



Thesis Title:

Counter-Terrorism Measures in the Classroom: Exploring the Perceptions and Experiences of Education Professionals Enacting the Prevent duty in Bath and Bristol

By:

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Dedicated to Rapha, Harry, Lily and Daisy

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List of Common Abbreviations

AQ	al-Qaeda
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CE	Counter-extremism
CONTEST	The United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering International Terrorism
CVE	Countering violent extremism
CR	Critical Realism
CT	Counter-terrorism
DSL	Designated Safeguarding Lead
DfE	Department for Education
FBV	Fundamental British Values: <ul style="list-style-type: none">● Democracy● Rule of Law● Individual liberty● Mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs
FDA	Foucauldian Discourse Analysis
IS	Islamic State (also known as ISIS)
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IT	Information Technology
NUS	National Union of Students
OfS	Office for Students
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills
PVE	Preventing Violent Extremism
SU	Student Union
7/7	The terrorist attacks in London on 7 July 2005
9/11	The terrorist attacks in New York on 11 September 2001

Abstract

While most education professionals report their straightforward enactment of Prevent, a critical multilevel analysis of 17 interviews with education professionals in the Bath and Bristol areas of the UK data demonstrates however, that the policy is widely perceived to be problematic and potentially counterproductive. As a policy, Prevent was generally perceived to be open to interpretation, with its core concepts—‘radicalisation’, ‘extremism’, and ‘vulnerability’ considered to be ambiguously defined. The policy’s mandated practices of surveillance and ideological intervention into pre-crime spaces were widely regarded as problematic, redundant, and counterproductive to the education process. By the book implementation of the policy was seen as potentially reducing education professionals’ social capital with students and local communities due mainly to a reduction in trust. Despite unanimous agreement with the fundamental safeguarding intent of Prevent, there are widespread concerns that the controversial policy’s roundly criticised discriminatory practices, especially its preferential targeting and profiling of the Muslim community, have now been expanded to target a far wider range of non-violent civil protest groups and social movements not traditionally associated with terrorism.

Despite these negative perceptions of Prevent, the study demonstrates that most education professionals mitigate the potentially iatrogenic effects of the policy, by adopting the role of policy actors, and in some cases as policy protagonists: they are generally able to assert their professional autonomy and agency to translate and transform Prevent to overcome its perceived negative effects and embrace its positives such as its widely agreed upon values. The study facilitates the understanding of such policy enactment, and the creativity and resistance of practitioners in engaging with Prevent. On the whole, education professionals were able to use their expertise to reinterpret and recontextualise the ‘regime of truth’ underpinning Prevent, as a rationale for a partial enactment of the policy, often resulting in emancipatory prevention work using value-based pedagogical practices based on ‘good teaching’. Such socially cohesive strategies however, were contingent upon institutional level ‘light-touch’ implementation processes, which allowed education professionals the autonomy and agency to enact Prevent in a partial and relatively invisible ‘tick-box’ fashion, using non-discriminatory practices to protect the civil liberties of their students.

The research concludes, however, that Prevent, as currently written, arguably contains a ‘hidden curriculum’ which gives the policy the potential to be interpreted and enacted in ways that could be divisive, discriminatory and ultimately counterproductive, particularly in areas of ‘heavy-touch’ regulation. Participants expressed concerns, for example, about the policy’s surveillance regime, and its integral panopticism, for example through its vague ‘indicators’, the targeting of civil rights protest groups and automated software algorithms that can monitor and record all student activity on institutional computer networks, and thus circumnavigate their professional autonomy to make judgement calls. Ultimately, the findings reveal that despite the diverse responses (and creative resistances) of practitioners to Prevent, their values and the reflexive ways in which they engage with the policy, that placing it on a legal footing has facilitated the installation of a socio-technical surveillance assemblage: a permanent and potentially invasive authoritarian infrastructure, whereby technical, institutional, physical, and bureaucratic mechanisms—and knowledge structures—strengthen and maintain the state’s exercise of power, surveillance and control over the public sphere and by extension over the social body. At a time when Prevent is being reviewed, with further expansions in its remit on the table, the research makes urgent recommendations for the field to scale it back, to re-write it wholesale or to critically revise it in order to avoid harm to civil liberties and democratic processes such as freedom of speech.

Chapter 1: Introduction

‘A wide range of professionals, teachers, psychiatrists, and educators of all kinds will be called upon to exercise functions that have traditionally belonged to the police.’

Gilles Deleuze (*Foucault and Deleuze*, 1977, p.212)

In July 2015, a legal duty came into force that would serve to radically reshape the education sector in the UK, arguably the biggest political intervention into it since 1988, when the national curriculum was introduced. Under section 26 of the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015, education institutions—including schools, Further Education colleges, and Higher Education providers—, must show ‘due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism’ (H. M. Government, 2015a, section 26). Known as the ‘Prevent duty’ or simply ‘Prevent’, this mandate tasks education providers with the legal responsibility to perform duties related to counter-radicalisation, counter-extremism, and counterterrorism. Guidance issued by the UK government states that the duty should be assimilated into existing ‘safeguarding’ frameworks, strategies put in place to ‘safeguard’ (i.e. protect) the young and vulnerable people under educators’ care from potential harm. Institutions that are unable to discharge the Prevent duty to a satisfactory extent are subject to a range of interventions from regulatory bodies, such as Ofsted and the Office for Students (OfS). These interventions include governance and leadership change, restructuring, or even dissolution.

The Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015 comprises three crucial innovations. Firstly, ‘specified authorities’—including the vast majority of educational institutions at all

levels of the sector—are now endowed with the ‘duty’ to actively fight terrorism on an ongoing basis, by identifying and reporting any individuals displaying signs of being ‘at risk’ from extremism, i.e. before they have necessarily committed any terroristic acts. At the same time, schools are required by regulatory bodies to build students’ resilience to radicalisation by actively promoting ‘fundamental British values’ (FBV) in curriculum delivery, in pastoral care, and in institutional life more generally. Secondly, vocal opposition to FBV is identified as a primary indicator of extremism. Thirdly, Prevent enactment is subject to audit: institutions can thus be punished by regulatory bodies for non-compliance.

