&8, Elmhurst).

It is important to note that many of my participants were small, female, young Muslims whose physical presence was minimal. They did not have the build of large men who could intimidate, and yet these young women were describing their presence as perceived as something physically threatening or at least symbolically threatening.

Perhaps most shocking in terms of the pupils' questionnaire responses, was one pupil's description of the way others viewed them: "They do not see Muslims as human" (Questionnaire: Pupil 70D: Elmhurst). This implies that the pupil felt seen has less than

human to others, potentially as animalistic. This sense of perceived inferiority of the Muslim in relation to others in society is quite pervasive in responses relating to how the pupils felt seen.

8.3.3 - As an object of judgement

Being imagined as a terrorist or a threatening figure by others is accompanied by an experience of feeling judged, which seems pervasive in the accounts of the Muslim pupils. The sense of being judged relates most of all to their identity of being Muslim:

“Being a Muslim now people might judge you” (Pupil 3, Year 9, Middleoak).

This sense of judgment for female pupils is particularly associated with wearing the hijab as a visible symbol of being Muslim:

“...You know all these terrorist attacks and lots of different things like right now...she [Amina] might not think it’s safe...she might think that if she goes outside people might judge her for being a Muslim... and cos she wears a headscarf and is a Muslim they might think that she has a bad personality but she doesn’t” (Pupil 2: Year 7&8, Elmhurst).

The frequent reference to the headscarf as an object of people’s judgement is significant:

“Your clothing determines what you are associated with. My headscarf makes society view me as a terrorist.” (Questionnaire: Pupil 27: Rosehill)

It seems possible to suggest that the female pupils felt the sense of pervasive judgment more than the male pupils. I did not further explore this seeming difference in the

focus groups, but it seemed to emerge in the way that the comments were expressed. What is notable here is the racism and anti-immigrant abuse that is linked to the visible symbol of the headscarf:

“Nowadays people judge you, like if you wear a scarf, you are a terrorist, an immigrant. Things like ‘this is not your country’ and ‘go back to where you came from’. Obviously, that makes you feel out of place, when it is her [Amina’s] country.” (Pupil 1, Year 9, Middleoak)

Throughout these accounts, there was a shared sense of being judged, despite the pupils being from geographically different research sites. The sense of judgement was pervasive, relating to their religion, what is worn, where they walk and what they do. Moreover, an interesting element of these accounts of judgement is that it is not always clear exactly who the judge is. At times, the judgement is implied to be race-related but the most frequent reference is to ‘people’ judging, however, which ‘people’ remains vague.

The impact of the sense of being constantly observed and judged leads to a sense of feeling restricted in what the pupils can say or do. It leads to a sense of caution about how they communicate and what they communicate. There is an element of self-censoring. The following extract expresses the sense of limitation that is experienced in the pupils’ lives:

“So for drama, we had to create a piece about identity – so one of us was saying how we get judged a lot for being terrorists ...so we used an example of how someone..... like saying ‘look at that, that looks bomb’ (note: slang: something that looks great or the best) but by saying the word ‘bomb’, everyone thinks you are a terrorist...and I am going home from school and I am talking about the word ‘bomb’ or ‘terrorist’...and my friends are like... ‘you should be quiet,

you're not allowed to say those words' and I ask 'why? I don't have a in my hand you know.... I am just speaking about it'" (Pupil 6, Year 7&8, Elmhurst).

What is notable about this extract is that the pupils were judging and monitoring each other's behaviour as well as their own. It is the other pupils who control and correct their fellow student's language and consequently limit or restrict their expression, due to the pupils' own concern and potential fear of being mistaken as a terrorist.

8.3.4 - Setting the analysis in the context of literature

In the section above, I explored the ways the pupils imagined how others perceive them. These imagined identities were constructed from the responses of the pupils and share thematic similarities, despite the Muslim pupils coming from different geographic regions of the country. The Muslim pupils imagined others to judge them. They felt judged as associated with terrorism and judged as a physical threat.

Situating the analysis amongst other studies of Muslim young people, other researchers reflect the sense that young Muslims feel seen as associated with terrorism. One of Hoque's participants is quoted saying "I am proud to be a Muslim. Let them call me a terrorist. I don't care" (Hoque, 2015: p93), illustrating the association felt between the word 'Muslim' and the word 'terrorist'. In her chapter on young Muslims' experiences, Saeed reflects the association of Muslim with terrorist by describing the post 9/11 shift from being seen as "Paki" to "terrorist" (2017: p217).

Expression of the pupils' sense of self as a physical threat to others is echoed in Ali's work in relation to Muslim students at university in California (2014). His article is entitled 'A threat enfleshed' referring literally to the students feeling that they embodied a threat to others in society as a result of a popular "portrayal of all Muslims as inherently violent" (p1253). This, Ali argues, stems from the depiction of the Muslim

as “a threat to Western life and security” (1253). Ali describes the visceral sense of threat the participants feel they embody which echoes feelings expressed by my own participants. He writes about “how students within my study experienced their bodies as a site of fear amongst their peers” (p1254). My research suggests that this experience of being an embodied threat is not only expressed by older fully-grown, university students but also by children and young teenagers. The depiction of threat is represented significantly through clothing and creates a figure of risk, which indicates a fear of the potential to be radicalised.

8.4 - Pupils’ imaginings of others: a consequence of their imagined identity

In the following section, I explore the Muslim pupils’ imaginings of others, in other words, I explore how the pupils imagined a number of frequently mentioned entities, such as the media, the public, the teachers and the Government. The ways in which the Muslim pupils imagined others seems to result as a consequence of their imagined identity particularly, how they felt imagined by others. In the following, I shall examine each of the entities; the media, the public, the teachers and the Government and explore how the Muslim pupils imagine each one.

8.4.1 - The media

The Muslim pupils imagined the media as very significant in creating a negative image of Muslims in society. As has been seen in previous quotes, they perceived the media as Islamophobic and the creator of anti-Muslim sentiment:

Student 1: I don’t know....like....oh so-and-so there was an attack here and cos you’re a Muslim they might think you have something to do with it.

Student 4: Ah...they'd think it was Muslim straight away. Like what's come in my head now is every time I think of terrorists yeah.... I always think of Muslim people yeah cos that's what the media is making you think.

Student 2: Me too....

Student 4: They are trying to brainwash people into thinking that Muslims are the people that are doing it when they are not. (Year 10b, Middleoak)

A main aspect of the media is that the pupils imagined it as biased and did not trust it to tell the full story:

“And the news is meant to inform you what happened, but they only give one side of it and not both sides. They probably just give the negative side of the Muslim views” (Pupil 4, Yr11 Middleoak).

The pupils' references to the control that the media is seen to have over society were pervasive throughout the pupils' focus groups and questionnaires. The media was perceived as powerful and was seen to manipulate society's views of Muslims. Therefore, the pupils laid a lot of blame on the media for how they are imagined by others.

8.4.2 - The public

From the pupils' perspective, the public was largely imagined through a lens of race and ethnicity. The public was imagined to be made up of those who are non-Muslim and white. In opposition to this, was the Muslim community that the pupils felt part of, who from their perspective were non-white. Therefore, race was a significant factor in the way the pupils imagined themselves and imagined others:

“There are quite racist places in England” (Pupil 4, Year 9, Middleoak).

Racism was often mixed with Islamophobia in the pupils' responses, as the pupils often imagined the opposite of being Muslim as being white:

“When we go to the airport like erm...they always let the..., I don't want to be rude, but they always let the white people go through but they always stop me and my family...they don't do that to like all the other white people” (Pupil 6, Year 9 Middleoak)

In this quotation, the statement “I don't want to be rude” was probably expressed for the benefit of me, the interviewer, who as a white woman might have taken offence. This shows the caution with which the pupils expressed such views in the context of the focus group, suggesting the presence of the researcher did have a curbing impact on the dialogue.

The extracts also show that the pupils imagined others to reject them and they felt racism and Islamophobia situates them outside what it means to be British and included in society:

“I feel that British people do think that Muslim people are not really part of society” (Pupil 3, Year 12, Rosehill).

“People think that Muslims are just migrants” (Pupil 3, Year 9, Middleoak).

Racism and Islamophobia lead to the Muslim pupils perceiving others in society with mistrust:

“If an employer sees me with a hijab, I don't know if they will hire me or not” (Pupil 3, Year 12, Rosehill).

From the responses of the pupils, it could be suggested that the public was imagined as oppositional to the Muslim community. This other community, the public, is seen to discriminate against those in the Muslim community.

8.4.3 - Teachers

Until this point, when I have explored how pupils imagined others, I have referred to unspecific others, such as the media or the public. However, it is also possible to ask how Muslim pupils imagined others referring specifically to teachers. The question to raise is how the teachers were pictured according to the Muslim pupils.

The pupils generally indicated that they trusted school and their teachers. School was where the pupils implied that they felt safe:

“I think that the fact that our school is like ... majority Muslim, so I think in that way ... so that as soon as you step inside school you are safe.” (Pupil 3, Year 12, Elmhurst).

The importance of being surrounded by other Muslims is emphasised, including the importance of Muslim teachers, as shown in the following extract:

Interviewer: Do you feel you can talk about these kinds of issues in school?

Student 3: Yeah cos we've got Muslim teachers. And they understand us.

Interviewer: Do you think it's mainly Muslim teachers that understand?

Student 2: Our form tutor understands.

Student 1: A lot of them do, cos they were born here [in this city] and they went to school here...and its multicultural, so they relate to it. (Pupil 3, Year 11, Middleoak)

However, those senses of security and trust were not always felt. For example, the year 12 students at Elmhurst expressed the idea that they did not feel that the teachers always understood:

“And then the teachers are always saying ‘don’t worry, we’re here for you, we understand’ and it’s like...do you understand? Or are you just saying it because I highly doubt you do...” (Pupil 3, Year 12, Elmhurst)

Here, there is an expression of anger at the teachers, a sense that the teacher could not understand the challenges that they, the Muslim pupils, were facing. The implication is perhaps, that although some teachers might be trustworthy, others are not. The sense of distrust is expressed in the next extracts:

“Some teachers You have to take a step back...you have to hold it in you have to think about what you are going to say...you have to really tip toe around” (Pupil 1, Year 12, Rosehill).

“Even in like class, in like school ... there were times where you were told that you can’t say some stuff ... like you’re going to get reported or like if you want to talk about in class ... like if you say one word you’ll be like, you don’t want to say it, just like in case a teacher asks you about it. Like if you are talking about ISIS or you are saying maybe one thing positive about it....like not positive but like maybe you share their point of view ... And then after, some teachers feel like its their priority to ask you about it ... But its not, you’re not going to do anything ... You’re not going to travel all the way to Syria ... (Pupil 1, Year 12, Rosehill)

This sense of distrust is also expressed in the following extract. The pupils were referring to an incident of a video being shared on social media in the wake of the London Bridge attacks and a teacher reporting the pupils for seeing and having the video:

Student 3: She went and reported them, saying the girls had said it was a hoax. The girls had said this when in reality, they didn't...they just said 'Miss, this is online, what are we supposed to think?

Student 3: And the fact they had the confidence to confide in her and have that trust ... and she broke that by going behind their backs and reporting them...without the facts.

Student 5: I don't understand how she could report them...it's not like...you know ... they knew what they were saying like, she must have...well I don't know what was going through her mind ... but at least have a discussion or a chat with them before reporting them ... before going on to the biggest level you can get to" (Year 9&10, Elmhurst).

For the Muslim pupils, there was a significant sense that the teacher had let them down by reporting them. They felt that the teacher should have engaged with the pupils first, rather than seeing her duty first and foremost to report to her seniors. This notion of being reported had a significant effect on the Muslim pupils' sense of trust for the teachers. The pupils perceived an injustice and felt that they and other students would be less likely to trust a teacher with a concern in the future.

The position of the teachers by the Muslim pupils, therefore, existed in a delicate balance. For the most part, the Muslim pupils trusted and felt supported by their teachers and safe in the environment of their schools. However, such incidents described above and the risk of distrust that ensues, suggests the vulnerability of that position of trust normally attributed to a teacher. Therefore, the relationship of the

Muslim pupils to the teachers was balanced precariously between the feelings of trust and distrust.

8.4.4 - The Government

In consideration of how the Muslim pupils imagine others, one 'other' to consider is the Government. The pupils did not mention the Government frequently in their focus groups but those comments that were made, implied that the Government was constructed in opposition to the pupils' imagined identity as part of the Muslim community. The principal feeling concerning how the pupils imagined the Government was with distrust.

In the following extract, the Government is seen as represented by the Prevent strategy and is regarded by the Muslim pupils as assessing how religious someone is. Although it is not the intention of the Prevent strategy, this is how these pupils understood it:

“... and I think the Prevent strategy might have had an impact on that, it's very sort of ... look into every nitty gritty detail, are they too religious? What is too religious though, that is my problem? How do you know when someone is an extremist and when someone is not? You don't ...” (Pupil 5, Year 12, Elmhurst)

In the following quote, the government is represented as 'they'. 'They' judge and assess what counts as extremism:

“The Government ... and the way they see Muslims and their controversial Prevent strategy...where anything you say...even if it is like your religion and you're following your religion and the guidelines of your religion, but they'll see

it as extremism...and it's like...I can't even follow my religion now..." (Pupil 5, Year 12, Elmhurst)

In the following extract, the Government's judgment through the Prevent strategy was seen to be implemented at school by the teachers:

Pupil 1: Erm and also once I went to when I was at school on a school trip to some Islamophobia talk And then there was like some... person who came from like the home secretary who was telling us about the Prevent scheme

Pupil 3: What is that?

Pupil 1: It was like in schools, teachers should like watch students and if they talk about some stuff ... Like if someone one day is not wearing a headscarf and the next day they put it on ... They should ask them about it ... And then it was very like, like ... people were like that's not right It's not the teachers' problem to ask you about ... (Year 12, Rosehill)

All of these extracts suggest that the pupils imagined the Government as an entity which assessed their religiosity and suspected them of extremism. Therefore, the picture of the Government, according to the Muslim pupils, is of one that monitors and judges. The Muslim pupils felt monitored and therefore might have adapted and modified their religious acts and behaviour in light of the risks of being perceived as potential extremists.

8.4.5 - Setting the analysis in the context of literature

In considering the pupils' imaginings of others as a consequence of how they feel imagined, I have examined the pupils' imaginings of the media, the public, the teachers and the Government. These imaginings were all grounded in the responses that the pupils gave in the focus groups and in their questionnaires. Two of the principal

attitudes towards others are a distrust and of suspicion. The media was imagined and distrusted as a negative constructor of the Muslim identity. The public was seen with distrust and suspicion as it is perceived as the source of Islamophobia and racism and is constructed in opposition to the Muslim community. Teachers were regarded with some trust, but a trust that could easily lead to distrust as they occupied a delicate position. Similarly, the Government, was perceived with distrust.

The perception of the media as a source of distrust is echoed in other studies, specifically in Cherney and Murphy's exploration of the views of 104 Muslims in Australia (2016). In this study, the:

“participants noted with some emotion the impact of the media continually conflating Islam with terrorism or violent extremism, thus defining Muslims as a potential terrorist threat” (2016: p486).

Moreover, there was a “general feeling among participants that there was a double standard in media reporting” (2016: p486). Like the pupils in my own research, the media was perceived with distrust and suspicion.

This distrust and suspicion of motives is extended by the pupils towards Government policies, specifically Prevent, which is seen to assess how religious a pupil is, and therefore how extremist. Although only one pupil made the link between Prevent and teachers, teachers were noted as being expected to “watch” pupils. Although teachers were predominantly perceived as trustworthy, it is clear from the examples that a perception that the teacher might report them led easily to mistrust. A number of pieces of literature have commented on this vulnerable position held by teachers whereby they could easily be construed as “informants” (Saeed, 2017: p218; O'Donnell, 2015: p67; Faure Walker, 2019) in light of security discourse. This is further echoed in Sian's work which refers to teachers as ‘spies’ who monitor the movements

of pupils and their families in British primary schools (Sian, 2015). Although the pupils in my research did not explicitly categorise the monitoring by teachers as 'spying', it is clear that the perceived position of the teacher exists in a delicate balance between being a figure of trust and being a figure to be wary of. Overall, the pupils' imagined identities of others are riddled with distrust and the perception that the views of others are influenced by racism and Islamophobia.

8.5 - In Summary: A composite imagined identity of the Muslim pupils as imagined by the Muslim pupils

The imagined identity of Muslim pupils as perceived by the Muslim pupils comprises many aspects. Principally, the Muslim pupils imagined themselves as Muslim and part of the Muslim worldwide community, the ummah. They also imagined themselves as teenagers and for the most part regarded themselves as "normal" young people with the same concerns as other teenagers, but with the addition of being Muslim and following Islam. A third aspect of their imagined identity was to a greater or lesser extent, how British they felt. It is here that there was some disagreements. Some felt more British than others. Some hardly felt British at all, seeing it as a composite of cultural things that they did not take part in. However, for all of the Muslim pupils, negotiating a sense of Britishness to some extent, was an aspect of their imagined identity. Additional identities that arise out of how the Muslim pupils imagined themselves include the view that they are strong and confident in their thoughts and ideas and do not express an imagined identity of victimhood.

However, as discussed in Chapter 5, imagined identities can be constructed in reaction to something or in response to what one is not. So, imagined identities can be forged out of how one feels others to imagine you. Therefore, the ways that the Muslim pupils felt that they are imagined by others also impacts the construction of their imagined identity. The idea that Muslim pupils felt seen as a threat and a terrorist affects their

imagined identities of themselves. An aspect of their imagined identity is, consequently, having to resist this perspective and reject it actively. The sense that they also feel judged means that they are responding to this feeling, which results in an element of defensiveness and therefore an aspect of their imagined identity is that of being under judgement. Consequently, the imagined identity of the Muslim pupils is partly comprised of what they feel they are, but also is heavily affected by reacting to things they feel imagined by others to be.

A consequence of their imagined identity is how Muslim pupils imagine others. Due to the feelings of being imagined as a threat and a terrorist, many of the pupils imagined others with suspicion and distrust. This included their views of the media and the public which they perceived of as viewing them through the lens of race and Islamophobia. However, to a lesser extent it also included, for some pupils, their imagining of teachers and the Government which also risked being imagined with distrust.

Overall, the imagined identity of the Muslim pupils is not as a powerless victim but as assertive individuals. They felt imagined as threats to others and as terrorists but resisted that narrative by asserting themselves as positive young teenagers who are both independent and part of a community. However, the imagined identity of feeling judged and under constant assessment as a threat, is a struggle and does result in the Muslim pupils feeling vulnerable.

In the next section, Part B, using the composite imagined identity pieced together from the analysis, I explore the imagined identity in relation to interpretations found in the literature.

8.6 - Part B: Discussion: how Muslim pupils imagine themselves in the context of Prevent

Having examined the findings so far in this chapter, three themes stand out relating to the Muslim pupils' imagined identity of themselves. The first is being imagined as a community which is experienced as a strong aspect of their identity by the Muslim pupils. The second is the pervasive experience of being watched, looked at and judged, and the third is the sense of an identity of strength identified by the Muslim pupils. In the following, I examine these three themes in light of possible interpretations in the context of the literature. These three predominant themes arose out of categories of how the Muslim pupils imagined themselves, how the Muslim pupils felt imagined by others and how the Muslim pupils seem to imagine others.

I begin by exploring the theme of imagining oneself as part of a community. The theme of community is twofold. This theme seems to be a significant way in which the pupils imagine themselves, namely their affiliation to the Muslim community. The theme of community also plays a significant part in how the pupils feel imagined by others, as a community associated with threat and terror. One way to explore these differing imaginings of community is in light of Anderson's 'imagined community'. The community which the pupils imagine themselves to belong to and feel perceived to belong to can be regarded as an 'imagined community' because the group will:

“never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion” (1983: p6).

Although Anderson's original reference to community was nationalistic and this refers to a religiously identifying group, elements of Anderson's model are useful for exploring the Muslim community.

Like Anderson's imagined community, the imagined Muslim community described here, seems to be built by those within the community such as the Muslim pupils, who imagine a sense of membership through pride at their affiliation with the community. They see themselves as unified together in it, imagining and describing themselves in the data as 'us'. For the most part, the data suggests that the Muslim pupils felt a sense of safety within the imagined community, although this had been challenged by the recent terror attacks and the threat of islamophobia. However, according to the Muslim pupils, those who carry out terror attacks are not recognised as within the imagined Muslim community.