The UK employs a four-pronged strategy for countering international terrorism under the CONTEST policy umbrella (H. M. Government, 2009). Prevent sits under this umbrella, alongside its sister strategies: ‘Protect’, ‘Pursue’, and ‘Prepare’. Prevent is unique, however, in its targeting of individuals in the sphere of pre-crime, that is the space before a crime has been committed (Heath-Kelly, 2017, pp.1– 23), a characteristic for which the policy has been roundly criticised (Innes, Roberts, and Lowe, 2017; Walker and McKay, 2015; Mythen *et al.*, 2013). Indeed, Prevent has been a controversial policy since its earliest inception (Thomas *et al.*, 2017) drawing scrutiny, criticism, and significant press attention (Churchill, 2015; Dodd, 2015; Taylor, 2015). Critics have pinpointed the policy’s flaws, in terms of its potentially negative effects on a range of axes, including: the infringement of free speech in educational settings by the creation of a ‘culture of surveillance’ (Taylor and Soni, 2017, pp.1–12); the stigmatisation of students (McGlynn and McDaid, 2016; Saeed and Johnson, 2016); the diminishment of trust between students and educators (Saeed, 2017). The latter is especially worrisome, given that such trust, from a Vygotskian perspective, is a factor of fundamental importance in the learning process (Brookfield, 2015; Powell and Kalina, 2009). Defenders and champions of Prevent, by contrast,

typically rebut such critique by emphasising the necessity of safeguarding and of counterterrorist activities more generally, whilst rejecting critics' contentions by declaring, for instance, that Prevent 'doesn't and shouldn't stop schools from discussing controversial issues' (Williams, 2015). Notwithstanding such declarations, there remains widespread concerns about the way in which Prevent adds 'risk' to the discussion of controversial topics, creating a 'chilling effect' on the free exchange of ideas in the classroom (UCU, 2015; Coppock and McGovern, 2014; Husband and Alam, 2011). Prevent's application—and the critique it generates—extends beyond the education sector, into almost all public-service fields in the UK. In the health field, for example, the implementation of Prevent necessitates doctors' attendance at counterterrorism workshops, a mandate that has been classified as medically unethical by some (Summerfield, 2016).

McCulloch and Pickering (2009, p.628) offer crucial context to the Prevent duty, and its ongoing enactment: Pre-crime counter-terrorism measures can be traced through a number of interlinking historical trajectories including the wars on crime and drugs, and more fundamentally, in colonial strategies of domination, control and repression. O'Donnell (2017) argues that Prevent has transformed education professionals into counterterrorist educators, operating between the spheres of security, psychology, and education.

Gane (2012) more specifically links the policy's authoritarian mode to the neoliberal marketisation of the state and its institutions, a process underpinned by a specific form of governmentality in which the panopticon plays a key role in disciplinary enforcement. The panopticon is frequently used in conceptualisations of accountability and performativity in

education (Page, 2013; O’Leary, 2012; Perryman, 2009; Poulson, 2006). Andrews (2019, p.1), for instance, describes the way in which the high level of surveillance to which staff and students are subject to in education institutions generates compliance, alongside ‘a lack of resistance towards policies that work against the goals of education and academia’.

Research Focus

This research interrogates Prevent’s potentially harmful effects on the pedagogical process and on the education sector more generally, generating empirical data to refute, support, and/or nuance some of the key criticisms made against the policy. This includes the extent to which the policy damages trust between students and teachers, thereby diminishing the social capital of targeted students and/or staff (Goddard, 2003, pp.59–74), and the extent to which it exerts transformative pressures on the pedagogical ‘habitus’ (Navarro, 2006, p.16). Similarly, this research examines whether Prevent limits academic freedoms by increasing the perceived risk of using traditional educational strategies associated with liberal values, such as Socratic debate, and so on. The perception of teachers as ‘spying’ on students (Thomas *et al.*, 2017, p.6), as a result of their Prevent-mandated monitoring role, could plausibly damage the trust that is vital to pedagogical processes (Stephens and Sieckelinck, 2019; Sheikh and Reed, 2010; Cockburn, 2007), and the relationships between schools and families that are so important to academic achievement (Lee and Croninger, 1994; Garnier and Raudenbush, 1991; Jones and Maloy, 1988; Lareau, 1987). Such perceptions, and Prevent’s surveillance culture, could equally harm democratic processes of debate and critique in society more generally. As such, the nature of Prevent as a surveillance regime, alongside its potential panopticism, are significant topics of

inquiry. Finally, this research explores professional identity, understood as the basis for the decision-making and meaning-making processes upon which policy enactment depends (Beijaard *et al.*, 2004). A focus on professional identity allows for interrogation of Prevent's transformative pressures on the micro level of the individual: how the policy has changed roles in the sector, and what impact this has, if any, on education professionals' pedagogical practices and personal lives (Gee, 2000, pp.99–125). This approach complements, and nuances, explorations into the policy's meso (institutional) and macro (sector-wide, governmental, national) level impacts.

Research Aims and Objectives

The primary aim of this research project is to explore education professionals' perceptions, and experiences, of the Prevent counterterrorism policy as it relates to their professional roles, contextualising first-person testimony with comparative analyses of the relevant literature and wider discourses around the policy. Furthermore, the research aims to make substantive recommendations for policy, pedagogical practice, and future research grounded in analysis of the empirical data. Areas of interest for such recommendations include, for example: supporting the development of future amendments to the policy to ameliorate any issues identified by education professionals; offering guidance to institutions on minimising potential harms linked to policy implementation, whilst remaining compliant with their legal responsibilities; sharing insights from the front-line of the education sector with the policymakers tasked with creating policies to protect individuals from being drawn into terrorism.

Pro-Prevent commentators challenge critique levied against the policy with a range of rhetorical tactics. Oppositional voices are denounced by some as ignorant of the ‘reality’ of Prevent enforcement, and thus situated as unqualified to speak on the subject at hand. This is exemplified, for example, by Busher *et al.*’s (2017, p.66) contention that ‘some of the high-profile critics of Prevent are somewhat out of touch with what is actually happening in schools and colleges.’ Others insinuate critics’ bad faith, with the suggestion of a ‘hidden agenda’ underpinning their negative attitudes. William Baldet (2017), a prominent Prevent Coordinator and Fellow of the Centre for Analysis of Radical Right, asks for instance: ‘Is it perhaps time we questioned the true motives of those who persistently misrepresent Prevent and disguise it as “academic research”?’ This research responds directly to such assertions, by providing empirical data as to the perceptions and experiences of those tasked with Prevent enactment on the front line of the education sector.

Exploring policy through ground-level enactment and mediation is a well-established methodology in educational research (Braun *et al.*, 2010). The day-to-day experiences of individuals on the front line of the sector can reveal a reality at odds with the picture presented in elite-level policy discourse. Analysis of elite-level discourse offers a partial, at best, understanding of the prevailing situation; it is essential to heed the ‘marginal’ perspectives of those tasked with enacting policy when making any judgment as to the efficacy and ethics of a top-down policy regime such as Prevent (Thomas, 2017, p.12). Careful attention to individuals heretofore marginalised in the literature allows for a more ‘realistic’ assessment of policy work in educational institutions, especially in cases in which policy is subject to interpretation and translation during ground-level enactment (Ball *et al.*, 2011a). It is important to understand that

‘enactment’ of policy may not resemble the ‘implementation’ envisioned by policymakers, therefore this distinction between terms is often used throughout the thesis.

Focusing particularly on the experiences and attitudes of education professionals in the Bath and Bristol areas in the South West of England, this research aims to:

- Explore issues related to how the Prevent duty is being perceived, interpreted, and implemented by educational professionals, for example through ground-level enactment and mediation;
- Explore issues related to implementation of the Prevent duty, including the extent to which education professionals feel adequately equipped to make judgements regarding referrals;
- Identify to what extent, if any, educational professionals think the Prevent agenda has impacted, and may continue to impact, important education-related issues, such as: academic freedoms, pedagogy, trust, and other areas that are considered important to the teaching and learning processes;
- Explore the perceptions and experiences of education professionals both towards the duty to actively promote fundamental British values (FBV), and towards using ‘vocal opposition to FBV’ as an indicator for referrals;
- Explore the attitudes of educational professionals in relation to the perceived effects of the Prevent agenda on their professional roles and identities, in the context of their personal values and their pedagogic practices;
- Explore issues related to managerialism and professionalism in the sector, including autonomy, agency, and professional values, such as ethics.

The scope of the empirical research is limited in terms of the small sample-size, and the relatively constrained geographic location. Nevertheless, this research is designed to provide an illuminating snapshot of the given terrain, which will be of direct interest, and use, to education professionals, institutions and policymakers, particularly in the Bath and Bristol regions—and which may be indicative of broader trends in the sector.

Researcher Positionality and Potential Bias

The researcher's positionality directly impacts all aspects of the research process, including the theoretical paradigms deployed, the framing of research questions, the selection of, and engagement with, participants, the conclusions drawn from raw data, and more. As such, it is important to disclose the researcher's subject position so that readers can assess the extent to which this may have influenced the research process (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013). The researcher was born and raised in Botswana in Southern Africa during Apartheid, in the midst of revolutionary struggle for emancipation in the region. The researcher's positionality was formed in the postcolonial era, in which British and US governments identified the ANC, the political opponents to the white Apartheid regime in South Africa, as 'terrorists' (Forman, 2002). This label was similarly applied by the Rhodesian government to ZANU PF, the principal political opposition to white rule in the formerly colonised country that is now known as Zimbabwe. The researcher's subject position has, then, been formed in part by witnessing first-hand the suffering in marginalised communities caused by colonisation and policies of white supremacy, and the urgent struggle for emancipation from the British Empire and global capitalism (Santos, 1995). A generation of British and American politicians equivocated in their classification of anti-

colonialist, emancipatory political movements: the ANC and ZANU PF organisations were initially labelled as ‘terrorists’, yet later re-situated as ‘freedom fighters’, with continual slippage in between these two poles in the discourse. The relevance of this to Prevent is an understanding of the fact that labelling someone as an ‘extremist’ or a ‘terrorist’ does not necessarily make them so and that the British establishment has form in this area, with UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher branding the ANC as a terrorist organisation in 1987 (McSmith, 2013).

Such first-person experiences influenced the researcher’s scholarly interests, which feed directly into the present project. Relevant topics of previous, and ongoing, study include: postcolonial studies; Foucauldian structures of power; the British Empire’s authoritarian rule of colonial properties and its domestic territory, especially the strategy of ‘divide et impera’ (‘divide and rule’). The researcher’s knowledge is not solely academic, however. He has direct experience of the British education sector, studying and working as an educational professional in a variety of institutions in the geographic area of study, including eight years of study and two years of work in Higher Education (HE), seven years working in Further Education (FE), and five years working in local primary and secondary schools. The researcher perceived first-hand the negative effects associated with Prevent enforcement in the classroom, particularly when teaching in predominantly Muslim schools in Bradford and London. Muslim students, for instance, were reticent to discuss certain ‘taboo’ issues in front of teaching staff, evidencing Prevent’s so-called ‘chilling effect’ on frank and open discussions (UCU, 2015; Coppock and McGovern, 2014; Husband and Alam, 2011). The researcher lived in Zimbabwe during a period in which citizens were subject to widespread surveillance and authoritarian censorship (Gukurume, 2019; Zenenga, 2008). His experiences of Prevent’s monitoring regime, and its ill effects, resonated connotatively with his earlier experiences in Africa.

The researcher's precise subject position—shaped by personal and professional experiences, and academic knowledge—lends him a unique viewpoint, and one which he believes offers fresh insights into the Prevent policy today. This “take” on Prevent lifts the authoritarian veil by making visible the power dynamics and mechanisms, using empirical data to show what is “really” going on with the policy, thus cutting through the bombast in media discourse from pro-Prevent and anti-Prevent factions. More specifically, he argues that the Prevent duty can be best, or most clearly, understood as a form of Foucauldian governmentality, a technology of power with consequent discipline and ‘force relations’ (Foucault, 1991). Prevent, as policy technology, induces teachers and students to become ‘docile bodies’ (Foucault, 1979), subjects ‘better suited’ (read: more obedient) to twenty-first century neoliberal society and the state’s authoritarian ethics, whether tacitly or more forcefully. This is achieved, for instance, by individuals’ internalisation of Prevent’s monitoring ethos (the panopticon), to the point that critical analysis of British foreign policy, to take one example, becomes taboo or ‘risky’ in the classroom, and even in social settings and on personal social media channels.

The methodology pursued in this research is detailed in depth in Chapter 3, and thus it will not be detailed in full below. However, it is fruitful to sketch the methodological contours of this project briefly, to elucidate further the impact of the researcher’s positionality on the research at hand. The researcher’s ontological position is influenced by the critical-realist (CR) paradigm and is informed by a postmodern perspective, one perhaps best described as a pragmatic ontological uncertainty, leading him to embrace epistemological and methodological pluralism. This project is anchored in the researcher’s ontological and epistemological outlook which fits into the CR paradigm, a combination of stratified realist ontology and stratified relativist epistemological perspectives. The CR meta-ontology, as a heuristic, considers reality to

be stratified, and thus any enquiry into reality requires the adoption of a stratified epistemology, an approach embracing both epistemological and methodological pluralism. This research thus deploys a meta-ontological critical apparatus to uncover, interrogate, and contextualise Prevent's perceived impacts from a range of theoretical perspectives and through a multi-level analysis. The researcher has chosen a pluralistic CR paradigm which insists upon a multiplicity of approaches and perspectives in order to answer the research questions at hand. In so doing, he deploys, and benefits from, a methodological approach which productively focuses on 'problems arising in the real world' (Abma and Widdershoven, 2011, p.669–70) without limiting theoretical engagement or the development of new critical paradigms. Crucially, this approach facilitates the researcher's attempt to bridge the divide between quantitative and qualitative research (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2006).