However, less like Anderson's traditional notion of an 'imagined community', the imagined community interpretation stemming from the data, seems to also be constructed from without. That is to say, it is seen to be built by those who imagine it from a position outside the community. These entities, according to the pupils, construct the community as threatening and as associated with terrorism. The pupils describe the media as one of these entities. According to the pupils, the media builds up a negative image of the Muslim community which it projects through news and programming. The public is also perceived as an entity which constructs the imagined community from outside through what the pupils perceive as racist and stereotyped portrayals. The Government too is perceived, by the older pupils, to construct the imagined community from the outside by seemingly portraying the community as potential religious extremists.

Those who construct the imagined community from without, could be seen, to some extent, as constructing a suspect imagined community (Breen Smyth, 2014). The suspect community thesis was originally developed by Hillyard (1993) to analyse the construction of the Irish community as suspect under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) (1974: p1). It was then translated to refer to the experiences of Muslim communities during the 'War on Terror' and under counter-terror laws by Pantazis and

Pemberton (2009). Pantazis and Pemberton argue that “political discourse and legislative measures have identified Muslims as the ‘new’ suspect community” (2009: p646).

According to the suspect community thesis, Government policy constructs the suspect community. This is reflected to some extent in my study, with some of the Muslim pupils’ perceiving of the Prevent strategy as constructing them as extremist. However, Greer (2009) would challenge this thesis, suggesting that these legislative policies are not systematically based on Islamophobia, therefore the Muslim community is not under “official suspicion” (2009: p1186). Nevertheless, in my study, as in Breen Smyth’s (2014) reiteration of the suspect community thesis, the media and the public are perceived by the pupils to construct a suspect community, more so than Government policy.

Furthermore, those within the imagined community could imagine themselves to be seen as suspect. The pupils imagine themselves as watched and judged by others, constructing themselves as suspect. It could be suggested that they have been constructed as suspect from outside their community throughout their lifetimes, with the result that they might have come to construct themselves as suspect.

However, this interpretation of the Muslim pupils as members of an imagined community and as rendering themselves as suspect, does not fit well with the third theme I outlined at the start of the section. The third theme is the strong sense communicated by the Muslim pupils of imagining themselves as having individual agency and strength.

Being rendered as a suspect community to some extent, could suggest a passive individual persona and, to a certain extent, a sense of victimhood. However, the pupils do not present themselves as victims. When they describe how they imagine

themselves, the pupils assert a sense of individuality and agency in their actions, not as lost in the community or cowed by the weight of judgment. They assert their identity as Muslim and demonstrate an agency in their assertion of personal identity, as echoed in Lynch's description of young Muslims (2013). This assertion of agency and seeming refusal to be seen as victims, echoes Hargreaves' study of the way British Muslims offer "accounts of agency, personal strength and coping" (Hargreaves, 2016: p2620) in response to hate crime and therefore are not to be rendered as "passive victims" (Hargreaves, 2016: p2617).

Therefore, although the imagined community literature and the suspect community thesis seem to fit the Muslim pupils' accounts to some extent, namely to the extent that they identify as community and feel under suspicion, these do not represent the full picture. I suggest that the reason for this is that these theses treat Muslims as a blurred community 'block' rather than as individuals with voices of their own. As has been evidenced from this chapter, the pupils' have very clear, mature and articulate voices of their own.

Furthermore, if I restricted interpretation of the Muslim pupils' imagined identities to these two theses, I would risk carrying out the type of social research into Muslim communities that Hargreaves (2016) warns against. That is to say, some researchers portray British Muslims as "helpless individuals within powerless communities" (2016: p2603). He identifies this problem to be particularly significant when studying "minority communities from a majority perspective" (p2603). As a white, non-Muslim researcher, I was conscious of the need to bear this in mind, but I note more so, that when I listened to the voices of the participants and felt their passion and energy, I knew that they did not present as passive victims. Instead, as recognised by Hargreaves of his participants, there is an acknowledgement of "agency, personal strength, choice and meaning making through adversity" (2016: p2603).

Therefore, what would be a more appropriate representation of the imagining of the pupils in light of the data and the literature? Rather than applying the ready-made theories of an 'imagined community' or a 'suspect community' as theoretical positionings to my findings, in light of grounded theory I draw a more nuanced theory directly from the findings.

My data suggests that in order to avoid losing the pupils amidst the impression of the "powerless community" (Hargreaves, 2016: p2603), I need to begin with the voices of the individual. Grounded theory data begins from the voices of the research participants and therefore recognises the voices of the research participant ground up rather than presenting the participants from a 'top down' or theoretical perspective. However, if I return to the categories in which I originally presented my data, namely 'how I imagine myself' and 'how I feel imagined by others' I get a more nuanced account than simply one based on individuality but rather located in community or communities as well.

It is clear from the data that the pupils imagined themselves both to be part of a community and to be individuals. Although the imagined community thesis misses out the individual, I must not instead form a theory that focuses on the individual and misses out the community. The pupils imagine themselves as Muslim and present their pride in the ummah. That is part of their individual self-assertion. However, theories of community too easily lose that self-assertion and blend the individual into a top-down community thesis. Grounded theorizing recognises the need to acknowledge both imaginings, the individual voice and the participation in community.

8.7 - Chapter conclusion

In conclusion, the three central themes to be found of the pupils' imagined identity are: first the significance of community in the self-imaginings of the pupils, second the

pervasive imagining of being the object of another's judgement and third, the strong imagined sense of individual assertiveness and strength shown by the pupils through their voices. This discussion has situated these imaginings amidst the literature to explore possible ways that the pupil imagined identities can be interpreted. The result is that although 'imagined communities' and 'suspect communities' capture key elements of the pupil imagined identities, including the importance of community and sense of being judged and suspected, these theories do not acknowledge the importance of individual assertion and agency present in the pupils' voices. In fact, the pupils' individuality can be seen to be lost, both in the claims of community and the blur of communal suspicion. In order to capture all three aspects of imagined identity at once, I have had to theorize a position emerging from the grounded data to acknowledge all three aspects of the imagined identity. Through grounded theorizing, the individual voices of the pupils, their energy and passion, needed to be acknowledged in tension with their engagement with community. The very fact that the pupils assert themselves as community, demonstrates the individual assertion present in their positioning. By asserting individuality, they also overcome the risk of becoming 'powerless communities' overwhelmed by suspicion.

In the next chapter, I draw together the analyses of Government, teacher and pupils' of the imagined identities and explore the relationships between them.

Chapter 9: Discussion of the relationships between imagined identities

9.1- Introduction

Discussion in the previous three chapters has explored the imagined identities of the Muslim pupils from the perspectives of the Government, from teachers and from Muslim pupils. In this chapter, through a process of theorizing, the relationships between them will be examined.

9.2 - Theorizing about the relationships between Government's, teachers' and pupils' imagined identities: Building a framework of understanding

So far, I have explored the imagining of Muslim pupils in the Government's Prevent policy (Chapter 6), the teachers' imagining of Muslim pupils (Chapter 7) and the pupils' own imagining of themselves and of how others see them (Chapter 8). In the following section, I build a framework of understanding which is then used to examine the relationship between each of these. The previous chapters have responded to the first, second and third research questions, that is to say, what the imagined identities of Muslim pupils are according to firstly, the Government, secondly the teachers and thirdly the pupils. This chapter responds to the fourth and fifth of my research questions: is there a relationship between the imagined identities of the Muslim pupils held by the Government, the teachers and the pupils themselves, and if there is, what is this relationship? Therefore, I examine:

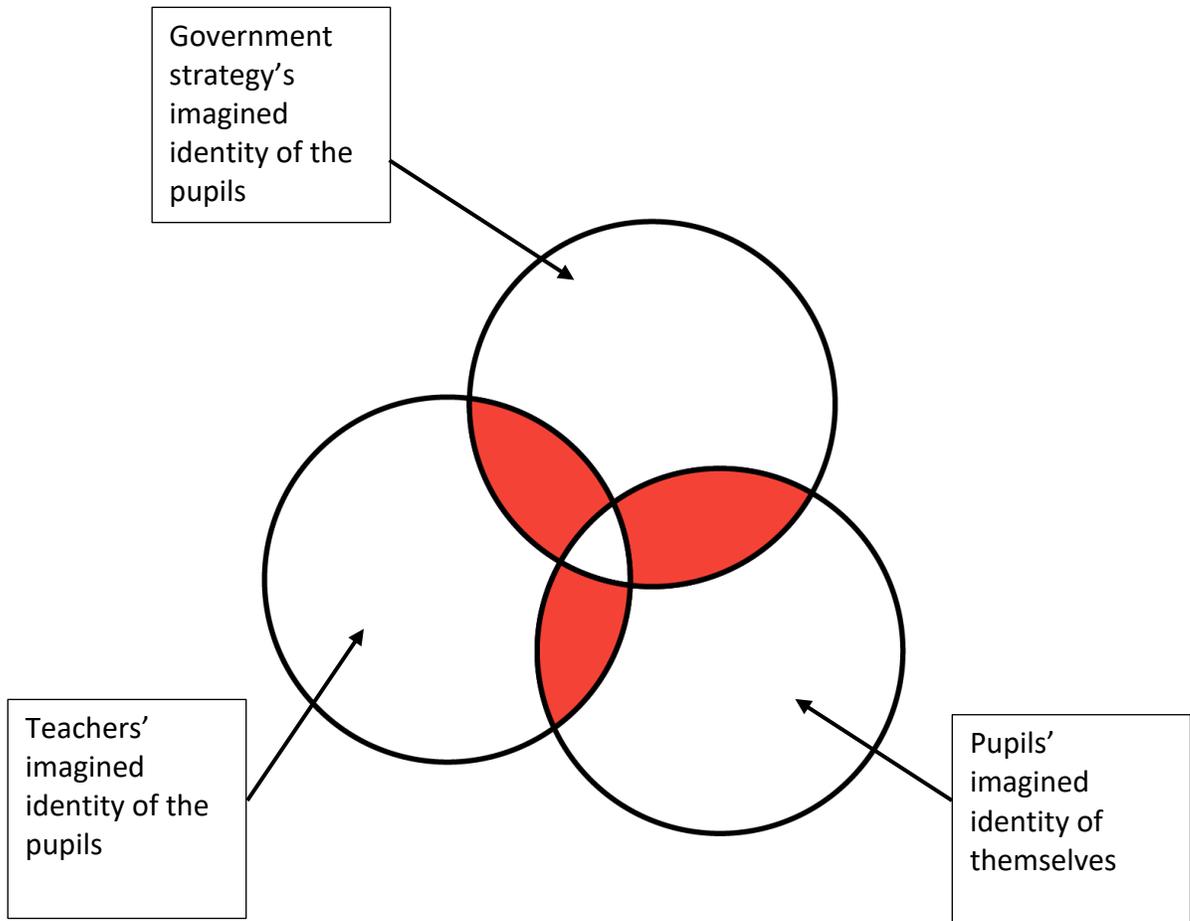
- the relationship between the Government's and teachers' imagined identity of the Muslim pupils,

- the relationship between the teachers' and the pupils' imagined identities of the Muslim pupils
- the relationship between the Government's imagining of the pupils and the pupils' imagining of themselves.

Having explored the relationships between each imagined identity, I finally draw all three together to examine their overall relationship.

This exploration of the relationships between each imagined identity, referred to as building a 'framework of understanding', is achieved through theorizing and is presented in diagrammatic form below. A framework of understanding is built as a model firstly, for the reader to follow the theorizing process systematically and secondly, for future research to be carried out along the same lines. 'Theorizing' is a constructivist grounded theory term used by Charmaz to suggest the process of "seeing possibilities, establishing connections and asking questions" (Charmaz, 2014: p244). Theorizing suggests a continuing action and an evolving process, which does not necessarily have an end point, although in my study, the process had an artificial end date at submission. My theorizing attempts to respond to the grounded theory question "What is going on here?" (Corbin and Strauss, 1998: p45), and ultimately, to the title question, what is the imagined identity of Muslim pupils in the context of the Prevent strategy?

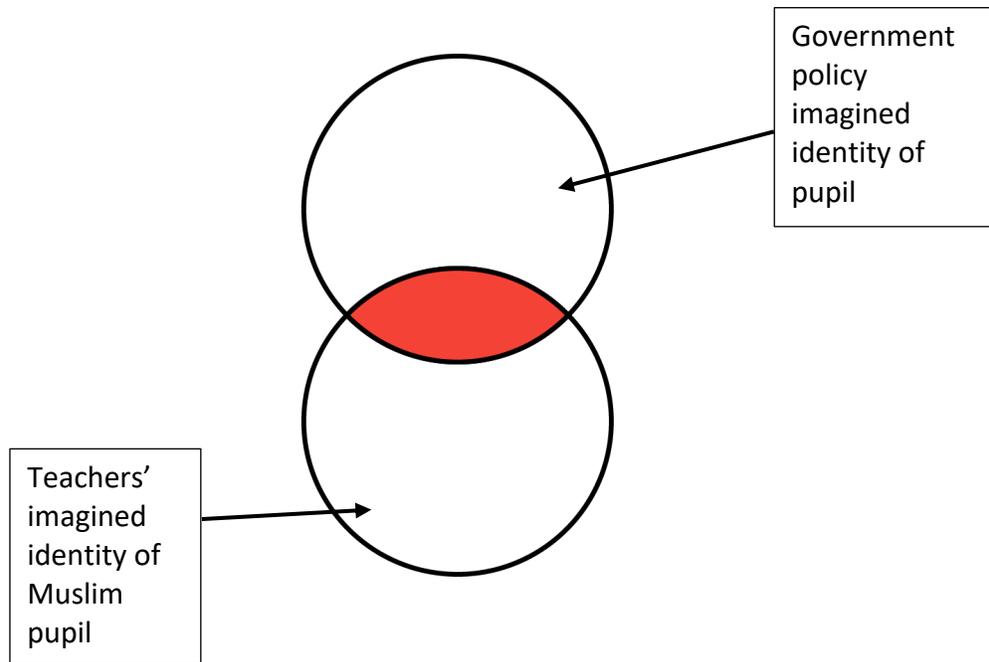
Figure A: Building the framework of understanding



The diagram above (Figure A) indicates how I build a framework of understanding by exploring and theorizing the relationship between the three imagined identities. The relationships are explored by establishing connections and comparisons between the three imagined identities. These comparisons are illustrated through the overlaps or shared elements of the diagram (in red) but identifying these overlaps also raises questions about what is not shared between the held imagined identities. The following sections and diagrams demonstrate the key steps that I took to build up the process of theorizing.

9.3 - Relationship 1: Government policy imagined identity of the Muslim pupils in relation to the teachers' imagined identity of the Muslim pupils

Figure B:



In this first section, I examine the relationship between the imagined identity of the Muslim pupils as constructed within the Government's Prevent policy and the teachers' imagined identity of the Muslim pupils. Figure B displays in red the area of overlap between the two. This overlap will be explored below, as well as the ways in which the two do not overlap.

As discussed in Chapter 6, the Prevent strategy constructs an image of the pupil as vulnerable to extremism and at risk of radicalisation. Furthermore, resilience, according to the strategy, needs to be built up in the pupil to help prevent them from

being drawn into terrorism. In the 2008 Prevent strategy, the pupil seen to be at risk and vulnerable is specifically a Muslim young person. Attempts have been made in Governmental Prevent policy from 2011 onwards, to communicate that *any* pupil or young person is at risk of extremism. Nevertheless, the idea that it is Muslim pupils at risk has lingered as a predominant image throughout the other manifestations of the strategy, such as through the Trojan Horse inspections.

The UK Government's imagining of the pupil as vulnerable and at risk of extremism overlaps, to some extent, with the imagining of some teachers. There is an indication in the data that some teachers regard both Muslim pupils and non-Muslim pupils as at risk of extremism and radicalisation. These teachers see those risks coming from the pupils' home life or online, as explored in Chapter 7. These teachers regard their own position as one in which they need to safeguard the pupils against radicalisation, which echoes the emphasis on Prevent being equated with safeguarding found in Government policy (Department for Education: 2015: p10) and in the work of Busher *et al.* (2017). These teachers see the need to spot a pupil who is becoming radicalised and to alert the relevant safeguarding member of staff. All but one of the teachers interviewed had attended Prevent training in some form, whether online or in person, so their understanding of Prevent as safeguarding could have been derived from their training (Home Office, 2018).

There is also overlap in the way that some teachers and the 2008 Prevent strategy regard Muslim pupils as more at risk of radicalisation than pupils of other backgrounds. This fits with Sian's research (2015: p192) and with Jerome *et al.* who note that "whilst the Prevent Duty avoids naming Muslims as the main object of the policy, many teachers put Islam back into their interpretations of the policy" (Jerome *et al.*, 2019: p826). This was noticeable at two points in the teacher interviews. In one, a teacher expressed uncertainty as to why a rural school with a white student majority needed to implement Prevent (Teacher 6, Middleoak/ School E). Another teacher only realised on

receiving further Prevent training, that Prevent was not just about looking out for Muslim pupils (Teacher 6, Oakwood/School C). This suggests that the Government's 2008 version of Prevent, which focused predominantly on Muslim young people, had not only filtered down to the teachers but remained with them.

There is not an overlap, however, in the way that some of the teachers believed that the Muslim pupils were more at risk of Islamophobia than radicalisation. These teachers imagined and expressed concern for the Muslim pupils' vulnerability to Islamophobic remarks and experiences that they or their family might face in society in the current environment. This concern for the wellbeing of the pupil in relation to Islamophobia, is not acknowledged in the literature and consequently presents an area for further questions and research.

Furthermore, the identities imagined by some of the teachers suggest that several teachers perceived that the Muslim pupils feared being *imagined* as potentially at risk of radicalisation and extremism. These teachers perceived that the Muslim pupils feared being imagined and identified as extreme and feared being reported. This sense of the Muslim pupils' fear affected these teachers' views of the Prevent strategy, often meaning that they had very negative perceptions of the policy, such as viewing it as alienating (Q6: 46D), stigmatizing (Q6: 9A) and leading to distrust (Q6: 72E).

In summary, examination of the relationship between the Government's and the teachers' imagined identity of the Muslim pupils indicates some shared elements, such as the perception of Prevent as safeguarding and the need to safeguard the pupils against radicalisation. However, there are also ways in which the teachers' imagining of the Muslim pupils differ from the Government's perspective, including the teachers' focus on the impact of Islamophobia as well as perceiving the pupils' fears of being reported. This last area will be explored in the following section.

9.4 - Relationship 2: The relationship between teachers' imagined identity of the Muslim pupils and Muslim pupils' imagined identity of themselves

Figure C:

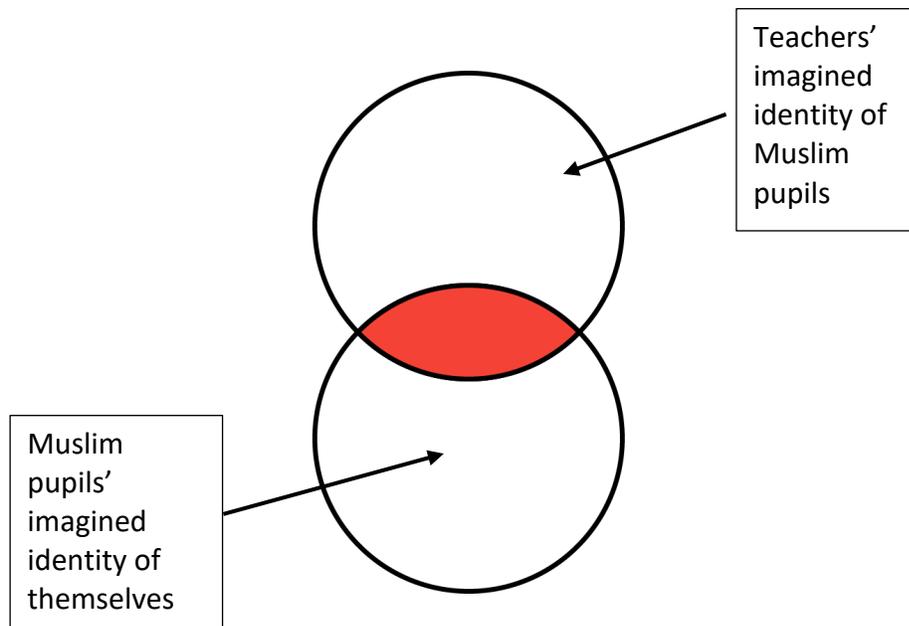


Figure C shows the relationship between the teachers' imagined identity of the Muslim pupils and the Muslim pupils' imagined identity of themselves. There are some shared areas, but also some areas of difference.