A methodology, or perhaps suite of methodologies, which privileges multiple perspectives (Stronach, 1997; Hargreaves, 1994) seems particularly apt for an investigation of the Prevent duty, which functions to blur boundaries and destabilise previously fixed positions and roles, according to new configurations. A pluralised critical perspective can, for example, shed light on the logic of how and why academic institutions have relinquished institutional autonomy, acquiescing to both neoliberal market demands and to the state's increasingly ravenous drive for control via centralisation (Torres and Schugurensky, 2002, p.429). Bourdieusian concepts, such as 'field', 'autonomy', 'habitus' and 'capital' (Bourdieu, 1990), for example, permit an evaluation of Prevent's potential to refashion the educational landscape in favour of those who adapt to the new rules and refrain from questioning the status quo, whilst 'disciplining' individuals who challenge the 'new normal'. At the same time, Foucauldian theorisations of power facilitate the contextualisation of Prevent in terms of governmentality,

power, and discipline, including the policy's relationship with the dominant ideologies of today. Neoliberalism is especially pertinent here, given the private sector's extensive involvement in the creation of the UK's counterterrorism strategy, CONTEST (Rosemont, 2015). The private sector's involvement in the formulation of counterterrorist policy is of direct significance to one of Prevent's most contested aspects: the fact that anti-capitalists, environmentalists, and other legal civil-protest groups—the private sector's natural 'enemies'—have been explicitly identified as potential extremist threats in Prevent training (Bloom, 2015), including in training the researcher has personally undertaken.

Whilst this research utilises a pluralistic methodology, the work of Michel Foucault has been a particular touchstone, supporting the development of a holistic 'big picture' in terms of the complex power dynamics operative under the Prevent duty, and in policy enactment. For example, Foucault uses the term 'power/knowledge' (Foucault, 1980) to signify the ways in which power can influence what comes to be accepted as true or false, what is accepted as legitimate forms of knowledge and scientific understanding. This concept, coupled with Foucauldian discourse analysis, allowed major themes to emerge in a review of the relevant literature (Chapter 2). Knowledge, for Foucault, amounts to a historically contingent 'regime of truth' in constant flux and negotiation. This notion informed the researcher's approach when analysing discourses, and supplementary texts, in which and through which the Prevent duty is formulated—permitting a comparative reading of survey and interview responses to discern emergent themes. Acknowledging the historical trajectories in terms of the centralisation of power, for example the infiltration of private capital into the public education sector, is central to Foucauldian archaeology, and highly productive in terms of contextualising Prevent as the latest iteration of a broader phenomenon.

The researcher is aware that being thus paradigmatically and philosophically positioned has led to fundamental assumptions that may influence the research practice (Silkes, 2004), and which, despite efforts undertaken to mitigate such biases, may make the interview data unrepeatable. For this reason, the inclusion of researchers with diverse subject positions is a crucial recommendation for future research, with the aim of reducing overall bias. The researcher thus acknowledges that this study cannot claim to be objective; the project, as an extension of the researcher who undertakes it, is inexorably rooted in a wide variety of socio-cultural contexts, situated by a lifetime of experiential knowledge. Nevertheless, reflexivity in terms of positionality and internal dialogue (Archer, 2009) was built into the project on an ongoing basis in an effort to be able to identify, understand, and combat associated bias (Cohen and Manion *et al.*, 2013). Measures have been taken throughout the research process—from the very beginning of the study’s design to the final, critical evaluation of its empirical findings (Foote and Bartell, 2011)—to remain neutral, and open to new ideas, perspectives, and possibilities of thinking.

Conclusion

Placed on a statutory legal footing some five years ago, the Prevent duty remains fiercely debated. In the context of such ongoing, heated discussions, it is clear that ‘there is now an urgent need’, as Busher *et al.* (2017, p.66) observe, ‘for detailed, independent and systematic analysis’ of Prevent enactment in the UK education sector. This viewpoint is widely shared; there is a compelling case for further research into the policy. The voices of education professionals in particular have been thus far largely absent in the literature. Bryan (2017), for example, bemoans the lack of research into how the policy is being enacted in practice,

especially in terms of the ways in which education professionals in schools are developing knowledge and discourse(s) in relation to radicalisation. Thomas (2017, p.13) concurs, arguing that Prevent ‘cannot be fully understood without drawing on ground-level empirical evidence about the ways in which it has actually been understood, practiced and contested.’ This research directly responds to such calls, addressing the deficit in empirical research by interrogating how Prevent legislation has been perceived by a sample of education professionals.

The following chapter comprises a critical thematic review of the literature, including research on Prevent within the education sector and its multidisciplinary context(s), where relevant. The review sets out the existing knowledge base, alongside identifying major themes of prior scholarship, and evident gaps and limitations in the research to date. Chapter 3 delineates the project’s methodology in further depth, including critical paradigms, practical choices and logistics, and a breakdown of the sample. Research findings are presented in Chapter 4, with an analysis of the qualitative and quantitative data supporting the development of a new typology of subject positions adopted by education professionals tasked with enacting Prevent. The thesis concludes with a discussion of the findings, teasing out the macro-scale theoretical implications of the empirical data to formulate new insights and a series of recommendations.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Overview

Original empirical research into education professionals' attitudes towards the Prevent Strategy, alongside their own lived experiences of the policy, is relatively scant. The present project is, indeed, aimed at beginning to rectify this gap. This chapter summarises and analyses the critical subject-specific literature that is currently available. The corpus for this chapter also comprises a range of relevant, though more general, literature from a variety of perspectives and disciplines, permitting an in-depth exploration of Prevent that provides further background and essential context. In this way, the broader practices, knowledge, structures, principles, and discourses in which Prevent is embedded, and to which it contributes, are revealed. While presenting the literature on Prevent, it must be noted much of this is critical and in the interests of balance the chapter concludes with a section on the positive anti-radicalisation work being done in the sector with an analytical overview of the literature on prevention and education. For Foucault (1980, p.131), knowledge is inextricably linked to power, and thus can be thought of as a single unit, hence 'power/knowledge'. Whilst power may be notionally held by the 'state', power/knowledge can be conceived as being everywhere, diffused and embodied in discourse as a 'regime of truth'. Foucault defines these regimes not as an 'ensemble of truths', but rather as an 'ensemble of rules according to which the true and the false are separated and specific effects of power are attached to the true' (pp.132). Thus, FDA can help us to understand how Prevent is constituted and legitimised as an expression of power through a range of interconnected discourses, including those emerging from the fields of criminology, psychiatry, and intelligence. Foucault

(1975, p.137–171) argues that ‘docile bodies’ are the result of individuals being under constant surveillance and regulation in subtle and invisible ways that leads to the normalisation and acceptance of such systems. Using FDA as a heuristic device we can conceive Prevent in terms of an attempt to create governable ‘docile bodies’, foregrounding the ways in which the policy, as with all power relations, depends on the constitution of a field of knowledge that creates social practices, especially forms of subjectivity and normalisation. For Foucault, discourse is a form of power that circulates in the social field; it can be seen both in terms of strategies of domination and also, crucially, of resistance (Diamond and Quinby, 1988). Prevent can thus be conceptualised as a ‘policy technology’, with education professionals conceived as both policy subjects and policy actors (Ball, 2008).