Some teachers and some Muslim pupils imagined Muslim pupils as anxious and fearful *of being labelled* extreme. From the pupils' contributions, there were suggestions of the way that Muslim pupils worried about being judged as terrorists. They were aware that others may misinterpret them or take their words out of context and therefore they both self-censored and censored each other as to what it might be acceptable to say. Similarly, some of the teachers spoke of the Muslim pupils' sense of restriction and

unease at saying certain things about themselves and their religious views in case they were misunderstood as extreme. These teachers were concerned that the pupils might be self-censoring and restricting themselves from saying or sharing things in class, particularly to do with religious or political views. This indication of self-censoring echoes the description of Muslim pupils' experiences of silencing found in Faure Walker's (2019) work.

Some of the teachers interviewed were Muslim and this might give some insight into this particular imaginary. Some of these Muslim teachers indicated experiencing a sense of anxiety similar to that imagined in relation to the pupils. These teachers felt the need to self-censor and monitor themselves, referring to how "discussion had been stifled" (Q10: 43D) and expressed a fear of being "misconstrued" (Q10: 75E). This was not expressed by non-Muslim staff. These Muslim teachers indicated that they shared with the pupils, the sense that they were being observed and judged. They worried about advising pupils in case their advice was misinterpreted as in some way radicalising. Although unease towards Prevent amongst ethnic minority teachers is hinted at in Busher's research (2017: p52), it is not expanded upon. This might have been because respondents felt anxious to raise it, but it shows clearly in the responses of those I researched.

However, in terms of areas which did not overlap, not all of the teachers indicated that they found the Muslim pupils to have a sense of anxiety or restriction. These teachers expressed an imagined identity of the pupil as open, suggesting the "pupils are able to talk openly" (Q10:15A) and "They [the pupils] are more open talking about radicalisation in the community" (Q10: 46D). This could suggest that these teachers imagined the Muslim pupils as content and as safe. Furthermore, these teachers imagined the pupils as experiencing school as a safe space.

A further commonality between the Muslim pupils' and teachers' imagined identities relates to trust. Some teachers imagined the pupils as trusting. Muslim teachers in particular, imagined that the Muslim pupils trusted them, due to a potential sense of shared experience or understanding. The Muslim pupils, according to the focus groups, also seemed to imagine themselves as safer with those Muslim teachers as they trusted them to relate to their experience.

However, there is also an indication in the pupils' data that some Muslim pupils did not see themselves as trusting their teachers. From the pupils, there were a few suggestions that such trust might be fragile. There is a suggestion of needing to 'tip toe' around the staff or 'hold in' concerning what a pupil might say and there is a concern about being questioned or even reported for perceived extremist comments. There is also some indication in the teacher questionnaire responses, that the teachers did not imagine the Muslim pupils as trusting the teachers, due to the requirement that they comply with the Prevent strategy. In particular, these teachers did not imagine the pupils as sufficiently safe or trusting to talk to the teachers about their fears and anxieties of being imagined as, and mistakenly labelled as, extremist. This risked loss of trust by the Muslim pupils in the teachers is explored in Faure Walker's account of teaching in the context of the Prevent strategy (2019: p370).

It was not clear from the teachers' responses as to whether the Muslim pupils knew of Prevent. The teachers were also uncertain as to whether the pupils were aware of the teachers' training in Prevent. From the Muslim pupils' responses, there is little indication of the pupils expressing knowledge about Prevent, except for a few older students, who imagined themselves to be monitored by Prevent.

In summary, an examination of the relationship between the teachers' imagined identities of the Muslim pupils and the Muslim pupils' imagined identity of themselves indicates some commonalities. Firstly, some teachers imagine the Muslim pupils as

anxious and fearful of being labelled extreme, therefore the pupils are imagined to self-censor and monitor what they say. This is in tune with the pupils, who also suggest to some extent that they self-censor. Some of those who presented this view were Muslim teachers, some of whom felt those limitations on speech and caution themselves, and therefore imagined the restriction as an incorporated aspect of the Muslim pupils' identity. However, there were some teachers who felt the pupils were not restricted. This was not echoed by the pupils' views. Secondly, there was the issue of trustworthiness, where pupils suggested, to a certain extent, their trust in the teachers, but where some teachers imagine the pupils as not fully trusting them due to the Prevent Duty. However, there was uncertainty amongst the teachers, as to whether the pupils actually knew of Prevent.

9.5 - Relationship 3: Government Prevent strategy's imagined identity in relation to the Muslim pupils' imagined identity

Figure D:

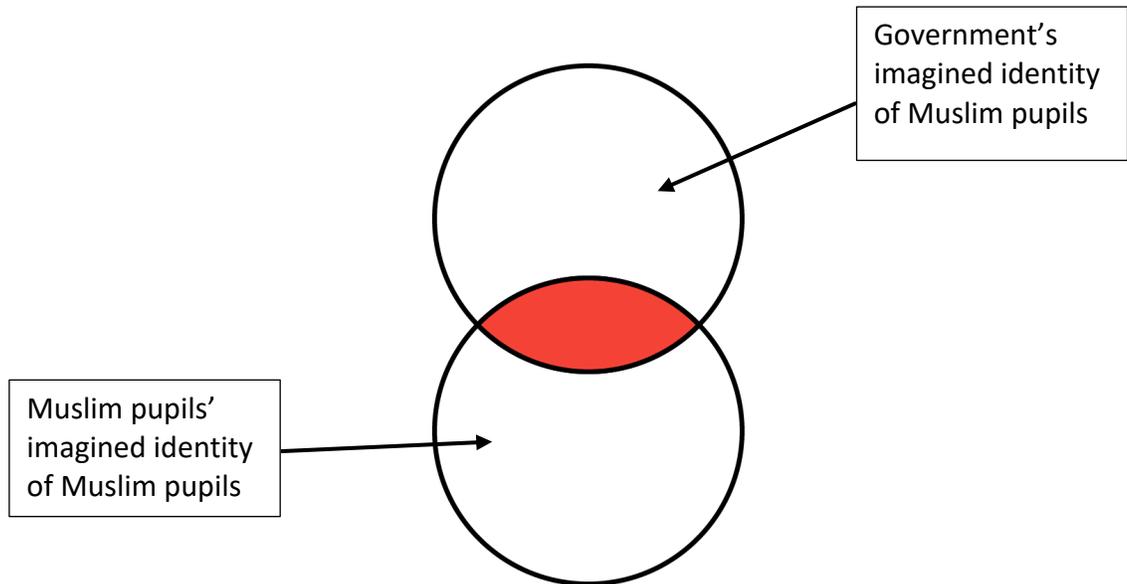


Figure D illustrates the relationship between the Government's and the Muslim pupils' imagined identity which is a harder one to explore as there is less of a distinct overlap between the two. There are distinct differences between how the Government imagine the Muslim pupils and how the pupils' imagine themselves. There are, however, some similarities between the Government Prevent policy's imagining of the pupil and how the Muslim pupils believe they are imagined by *others*. This is indicative of the gap between how Muslim pupils view themselves and how they feel imagined by others.

The Government's policy, as discussed earlier in this chapter, constructs the pupil as potentially at risk of extremism and as vulnerable to radicalisation. This emphasis on potential is key. Each and every one of the pupils is viewed through a securitised lens and is considered to have the capacity to be drawn into terrorism. However, the Muslim pupils in my research, did not express imagining themselves as at risk of extremism nor as vulnerable to radicalisation. They presented themselves instead as "normal teenagers", therefore their self-imagining and the Government policy's imagining of them are not shared. What *is* shared is that the Muslim pupils felt seen by others in this way, as potential extremists and potential terrorists. It is this shared imagining that needs greater exploration.

The Muslim pupils spoke frequently about being imagined by others as extremists and as potential terrorists, to the point where it had become an almost internalised identity. In other words, how one is seen by others begins to affect how one sees oneself. One of these 'others' may have been the Government.

At times during the research, it has seemed as though the Muslim pupils were not sure of the origin of the perception of Muslim pupils as potential extremists and terrorists. However, in light of a few older, year 12 students' comments about Prevent and the Government, this sense of judging and imagining of the pupils as potential extremists may have been attributed to the Government. These pupils indicated that they felt that the Government is a source of surveillance, in particular watching and assessing them for how religious they are.

However, there are several other suggestions about the origin of this sense of judgment and observation. Some Muslim pupils attributed the perception of being observed to society and the public. Some of the Muslim pupils' comments indicated that they felt those who are white perceived them in a particular way and would subscribe to the perception of Muslim pupils as potential terrorists. For some others,

being seen as potential extremists was attributed to the media. This sense of the media as a source of the negative perception is echoed in a number of pieces of literature (Sharma and Nijjar, 2018; Cherney and Murphy, 2016) and has emerged as of significance in my research. Sometimes the perception of being seen as extremists and potential terrorists is attributed by the pupils more vaguely to ‘them’ and ‘they’, for example, “They say that Muslims are terrorists and it isn’t fair cos we’re not” (Pupil 1, Year 8, Middleoak), rather than being attributed to a more concrete source. Therefore, there is no clear conclusion as to the origin of the sense of observation experienced by the Muslim pupils.

A significant difference between the way the Government imagines the Muslim pupils and the way the pupils imagine themselves is in relation to Britishness. The Government, through their rejection of the multiculturalism narrative and through the pursuit of the British values agenda, indicate their desire for the Muslim pupils to adhere to a singular British identity. The pupils, however, are unable to do this as they exist with multiple identities that are “flexible” (Geaves, 2005: p75) and constantly “shifting” (Ahmed, 2005: p169). As one pupil identified:

“I can be Bengali and British and Muslim. It’s just how you balance it and you work it out.” (Pupil 3, Year 12, Elmhurst).

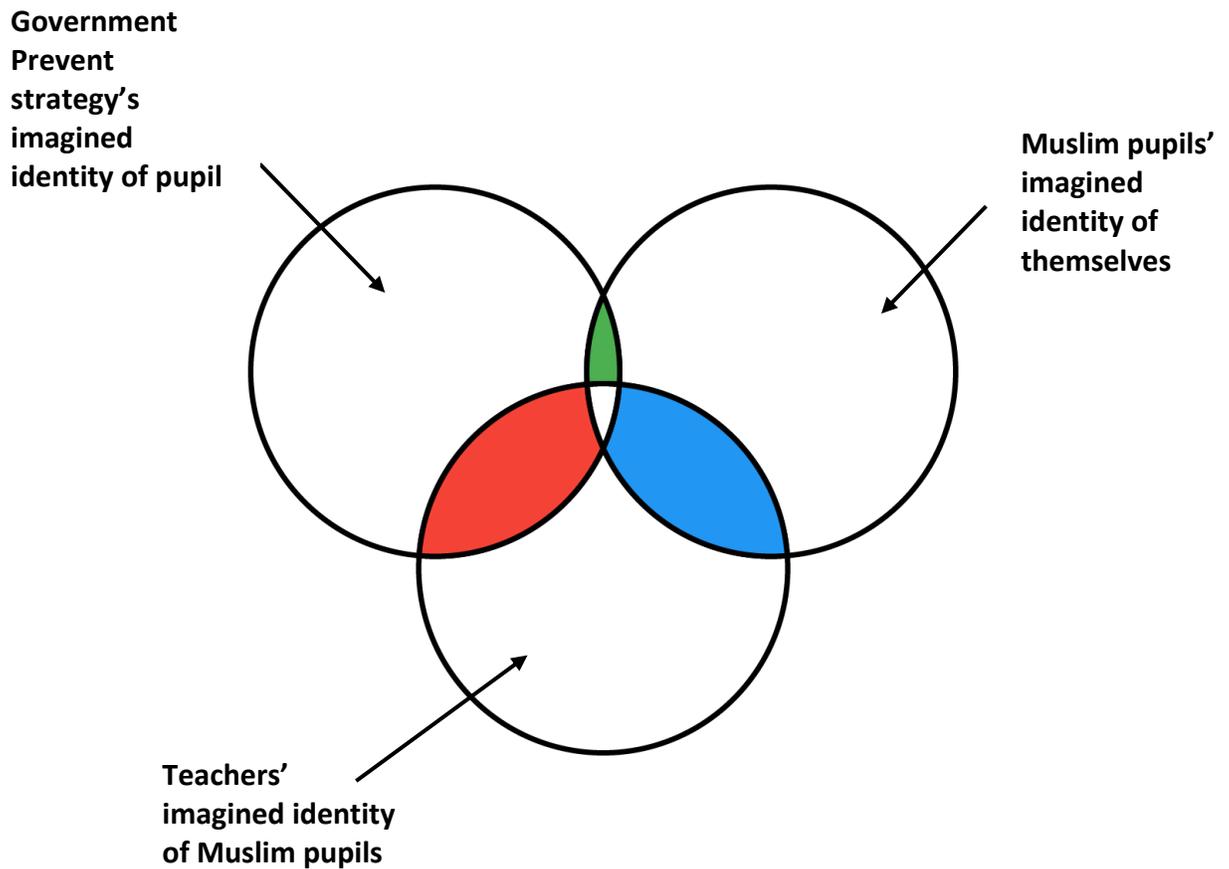
Each pupil negotiates themselves around a range of identities both consciously and subconsciously, perhaps existing in “two worlds” (Pupil 7, Year9+10, Elmhurst) or possibly more for their identities. Some of the pupils felt a distinct pride in this multiple identity as indicated above. The expectation to adhere to a singular identity of Britishness indicates an unrealistic expectation of the pupils and adds to the pressure and anxiety they feel to be what others require them to be. It also suggests a possible aspect of failure in being who they imagine themselves to be as a multi-faceted identity does not adhere to the requirement of a unified identity. It is possible that under the

narrative of multiculturalism of the late 90s, this multiple identity would have been celebrated and a source of pride. However, in the wake of the dismissal of multiculturalism as dead and the narrative of the War of Terror, pride the pupils see in the multiple and flexible identity is not recognised and instead is framed in the lens of potential suspicion. The pupil who felt her identity to be foremost Somali rather than British (Pupil 3, Year 12, Rosehill) would risk being cast in the rhetoric of a national security threat, through having strongly asserted one of her multiple identities as more prominent than the desired one. How the Muslim pupils imagine themselves and how they are imagined by the Government do not match and risks associated with not achieving a unified singular identity under the banner of Britishness are significant.

In summary, by closely examining the relationship between the Government strategy's imagined identity and how the Muslim pupils imagine themselves, there is not a direct overlap as the Muslim pupils do not imagine themselves as potential extremists. However, when examining how the Government's imagined identity relates to how the Muslim pupils imagine that others see them, it is possible to suggest there is an indirect overlap. It would seem that the Government is one of many sources, together with the media and the public, projecting this imagined identity of the potential extremist and indicating a person under surveillance which the Muslim pupils have come to incorporate as an aspect of their imagined identity. Muslim pupils feel themselves to be the specific target of society's radicalisation fears. Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest an indirect overlap between how the Muslim pupils' feel imagined by others and the Government's imagining of the pupil.

9.6 - Drawing the relationships together

Figure E:



The building of a 'framework of understanding' presents a response to the title research question: what is the imagined identity of the Muslim pupils in the context of the Prevent strategy? In the sections above, I have shown how the framework of understanding is built up through analysis of each of the relationships. I have explored both what is shared and what is not shared in the relationships. This section examines the three relationships together.

The predominant imagined identity of the Muslim pupils in the context of the Prevent strategy, seems to be a figure, potentially vulnerable to, and at risk of, being drawn into extremism and ultimately terrorism. That imagined figure is therefore, potentially, at risk of perpetrating violence and is to be perceived as a threat. This figure is present in and engaged with by all three imagined identities; the Government's, the teachers' and the Muslim pupils'.

This potentially radicalised figure of the Muslim pupil is presented by the Government policy of the Prevent strategy, 2008, as shown through the documentary analysis of Chapter 6, and has lingered as an image, undetachable from the future development of the policy. The key element is the pupil's imagined potential for radicalisation and therefore the need to prevent this radicalisation through resilience, becomes central and crucial in the pupil's education.

This figure is also engaged with by the teachers, albeit in two differing ways. Teachers are encouraged to see pupils as at risk of extremism and radicalisation through the Prevent training and instructed to see it as part of their safeguarding duties to identify and prevent it. Due in part to the training, in part to the media and in part to social stereotype, a few teachers imagined this at-risk figure as predominantly Muslim rather than as any pupil. However, from my research, the way in which most teachers engaged with the figure was generally to negotiate around and resist the perceived emphasis that this potentially radicalised figure refers specifically to *Muslim* pupils.

The Muslim pupils also engaged with the imagined figure of the Muslim pupil as at risk of radicalisation and extremism, by imagining that this is how others perceive them. The Muslim pupils felt reduced to this figure by the media and broader society, including the Government. It is an imagined identity that is so persistent, it risks becoming an internalised identity for the pupils. The pupils felt that they had to

repeatedly, actively reject this imagined identity in order to be seen more fully for who they are, as normal teenagers. They rejected this imagined identity through clear protestations and assertions against the identity, as seen throughout the focus groups discussions, to a point where they imagined an identity of themselves in direct contrast to it.

In summary, in the course of illustrating my theorizing through the framework of understanding, I have discussed the relationships between the imagined identities of Government policy, the teachers and the pupils. I have returned to a research question to ask whether there is a relationship between the imagined identities, to which the answer is 'yes', and I have explored those relationships through theorising, namely, the ongoing process of "seeing possibilities, establishing connections and asking questions" (Charmaz, 2014: p244). Through building a framework of understanding, I have explored each separate relationship in light of the grounded theory question "what is going on here?".

9.7: A discussion of concluding thoughts

The use of grounded theory to explore the data leads to a conclusion which focuses on the relationship between phenomena and opens up the potential for future exploration. Rather than offering a final answer to the research questions, it invites further exploration, analysis and discussion.

The value of my thesis is, therefore, to have explored a phenomenon – how Muslim pupils are imagined by themselves, by teachers and by government in the context of the Prevent strategy. I have opened up insight into an area of sensitive research and used it to explore participants' voices while continuing to work to keep their voices at the forefront of my research in their fullness and complexity.

While a traditional conclusion may offer a final or ultimate answer, the process of theorizing is a process which does not stop. The researcher remains in continuous conversation with the data. The grounded theory method of oscillating between data and analysis offers the opportunity of a continuing interrogation of the data. The building of a framework of understanding means that others can use it as a model for furthering the research.

Therefore, this thesis is not about one or two key concluding statements. Rather the thesis should be viewed as the process engaged in, as a whole. The research questions have been engaged with throughout, and through a lengthy process of analysis, discussion and theorizing, each having a separate chapter to be fully explored. However, if insights, elucidations and interpretations made during the process of analysis are drawn together, it is possible to identify some findings that appear to be particularly interesting and significant, and to make some contributions to issues and debates raised in and by existing research and literature. These will be referred to as 'significant findings' and are considered in the final chapter.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

10.1 - Introduction

In this concluding chapter, I bring together a number of insights, interpretations and reflections upon the process of exploring the imagined identities of Muslim pupils in the context of Prevent. I begin by drawing together some significant findings and then reflect upon the research process. I then examine the ways in which this study contributes to the field, empirically, methodologically and theoretically. In doing so, I examine what the limitations of this study might have been, offer some recommendations and make suggestions for further research in this field.

10.2 - Significant findings

In the following, I draw out some significant findings. These are drawn from insights and interpretations made during the process of analysing and theorizing, explored in the framework of understanding developed in the last chapter (Chapter 9) and from earlier analysis chapters. I identify seven findings and set them in the context of existing literature:

1. A significant finding indicated by the framework of understanding, is that there is a gap between the way that the Muslim pupils imagine themselves – as just ‘normal teenagers’ – and the way they feel that others imagine them – as potential extremists and terrorists. This gap has been previously implied in Brown and Saeed’s article on female, Muslim students at UK universities (2015) through one student’s voice:

“You know when people look at me and they see I wear jeans I look quite modern and stuff but I pray. They look at me and they say they

can't believe that I pray, you know those kinds of anti-Islamic comments. It kind of makes them scared because they look at me and think if people like her are religious then imagine how fanatical the others who wear headscarves are ..." (2015: p1956).