Prevent has been—and continues to be—a controversial and contested policy, widely seen as divisive and counterproductive. The literature includes evidence of comprehensive ‘existential’ criticism (Thomas, 2009; 2010; 2014) and significant public concern (Thomas, 2017). The policy has been accused, for example, of casting Muslims as a ‘suspect community’ (Ragazzi, 2016; Awan, 2012; Nickels *et al.*, 2012; Pantazis and Pemberton, 2009), as ‘aliens’ vulnerable to radicalisation (Choudhury and Fenwick, 2011; McDonald and Mir, 2011; Vertigans, 2010; Mythen, Walklate, and Khan, 2009; Jackson, 2007). Prevent has been more generally critiqued as a deeply flawed (Dudenhoefer, 2017) and fundamentally Islamophobic (Brown and Saeed, 2015) policy, an ill-conceived programme built on pseudoscience (Coppock and McGovern, 2014, p.17) that is, in fact, counterproductive to its stated aim of reducing terrorism and political violence (Powell, 2016). Critics, for instance, point to the fact that the UK has provided more foreign fighters to ISIS than Somalia (Powell, 2016), and to accusations of a lack of confidence in Prevent in the UK justice system (Anderson, 2016).

Elton-Chalcraft *et al.* (2017, p.4) remark upon the lack of education professionals at the policy-making table, and underline the damaging effects of such an absence. The mandatory expectation that school teachers will actively promote FBV within the classroom illustrates, they argue, how the role of the teacher in terms of counterterrorism has been conceived and imposed in ‘a vacuum devoid of professional dialogue’ (p.4). In July 2015, a group of thirty-five UK professors, led by Professor Baroness Ruth Lister, wrote an open letter asserting that Prevent ‘reinforces an “us” and “them” view of the world, divides communities, and sows mistrust of Muslims’, calling on the government ‘to end its ineffective Prevent policy and rather adopt an approach that is based on dialogue and openness’ (Anderson, 2016).

The body of literature concerning pre-emptive counterterrorism policies is continually expanding. At the time of writing, however, relatively few studies are empirically informed. The implications, and results, of tasking education professionals with enacting counterterrorism measures are still sorely under-explored in the literature, especially with regard to the attendant effects on free speech, professional identities, and professional roles. Many of the publicly available studies evaluating Prevent are limited due to a focus on the earlier iterations of Prevent (Lewis, 2018) that focused on violent extremism and ‘the threat from terrorism associated with and influenced by al-Qaeda’ (H. M. Government (2011b, p.25). This research is focused on the post-2011 iterations of Prevent which expanded the remit of the policy to include non-violent extremism. Busher *et al.* (2017, p.5) point to an ‘urgent’ need for more robust empirical evidence to facilitate an understanding of how Prevent is ‘playing out’ in education. ‘Radicalisation’ is a key concept underpinning counterterrorism measures such as the Prevent duty, yet research in this area is similarly limited. Such scholarship is characterised by, and criticised for, its lack of robust methodological frameworks (Schmid, 2013; Borum, 2011; Silke, 2008) in favour of the

relatively dominant paradigm of ‘conventional wisdom’ (Githens-Mazer and Lambert, 2010). Furthermore, the UK government has been reluctant to champion Prevent in public (Casey, 2016), a silence made more conspicuous by the relative absence of other positive voices (Lewis, 2018) to counter the critics.

The remainder of this review interrogates the literature on Prevent in greater detail, focusing mainly on research on the policy’s implementation within the education sector and its societal impacts. Literature related to the policy’s wider implementation in the social sphere, for example where it has been legislated in health and social care, is also considered when relevant. A reflection on the implications of the contested policy concludes the chapter. The sections below consider key topics thematically. These include: the co-opting of teaching professionals into the state-security apparatus; the disputed nature of the key terms underpinning the policy; the ideological dimensions to the policy, issues of surveillance, free speech, and the wider context of neoliberalism and the rise of managerialism. The chapter concludes with an analytical overview of the literature on the prevention of radicalisation through education.

Being Trained to Prevent Terrorism: The ‘Responsibilisation’ of Education

Professionals into the State Security Apparatus

Prevent is part of CONTEST, the United Kingdom's counter-terrorism strategy. CONTEST was first introduced by the Home Office in early 2003 with revisions published in 2006, 2009, 2011, 2015 and 2018. Notably, after 2011, the scope of Prevent policy was explicitly expanded (Prevent 2.0) from its initial focus on Islamic terrorism (Prevent 1.0), to encompass ‘all forms of terrorism, including far right extremism and some aspects of non-violent extremism, which can

create an atmosphere conducive to terrorism and can popularise views which terrorists then exploit' (Prevent Strategy, 2015b, p.6). Despite this apparent progression, the 'updated' policy document was inherently contradictory and seemingly did not reduce the potential for iatrogenic effects on Muslims and instead expanded the remit of the policy dramatically, to encompass potentially anyone (see Appendix 3 and Appendix 4). Islamic terrorism however, remained a priority: 'At present, the majority of our resources and efforts will continue to be devoted to preventing people from joining or supporting al-Qaeda, its affiliates, or related groups' (Prevent Strategy, 2011). In 2015 Prevent was placed on a legal footing within the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015 confirming the responsibility for educational institutions to enact the policy through the power of law, thus responsabilising frontline educational professionals in preventative counterterrorism efforts, achieved through mandatory training and audits

'Training' refers to the action of teaching a person a particular set of skills, a body of knowledge, or type of behaviour, with specific goals of improving one's capability, capacity, productivity, and performance. It is distinct from 'professional development' which is more focused on helping career progression. Lifelong learning, flexibility, and knowledge capitalism are mechanisms of control, demanded and enacted by neoliberalism (Olssen, 2006). As such, the responsabilisation of education professionals through Prevent training can be considered as a neoliberal form of state control: such training transforms and reshapes education professionals into extensions of the state-security apparatus. Neoliberalism is arguably expressed through managerialism, a mode of governance that has been injected into the public service realm of education (Lynch, 2014). Monitoring of others, self-monitoring, and self-disciplining regimes are encouraged, if not outright compelled, 'through the widespread use of performance indicators' and 'performance management' (Lynch, 2014) in the neoliberal workplace. These regimes are

equally found in the Prevent duty provisions (McGovern, 2016). The relevance of neoliberalism to the formulation and implementation of Prevent policy, and the concomitant transformation of teachers' core roles and responsibilities, are interrogated in further depth in later sections of this review.