However, unlike my work, the difference between the self-imagining and the imagining by others is not explicitly explored in Brown and Saeed's study. My study indicates that the pupils are aware of a stereotype of themselves held by society and therefore see themselves both from their own perspective and from the perceived perspective of others. This could be likened to the concept expressed by Du Bois in *The Souls of Black Folks* as "Double-consciousness" (1903). By this, Du Bois referred to "the idea of always looking at oneself through the eyes of others" and always feeling a kind of "two-ness" (1903). The Muslim pupils, it can be argued, feel a kind of 'two-ness' as they seem to be always predicting how others will view them. The pupils seem to feel that they have to calculate another's response to them, particularly through an assessment of threat, and therefore are always psychologically preparing for it.

The gap between how the Muslim pupils imagine themselves and how they feel imagined by others also implies a difference between being seen as oneself and being blurred into a stereotype of a group. The Muslim pupils wanted to be seen for who they are but in the blur of a group stereotype, individuality is lost. The gap between how the pupils' viewed themselves and how they felt seen by others suggests that they did not feel recognised as unique individuals by the society around them, and that they felt instead, alienated from the projection of themselves by others. This means that the Muslim pupils did not recognise themselves in the projection others create of them, namely as a threat or a terror risk. This manifested itself in a tension between how the Muslim pupils perceived themselves and how they felt perceived by others.

2. A second significant finding that links to the idea of a 'double consciousness' and seeing oneself as others see one, is that many Muslim pupils censor themselves some of the time. This self-censoring results from imagining oneself as others might see one. The Muslim pupils were anxious about how others might imagine them, assuming that others would regard them as potential extremists, so, they hesitated and censored their words, particularly their religious and political views out of fear of being perceived or misunderstood as extremists and the possible repercussions of that. This echoes the findings of Scott Bauman, who states that she has evidence in her work of Muslim students self-censoring (Neenan, 2018). It also reflects the findings of Kryiacou et al. who argue that Muslim students become "extra vigilant about what they say" (2017: p104). However, both of these are with reference to Muslim students on university campuses in the UK, while, my research shows this finding occurring at secondary school level.

3. A third significant finding is that due to anxiety about being misunderstood, trust between the Muslim pupils and the teachers existed but was fragile. Trust is easily broken by the risk of a referral or reporting. There seemed to be an experience of greater trust for the Muslim teachers by the Muslim pupils as pupils felt that there is a greater sense of shared experience and understanding. However, here too the risk of distrust is possible. Although the risk of distrust is implied as a possibility in the literature, such as in Ahmed Chaudhury's study of 6 teachers (2018) and in Busher et al. (2017), the findings are that mostly teacher-pupil trust does not change under the Prevent Strategy (p51). However, Ahmed Chaudhry and Busher's finding are described from the teachers' perspective, not from the pupil's point of view. No literature, up to this point, has explored the pupil perspective on trust.

4. A fourth significant finding is that the Muslim pupils felt that the media plays a substantial part in how they are perceived and imagined. As indicated at various points throughout the analysis, from the perspectives of the Muslim pupils, the media potentially has a more significant influence and impact on how they are imagined by society, than the Government and their counter-terror policies. Several studies concerning Muslim communities, such as Cherney and Murphy (2016), emphasize the way that Muslims perceive the media to play a significant part in how they feel imagined by society. My research confirms those previous findings.

5. A fifth significant finding linked to the finding about the prominence of the media above, is that the majority of Muslim pupils in my study did not indicate that they know about the Prevent strategy. This is significant because the pupils are the subjects of Prevent and yet seemingly did not know of its implementation. Only a small handful of students make reference to Prevent and significantly these are older students who make reference to the policy. In terms of empirical data, this discovery affects my concluding findings significantly. It suggests that the pupils do not view their teachers as 'vigilant subjects' (Emerson, 2018) or 'spies' (Sian, 2015) as some of the literature suggests. It implies that for the most part, although some self-censoring does occur, the Muslim pupils in the schools I researched, do not feel regarded as potential extremists by their teachers. Therefore, the self-censoring referred to earlier in the significant findings, is not a result of knowing about Prevent but is rather potentially a reaction to the 'double consciousness' experienced by the Muslim pupils. That is to say, that they predict the ways others might imagine them and therefore self-censor. Interestingly, there is some ambiguity amongst the teachers as to whether they think the pupils know about Prevent. A few teachers think that the Muslim pupils know of the strategy and are directly affected by it. Some other teachers think the pupils

do not know the strategy by name but are aware of it. Other teachers believe the pupils do not know of it at all. Therefore, a significant finding to emerge from the theorizing in the previous chapter, is that the Government strategy of Prevent and its imagining of the pupil does not seem to have as significant a direct effect on the Muslim pupils as might have been anticipated at the start of this study. These findings concerning the pupils' lack of awareness of Prevent, are significant to my research as the contextual literature I have examined does not really explore the pupils' knowledge of Prevent, apart from Faure Walker's anecdotal account of his secondary school students, who were both aware of Prevent and significantly affected by it (2019, p371).

6. Interestingly, in comparison to the Muslim pupils, a few of the Muslim teachers felt directly affected by the Prevent strategy and shared some of the anxiety found amongst the Muslim pupils concerning the sense that they might be regarded or misinterpreted as extreme. This indicates that there was a sense of surveillance experienced by a number of Muslim teachers, although not by all. This sense of anxiety about being misperceived as radical is possibly indicated in the literature by Busher et al. (2017), who suggests that teachers of minority ethnic background have more concerns about Prevent (p52) than those of a majority white ethnic background. Other than the brief findings here in this thesis however, there does not seem to be any current literature that specifically mentions and expands on Muslim teachers' experiences under Prevent.
7. Furthermore, the majority of teachers in my study do not seem to have absorbed the securitized lens on the reductive figure of the Muslim pupil as one who is potentially at risk of being drawn into terrorism. In my early research assumptions, I had predicted that there was a risk of teachers focusing on this capacity for extremism and taking on a reductive view of the

Muslim pupil as a potential terrorist. My assumptions were also backed by the literature, such as Sian (2014) and The Muslim Council of Britain's report (2015: p1). However very few of the teachers seemed to have absorbed this securitized, reductive view of the Muslim pupil as a potential extremist and radicalised figure. Rather, many seemed to have actively resisted absorbing this. It was demonstrated particularly through the teachers' questionnaire responses that they had rejected this particular perception of the Muslim pupil. However, these teachers were predominantly working in schools with large numbers of Muslim pupils and the situation might be different in schools where the proportion of Muslim pupils was smaller.

Drawing together the significant findings, it seems that although the majority of pupils did not know about the Prevent strategy and the teachers did not seem to be imagining the Muslim pupils as potential terrorists, there is still a great deal of anxiety felt by the Muslim pupils about being imagined as extremists which results in self-censoring. However, that self-censoring and anxiety seems to come from the Muslim pupils constantly viewing themselves through a 'double consciousness' which is perpetuated by the media and the public's view, rather than predominantly their awareness of the Prevent strategy. Nevertheless, the study does not dismiss the idea that there is an indirect link between the Government's imagining of the pupils and the Muslim pupils' experiences of being imagined by others. This could indicate that there is a potential connection between the Government's Prevent policy and the Muslim pupils' imagined identity as figures of scrutiny and judgment. For those older Muslim pupils who explicitly mention the Government and the Prevent strategy, the Government's presence as a source of judgment and scrutiny is clear, particularly in relation to assessing how religious someone is and thus how radical. However, although the majority of the other Muslim pupils do not seemingly know of Prevent by name, they may still experience the ramifications of Prevent. The Muslim pupils frequently referred to the sense of being scrutinised and observed, although they

cannot always name the source of that experience. It may, therefore, be possible to suggest that the counter-terror strategy can be seen as a factor, in addition to the media and the public, in how the Muslim pupils feel imagined by others, namely as a potential terror risk.

10.3 - The thesis as a journey

My thesis reflects a journey which began in a situation which could be described as one of 'moral panic' (Cohen, 2002: p1). Moral panic refers to when "A condition, episode, persons or group emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests, its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media" (Cohen, 2002: p1). This seemed to be the case with the situation I found before me in 2015. There was panic concerning the fear of the Islamization of schools, as seen in the Trojan Horse inquiry and the risk of pupils going to join ISIS, as seen in the case of the Bethnal Green girls. There was also panic in the responses to these, such as the implementation of Prevent as a statutory duty, the fear of surveillance and the perceived securitisation of schools. These measures were then seemingly vindicated by the terror attacks of 2017. My writing grew out of these events.

Between July 2016 and January 2017, I met the pupils who appeared in the focus groups of this study. I heard their ideas, their opinions, I heard them laugh and joke. I heard them engage with energy in the discussions. I can picture the different groups of pupils I sat down with and hear their eagerness to share their thoughts. The pupils communicated to me that they wanted the opportunity to talk about things that they felt were important and they welcomed the opportunity to have someone to listen to them. Some of them commented that they had never had the opportunity to talk like this before and discuss these kinds of things, their lives, their relation to politics, their identity and their religion. The important thing for the pupils was to feel that their voices were being heard. My thesis was partly intended as a vehicle for enabling the

voices of these Muslim pupils to be heard. I wanted to present these voices as much as possible in their fullness and complexity.

I also heard the words of the teachers, both through their written offerings in the questionnaires and through their vocal contributions in the interviews. Some suggested they felt the topic was an important one and were glad to have their attention drawn to reflect on the experiences of Muslim pupils in their care. Others felt it was important to raise their concerns about the Prevent strategy and were glad to have a forum to do so.

I felt a strong sense of responsibility towards those who had spoken to me and given their views and voices to me. I felt pressure to ensure that participants could be heard and were suitably represented in my research. Too often in research that I have encountered, research participants are reduced to mere objects, their energy and liveliness lost into a reductive theory. However, through the methodology of grounded theory, I hope I have captured the complexity of the data and maintained acknowledgment of the agency and animated nature of the participants.

I knew that as a researcher, I would take their words and interpret them, I would place them in a research context and risk distorting them. Part of my concern with being the interpreter of others' words, stemmed from my awareness of my outsider status in relation to the pupils, in particular my whiteness in the position of researcher. As explored in the Introduction (Chapter 1), as a white, middle class woman, I did not share many of the cultural or daily experiences recounted by my pupil participants or some of my teacher participants. I mostly do not share the experience of being watched, judged and seen with suspicion, although some of the early difficulties of accessing schools, gaining the trust of the schools and the pupils and having to change the parameters of the study, suggests I may have experienced an element of it. However, I am not evaluated for my potential for extremism or assessed for the

likelihood of my radicalisation. I am not perceived as a physical threat nor appraised as a potential terrorist. These experiences are not ones I share and therefore, I could only listen to try to understand and interpret.

A concern I had was that in seeing myself in the position of being able to 'give voice' to others, I had assumed an immediate authority and I struggled with this. Who was I to assume that I could give voice to others? Therefore, a central aim of my research, to place the voices of the pupils at the fore of my work, brought with it complexity. I did, however, take succour from the words of Merriam et al., who wrote "Every researcher struggles with representing the 'truth' of their findings as well as allowing the 'voices' of their participants to be heard" (Merriam et al., 2001: p414). This article also acknowledged the researcher's struggles with "accurately interpreting their participants' perspectives" (Merriam et al., 2001: p414). What has been written in this thesis is an attempt to make an offer to my participants, to bring their voices to the fore, and make a justified conclusion, while at the same time recognising limitations in my ability to achieve this.

In the process of this thesis, I have been on a journey, a journey along the spectrum of the teacher-researcher identity. I began this research firmly in the space of the teacher, who was concerned about the experiences of her pupils. I have since then experienced a shifting of identity towards one of grounded theory researcher. This dual identity overlapped and at times even conflicted. As I interviewed and facilitated the focus groups, I remained close to my 'teacher' identity, developing resources and engaging with young people and other teachers. Nevertheless, a possible clash occurred, as through being a researcher, I had to focus on listening, and withhold from the role of teaching the pupils. Equally, as I analysed and interpreted, I moved more towards a 'researcher' identity, grounding my ideas in my data and theorising, yet struggled with the possibility of critiquing the teachers as I had been one myself and appreciated the difficulties they faced. However, throughout the process of reflexivity, the two

identities of researcher and teacher have been negotiated and managed, to result in a strengthened awareness in what each entail.

10.4 - Contributions to the field

Having reflected on the process of the research journey, I discuss here the contributions my thesis might make to the field, empirically, theoretically and methodologically.

10.4.1 - The social and empirical significance

The social and empirical significance of my research is that it offers new insight into the self-perceptions of Muslim pupils as expressed in their own words. As identified by Ali (2014), “young Muslims are some of the most discussed people in our society” (...) “yet are rarely included in the conversation” (p1258). My research aimed to bring the voices of Muslim pupils to the fore in discussion about how they imagined themselves and how they felt imagined by others. This research identifies a gap in the literature concerning the perceptions of young Muslims of pupil age and highlights the need to listen to their voices. In particular, my study offers two unique contributions to the field in terms of generation/ age group and location. Firstly, whereas other studies have examined the experiences of Muslim students and their memories of 9/11 (Saeed, 2017; Lynch, 2013), my study is the first to explore the identities and experiences of a new generation of young people, those born in the years following 9/11. Secondly, the age group of the pupils engaged with is unique. Previous studies of young Muslims have classed those between 18 to 25 as young people (Lynch, 2013; Saeed, 2017). My study explores the identities of school pupils aged 11-17. This study also differs from the work of Hoque (2015), by locating the young people in the context of school rather than in their community. It also contributes to the field by bringing together this set of factors in the context of the Prevent Duty post-2015.

My study is also unique in its contribution to understanding the relationship between the imagined identities of Government policy, teachers and Muslim pupils in the context of the Prevent strategy. In terms of the contextual literature, studies have explored the role of teachers in relation to the Prevent strategy. These have included Busher *et al.* (2017), Sian (2015), Elwick and Jerome (2019) and Bryan's (2017) work on teachers' experiences and relationship with the Government's Prevent policy. My study extends the examination of relationships between Government policy and the teachers to include the relationship with the Muslim pupils.

Thirdly, my study makes a unique contribution to the discussion around the concept of the 'chilling effect'. The 'chilling effect', as I discussed in chapter 7, is when an individual is deterred from certain legal behaviour or speech because of fear of repercussions. The analysis is unique in the way that it analyses and approaches the nature of the 'chilling effect' on Muslim pupils in the context of Prevent. Previous literature predicted that there would be a 'chilling effect' under Prevent. This includes the Muslim Council of Britain's report in 2016 discussing the 'chilling effect' on the "plurality of opinion in a liberal democracy through an expanding notion of extremism" (2016: p7). Although Busher *et al.*'s (2017) work with teachers questions the existence of a 'chilling effect' under Prevent (p6), subsequent empirical literature refers to the presence of a 'chilling effect' caused directly by Prevent, including the NUS report on the 'Experiences of Muslim Students in 2017-2018' (2018) and Scott-Bauman's work on the impact of Prevent on freedom of speech (2016: p3; 2017: p173). However, the evidence of a 'chilling effect' from the NUS and Scott-Bauman relates to higher education settings. Instead my research uniquely explores the nature of the 'chilling effect' and its correlation with the self-censoring of Muslim pupils in secondary schools. Unlike Busher's work in secondary schools, my analysis is predominantly from the pupil perspective as opposed to the teachers'. My analysis reveals that the 'chilling effect' may be the result of a broader number of sources than directly Prevent. As the

majority of Muslim pupils do not imply that they know about Prevent, the 'chilling effect' resulting in their self-censoring, must have a broader origin than directly from knowledge of the Prevent strategy. Instead, the 'chilling effect' is caused by a broader environment of suspicion and anxiety which Prevent as a policy contributes towards. As identified in Chapter 7, the pupils may have heard rumours of Prevent without really knowing what it is and therefore self-censor or experience a sense of vulnerability. Furthermore, their experiences of Islamophobia may result in self-censoring. My analysis suggests that although there is an environment that leads to a 'chilling effect', the teachers, similarly to Busher et al's analysis, do not regard themselves as the enactors of a 'chilling effect' which makes it hard to know who might be deemed as responsible. The 'chilling effect' is not tangible and therefore it is hard to pinpoint its origin. However, my analysis is only an opening into an area where further exploration might be needed on the nature of the 'chilling effect' in greater depth, both in terms of the mechanisms that cause it and the myriad of experiences resulting from it.

10.4.2 - The theoretical contribution

The theoretical contribution to the field is the use of the concept 'imagined identities'. The concept was developed partly from Anderson's 'imagined communities' and realised from Archer's brief reference to an "'imagined' identity construction" (2003: p64). It has used the concept of identity found in Woodward's work (2002) and has origins stemming back to Mead's symbolic interactionism (1934). Although the term 'Imagined identities' formed the title of Pultar's (2014) book, the concept was not examined in the edited volume and therefore, it is here, in this thesis, that the concept 'imagined identities' has been grown and embedded. In this work, I have shown how the concept can be used and have provided a basis for others to continue to use and develop it in the future.

In this thesis, I have used the concept to examine how the Muslim pupils have been imagined by teachers, by Government policy and by themselves. The gap between how the Muslim pupils imagine themselves and how they are imagined by others has provided significant material for analysis. The use of the term 'imagined' has allowed flexibility, enabling discussion of potential and hypothetical identity formation. The use of 'imagined' is an epistemological claim about the status of knowledge. For example, the teachers cannot claim to *know* about the pupils' experiences, they can only *imagine* the pupils' experiences. Similarly, the Government policy does not present an actual picture of the pupil but rather an imagined and reductive figure. The Muslim pupils too cannot claim to know how they are seen by others but can only imagine how they are seen. Even the pupils' own identity is imagined by them. Therefore, the use of the term 'imagined' shows that it is not possible to know the other or the self, only imagine. This can be extended further to the researcher herself. Having gathered the data, my interpretation is also a matter of imagining. I can never know the lives of the Muslim pupils, particularly as an outsider, but through the data I can construct a picture and imagine. Therefore, it is not just the imagined identities of the Muslim pupils as conceived of by teacher and Government and the Muslim pupils themselves but also the study is about the imagined identities of the Muslim pupils as conceived of by the researcher.

10.4.3 - Methodological significance

I present the use of constructivist grounded theory as methodologically significant to this study. Although other studies exploring Muslim identities and experiences have been *based* on grounded theory (Hargreaves, 2016; Lynch, 2013), I have shown how Charmaz's constructivist grounded theory can be used as a methodology to explore this particular, sensitive area of study and how it can be used as a basis for future research in this area. Despite not being able to return repeatedly to the research site as the cyclical nature of grounded theory might require, the constructivist grounded

theory methodology has allowed for centring on the participants' voices, particularly the Muslim pupils' voices and a sensitivity towards the research matter. Furthermore, by openly acknowledging the assumptions I brought to the research, constructivist grounded theory has allowed me to come to a data-led and justified conclusion. Through theorizing, a process that is continuous and unending, I have developed a framework of understanding that has provided a new conceptual rendering of the data.

Significantly too, in Chapter 3, I have begun a tentative exploration into a more recent iteration of grounded theory, transformational grounded theory (Redman-MacLaren and Mills, 2015) which was developed after I began my research. I have recognised its significance for reflexivity and have acknowledged the potential for it being the basis of future research.

10.5 - Acknowledging the study's limitations

In light of these contributions to the field, it is also necessary to acknowledge the limitations of my study. These limitations stem primarily from methodological constraints.

Ideally, I would have secured full access at all five schools. As has been discussed in the methods chapter (Chapter 4), three of the schools, Rosehill School (A), Elmhurst (D) and Middleoak (E) allowed all of the data collection methods to be used; questionnaires, focus groups and interviews. Sycamore (School B) allowed the data collection to take place but the gatekeeper stopped being in contact due to personal circumstances, after some pupil and teacher questionnaires had been gathered. The fourth school, Oakwood (School C), only allowed the teacher interviews, the teacher questionnaires and the pupil questionnaires. As described in Chapter 4, the pupils' focus groups were not allowed at Oakwood as the focus group questions focused on

the Muslim pupils' experience and the school leaders were unhappy about letting me talk specifically to Muslim pupils. They did not give a reason for this, although it was possibly due to the perceived risk of stigmatising Muslim pupils, despite the fact that my focus group could have been composed of a mix of students to prevent any sense of stigmatisation.