According to Furedi (2009), Evans (2004), and Hayes (2004), the transfer of knowledge has been de-emphasised as the primary function of education, with the priority shifting instead to the socialisation of children. Parellel to this Durodié (2013) suggests that risk management has become a new organising framework in society, perhaps providing policymakers with a marketable agenda, alongside a sense of moral purpose. Educational institutions have often been portrayed as sites of danger and risk, generating what Furedi (2007) terms a 'culture of fear', underpinned by anxieties regarding crime (Simon, 2007). The 'culture of fear' regarding terrorism that was promoted in the media and political discourse arguably amounted to the construction of a 'moral panic' (Walsh, 2017, Morgan, 2016; Kappeler and Kappeler, 2004; Rothe and Muzzatti, 2004) which thus demanded a governmental response i.e. Prevent 1.0 which targeted Islamic terrorism (Appendix 3). Subsequently, following widespread criticisms of Islamophobia and arguably another moral panic regarding far-right extremism, the 2011 policy update, Prevent 2.0 now also targets far-right groups and *non-violent* extremism (Appendix 4). Prevent 2.0 thus expanded its remit far beyond the prevention of Islamic terrorism and associated radicalism to incorporate and target a far wider range of civil protest movements and social movements not normally associated with terrorism, and the individuals sharing their views. This media-driven culture of fear has arguably contributed to education (and other social) institutions and their staff being 'responsibilised' for safeguarding students and wider society from a wide range of threats to the status quo through Prevent.

Durodié (2016) contends that the additional responsibilities placed on individuals and institutions due to the securitisation of the education sector have been pervasive in the academic and administrative life of the UK's universities. Durodié (2016) and Gearon (2018) assert that these changes are unparalleled in previous responses to terrorism, such as during the three-decade long 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland. In this ethno-nationalist conflict, the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) were accused of perpetrating numerous terrorist attacks on civilians in mainland Britain, which did not result in the securitisation of the British education sector.

The responsabilisation of education professionals in preventing violent extremism and terrorism feasibly demonstrates the weaknesses and limitations of the modern UK state (Thomas, 2017, p.12). The UK is criticised for being reliant upon an American-style 'permanent war economy' (Melman, 1970), with requisite involvement in perpetual conflict zones in the Middle East. The Prevent policy's 'mobilisation of society' and the "civilianisation" of security in the UK' (Sliwinski, 2012, p.290) is, ultimately, a result of this reliance, with such interventions deemed necessary in order to counter the 'inevitable' blowback (Johnson, 2000) from disastrous foreign policy decisions. The mobilisation of millions of public sector workers such as teachers as 'responsible and active citizens', 'moral agents' that 'help prevent terrorism' (Spalek, 2013, p.79) underlines that, whilst policy is important to teachers, teachers are even more important to policy (Ball, 2008). For this reason, empirical studies designed to explore education professionals' perceptions and experiences of Prevent enactment – including the present research – are urgently needed.

Neoliberalism and the Rise of Managerialism

Heath-Kelly *et al.* (2015, p.10) identify Prevent as part of the ‘deradicalisation agendas of counterterrorism in the neoliberal age’. McGovern (2016) warns that the effects of the Prevent duty further entrench a neoliberal culture of control and compliance, placing restrictions on behaviours deemed permissible for students and staff alike. Giroux (2004; 2005) avers that neoliberalism has transformed how the state provides security for its citizens. Prevent can be contextualised as another example of ‘top-down’ managerial legislation—such as compulsory schooling, the national curriculum, and the expansion of competency-based, results-driven teaching (Helsby, 1999, p.16). The neoliberal programme thus represents the ever-increasing centralisation of power in the education system (Lawn, 2005, p.2) while Upchurch and Mathers (2012, p.2) aver that ‘the transnational nature of capital has weakened the structural power of unions’. Indeed, Prevent can be conceptualised as another battle in the ongoing ‘war’ over teacher autonomy, professionalism, and professionality (Whitty *et al.*, 1998, p.65) as the education sector continues its historical trajectory toward centralised, hierarchical, managerialist decision-making structures (Martin, 2016, pp.7–24). Hill *et al.* (2015) identify the current era of austerity measures as the ‘immiseration’ stage of neoliberal capitalism, noting the latter’s relationship with conservatism and neoconservatism. McGovern (2016) concurs: neoconservative thought and the neoconservative political project underpins the logic of the Prevent duty. Within a neoconservative framework, Prevent can be situated as a form of pre-emptive risk governance (Baker-Beall *et al.*, 2014; Heath-Kelly, 2013) to manage the transition of society into a post-industrial age of austerity, with increasing disparities in wealth.

Managerialism is a mode of governance designed to realise the neoliberal project through the institutionalisation of market principles in the functioning of organisations. The discourse of

marketisation and associated managerialist audit cultures in the education sector adopts narratives from the financial and/or corporate sector, with students becoming customers and other institutions recast as competitors. Audit culture, discussed in depth in the following section, has been criticised for its negative effects on staff and student relationships. The introduction of performativity metrics, as required by neoliberal policies, can, for example, lead to staff being unable to give sufficient attention and support to students (Spooner, 2015; Burrows, 2012), due at least in part to increased workloads and stress. When compliance with policy is linked to a culture of performativity, it becomes harder for professionals to resist the policy itself, and easier for them to become ‘risk averse’. Pyysiäinen *et al.* (2017, p.215), for instance, observe that ‘neoliberal “responsibilization” can work through threats to personal control, insecurity and governance by fear’. Revell and Bryan (2016) contend there is fear among teachers of confronting matters such as radicalisation in the classroom, given that performance-related pay appraisals are dependent upon employees’ adherence to, and discharge of, Prevent.

The neoliberal discourse and the values of free-market economics, especially in terms of accountability, are traditionally very different to those that operate within the education sector, in which teachers, professional academics, and students are relatively united in the acceptance of traditional academic values of ‘professional autonomy and collective ideals’ (Winter, 2009; p.123) . The neoliberal emphasis on responsabilising education professionals has the potential to radically shift focus in the sector, with shared educational goals and academic values de-emphasised in favour of a fixation on individual responsibility for security and surveillance of students, leading to accusations that the pedagogical/educational dimensions of teaching and learning have been, or will be, downgraded (Cree *et al.*, 2016). In this context, Prevent can be conceived of as an attempt to reshape the behaviours, values, and discourses of the future

workforce to 'fit' into the neoliberal corporate working culture of compliance. Further research is required into these areas to explore whether these fears are founded, how widespread the effects are, and to better understand the issues from the perspectives of those on the front line of policy delivery.