In the context of restricted access, one limitation to my study was sample size (Gilbert, 2001: p59). An improvement to the study would have been to be able to expand the sample size. This could have been achieved by accessing more schools in more areas. My study focused on three geographically separate urban areas. It would have been interesting to have expanded the study to other urban areas, as well as possibly more rural or suburban areas. This would not only have included more schools with majority Muslim populations but also studying cohorts at schools with far fewer Muslim pupils for the possibility of comparison of both the pupils' views and those of the staff. However, as has been highlighted in Chapter 4, one of the main reasons for the small sample of schools was the struggle to get access to any schools due to sensitivity concerns about research in the context of Prevent. Therefore, accessing more schools would have been both a struggle in terms of obtaining access and time consuming, in a time limited project. It is also necessary to acknowledge that a much bigger sample size would have meant a larger data set which would have been more challenging to manage in a limited doctoral research project. However, through the schools that I did visit, I was able to achieve a significant depth of study.

Another area of limitation in the research were the restrictions I felt surrounding the writing of questions for the questionnaires, interviews and focus groups. As discussed in Chapter 4, questionnaires, interviews and focus group questions were all restricted by the sensitivity I felt asking questions about Prevent and the identities of Muslim pupils. This sensitivity significantly curbed the way I could approach the writing of questions, as I had to balance the ability to get access to the schools with the need to

acquire rich research data. The schools' senior management teams and gatekeepers were keen in each instance, to know in advance what I would be asking the pupils and teachers. I was keen to be transparent with the questions as I knew schools would be anxious, but the scrutiny curbed how explicit and direct I made my questions. A good illustration of a gatekeeper's unhappiness with the focus group questions was at school C, Oakwood as identified above, and it led to me being unable to access focus group data from that school. Therefore, it made me aware of the delicate balance required between managing the directness of the questions with the opportunity to access the school.

Examples of the ways the questions were curbed by the scrutiny of the gatekeepers and the concerns for sensitivity are given below. Ideally, I would have been able to be more direct with my questions in both the pupils' questionnaire and focus group questions. Firstly, I would have been able to ask the pupils more directly whether they knew of Prevent, how they perceived it and what they thought of it. I did not ask these questions for ethical reasons, as I was not sure whether the pupils knew of Prevent and I did not want to introduce them to the policy if they did not already know of it. Similarly, in the teachers' interviews, I only asked one direct question about Prevent (Teacher interview: question 9, see appendix G) which referred to the teachers' experiences of the Prevent training. I did not ask a question about the teachers' perception of the pupils' identities in the context of Prevent. I would have liked to have asked a question about whether the teachers had applied the Prevent strategy by identifying a pupil at risk of extremism or radicalisation and how they felt about the process, but I steered away from such questions for ethical and confidentiality reasons. I only asked one direct question about Muslim pupils in the teachers' interview, concerning the teachers' perception of the Muslim pupils' ability to talk openly about their "personal, political and religious views" (Teacher Interview, question 7. See appendix G).

If the study were repeated, I would ensure greater flexibility in my questioning. Although the interview questions were intended as semi-structured, I adhered to the question schedule fairly tightly as I knew those questions had been vetted by the school gatekeepers and senior managers and therefore, I did not want to upset or break that trust. This implies that in the end I actually carried out structured interviews rather than semi-structured ones (Gilbert, 2001: p124). Semi-structured interviews specifically allow for flexibility (Gilbert, 2001: p124) which would allow for more opportunity to question the participants in greater detail and follow a lead, rather than stick rigidly to the question format. Semi-structured interviews allow for the interviewer to ask for more detail on a specific answer or follow the participant's lead into a deeper exploration of their answers. Due to concern about keeping the interviews the same for all the participants, I did not follow these leads as far as they could go and therefore curtailed the deepening potential of some of the interviews.

A further limitation I experienced during my research, was that I was unable to explore whether my theorizing made sense to my participants. Moving backwards and forwards between the data, analysis and the research field is a significant aspect of grounded theory (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2011, p5). Due to the restrictions on time spent with the pupils in schools, I was not able to go back to the pupil participants as part of the constant comparison method to test out my grounded theorizing with them. It would have been a very positive experience and powerful opportunity, if I had been able to co-create theory with my participants. However due to time and access restrictions, this was not possible. This limitation on time and thus a restriction on co-creation was also the case with the teachers I interviewed. A development I would like to carry out, on completing my doctoral research, would be to share its findings and explore its resonance with members of Muslim communities, both teachers and pupils.

Finally, I acknowledge my limitation as a white, female researcher and my status as outsider when studying the imagined identities of Muslim pupils. Some of these

limitations have already been discussed, such as my acknowledgement that I do not share the experiences that my pupil participants refer to, particularly the specific experience of anxiety and fear concerning how they feel imagined by society. However, my limitations as an outsider, also allow some of the benefits of being an outsider, as recognised by Merriam *et al.* (2010), such as the ability to be a little more independent. No researcher can be objective but as an outsider, a researcher is not so emotionally tied up with the experiences of the group and can instead perhaps adopt a wider perspective (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle, 2009, p59). As discussed in the Introduction (Chapter 1), occasionally, when Muslim individuals heard about my research, they felt that as a white, non-Muslim woman rather than a Muslim woman, I would feel freer to be able to critique the Prevent strategy. There was a sense of fear among some of my Muslims contacts about critiquing the Prevent strategy as they would be seen to be exposing themselves to scrutiny. Furthermore, as a cultural outsider, it was felt that I might be able to write for a broader audience to help other outsiders gain insight into the experiences of the group or communities I was researching. The benefits of being an outsider may become clearer as the research is disseminated and published.

10.6 - Ways forward: future research

In light of the research concerning the imagined identities of Muslim pupils in the context of Prevent, it is apparent that little if anything is known about the extent to which the pupils in general explicitly know about Prevent and what they know about it. In order to further investigate the relationship between pupils' awareness of the Prevent strategy and its impact, there is need for future research to ask explicitly whether the pupils know of the Prevent strategy and how they see it in relation to themselves. Elwick and Jerome (2019) suggest in their Prevent impact review that there are two aspects to the Prevent strategy, the safeguarding response and the educational response. The educational response refers to exploring ways of responding

to extremist messages with the pupils. It is possible that pupils may have some form of understanding of Prevent in the form of the educational response, rather than as a security, safeguarding strategy. However, as has been identified above, questioning the pupils directly about Prevent in my research was seen to have ethical consequences that were avoided. However, a future study, with careful consideration of and negotiations over the ethical implications, could attempt to approach this question more directly.

Another area for future development of the study would be to explore the views of Muslim parents alongside those of the teachers and the pupils. Anxiety felt by Muslim parents, on behalf of the pupils, is hinted at in my research by a few pupils interviewed in the focus groups. Parents could add insight into the perception of Prevent and perceptions of the Muslim pupils in the context of Prevent. When I began the research, my intention was to interview the parents of the Muslim pupils interviewed in the focus groups, however the consent and access challenges in achieving this were deemed too complex. Nevertheless, the triangulation of the additional stakeholder would have added a valuable and deepening dimension to my work. The views of Muslim parents concerning the experiences of their children in the context of Prevent is currently a gap in the literature. To access the views of Muslim parents in the context of Prevent would add a new dimension to the literature.

An additional area for future research would be examining Muslim pupils' relationship with the media and their concerns about its influence on Islamophobia. Repeatedly, throughout my research, the pupils described how the media portrays Muslims. They described the media presenting them as violent, as terrorists or as extremists. However, researching the media was outside my research remit. Using the concept of 'imagined identities', it would be possible to explore how the media, in its many forms, imagines Muslims, principally, Muslim pupils and in particular how the Muslim pupils feel imagined by the media and what impact that has on them.

A further area for future research would be to examine how *all* pupils feel imagined in the context of Prevent, that is, how non-Muslims as well as Muslim pupils feel perceived. The Prevent Duty clearly emphasises that the policy asks teachers to identify and prevent *all* forms of extremism and radicalisation. It would be interesting to examine whether self-censoring occurs among all students, concerning whether they feel they are perceived as potential extremists. It would also be interesting to explore how the teachers feel that the pupils are perceived in the context of the policy and whether it affects the teacher-pupil relationship in any way with all pupils. Quartermaine (2014) examined classroom discussions about terrorism in Warwickshire, a predominantly non-Muslim area and concluded that the pupils she studied self-censored their comments during discussions about terrorism and teachers raised concerns about surveillance (Quartermaine, 2017: p548). Therefore, it would be interesting to examine the identity construction and experiences of a broader group of pupils in the context of the policy.

10.7 - Ways forward: recommendations

Towards the end of Charmaz's 'Constructing Grounded Theory', she asks the grounded theorist to reflect on what their theorizing might imply for what she terms the idea of "making a better world" (Charmaz, 2014: p338). This may seem rather optimistic, but reflections on 'making a better world' are accompanied by reflections on 'usefulness' and possible recommendations that might emerge. The aim of this study was to explore a phenomenon rather than to produce recommendations. However, the recommendations made below are brief suggestions which could be developed further.

It seems that in the process of collecting my data, my research offered participants deeper insight into their lives. It was acknowledged several times by the Muslim pupils

in the focus groups that they had not had an opportunity to talk in this way before and that I was getting them to think about things in a new way. One student commented:

“It opens up our ideas about the questions, about what things are. What we really think about being Muslim” (Pupil 3: Year 11, Middleoak).

The pupils generally seemed to be pleased to be involved in the discussions, often not wanting to stop the discussion when the end came. As has been previously noted in this chapter, they seemed to value having someone who wanted to listen to them as they explored ideas about themselves and society. This indicates that there would be value in supporting pupils, in particular Muslim pupils, who are seeking more opportunities to discuss their views of the world in positive ways. Whilst understanding the limitations of the secondary curriculum, my experience suggests that there could be provision of more opportunities for pupils to discuss their identities and their views on society openly and freely in schools. What emerged from the teacher interviews is that some teachers, particularly those in the Humanities as opposed to Science and Maths, seemed more confident at opening up this kind of space in PSHE or tutor time. Science and Maths teachers felt that they had little preparation for facilitating such discussions and therefore several teachers expressed anxiety at the possibility of hosting such discussions in their classrooms. It is possible to suggest therefore that subject teachers less confident about creating the spaces for discussion in their pastoral roles, could be offered further training.

Giving Muslim pupils a voice stemmed from an urgency I felt in the context of Counter-Terrorism and Security Act, 2015, to bring those voices to the fore. As a marginalised group, their voices are often not heard, particularly by those in authority and policy makers. There is a need to speak to, listen to and ask for the opinions and perspectives of Muslim pupils as they are often spoken for or on behalf of, including here in this thesis. In light of the 2020 review of Prevent and beyond, it would be useful if older pupils,

those who already know of Prevent, were asked for their perspectives, including how they perceive it as a policy and how they feel it relates to them, and that these perspectives could be taken into account.

In light of the finding that the majority of pupils do not seem to know about Prevent, it could be recommended that the pupils are made aware of the policy, as they are the subjects of the strategy. However, for the pupils who did already know about Prevent, their perceptions of Prevent are worrying and seemingly contribute to the anxiety many of the pupils express in relation to being watched, observed and judged. One student suggested that they felt that the teachers are watching them and another felt that they are being assessed for how religiously extreme they are. From the example of one of the sixth formers who knew of Prevent through her previous secondary school, the risk of being misinformed seems high. She was led to think that teachers would be questioning a Muslim pupil for putting on a headscarf if they had not worn it before, as a possible sign of radicalisation. This worried her. Therefore, although there is the argument for transparency and it is important that the pupils should know what strategy they are subject to, the manner of communicating it needs to be carefully and delicately handled.

In light of the pupils' sense that they are being watched and judged, it is important to recognise the wellbeing issues that arise. Teachers and those with a stake in the child's wellbeing, need to be aware of the possible risks to mental health arising from feelings of anxiety related to a sense of being under surveillance and feelings of being watched. Whether or not pupils know about Prevent and however they understand it, feeling constantly observed and judged means that Muslim pupils may be vulnerable to mental health conditions related to those experiences. Therefore teachers, educational practitioners and counselling staff need to be aware of this experience as an underlying context to other issues that the students might raise.

Reflecting further on usefulness, this grounded theory study raises questions about the Prevent strategy and its construction of *any* pupil as a potential extremist or potential terrorist. This emphasis on potential is particularly problematic for Muslim pupils as they already consider themselves to be imagined as potential terrorists by society and any pupil's construction in light of the Prevent strategy only affirms that suspicion. Therefore, reconsideration is needed in relation to the construction of the pupil in the strategy as having the potential for extremism and terrorism. There needs to be an attempt to construct policy from a completely different starting point and in a more pedagogically aware way. Rather than starting from the point of assuming the pupil to be a potential extremist and terrorist, there needs to be a focus on an education that makes a holistic citizen. This potentially involves a strong RE and PSHE curriculum including emphasis on values and citizenship.

A final recommendation concerns teachers. Although most teacher participants showed awareness of the delicate nature of the Prevent Duty to judge and report perceived examples of extremism and potential radicalisation, there were some who seemed less aware of the serious responsibility and ramifications of such a duty. This raises the question as to whether teachers at other schools, not included in this study, may be less aware of the implications of this duty. A teachers' relationship with pupils should be one of trust but that trust can be fragile as has been shown in this study. Pupils, including Muslim pupils may not know of the Prevent strategy, but many are aware of the potential of teachers to report them, and that risks distrust and self-censoring. Therefore, it is recommended here that teachers should be made much more aware of the risks and responsibility of their duty to prevent radicalisation.

10.8 - Final words:

Where do we stand now in relation to the Prevent strategy? Has the moral panic died down or changed shape at all? Through observing the Prevent strategy over the past

five years, I would argue that rather than subside, the responses to the panic have become normalised. The Prevent strategy and the aim to prevent pupils being drawn into terrorism is seemingly now an accepted duty of teachers and those working in education, but the debates around Prevent continue, as shown through regular articles, discussion and debate in the media.

As I approach the end of this research process, the question to arise is what comes next? The latest chapter in the story of Prevent is an Independent Review committed to by the Government in the Counter-Terrorism and Border Security Act of 2019. The review was due to be completed, together with the Government's response by 12th August 2020, but it is now on hold. What the picture looks like for Prevent beyond the review is currently uncertain.

I leave the final words to one of the pupils, as it is their voices that make the heart of this research:

“Just because everything is happening around us...we must hold that hope because once that hope dies, what's left? You might say that there is not going to be any good future... but there are still people that have hope and are keeping the world going...” (Pupil 6, Elmhurst: year 7&8).

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Appendices

Appendix A: Ethical approval form

Application for Ethical Approval for Research Degrees

(MA by research, MPHIL/PhD, EdD)

Student number: u1591051

Student name: Anna Lockley-Scott

PhD

Project title: **Pilot study:** What is the impact of ongoing government strategies preventing non-violent extremism on Muslim pupils?

Supervisor: Dr Julia Ipgrave and Dr Judith Everington

Funding body (if relevant): Culham St Gabriel Trust for the first year, 2015-16.

Please ensure you have read the Guidance for the Ethical Conduct of Research available in the handbook.

Methodology

Please outline the methodology, e.g. observation, individual interviews, focus groups, group testing etc.

The research will take place in two or three schools. It will involve two research groups; teachers and pupils.

The teachers will be given questionnaires. Then there will be individual semi structured interviews with 6 staff members in each school.

In terms of the pupils, surveys will be given to a hundred pupils in each school. Four focus groups five students will then be selected for a recorded discussion to explore issues in more depth through semi structured conversation style format.

Participants

Please specify all participants in the research including ages of children and young people where appropriate. Also specify if any participants are vulnerable e.g. children; as a result of learning disability.

The participants will be staff and pupils from state secondary schools.

The staff surveyed will include teachers and some support staff including home-school liaison officers and teaching assistants. (approximately 30 surveys and 6 interviews)

The pupils will be secondary school aged from year eight to year thirteen, which refers to ages twelve to eighteen.

For surveys, 1 x year 8 class

1 x year 10 class

1 x year 11 class

1 x year 12 class

1 x year 13 class

The surveys will be completed during lesson time.

Focus groups with students: four groups of five (mixed year 11-12-13)

There will be three groups of Muslim students and one group of non Muslim students.

Respect for participants' rights and dignity

How will the fundamental rights and dignity of participants be respected, e.g. confidentiality, respect of cultural and religious values?

Due to the nature of the research into such a sensitive area of current policy relating to issues surrounding extremism, radicalisation and schools, confidentiality as well as respect for cultural and religious values lie at the heart of this research.

As an experienced Religious Studies teacher and Head of Department, I have experience of engaging with pupils from diverse cultural and religious backgrounds. Due to familiarity with a range of backgrounds, I will be able to offer a suitable level of respect and awareness of the faiths and diversity I encounter.

Anonymity of all participants will be strictly maintained throughout research and subsequent publications. All participants of the survey will be anonymous and the surveys will only be identified by a number. Those speaking in interviews and focus groups will be given pseudonyms if referred to in the research documentation. This leaves the participant with the right to feel they can express themselves without breach of confidentiality and in a relatively safe environment.

Recordings will be made of interviews then deleted by September 2016. Individual participants will have the transcript shared with them, once typed up, to check their agreement concerning what they said and if there is anything they would like to add.

Staff and pupils are under no obligation to say more than they are happy with.

Parents of pupils will be contacted concerning their involvement via letter with information as to the content of the research. They will then be able to actively provide their consent via a permission slip.

The risk of disclosure of sensitive information is high. Pupils may disclose their own involvement or association with radicalisation or invoke other safeguarding concerns. Teachers may also disclose information about particular pupils in both the survey and interview. This will have to be redacted in the transcript and will be deleted in the recording which will only be heard by me. These issues will be further dealt with later in the form.

Privacy and confidentiality

How will confidentiality be assured? Please address all aspects of research including protection of data records, thesis, reports/papers that might arise from the study.

Names will not be asked or given. All surveys will be numbered and referred to only by number. Anonymity of all participants will continue to be strictly maintained throughout research and subsequent publications.

Pseudonyms will be given to the participants when accounting for their contribution in research for report or presentation purposes. Similarly, pseudonyms can be given to the schools.

Teachers may also disclose information about particular pupils in both the survey and interview. This will have to be redacted in the transcript and will be deleted in the recording by September 2016 which will only have been heard by me. All documents and transcripts will be kept on a password protected USB memory storage device and only opened on a password protected laptop.

Consent

How will prior informed consent be obtained from the following?

From participants:

In order to give informed consent, the basic aims of the project will be outlined in a letter for pupils or on the document itself for the staff participants to be aware of what they are agreeing too.

When teachers and pupils complete surveys, they will be given a consent tick box with the clear opt out option.

For the pupils, a letter will be sent home, requiring parental consent given by signature and return slip for survey participation and for the focus groups. Any pupil who does not return the slip will not be given a survey.

The letters also make clear the involvement of the university and provide email links for supervisors in case there is a request for further verification.

From others:

In order to gain the school's initial agreement to involvement, an information letter and request for consent of the head teacher and governors. The parents as mentioned above will also be sent a letter to authorise the involvement of their children.

If prior informed consent is not to be obtained, give reason: N/A

Will participants be explicitly informed of the student's status?

Participants will be aware of my involvement as the researcher. This will be made clear in the information shared through the letter and requests for participation made to the staff. Each document will also clearly have my name, as well as the university's name and those of the supervisors to ensure clear legitimacy.

Competence

How will you ensure that all methods used are undertaken with the necessary competence?

Initially, as an experienced Religious Studies teacher, I am familiar with classroom protocol and school safeguarding procedures. As a result, I am also aware of addressing difficult sensitive issues and addressing contexts of personal background and belief.

I will further ensure competence through conducting my first pilot case study at the school where I teach. As part of the pilot study, this aims to ensure I have selected the appropriate approach and methodology. This will be carefully evaluated where necessary to make sure the best and most appropriate study is being carried out. In this situation, I am the teacher of the pupils, and although that raises other concerns for the role of researcher,

in terms of competence, there is already a clear role and set of expectations between teacher and pupils which will be maintained.

The next two schools in the pilot study will use the model and developed competence gained from my initial project in my own school setting. However obvious adaptations will be made and awareness will be had of the significant difference between these contexts.

Secondly, the methodology is carefully planned in agreement with two experienced supervisors and in discussion with the schools. It uses the school's safeguarding policy as well as the university's ethical guidelines and BERA which have been read and will be thoroughly adhered to.