The Prevent 'Regime of Truth': Radicalisation and Other Contested Terms

The Foucauldian concept of 'power/knowledge' foregrounds the inextricable link between power and knowledge, and the ways in which the former, understood as a 'regime of truth', produces the latter anonymously in accordance with its intentions (Foucault, 2008), as noted above. This section interrogates the ways in which Prevent has been, and is, officially legitimised by discourse, creating a Foucauldian 'regime of truth' which supports, and produces, the policy itself. As will be shown, the knowledge discourse underpinning Prevent is widely challenged.

Zulaika refers to the persistent "crisis of knowledge" in counterterrorism (2009, p.2). The counterterrorism discourse has been criticised for its need to 'conceal gaps in its own knowledge about the production of terrorism' Heath-Kelly (2012, p.70). The neoconservative ideology underpinning Prevent of pre-emptive action against 'potential' threats has been criticised for leading 'national security analysis into the realm of the hypothetical, the generally suspected, the possible, and conceivable (Ghamari-Tabrizi 2006, p.21). Jackson (2015, p.33) describes the epistemological crisis of counterterrorism as 'an identifiable epistemic posture towards knowledge about, as well as a way of acting towards, the terrorist threat [which] manifests itself discursively in the manner in which officials, scholars, pundits and others speak about the threat

of terrorism, and the way counterterrorism and security practitioners then act in pursuit of security against that threat.’

Identifying radicalisation, extremism, and the ‘indicators’ of vulnerability to being drawn into terrorism are the primary elements of Prevent enactment. Part of the ongoing contention about the ways in which Prevent can be interpreted, and even the policy’s core aspects, is rooted in the lack of clear definition of such key terms, and therefore confusion over what actually constitutes good cause for a referral. As O’Donnell (2016, p.53) observes: ‘Prevent does not clearly define central concepts such as extremism, radicalisation and vulnerability, and this may make both students and staff fearful of speaking freely in classrooms and lecture halls’. Spiller *et al.* (2018) maintain that confusion about Prevent policy is caused by ‘the ambiguous language in which it is presented’, creating concern amongst lecturers and universities. In this context, Heath-Kelly *et al.* (2015) argue for the reconceptualisation of ‘terrorism’ itself as a discursive tool rather than an objective category (Croft 2006; Mythen and Walklate 2006; Jackson 2005).

Taylor and Soni (2017) point to the framing of ‘radicalisation’ in the Prevent discourse as crucial to understanding the strategy adopted by the state that privileges identification and intervention. Coppock and McGovern (2014) explain that ‘radicalisation’ is used in the official discourse as a model for explaining the causes of terrorism; a process whereby ‘extremist ideas’ are propagated and disseminated by leading activists and thinkers who therefore ‘radicalise’ others because of their ‘vulnerabilities’. The official discourse surrounding the process of becoming an extremist, and engaging in extreme behaviours, is exemplified in statements made by Lord Carlile, independent reviewer of Prevent who stated: ‘the line between extremism and terrorism is often blurred; and that what appear at first sight to be non-violent extremist ideologies are drawn upon by terrorists to justify violence’ (Carlile, 2011, p.5) Radicalisation,

according to Carlile, leads to extremism—taken as vocal or active opposition to fundamental British values (FBV)—which breeds terrorism. This so-called ‘conveyor belt’ theory, although widely challenged (Heath-Kelly, 2013; Githens-Mazer, 2012; Kundnani, 2012; Patel, 2011; Gilligan, 2010; Richards, 2010; Horgan, 2005), has been used to justify the epidemiological framing of Prevent in which individuals are effectively considered ‘vulnerable’ to the contagion of extremist ideology (O’Donnell, 2018). Bryan (2017) explores the interplay between, on the one hand, schools’ statutory requirement to provide the opportunity for pupils to debate and explore issues relating to citizenship through engagement with religious and political discourses and, on the other hand, the statutory requirement to monitor and report potentially ‘vulnerable’ pupils. The question becomes: what measures are employed to judge ‘vulnerability’ and ‘risk’, when schools are explicitly compelled to promote debate and encourage pupils’ active political engagement?

The fundamental validity of ‘radicalisation’ as a concept is frequently challenged in the literature (Horgan, 2008, 2005). Coolsaet (2011), for instance, criticises the notion as ‘ill-defined, complex and controversial’. Schmid (2013, p.1) points out that, ‘if the very concept of radicalisation itself is problematic, the same must—by extension—also be true for “de-radicalisation” and “counter-radicalisation”’. This obviously complicates efforts by education professionals to achieve the purported aims of Prevent. Sieckelinck *et al.* (2015, p.329) aver that educators, trained to adopt the perspectives of the security and intelligence apparatus, become ‘unwittingly drawn into a villain-victim imagery of their students’, thereby impeding their consideration of student behaviours grounded through the framework of educational ethics and discourse.

Githens-Mazer and Lambert (2010) contest the legitimacy of the official discourse around radicalisation on the grounds that much of the recent research on the topic relies on overly simplistic assumptions, rather than testable and verifiable empirical research and methods. The authors thus contend that radicalisation, as an area of academic research, has been contaminated by its political application. Furthermore, Van San *et al.* (2013) note that almost all research into the radicalisation of young people has been carried out from a legal, criminological, or socio-psychological perspective, with a focus on detecting and containing the risks posed by radicalisation, whilst Lakhani (2014) observes that the role of social, cultural, and subcultural factors leading to radicalisation have been largely neglected in the literature.

O'Donnell (2018) finds it problematic that the concept of 'radicalisation', central to Prevent, is still contested in the professional field of counterterrorism, yet educators are expected to identify and refer students at risk. For example, Christmann (2012) determines that the evidence base for effective interventions to prevent violent extremism is limited, and discovers a systematic bias in the literature: cases of individuals who go on to commit acts of violence in the pursuit of political or religious aims and objectives are more routinely discussed, with much less attention paid to radicalisation processes that do not lead to violence.

Baker-Beall *et al.* (2014) observe that radicalisation and extremism is framed by policymakers as the consequences of psychological and social vulnerability, rather than resulting from individuals' political choice(s). This framing removes the contextual situation of poverty, injustice, and anger from the political actions and ideologies of those identified as vulnerable. Recent radicalisation discourse, they assert, has replaced decades of sociological research into the contextual and political factors influencing radicalisation (e.g. Della Porta, 1995; 1992; Crenshaw, 1992; Tarrow 1989; Della Porta and Tarrow 1986).