Protection of participants

How will participants' safety and well-being be safeguarded?

As a teacher, I have DBS clearance which means I am suitably vetted for carrying out work within schools. Also all research will be carried out with clear consent from senior management. The risk of disclosure of vulnerability by a pupil is a significant possibility in this research, therefore in each school, I shall familiarise myself with the school's safeguarding policy and make explicit contact with the designated safeguarding officer in the school.

However, the surveys are also numbered not named and therefore the pupil has the right to anonymity. Therefore, there will be no link between a child and their survey responses, only a random number. Consequently, I may read a concerning answer within a class but I would not know who had written it. To a certain extent this is the child's right to privacy. However, I would, if necessary, alert the designated safeguarding officer to what had been written and which class that response was associated with.

In terms of both the survey and the interviews and focus groups, the policy of anonymity will be shared explicitly with the participants and in the case of the pupils, through the letter to parents. In terms of the focus groups, the concept of a safe space will be outlined with the pupils before they participate.

Teachers may also disclose information about particular pupils both in the survey and interview. Pupil may equally disclose sensitive information concerning friends or family members. This will be responded to through safeguarding procedures outlined previously. Any disclosure will have to be redacted in any publication of anonymous survey results and in the transcript, and the recording will be deleted by September 2016 having only been heard by me.

Any personal information and research findings will be stored on a password protected USB and password protected computer.

Child protection

Will a DBS check be needed? **Yes**

Addressing dilemmas

Even well planned research can produce ethical dilemmas. How will you address any ethical dilemmas that may arise in your research?

1. Risk of a child's disclosure of at risk information.

The surveys will remain anonymous and will be identified only by number. However, if a respondent's answer is concerning, they still have the right to confidentiality but I would alert the safeguarding officer to the content of the answer and which class group it was elicited from.

2. My research focuses on Muslim pupils but I do not want to be seen as stigmatising Muslim pupils

The first way to address this issue is to ask all pupils, whatever their ethnicity or religion, to complete the survey so a range of responses are available and the activity is not seen to target Muslim pupils. In the current environment of suspicion and Prevent, this is a highly sensitive issue and to be seen to be identifying Muslim pupils could be misconstrued. For example, in May 2015 primary school pupils in the London Borough of Waltham Forest were given 'social cohesion' surveys designed to find clues of possible early

radicalisation. (<http://www.theguardian.com/education/2015/may/28/fury-after-primary-pupils-are-asked-to-complete-radicalisation-seeking-surveys>)

With such examples being cited by the media, the connotations of my own research may be misunderstood and therefore I have to be aware of such issues in order to allay fears and provide a clear transparent account of my own research.

For the focus groups, although Muslim pupils will be asked to participate, non Muslim students will also be asked to participate in a focus group as this will allow the data to access a broader range of views from both Muslim and non Muslim perspectives. As a bi-product, this should alleviate a sense that I would be stigmatising Muslim pupils.

3. Asking for informed consent from the school:

Due to the change in law through the Counter Terrorism and Security Act of 1st July 2015, schools are now legally required to identify children being radicalised. Furthermore, the subsequent Ofsted criteria from September 2015 now expects schools to demonstrate that they are carrying out the prevent duty. These statutory changes have increased the sensitivity of my request for research. Therefore, I have to carefully allay fears that I am going to check up on the school's practice of these criteria or expose any way that they might not be meeting these. I have to make it very clear that this is not my research interest. Therefore, anonymity of the school is crucial but also awareness of this anxiety and context is vital.

4. Asking for informed consent from parents:

Requesting informed consent is a significant issue for this research. It is important to share information about the research with parents and their child participants. However due to the incident outlined above in Waltham Forest among others, the wording of the project has to be sensitively written. I have clarified its legitimacy clearly through referencing university's involvement and supervisors' details.

5. Being misconstrued as an informant or working with Prevent or the counter terrorism unit

In the current political climate and amongst the media rhetoric, any research with the Muslim community will be treated with suspicion. Therefore, the wording of my project is crucial. This is both to allay the concerns of the school and its reputation as well as to allay the concerns of parents particularly Muslim but others too that I am not trying to identify extremism.

In order to prepare this research, I have tested the ideas as well as pupil and parental responses with the Somali and Bengali home-school liaison officers who have assisted me with the responses that might emerge and the current sensitivities of the community, both of whom have a prominent presence in the schools.

They are also considering whether a translated version of the letter to parents may also assist.

6. Teachers may disclose information about particular pupils

In both the survey and interview, teachers will be encouraged to respect the confidentiality of other pupils and teachers. Although they may wish to use examples they will be instructed not to make use of names. In terms of the interview, any overt reference will have to be redacted in the transcript and the recording will subsequently be deleted having only been heard by me.

Pupils may also disclose sensitive information concerning friends or family members who they may name both in the survey and the focus group. They will be warned against giving names at start. However, if this occurs, any names will be redacted in any transcript or publication of survey findings. School safeguarding procedures in these situations will also be applied as outlined in other areas of this form.

7. The balance of confidentiality and safeguarding:

The premise of the research is to be able to ask staff and pupils to be able to express their ideas, thoughts and concerns through both written surveys and oral interviews or focus groups. However, this raises a fine line between the freedom to express oneself, confidentiality and safeguarding.

In terms of the survey, this potential conflict would be dealt with through anonymising the responses, meaning that if I encountered a response that

did raise safeguarding concerns (as defined by the school policy), I would not be able to identify the specific pupil. However, if need arose, I could share the concern with the safeguarding officer so they were aware of the existence of the concern.

The focus group raises a different concern as I would need to assure the participants of the confidentiality and anonymity of the students, yet at the same time make clear to the pupils at the start that if a disclosure was made, it would be my duty to share that with the school safeguarding officer in accordance with the school policy. This however may inhibit my ability to get the level of openness in the respondents that I would hope for in the research.

In terms of the staff interviews, it would have to be made clear that pupils should not be named in the interviews to preserve the anonymity of any pupil and the specifics of any incident being referred to.

Misuse of research

How will you seek to ensure that the research and the evidence resulting from it are not misused?

Anonymity will be maintained for the schools involved, their staff and pupils throughout any research publication, lecture or public presentation. Pseudonyms will be used to account for any reference to a person's words of views or even the context of the school.

The research will not be used in any way to check up on the nature of any pupil's religious or political views. In a climate of concern about radicalisation, this is a significant concern for possible misunderstanding. It is also not being used to check up on the school's compliance with recent legal changes (July 2015) and the recent Ofsted criteria of September 2015. However, the wording of the questions, the anonymity and the maintenance of data privacy throughout the research and publication period is crucial to prevent any findings being directly or indirectly shared with Ofsted or other governmental or statutory bodies.

I also should not allow my research to be used by the schools as a way of identifying pupils expressing particular views such as those deemed to be 'against British Values' (which is the current definition of extremism) despite the requirements of the 2015 laws and Ofsted criteria previously referred to. If a teacher discloses the name of a pupil who they have concerns about, this would have to be dealt with within the context of confidentiality and anonymity.

Support for research participants

What action is proposed if sensitive issues are raised or a participant becomes upset?

Initially in terms of the survey, it will be made clear to the pupil or staff member that they are under no obligation to complete all the questions if they do not wish to. They also have to tick the agreed consent box at the end of the research to make clear they accept the research being used.

In terms of the focus group, a safe space will be established before beginning the interview, allowing participants to be clear of the ground rules. If there is upset, the recording will be halted and the pupil can be responded to whether to be spoken to alone or to be free not to continue the participation. If another pupil says something unacceptable and hurts others, due to being within the school day, the usual school discipline process would apply.

If sensitive issues are raised, an assessment of the safeguarding criteria would have to be considered and the safeguarding officer would (if deemed necessary through school protocol) be informed. This would be the same with issues raised in the survey, although the anonymity of the child makes identification of that child harder but also challenges the respect to their privacy and the trust created and required for the survey's success.

As a teacher, I am familiar with responding to upset pupils or confidential disclosures. Therefore, I shall apply the protocol of my own safeguarding training and teacher training to respond with professional judgement to the scenario.

In terms of the staff interviews, ground rules will clearly be laid out before the interview starts, stating the rights of the interviewee and clarifying their need to express any discomfort with the situation should the need arise. Staff may also request for the interview to be halted if they are uncomfortable. Transcripts will later be shared with the original participant to check their agreement with what was said and if there is anything they would like to add. Equally certain questions do not have to be answered if the respondent is uncomfortable.

Assurance of confidentiality will be made clear to the participants at the start and end of their involvement for their comfort and safety.

I will also make the complaints policy available on each survey and information sheet in focus group or interview. This will include the address of the Registrars' Office, University House, University of Warwick, so participants feel free and empowered to make a complaint legitimately if they are made to feel uncomfortable or upset.

Integrity

How will you ensure that your research and its reporting are honest, fair and respectful to others?

I will try to be honest about the purpose of the research both to schools themselves and all participants and their parents. I shall do this through letter to apply for research at the schools, letter to apply for informed consent from parents and sharing an information briefing sheet with research participants; namely students and staff. I will allow anonymity to the pupils and teachers involved. I shall use transcripts word for word except for any redaction of names or specifics that might give away sensitive information. I shall send copies of transcribed interviews to participants to allow them to agree and verify what they said and check if they have any concerns over what they have said.

In addition to safeguarding of individual pupil welfare, I will adhere to the legal framework of the Counter Terrorism and Security Act of July 2015, but beyond that I will not be influenced by politics or pressure to share information found with government bodies or statutory investigative organisations.

What agreement has been made for the attribution of authorship by yourself and your supervisor(s) of any reports or publications?

The authorship of the project will be under my name and my responsibility. However due to work with bodies such as the University of Hamburg ReDi project, my work may be published in association with them in journals or as an article in a book. My work will be carried out in close affiliation with the work of WRERU (Warwick Religions and Education Research Unit) at the University of Warwick and under the close supervision of Dr Judith Everington and Dr Julia Iprgrave of the Warwick University Centre for Education Studies.

Other issues

Please specify other issues not discussed above, if any, and how you will address them.

The focus of my research concerns wellbeing of Muslim students and the impact of anti-extremism laws and strategies in school. This is a significant topic in current politics and government policy. It is a rapidly changing environment. Therefore, the laws and statutory requirements to which I refer to in this Ethical Approval Form may be subject to change during the course of my research. I will maintain awareness of this and submit any subsequent amendments if significant legal changes should arise.

Signed:	[Redacted]	Date:	15/1/16
Student:	[Redacted]	Date:	15/1/16
Supervisor:	[Redacted]	Date:	15/1/16

Please submit this form to the Research Office (Andy Brierley, room WE133)

Office use only

Action taken:

- Approved
- Approved with modification or conditions – see below
- Action deferred. Please supply additional information or clarification – see below

Make sure their dilemmas are raised immediately with supervisors.

Name: Michael HAMMOND

Signature: [Redacted]

Date: 15/01/2016

Stamped:

Notes of Action:

Appendix B: Letter to parents for permission of pupil participants for
questionnaire

Warwick Religions and Education Research Unit
University of Warwick
Coventry
CV4 7AL

Date: 05/01/2018

Dear Parents and Guardians,

Research Information sheet: The experiences of young people and expression of
belief in schools

The pupils at [School name] have been chosen with the agreement of the school to take part in a research project in conjunction with the University of Warwick Religions and Education Research Unit (WRERU) (exploring young people, belief and identity).

The research will involve participation in a questionnaire about the pupils' ideas of belief and expression in school. The questionnaire will be completed in PSHE or their RE lesson time and will be anonymous.

Outcomes from the survey results will be included in a project report, part of a PhD thesis, and subsequent publications. Any comments made by the young people that are included in the project report will remain anonymous.

If you have any concerns or do not want your child to be involved in the project, please complete the slip below

Yours sincerely,

A Lockley-Scott

Researcher for Faculty of Education, University of Warwick

Supervisors: Dr Julia Ipgrave and Dr Judith Everington, University of Warwick

Pupil name _____ Form: _____

I **do not** give permission for my child to be involved in the research survey.

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Appendix C: Letter to parents for permission of pupil participants for focus group

Warwick Religions and Education Research Unit
University of Warwick
Coventry
CV4 7AL

Date: 05/01/2018

Dear Parents and Guardians,

Research Information sheet: The experiences of young people and expression of belief in schools

The pupils at [School name] have been chosen with the agreement of the school to take part in a research project in conjunction with the University of Warwick Religions and Education Research Unit (WRERU) (exploring young people, belief and identity).

The research will involve participation in a focus group about the pupils' ideas of belief and expression in school. The focus group will be completed in PSHE or their RE lesson time and will be anonymous.

Outcomes from the survey results will be included in a project report, part of a PhD thesis, and subsequent publications. Any comments made by the young people that are included in the project report will remain anonymous.

If you have any concerns or questions, please contact: [REDACTED].

Yours sincerely,

A Lockley-Scott

Researcher for Faculty of Education, University of Warwick

Supervisors: Dr Julia Ipgrave and Dr Judith Everington, University of Warwick

Appendix D: Pupil questionnaire



CENTRE FOR
EDUCATION STUDIES

Survey number:

Pupil survey: An investigation into secondary school pupils' expressions of beliefs and perceptions

This is anonymous. Do not put your name.

Age: (Circle) (11-13) (14-16) (17-19) **Gender:** Male Female

Ethnicity/culture: _____ (if known)

Language spoken at home: _____

1. Who are you? What words would you use to describe yourself? (Do not write your name)

2. What ways might other pupils describe you? (list words)

3. How might teachers see you? (list words)

4. How do you think society (other people) outside school see you?

5. How do you think the media sees you?

6. Do you see yourself as having a religion?

Yes: my religion is: _____

No I don't

Not

sure

Explain (if you want):

7. In what ways does your religion affect how you see the world?

8. In what ways does your religion affect the way other people view you?

9. Do you agree or disagree with the following? Circle the appropriate answer

a) School is a safe space for talking about my personal beliefs.

Agree Sometimes (but not always) Disagree

b) School is a safe space for talking about what I do outside school.

Agree Sometimes (but not always) Disagree

c) School is a safe space for talking about what I think about current affairs and world events.

Agree Sometimes (but not always) Disagree

d) School is a safe space for talking about my thoughts.

Agree Sometimes (but not always) Disagree

e) School is a safe space for talking about my home life.

Agree Sometimes (but not always) Disagree

Can you explain your reasons for any of these answers?

10. In the following table write about what issues I can talk about in school.

Very happy to talk about	Less happy to talk about	Not happy to talk about

11. If there are some things you are not happy to discuss, can you explain why?

12. Is there anything you or others feel uncomfortable about **saying** about your ideas or beliefs?

13. Is there anything you or others feel unable or restricted **to do** about to your ideas or beliefs?

14. How much do you feel you could discuss anything with your teachers?

15. Do you feel you can discuss issues with your school friends?

16. How would this change if you were talking to people with similar beliefs or identity to you? If so why?

17. Have you ever been told by anyone what to say or not say in school in about your beliefs?

18. Where do you feel most safe within school discussing your views? (In the classroom, in a particular lesson, in the playground). Explain why.

19. Who with (or where) do you feel most able to talk to about your thoughts?

20. Is there anything else you want to add?

Pupil CONSENT FORM

I understand that my information will be securely held and processed for the following purposes:

- To enable the researcher to assemble and analyse evidence of pupils' views and experience of themselves and others within the context of schools.
- To use this evidence in a report of this research for education professionals, in academic journal articles and in presentations related to the report/articles.

I agree for my survey to be used in the above study (please write Y for 'yes'):

All answers are confidential and research results will be stored anonymously and securely.

If you give your consent but then decide that you do not wish to participate in the research, you will be withdrawn immediately and all records relating to your involvement will be destroyed.

Should you have any complaints relating to the study, you should contact the Director of Delivery Assurance, details as below:

Registrar's Office

University House

University of Warwick

Coventry

CV4 8UW

All letters will receive an initial response within five working days of receipt. If possible, to aid in the speed of response to your complaint, it can be submitted by email (together with any supporting evidence or documentation) to complaints@warwick.ac.uk.

For more details on WRERU, go to: <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/ces/research/wreru/>

Appendix E: Teacher questionnaire (Online)

1. As a whole, how would you describe your school's student body?
2. In your view, what are the challenges facing Muslim pupils in education?
3. What are the particular needs of Muslim pupils within your school?
4. Do you feel those needs are being met in your school environment? (If possible, explain your answer)
5. What Government strategies would you identify as being introduced to prevent non-violent extremism?
6. What effects, if any, do you think these policies have on the pupils?
7. What effects, if any, do you think these strategies will have on pupils in the future?
8. In what way, might these policies affect how you teach the pupils?
9. Are there any ways these policies affect school life more broadly?
10. In what ways (if any) have the current policies or climate affected what pupils feel they can express or talk about?
11. Are there any topics you feel more cautious about discussing with these pupils? (Informally/ within lessons/ assemblies)
12. Have there ever been instances when a pupil has made you feel uncomfortable or concerned about the views they have expressed? (If so, can you give example)

13. What strategies did you use to respond to this, if any?

14. What do you think is the role of teachers and schools in responding to issues around non-violent extremism?

15. Are there any comments you wish to add?

16. Are you happy to be involved in an interview to develop these answers further?

17. Consent form: I understand that my information will be securely held and processed for the following purposes: a) To enable the researcher to assemble and analyse evidence of Muslim pupils' experiences of the political climate. b) To use this evidence for the purposes of a PhD thesis, academic journal articles and presentations related to the reports and articles. I agree to take part in the above survey.

Appendix F: Pupil focus group questions

1. Amina is a British Muslim Teenager. What is life like for her as a British Muslim teenager?
2. Amina is a British Muslim Teenager. How do you think other people see her?
3. Amina is a British Muslim teenager. What do you think she hopes about the future?
4. How would you all describe it might feel to be a British Muslim right now?
5. What are your hopes and worries in the current environment as British Muslims?
6. What challenges do you feel face Muslim teenagers?
7. Tell me about whether you feel listened to as British Muslim teenagers?
8. To what extent do you feel understood as young Muslim teenagers?
9. Tell me about what issues you feel you can discuss in school about being British Muslim?
10. What impact do you think social media has on your lives?
11. What do you think about how the media talks about Islam?
12. Have you heard of the idea of British Values? What do you think British Values are?

13. Do you feel British?

14. What do you think being British means?

15. What is positive about growing up in the UK at the moment?

16. What would you like to change most in the current environment?

17. In what ways do you think the UK is an inclusive country for everyone?

18. What do you all look forward to in this country in the future?

19. What worries do you all have about the future?

Appendix G: Teacher interview questions

1. Tell me about your role in the school?
2. What do you perceive as controversial topics for discussion in lessons?
Please give examples.
3. A) Tell me about your experience/training/confidence in discussing contemporary or controversial 'issues' in class.
B) Do you feel there are any restrictions or obstacles to these types of discussion?
4. Tell me about the ways you feel the school might or might not provide safe space for pupils' discussion.
5. In your view, do you think teachers are equipped to tackle internet safety? What concerns if any, do you think are posed here?
6. In your experience, tell me about whether you feel pupils are open to discuss personal, political, religious views in the classroom?
7. What do you feel might be Muslim pupils' experience of being open to discuss personal, political and religious views?
8. Tell me about your Prevent training experience and its impact on the you or the environment of the school?
9. Can you tell me about any other Government policies preventing extremism in schools, such as fundamental British values and what affect you feel they might be having?

10. What positive ways do you think you and your school are finding to address inclusion

Appendix H: Document analysis

Memo: DfE: The Prevent Duty (June 2015): a document analysis

Charmaz (2014) outline questions for document analysis:

- 1) What its originators intended to accomplish
- 2) The process of producing a document
- 3) What and whom the document affects
- 4) How various audiences interpret it
- 5) How, when and to what extent these audiences use the document

The Prevent duty guidance is written by the Department for Education to give advice to teachers on the requirements of the forthcoming statutory duty to prevent extremism given to schools. This document was released in June 2015, shortly before the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act was released, July 1st 2015. The document informs teachers and educational professionals that they are subject to the duty under section 26 of the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015 which states that persons need 'to have due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism'. Paragraphs 57-76 of the guidance are concerned specifically with schools and childcare providers.

The recipients of the document are the teachers who are charged with the responsibility of preventing and safeguarding pupils against extremism, radicalisation and terrorism. The document can be argued to divide the teachers' role into two aspects, the first is to 'build up' pupil's resilience to radicalisation' (p5) and the second is to 'to identify children who may be vulnerable to radicalisation and know what to do when they are identified' (p5).

In order to achieve the first element i.e. 'to build up resilience', teachers are informed that they need to enable children to 'challenge extremist arguments' (p5) and radicalisation by promoting 'fundamental British values', provide a 'safe environment for debating controversial issues' and understand how they can

‘influence and participate in decision making’ (p8). They need to ‘recognise and manage risk’ to make safer choices and encourage children to develop positive character traits such as resilience, determination, self-esteem and confidence (p8). Pupils should also be equipped to explore political and social issues critically, weigh up evidence and to make reasoned arguments (p8).

In terms of the second aspect of a teacher’s duty ‘to identify children who may be vulnerable to radicalisation and know what to do when they are identified’ (p5), the document states that schools and childcare providers are in an ‘important position to identify risks’ (p6) and to ‘spot signs of radicalisation’ Teachers need to understand that extremism is to express ‘vocal or active opposition to fundamental British values’. Teachers need to ‘assess the risk of children being drawn into terrorism, including support for extremist ideas that are part of terrorist ideology’ and be aware of ‘the increased risk of online radicalisation’ from ‘terrorist organisations such as ISIL’. Although there is no single way of identifying an individual ‘susceptible to terrorist ideology’, staff ‘should be alert to changes in children’s behaviour’. They may ‘display different signs or seek to hide their views. And teachers must be aware that even ‘very young children may be vulnerable to radicalisation.’

This document however relies on a number of assumptions. The first is that there are potentially children in any classroom at risk of being radicalised. It assumes that there are specific identifiers that can be looked out for to identify and prevent its development. The document assumes a trajectory from extremism to radicalisation to terrorism and that extremism is a precursor to terrorism. It also assumes that vulnerability to extremism can be prevented or diverted away from by building resilience through character traits, debating skills and fundamental British values. It furthermore assumes that those at risk of terrorism are outside the definition of British values. The pupil is the object of the strategy, they are projected as subjects that are malleable. In this case teachers have implied power to culturally transform a pupil away from a trajectory of terrorism and towards a model, democratic and participating citizen.

In terms of confusions in the text, there seems to be an interchangeable use of the terms 'extremism', 'radicalisation' and 'terrorism'. Secondly there seems an uncertainty as to which point is being prevented. The document refers to identifying children who 'may be vulnerable to radicalisation or may be susceptible to terrorist ideology or may be at 'risk of being drawn into terrorism'. These all imply a pre-cursor to an action, making the process of identifying being about identifying a potential.

Nigel Fairclough (2001) refers to the 'hidden effects' of a document's discourse. There are some hidden effects to be explored here. The document only actually refers to one source of radicalisation and that is ISIL, an Islamist example. There is no equivalent example of a far-right threat that the pupils might be at risk of. Through use of the terms 'to spot' and to 'identify', the hidden effect is that teachers are the eyes of security strategy, namely a tool of the Counter-Terror and Security Act (2015). The implication of British values is that those who are extremist exist outside what it means to be British. The implied concept here might be that those who are not British are at risk of extremism, radicalisation and terrorism.

Document name	Purpose	Content extract	Exploration of language	Imagined identity
<p>The Prevent duty: Departmental advice for schools and childcare providers June 2015 (non statutory advice) Advice for the counter terror security act</p>	<p>To have due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism</p> <p>Explain what the Prevent duty means for schools and childcare providers</p> <p>Subject to duty under section 26 of the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015 'to have due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism'. Paragraphs 57-76 of the guidance are concerned specifically with schools and childcare providers.</p>	<p>P5: it is essential that staff are able to identify children who may be vulnerable to radicalisation, and know what to do when they are identified. Protecting children from the risk of radicalisation should be seen as part of schools' and childcare providers' wider safeguarding duties, and is similar in nature to protecting children from other harms (e.g. drugs, gangs, neglect, sexual exploitation),</p> <p>Schools and childcare providers can also build pupils' resilience to radicalisation by promoting fundamental British values and enabling them to challenge extremist views. It is important to emphasize that the Prevent duty is not intended to stop pupils debating controversial issues. On the contrary, schools should provide a safe space in which children, young people and staff can understand the risks associated with terrorism and develop the knowledge and skills to be able to challenge extremist arguments.</p> <p>The Prevent duty is entirely consistent with schools' and childcare providers' existing responsibilities and should not be burdensome. Ofsted's revised common inspection framework for education, skills and early years, which comes into effect from 1 September 2015, makes specific reference to the need to have safeguarding arrangements to promote pupils' welfare and prevent radicalisation and extremism</p>	<p>Teachers: to identify and know what to do</p> <p>Part of safeguarding duties</p> <p>Build resilience to radicalisation by promoting FBV and enable challenge to extremist views</p> <p>Not to stop debating of controversial issues</p> <p>On contrary schools should provide safe spaces to understand the risks associated with terrorism and to challenge extremist arguments.</p> <p>Consistent with school' current responsibilities.</p> <p>Now on Ofsted's framework from September for schools to have specifically addressed this requirement</p>	<p>There are children vulnerable to radicalisation</p> <p>Needed to be protected from and build up resilience to.</p> <p>Resilience built by fundamental British values</p> <p>And enabling them to challenge extremist views.</p> <p>Children are vulnerable, they need resilience built up</p> <p>FBV implies that those that need resilience are those without British values.</p>

Appendix I: Coding and categorising: Pupil questionnaire

Initial codes	Focused codes and Categorising	Example of participant data:
<p>Teenager</p> <p>Being 13</p> <p>Normal</p>	<p>Teenager</p>	<p>23D. A girl, moody, sad, teenager, dysfunctional</p> <p>34D. An average teenager that goes to [school name]. I am friendly and nice.</p> <p>12A. 11-year-old girl, short and skinny</p> <p>20A. Normal</p> <p>21A. Normal girl</p> <p>30D. Year 8, 13 years old, funny and caring</p> <p>14A. I don't care how they perceive me (crossed out), Just like every other secondary school kid.</p>
<p><u>Them</u></p> <p><u>They</u></p> <p><u>Us</u></p> <p><u>Us against them</u></p>	<p><u>'Us and them'</u></p>	<p>36A. ...because of my religion books like the hadith are there to help us understand and get through our time on this earth in peace.</p> <p>9D. They view us as terrorists and we are all bad when it is only the minority.</p> <p>7E. They look at you differently</p> <p>37E. In the eyes of a Muslim, I am one of us and I am normal in the eyes of others.</p>
<p><u>Being British</u></p> <p><u>British-Muslim</u></p>	<p><u>Britishness</u></p>	<p>8D. Kind, Muslim girl (British)</p> <p>62D. 15-year-old British Bangladeshi Muslim girl</p>
<p><u>White</u></p> <p><u>Brown</u></p> <p><u>Asian</u></p> <p><u>Colour of skin</u></p> <p><u>Pakis</u></p> <p><u>Racist</u></p>	<p><u>Race</u></p>	<p>47D. Crossed out: Some people who are racists might see Muslims as terrorists. Not crossed out: Good and bad</p> <p>28A. Black girl/woman – undesirable Crossed out: due to media) delinquent, intimidating as media portrays. When am with friends thought as gang</p> <p>2E: They are racist because we cover our heads</p>
<p><u>Fear</u></p> <p><u>Scared</u></p> <p><u>Not safe</u></p> <p><u>Anxious</u></p> <p><u>threatening</u></p>	<p><u>Fear/ anxiety/ distrust/ threat (feelings)</u></p>	<p>9A. That sometimes I am scared and I don't feel safe.</p> <p>9A. I think people are intimidated because I wear a headscarf</p> <p>79D. Frightening and dangerous</p> <p>14E: Some people see my religion as peaceful. Others see</p>

		it as a source of violence
<u>Discriminated</u> <u>Islamophobia</u> <u>Sexism</u> <u>Being seen</u> <u>They judge us</u> <u>stereotype</u>	<u>Discrimination and</u> <u>judging</u>	<p>55D. Sometimes people judge me on the clothing that I wear</p> <p>63D. How people judge you when covering yourself and how there is a divide starting between Muslims and English people. We are blamed for the recent terror attacks which make us fear expressing our faith.</p> <p>6A. Some people judge you really quickly and that starts to affect you, yet you still have the right to free speech.</p> <p>8D. Many may judge me.</p> <p>13E. Some people think we are extremist. Others see us as calm and peaceful people</p> <p>38E. With the whole ISIS issue, there has been discrimination from a few individuals when you go to an area with very less Muslims</p> <p>2B. Very stereotypical</p> <p>5B. How other people feel about Muslims – Islamophobic.</p>
<u>Media</u> <u>Media bias</u> <u>Media focus</u> <u>News</u>	<u>Role of media</u>	<p>28A. Black girl/woman – undesirable Crossed out: due to media) delinquent, intimidating as media portrays. When am with friends thought of as gang</p> <p>48D. The media portrays my religion as harmful. They think we are terrorists. Everyone’s rude so I tend to build up my argumentative side when they talk.</p> <p>16E. Other people may be cautious of me or avoid me because the news/ media makes Muslims seem bad, they think we’re violent</p>
<u>Teachers</u> <u>Class</u> <u>School</u> <u>Safe space</u>	<u>School</u>	<p>34A. School is safe space about talking about your thoughts however if you say ‘but’ while talking about things like views on homosexuals you are labelled as ‘homophobic’ automatically.</p> <p>16A. I like expressing my beliefs anywhere in school because people will listen to me and I can be heard.</p> <p>24D. It is a child’s right to feel safe at school and have the freedom to talk, so I think that my school give me both these rights. However, just out of myself, I don’t really like talking about my personal life.</p>

		<p>60D. Generally school might not be a place to talk about my personal beliefs because some people might get affected.</p> <p>34D. School is accepting: they understand our issues</p>
<p>Bengali</p> <p>Asian</p> <p>Home</p>	<p>Culture:</p>	<p>66D. Female, Bengali, independent</p> <p>62D. 15-year-old British Bangladeshi Muslim girl</p>
<p>Female</p> <p>Scarf</p> <p>Woman</p>	<p>Gender</p>	<p>66D. Female, Bengali, independent</p> <p>30A. female black, headscarf, kind</p> <p>30A. Muslim girl, oppressed, terrorist, most of time average girl</p> <p>23D. A girl, moody, sad, teenager, dysfunctional</p> <p>33D. I'm a girl. Funny, kind</p> <p>63D. I am a 15-year-old girl, I'm mature, I like to gain outer knowledge to improve my intelligence.</p>
<p>Scarf/ Hijab</p>	<p>Clothing</p>	<p>27A. ...Your clothing determines what your associated with. My headscarf makes society view me as a terrorist.</p> <p>1E: Racism because we cover ourselves</p> <p>14B. As I wear a hijab, it gives people more of a chance to judge me.</p>
<p>Grenfell Tower</p> <p>Brexit</p> <p>Finsbury park</p> <p>Terror attacks</p> <p>Westminster</p> <p>Acid attacks</p> <p>Ramadan</p>	<p>Events</p>	<p>63D. How people judge you when covering yourself and how there is a divide starting between Muslims and English people. We are blamed for the recent terror attacks which make us fear expressing our faith.</p> <p>70D. Some people view me negatively due to the small amount of people committing attacks in the name of religion. They do not see Muslims as human</p>
<p>See Muslims</p> <p>Extremism</p> <p>Your religion</p>	<p>View of Islam</p>	<p>67D. The fear of walking out of my home and being attacked by people who hate my religion.</p> <p>70D. Some people view me negatively due to the small amount of people committing attacks in the name of religion. They do not see Muslims as human</p> <p>11B. They think all Muslims are terrorists or perceive them in a negative way.</p> <p>14B. People think that I might not be good or the people of my religion because of the people who claim to be</p>

		<p>Muslim</p> <p>16B. They think I am a murderer because I am Muslim.</p> <p>They think I'm a serial killer.</p>
<p><u>Everyone just looks at me</u></p> <p><u>Suspicious</u></p> <p><u>Everyone is scared</u></p>	<p><u>Misunderstandings:</u></p>	<p>70D. Some teachers do not understand the prejudice that Muslims face and therefore cannot understand our views.</p> <p>3D. Hopeless and like I can't face any problem by myself because as a Muslim girl society see everyone differently and that is how I feel they see us.</p>
<p><u>Being attacked</u></p> <p><u>Being oppressed</u></p> <p><u>British Muslim</u></p> <p><u>Islamic school</u></p> <p><u>Ramadan</u></p> <p><u>Eid holiday</u></p>	<p><u>Being Muslim</u></p>	<p>7D. Innocent, British Muslim/ hijabi, kind, helpful</p> <p>8D. Kind, Muslim girl (British)</p> <p>18D. ...as a normal Bengali Muslim girl who enjoys sport and outgoing activities</p> <p>27A. May associate me with Isis</p> <p>27E. I see myself as a good Muslim</p>
<p><u>We have a right</u></p> <p><u>Its my right</u></p>	<p><u>Rights</u></p>	<p>6A. Some people judge you really quickly and that starts to affect you, yet you still have the right to free speech.</p>
<p><u>Terrorist not Muslim</u></p> <p><u>White supremacy</u></p> <p><u>Suspicion</u></p> <p><u>Muslims not terrorists</u></p> <p><u>Religious extreme</u></p>	<p><u>Terrorism</u></p>	<p>27A. ...Your clothing determines what your associated with. My headscarf makes society view me as a terrorist.</p> <p>36A. I think in this society too many people are ignorant and blame Muslims for the actions of terrorist. E.g. in current affairs, what is going on with Isis right now many ignorant people associate ISIS with Muslims so then all Muslims are scapegoated with the idea that Muslims are all radical terrorist. When really in Islam it clearly states: 'killing one man is like the whole of mankind' Then maybe if we educated ignorant people we would all see each other as equals and live in peace.</p> <p>78D. Terrorist (because of hijab)</p> <p>62D. As a terrorist perhaps due to the media.</p> <p>52D. As a threat or dangerous</p> <p>68D. Some people in society are indifferent to my existence. Others feel threatened or intimidated due to the fact I am a Muslim. Some feel the need to make</p>

		<p>comments because I am a girl and because of the school I go to.</p> <p>79D. Frightening and dangerous</p> <p>27A. May associate me with ISIS</p> <p>30A. Muslim girl, oppressed, terrorist, most of time average girl</p>
Friends	Friendship?	<p>14D. I can talk about it because my friends understand and they are my friends.</p>
<p>Teacher not understanding</p> <p>Make safe</p> <p>Reassure</p> <p>Support</p>	Role of teacher for pupils	<p>60D. Because many people will judge me and take my opinion the wrong way, teachers mostly.</p> <p>70D. Some teachers do not understand the prejudice that Muslims face and therefore cannot understand our views.</p> <p>24A. I feel that if I felt anything about things that have distressed me to a teacher, then they won't care or understand me. If feel teachers aren't there for support when students need.</p>

Appendix J: Coding and categorising: Teacher Questionnaire

Extract: School B – Sycamore School: Teacher’s imagining of Muslim pupils:

Themes: The teachers imagine the pupils as:	School B (Sycamore)
Marginalised	<p>Some groups especially Muslims may feel marginalised or singled out as a result (Q6: 31B)</p> <p>Often alienating them, gives them the feeling they are on the ‘wrong side’ of something they don’t fully grasp. (Q6:37B)</p> <p>If it is not delivered right, it could alienate the children and make them feel targeted (Q6: 39B)</p> <p>Some Muslim students are aware of some of the negative media attention towards Muslims and association with extremism, but I am not sure that government policies play a part in this. (Q10: 20B)</p>
Fearful to discuss/ cautious	<p>Having people to talk to and ask questions, teachers should be those people but some students feel they can’t speak freely to them. (Q3: 32B)</p> <p>Pupils are afraid to voice their concerns, afraid to ask questions (Q6: 32B)</p> <p>They are monitored much more closely and simple habits may trigger alarm when actually its nothing ... this creates a lot of tension between staff and the families who form the community (Q6: 40B)</p> <p>A great deal of pupils are afraid to ask questions (Q10: 21B)</p> <p>They can talk about it but not entirely sure they are expressing their views truthfully. (Q10: 24B)</p>

	<p>Pupils don't feel they can openly ask questions about things they are not sure about without feeling worried (Q10:28B)</p>
Fearful of being labelled extremist	<p>Not to be judged or blamed for everything that happens (38B)</p> <p>To support them if they have views that are Islamic and not related to extremism, instead of trying to argue and create something out of nothing (Q3: 40B)</p> <p>They find it very difficult to enjoy and talk about their faith and feel happy about it. They always look over to see if someone is listening as they may be labelled extreme from someone else's point of view. (Q10: B)</p>
Not feeling safe	
Fear of getting reported	<p>Initially yes, there was a lot of fear of being put on a register or of not being able to tell a joke without creating an overreaction. I know the pupils feel obstructed in expressing themselves freely (Q10:22B).</p>
Knowing about Prevent	<p>Pupils are very aware that the school has seen this as a priority, especially as girls from a nearby school did leave their homes and join ISIS (Q6: 34B)</p> <p>Creates a culture of suspicion which is not beneficial, though most students do not understand what the government programme involves (Q6: 36B)</p>
Not understood	<p>They feel unfairly targeted ... They feel their faith is misunderstood and misrepresented. I do not think the Prevent approach has 'prevented' anything, rather antagonized it. (Q6: 33B)</p>
Geographically restricted	<p>Poor. Untravelled beyond 1km from home. (Q1: 37B)</p>
Affected by Islamophobia	<p>They are tired of apologising (Q10: 27B)</p>

Struggling to balance two sides of life	They need to be accepted at school as Muslim and not feel alien (Q3: 40B)
Open	Many are open about their thoughts regarding extremism. Many feel they are badly represented by students that choose this path (Q10: 23B)
As content/harmonious	Generally motivated academically.

Appendix K: Coding and categorisation: Pupil focus groups

Extract: Student Focus group coding: Year 12 Elmhurst interview:

Focus group interview with year 12 (Elmhurst D): Extract	
<p>Student 4: I think there is a general fear ... everything contributes towards your fear of the future ... generally, as teenagers, forget being Muslim, forget being Asian...you fear the future, I mean, what am I going to do at university, what am I going to do as a career? You fear that in general, because that is what you are supposed to do, you question yourself as a teenager ... but adding onto that ... the fact that you are Muslim, there is a new level of fear ... you are not just fearing how much money you are going to make in five years' time, its am I going to be safe going to my job? Am I going to be safe going to uni? Am I safe to travel outside [this area]? Can I go to campus-based universities? Can I go to Cambridge? Can I go to Oxford? Your intellectual ability, it might be really great but if you are not safe, then you are very, very limited and your fear increases so much that you just don't want to do anything. Cos I know that I could do so much, we could all do so much ... everyone here has capabilities but if we are limited by fear ... then there is not much you can do. Its not something you can control.</p> <p>Student 5: If you are limited by the colour of your skin, there is really nothing you can do. Even your religion is like ... I read an article recently and it said that Muslims like ... statistically are being discriminated against in jobs ... like recently ... I don't know how ... like reliable the statistics are but it is a growing concern that yeah...I might get to university because it is quite diverse but then after university where am I going to go ... like ... they will see me and they will see me in a scarf and they will think ... automatically ... and its another thing ... we wear ... we're female and we wear scarves ... we are so easily identifiable as Muslims ... so any racist or Islamophobic person knows straight away.</p>	
Initial coding line by line/	Extract: Section of focus group

segment by segment	
<p>Fear</p> <p>Future</p> <p>Being teenagers</p> <p>Being Muslim</p> <p>Being Asian</p> <p>Fear of future - University/ career</p> <p>Self-identity – teenager</p> <p>Self-identity – Muslim</p> <p>Associated fear</p> <p>Safety in future</p> <p>Safety at university</p> <p>Travel</p> <p>Aspiration</p> <p>Not safe</p> <p>Fear – limiting</p> <p>Fear increases</p> <p>Out of your control</p> <p>Limited by skin colour</p> <p>Muslims and discrimination</p> <p>Discrimination in jobs</p>	<p>Student 4: I think there is a general fear ... everything contributes towards your fear of the future ... generally, as teenagers, forget being Muslim, forget being Asian...you fear the future, I mean, what am I going to do at university, what am I going to do as a career? You fear that in general, because that is what you are supposed to do, you question yourself as a teenager ... but adding onto that ...the fact that you are Muslim, there is a new level of fear ... you are not just fearing how much money you are going to make in five years' time, its am I going to be safe going to my job? Am I going to be safe going to uni? Am I safe to travel outside [this area]? Can I go to campus-based universities? Can I go to Cambridge? Can I go to Oxford? Your intellectual ability, it might be really great but if you are not safe, then you are very, very limited and your fear increases so much that you just don't want to do anything. Cos I know that I could do so much, we could all do so much ... everyone here has capabilities but if we are limited by fear ... then there is not much you can do. Its not something you can control.</p> <p>Student 5: If you are limited by the colour of your skin, there is really nothing you can do. Even your religion is like ... I read an article recently and it said that Muslims like...statistically are being discriminated</p>

<p>Growing concern</p> <p>Scarf</p> <p>Visible scarf</p> <p>Being seen</p> <p>See me</p> <p>Easily identifiable as Muslim</p> <p>Fear of racists and Islamophobia</p>	<p>against in jobs ... like recently ... I don't know how ... like reliable the statistics are but it is a growing concern that yeah...I might get to university because it is quite diverse but then after university where am I going to go ... like ... they will see me and they will see me in a scarf and they will think ... automatically ... and its another thing ... we wear ... we're female and we wear scarves ...we are so easily identifiable as Muslims ... so any racist or Islamophobic person knows straight away.</p>
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Initial codes	Focused codes and Categorising	Example of participant data:
<p>Teenager</p> <p>Being 13</p> <p>Normal teenager</p> <p>Other teenagers</p>	<p>Teenager</p>	<p>everything contributes towards your fear of the future ... generally, as teenagers, forget being Muslim, forget being Asian</p>
	<p><u>Identity of group</u></p>	<p>Student 4: All people...I don't want to put Muslims as a whole different community because we're part of the same community everyone else is part of</p>
<p><u>Them</u></p> <p><u>They</u></p> <p><u>Us</u></p> <p><u>Us against them</u></p>	<p><u>'Us and them'</u></p>	<p>Its kind of linked to Isis and stuff where they don't realise that Isis isn't just planning attacks on white countries, they are doing it to their own Muslim countries ... hundreds and hundreds ... thousands of Muslims are</p>

		<p>killed ... women, children, men.</p> <p>This constant rhetoric that it is 'us' against 'them' ... like why should we apologise about people who are not part of our community whatsoever? ... They are like... not part of us ... so like ... this idea of banding us together and like ... generalising ...</p>
<p>Christianity Islam</p>	<p>Religion</p>	<p>if you compared a Christian person and an Islam person and they were both too religious which one would be regarded as extremist ...?</p>
<p>British Values Being British British-Muslim</p>	<p>Britishness</p>	<p>like right wing people think 'oh you ... Muslimics ... you don't have British Values'...but your values are our values, values are values I feel like...British Values ... like ... putting your name on it ... you must believe in these values ... its thought almost universal ... like ...</p>
<p>White Brown Asian Colour of skin Pakis Racist</p>	<p>Race</p>	<p>being really ignorant calling us stuff like Pakis ..., talking about the colour of our skin and comparing it to poo or something</p> <p>If you are limited by the colour of your skin, there is really nothing you can do</p>
<p>Fear Scared Not safe Anxious threatening</p>	<p>Fear/ anxiety/ distrust/ threat (feelings)</p>	<p>the fact that you are Muslim, there is a new level of fear ... you are not just fearing how much money you are going to make in five years' time, its am I going to be safe going to my job? Am I going to be safe going to uni? Am I safe to travel outside [this area]? Can I</p>

		<p>go to campus-based universities? Can I go to Cambridge? Can I go to Oxford? Your intellectual ability, it might be really great but if you are not safe, then you are very very limited and your fear increases so much that you just don't want to do anything. Cos I know that I could do so much, we could all do so much ... everyone here has capabilities but if we are limited by fear ... then there is not much you can do. Its not something you can control.</p>
<p>Discriminated Islamophobia Sexism Being seen They judge us</p>	<p>Discrimination and judging</p>	<p>Muslims like...statistically are being discriminated against in jobs ... we're female and we wear scarves ... we are so easily identifiable as Muslims ... so any racist or Islamophobic person knows straight away.</p>
<p>Politics Change No change</p>	<p>Political engagement – open to / closed to/ limitations</p>	<p>I feel like we are listened to ... but nothing really changes ...</p>
<p>Petition Political Want change Hope</p>	<p>Drive/ determination/ spirit/ desire for change...</p>	<p>Student 5: We kind of have a lot of things to complain about but not many solutions ...</p>
<p>Media Media bias Media focus Twitter Instagram Racism on twitter Social media</p>	<p>Role of media</p>	<p>Its kind of linked to Isis and stuff where they don't realise that Isis isn't just planning attacks on white countries, they are doing it to their own Muslim countries...hundreds and hundred s... thousands of Muslims are killed ... women, children, men ... especially... the media doesn't talk about that...they only say this amount of people died in this country...</p>

<p>Read online</p> <p>Fake news</p> <p>Hoax</p>	<p>Fake news</p>	<p>Student 5: And that assembly that took place ... the incident that let to that assembly a couple of year ten students, I'm not sure exactly ... they said ... 'We read online ... the London Bridge attacks was a hoax cos we read online that they were police officers dressing in civilian clothes or something ...</p> <p>Student 2: Its just stuff online</p>
<p>Teachers</p> <p>Class</p> <p>School</p> <p>Mentors</p> <p>Breaktime</p> <p>SLT members</p> <p>School police officer</p>	<p>School</p>	<p>our school is like ... majority Muslim, so I think in that way... so that as soon as you step inside school you are safe.</p> <p>Yeah ... when that (girls went to Syria) happened they had a whole assembly about it... radicalisation and you know...and extremism ... but when it comes to Islamophobia, there is nothing going on...you're fine, ... don't think you are victims ... so there is quite a stark contrast in radicalisation and in Islamophobia and I think they need to ...yeah...(interruption)</p>
<p>Past:</p> <p>When my mum grew up</p> <p>When my dad came to this country</p> <p>1970s/ 1980s</p> <p>Future:</p> <p>Opportunities, university, jobs, family life</p>	<p>Past / Future/ Present</p>	<p>Its developing ... My mum grew up in this country and she didn't wear a scarf until 2000, so I am going to expose my mum's age ... that's a good few decades that she did not wear a scarf out of complete fear ... so in that sense I think it has developed quite a bit ... since the 70s, 80s, 90s.</p>

<u>Marriage</u>		
<u>Traditional</u> <u>Bengali</u> <u>Asian</u> <u>Home</u> <u>Change in</u> <u>culture</u>	<u>Culture:</u>	<p>Because sometimes you think, you have to be Bengali, you have to be the traditional daughter...</p>
<u>Female</u> <u>Scarf</u> <u>Women</u> <u>Modesty</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<p>they will see me and they will see me in a scarf and they will think ... automatically ... and its another thing ... we wear ... we're female and we wear scarves ...we are so easily identifiable as Muslims ... so any racist or Islamophobic person knows straight away.</p> <p>Student 3: Its kind of like ... we both wear scarves ... but if my friend who wears a Niqab was to walk around the street with us, she's the one who would get the most looks because they regard that as too religious or they associate that with extremism but if she wasn't there and we were still walking we'd still get looks. Its just if she was there with us with the Niqab on she'd be the more extreme...</p>
<u>Take it off</u> <u>Feel naked</u> <u>Ban scarves</u> <u>Niqab</u>	<u>Clothing</u>	<p>Student 5: They are trying to ban headscarves and stuff in the workplace for us Muslims...its like an identity for us...we can't be without</p> <p>Student 2: Its like a second skin to us ...</p> <p>Student 3: Without your scarf is the equivalent of feeling naked or something ...</p> <p>Student 4: I started when I was year 5? Year 6?</p>

		<p>Student 5: I put it on for the wrong reasons initially...cos all my friends put it on...we did it as one squad...then afterwards I learned about the beauty behind it ...</p>
<p><u>Grenfell Tower</u> <u>Brexit</u> <u>Finsbury park</u> <u>Terror attacks</u> <u>Westminster</u> <u>Acid attacks</u> <u>Ramadan</u></p>	<p><u>Events</u></p>	<p>the Finsbury Park Mosque [attack] and it was mainly men that were hurt as they were coming back from prayer.</p> <p>I just want to point out ... when the whole girls going off to Syria happened ...</p> <p>horrible Grenfell Tower</p>
<p><u>See Muslims</u> <u>Extremism</u> <u>Your religion</u></p>	<p><u>View of Islam</u></p>	<p>the government... and the way they see Muslims and their controversial Prevent strategy ... where anything you say ... even if it is like your religion and you're following your religion and the guidelines of your religion but they'll see it as extremism ... and its like ... I can't even follow my religion now ...</p>
<p><u>Everyone just looks at me</u> <u>Suspicious</u> <u>Everyone is scared</u></p>	<p><u>Misunderstandings:</u></p>	<p>Interviewer: What kinds of things are misunderstood as extremism?</p> <p>Student 3: Saying Allu-Akbar</p> <p>Student 3: Yeah like if you say that or like...I have an app where the Adzan (call to prayer) goes off</p> <p>Then the minute it goes off ... everyone just looks at me like ... is a bomb going to go off...'No ... don't worry' (laughter) its just my phone'.</p>
<p><u>Being attacked</u></p>	<p><u>Being Muslim</u></p>	<p>the fact that you are Muslim, there is a new</p>

<p><u>Being</u> <u>oppressed</u> <u>British Muslim</u> <u>Islamic school</u> <u>Ramadan</u> <u>Eid holiday</u></p>		<p>level of fear...</p>
<p><u>Opportunities</u> <u>available</u> <u>Black and</u> <u>ethnic</u> <u>minority list</u> <u>Moving in right</u> <u>direction</u> <u>Better now</u> <u>than before</u></p>	<p><u>Hope...Opportunity...</u> <u>Hopes\</u> <u>improvements: Role</u> <u>models</u></p>	<p>Student 3: I think the opportunities that are available ... So much we can do ... get jobs, work experience ... the choice to go to university really...and its just so easily available...and the support you gain from school as well.... because if you are struggling in school, I don't think before they would give you tuition but now our school does give us tutors if we are underachieving because they push you to get good grades ...</p>
<p><u>Feel safe</u> <u>Community</u> <u>come together</u> <u>In my area</u> <u>Sense of</u> <u>community</u></p>	<p><u>Sense of community</u></p>	<p>I felt safe in this area ... especially in the Muslim populated area</p>
<p><u>We have a</u> <u>right</u> <u>Its my right</u></p>	<p><u>Rights</u></p>	<p>the Azhan goes off ... for prayer ... I feel as if we should be comfortable ... for that to go off ... and freely practice our religion because you know ... we have that right ...</p>
<p><u>Anger at</u> <u>Government</u> <u>Blame the</u> <u>government</u> <u>Petition</u> <u>government</u> <u>Prevent</u></p>	<p><u>Role of government</u></p>	<p>Student 3: I read something on the Prevent strategy where she (Theresa May) wanted the army troops out on the street and that would make more police presence</p>

strategy		
Terrorist not Muslim White supremacy Suspicion Muslims not terrorists Religious extreme	Terrorism	<p>but they don't realise that these people who do these acts ... these horrible acts...these terrorist attacks ... its not Muslim ...</p>
Teacher not understanding Assembly Make safe Reassure SLT members Teacher reported	Role of teacher for pupils	<p>Just generally in this school I think there was one moment where ... certain teachers erm ... you know ... we're not all against you ... people don't hate Muslims ... we're not all out against you ... don't be afraid ...</p> <p>something like that ... to a whole year group ... and erm ...</p> <p>Student 3: Year 10s especially they're just kids ... and it can have a very very big effect on them and influence them the most ... For the teacher to say that ...</p> <p>Student 2: And what that teacher was specifically putting across was that...we don't face problems ... (interruption.)</p> <p>Student? ... You know these challenges ... and stuff ... like there is nothing happening to you ... you're fine ... I kinda get how she was trying to come across ... like you know ... you're not ... (unsafe?)</p> <p>Student 3: But there is no point in sugar coating it ... there are facts out there ... and your family and friends are being attacked ... and you know ... oppressed ...</p>

		<p>And instead of covering it up and saying no you're fine ... instead you should try and make us feel safe</p>
<p>The other day It was on YouTube I was watching</p>	<p>Connection with Prevent</p>	<p>And you mentioned the Prevent Strategy.... what affect do you think that has?</p> <p>Student 5: I don't know but my cousin (at another school) ... this teacher really had it in for him ... and obviously I know him to be my cousin, I know 100% he is not extremist but I know he is also very religious ... and they are two completely separate terms, but I think that teacher definitely blurred the two ... and then I'm not really sure what happened...all the details but she started, you know, saying things about him and saying stuff about it ... and I think the Prevent strategy might have had an impact on that, its very sort of ... look into every nitty gritty detail, are they too religious? What is too religious though, that is my problem? How do you know when someone is an extremist and when someone is not? You don't ...</p>

Appendix L: Coding and categorising: Teacher interview coding

Teacher interview extract: Rosehill Teacher 4

Interview with teacher 4: Rosehill: Extract	
<p>Interview 4: So this is interesting, I had a year 7 class, ... I don't think I have mentioned this ... but again I don't know why we ended up talking about politics ... about Brexit ... and then eventually we were talking about ... erm ... some reactions ... to people perceived as being immigrants or Muslims, and out of a class of thirty year 7 students, four or five Muslim students put their hand up to either say...a family member had been attacked ... or someone they knew had been attacked ... quite horribly ... Now ... I have no idea... you know ... and I said 'have you told anyone' and they said ...'no ... we don't talk about these things ... so it was obvious to me that for their fellow class members that was the first time they were hearing this... from each other ... and I did kind of wonder ... if there are opportunities to talk about that ... you know ... they could go through their whole school life ... and you wouldn't know that your school mate's mother had been beaten up ... because she was a Muslim... and that ... actually is quite sad ... if you are not able to get them to talk about these things ... So there is a bit of a concern as in ... how are we trying to create a space for them so that they can talk about ... things that are happening ... to them and their families...</p> <p>Interviewer: Do you think their families are encouraging them to speak?</p> <p>I really can't answer that ... I really don't know ... it was a very sporadic conversation and it started by me saying that my brother had been beaten up ... and I wonder if ... that made them feel comfortable saying ... you know...because it did not feel like something that could be talked about ... feel like it was something that was shameful ... erm ... but then again are we able to ... bring individuals together to say this has happened to me ... and this is reality and people talk about it ... or are we just not involving ourselves in ...</p>	
Initial coding line by line/ segment by segment	Extract from. Interview 4
Brexit - event	So this is interesting, I had a year 7 class, ... I don't think I have mentioned this ... but again I don't know why we ended up talking about politics ... about Brexit ... and then eventually we were talking

<p>Politics</p> <p>Muslim pupils</p> <p>Year 7</p> <p>Family attacked</p> <p>Not told anyone</p> <p>Don't talk about these things</p> <p>Other class members' experience</p> <p>Teacher perception</p> <p>Can the pupils talk freely?</p> <p>Beaten up</p> <p>Experience – sadness</p> <p>Desire to create safe space</p> <p>To share experiences</p>	<p>about ... erm ... some reactions...to people perceived as being immigrants or Muslims, and out of a class of thirty year 7 students, four or five Muslim students put their hand up to either say ... a family member had been attacked ... or someone they knew had been attacked ... quite horribly ... Now ... I have no idea ... you know...and I said 'have you told anyone' and they said ...' no ... we don't talk about these things ... so it was obvious to me that for their fellow class members that was the first time they were hearing this ... from each other ... and I did kind of wonder ... if there are opportunities to talk about that ... you know ... they could go through their whole school life...and you wouldn't know that your school mate's mother had been beaten up ... because she was a Muslim...and that ... actually is quite sad ... if you are not able to get them to talk about these things ... So there is a bit of a concern as in ... how are we trying to create a space for them ... so that they can talk about ... things that are happening ... to them and their families ...</p> <p>Do you think their families are encouraging them to speak?</p>
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<p>Pupils shared because of teacher experience</p> <p>Felt secret</p> <p>Shameful</p> <p>Being honest and open</p>	<p>I really can't answer that ... I really don't know ... it was a very sporadic conversation and it started by me saying that my brother had been beaten up ... and I wonder if ... that made them feel comfortable saying ... you know ... because it did not feel like something that could be talked about ... feel like it was something that was shameful ...erm ... but then again are we able to ... bring individuals together to say this has happened to me ... and this is reality and people talk about it ... or are we just not involving ourselves in ...</p>
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Initial codes	Focused codes and Categorizing	Examples of participants' data
<p><u>Desire to create safe space</u></p> <p><u>Pupils safe to share</u></p> <p><u>Free to express</u></p> <p><u>Unsafe</u></p> <p><u>Talk freely</u></p>	<p><u>Safe space</u></p>	<p>it was a very sporadic conversation and it started by me saying that my brother had been beaten up ... and I wonder if ... that made them feel comfortable saying ... you know ... because it did not feel like something that could be talked about ... feel like it was something that was shameful...</p>
<p><u>Brexit</u></p> <p><u>Bethnal Green</u></p>	<p><u>Events</u></p>	<p>we ended up talking about politics ... about Brexit ...</p>

<u>girls</u>		
<u>Fellow class mates</u>	<u>Reactions of other pupils to Muslim pupils</u>	it was obvious to me that for their fellow class members that was the first time they were hearing this ... from each other ... and I did kind of wonder... if there are opportunities to talk about that you know...they could go through their whole school life ... and you wouldn't know that your school mate's mother had been beaten up ... because she was a Muslim ... and that ... actually is quite sad ...
<u>Teacher competence</u> <u>And</u> <u>confidence</u>	<u>Controversial issues</u>	
<u>Teacher Perception</u> <u>Experience</u> <u>sadness</u>	<u>Experience of Muslim pupils as perceived by teacher</u>	I did kind of wonder ... if there are opportunities to talk about that ... you know ... they could go through their whole school life ... and you wouldn't know that your school mate's mother had been beaten up...because she was a Muslim ... and that ... actually is quite sad ... if you are not able to get them to talk about these things ... So there is a bit of a concern as in ... how are we trying to create a space for them. ... so that they can talk about ... things that are happening ... to them and their families ...
<u>School's response</u> <u>Ethos</u> <u>Culture of school</u>	<u>Reactions of school</u>	I suppose is the ethos of the school ... mutual respect. ... and there is a degree ... of you know ... there is an atmosphere of mutualism
	<u>Reactions of the teachers</u>	I'm not clear what Prevent is, it seems we're supposed to look out for signs for kids who are ... and these are all very vague ... you know – look out for unhappy kids.
<u>Futile</u> <u>Waste of time</u> <u>Training</u>	<u>Impression of Prevent training</u>	Interview 1: Well Prevent training... was erm ... ultimately a futile exercise
<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Views of Prevent</u>	From my colleagues I heard that it was ... they were

<u>perceptions</u>		making a very clear effort to say ...its not about Muslims, its not about race ... its not about religion ...
<u>Media</u> <u>TV</u> <u>Newspapers</u> <u>What people see on TV</u>	<u>Influence of media</u>	I think the reality ... is that they are dealing with a media that is saying ...it is religion...and the media is a lot stronger...than a couple of hours of training.
<u>Could do something different suggestion</u>	<u>Alternative suggestions to Prevent Strategy</u>	I find the whole notion of that we in schools could do anything about it ... ridiculous ... I think what we can do to make schools prevent extremism is to create communities where children are safe and loved ... diverse communities ... let me emphasize that... diverse communities,
<u>Prevent Impact on pupils/ school</u>	<u>Impacts of Prevent</u>	My prevent training has had zero impact on me personally. I found it ... a complete waste of time to sit and listen to someone from Council giving me the history and background of Prevent
<u>British values</u> <u>Idea of British values</u> <u>What are British values</u> <u>Out of date</u>	<u>Relating to British Values</u>	Well, I suppose that it is supposed to be...you know...all schools are suppose to inculcate kids with British Values of ... you know ... secularism and you know ... liberal democracy and you know ... whatever ... you know... these British Values that we 'discovered' fifty years ago. British values are just an offensive idea, and since no one seems able to name them