Thomas (2016) argues that, rather than trust in broader and non-stigmatising processes of anti-extremist education, the police-led Prevent strategy has ‘engaged’ with and surveilled young Muslims who are viewed as both a risk to society and at risk themselves. Within the Prevent framework, Thomas affirms, there is little evidence of non-stigmatising alternatives, such as educational processes that explicitly build youth resilience against extremism. Instead, ill-defined concepts of radicalisation and of child-protection ‘safeguarding’ are used to justify a deepening process of education-based surveillance. This strand of critique is interrogated in further depth in a later section.

Radicalisation as a concept is ‘frequently reduced to the profiling of traits or attributions of signs of radicalisation in “vulnerable” or “at-risk” populations’, according to Brown and Saeed (2015, p.1953), due to the lack of agreement or certainty about the processes involved in radicalisation in the first place. As a result, the authors argue that Muslim university students are positioned as ‘at-risk’, leading to the heavy monitoring of the activity of these populations. By analysing Muslim students’ narratives, Brown and Saeed (2014) reveal how discourses of ‘radicalisation’ have limited students’ activism, impinged upon their university experience, and restricted the full expression of their identities in UK higher-education providers. The researchers demonstrate that, despite these limitations, alternative identities for these students can and do emerge, thereby countering any binary definition of moderate versus radical Muslims. They conclude that the process of incorporating Muslims into UK society is problematic and incomplete. Blackwood, Hopkins, and Reicher (2016) consider how the official psychological model of radicalisation used in UK counterterrorist interventions may overlook certain relevant social dynamics, and thus may ultimately cause Muslims to disengage from society. Lynch (2013) cites alienation, identity crisis, and intergenerational conflict as ‘central’

to the process of radicalisation and the creation of the ‘other’. Using empirical data from a study of Muslim youth, the author identifies a generational change amongst subjects, and explores the rise of modern transcultural identities removed from the ‘radicalised’ labels used in the Prevent discourse.

Jackson (2007) examines over 300 political and academic texts, utilising a discourse analysis approach, to explore the central terms used in the discourse around terrorism, focusing on the assumptions that underpin counterterrorism policies and the narratives and genealogical roots of the terminology at hand. He concludes that the political and academic discourses of ‘Islamic terrorism’ are intellectually contested and have, in fact, been counterproductive, harming community relations, due in part to their politicised nature.

The literature presented above evidences widespread criticism of the official Prevent discourse and the ‘regime of truth’ used to justify the roll-out of unprecedented counterterrorism measures in the education field. The legitimacy of radicalisation as a concept is clearly a highly contested area in the literature, worthy of further exploration among practitioners especially as Busher *et al.* (2019) report encountering ‘scant expressed opposition to the [Prevent] duty or challenges to its legitimacy’ among education professionals in their 2017 study (p.28). They postulate that the construction of terrorism as an ever-present threat and ‘the way the duty has been ‘constructed’ to fit within existing professional safeguarding practices ‘might in fact have given rise to significant processes of softening criticism of Prevent and the “Prevent brand”’ (p.28). Similarly, in a small-scale study of education professionals Bryan (2017) reported: ‘no participant questioned the counter-terrorism role they have been given by government’. The literature reveals that although Prevent is widely contested, that front line education

professionals specifically may not/do not critique Prevent or challenge its legitimacy. This demonstrates the need for further empirical work to understand this gap.

Fundamental British Values and Extremism: Prevent and Postcolonialism

Prevent represents an ideological intervention into the values domain of society through making it the duty of education professionals in schools and colleges to build students' 'resilience' to radicalisation by actively promoting fundamental British values (FBV). According to official guidance education professionals should: 'challenge views which fall short of supporting violence and are within the law, but which reject and undermine our shared values and jeopardise community cohesion', going on to controversially state that 'some of these views can create a climate in which people may be drawn into violent activity.' (H.M. Government, 2009, p.88). In the Prevent context, 'extremism' is defined as active or vocal opposition to FBV, which comprise: democracy; the rule of law; individual liberty; and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs (H. M. Government, 2011b). The introduction of FBV can thus be seen as an attempt to delineate the moderate, liberal norms from which extremists 'deviate' (Powell, 2016). However, the literature testifies to the perceived contradictions between the Enlightenment values associated with liberal multiculturalism that Prevent purportedly seeks to protect, and the effects of the Prevent legislation in practice, such as the 'politicised' nature of the FBV themselves (Gilroy, 2004, p.1). Arthur (2015, p.11) asserts, for instance, that the 'coercion of children or adults through the closure of choice and opportunities to learn in the name of religion is not a value that a democratic society upholds'.

The introduction of ‘fundamental British values’ has created confusion and contradictions, including over differing interpretations as to whether the phrase implies cultural or political values (Mansfield, 2019). Busher *et al.* (2017) report widespread discomfort among education professionals about the focus on FBV as specifically ‘British’ in nature, alongside significant concern about how they can be translated into inclusive curriculum and teaching practice. Similarly, in a study of trainee teachers at a London teacher-training institution, Habib (2018) found that future teachers were wary of promoting ‘patriotic’ agendas that they perceived as ambiguous and debatable. Bryan (2017, p.2) states that, when implementing Prevent in schools, teachers become ‘self-regulating, “governmentable subjects” themselves’. Arthur (2015) states that Ofsted’s definition of non-compliance with Prevent’s British-values criteria has essentially become arbitrary, leading to confusion and contradiction following a number of school inspections. For example, the agency has downgraded faith schools from ‘outstanding’ to ‘inadequate’ owing to their apparent failure in sufficiently promoting FBV (Adams and Weale, 2014). Elton-Chalcraft *et al.* (2017) argue that the inclusion of the phrase ‘should not undermine fundamental British values’ (Department for Education, 2012) is a de facto politicisation of the pedagogical profession, amounting to the state forcibly deputising teachers as its agents, which raises questions about the relationship between the state and the education sector more generally.

Confusion about ‘loosely defined’ British values is magnified, Arthur (2015, p.322) argues, due to the common attitude that Western liberal democracy is aligned with secularism, resulting in the perception of a fundamental incompatibility between the secular West and the religious East. There may also be lines of demarcation in terms of a global north versus global south, and also a ‘clash of civilisations’ between Judao-Christian and Muslim nations/communities (Huntington, 2000). Crawford (2017, p.199) uses perspectives from critical

race studies to argue that that FBV may serve to ‘decivilize’ Muslim lifestyles and identities (Vertigans, 2010; Meer and Modood, 2009; Mennell, 2007), whilst simultaneously positioning the ‘British way of life’ as ‘modern’, ‘civil’, and culturally superior by comparison (Smith 2016). Professionalism in the education sector, Crawford (2017, p.202) continues, has been ‘eroded and undermined by the introduction of FBV which have created a climate in which teachers become subjects of the culturally supremacist discourse of whiteness’. In terms of the wider discourse around Prevent, the author posits that the ‘culturally supremacist political and media rhetoric surrounding the introduction of FBV is arguably motivated by a defensive version of (white) British nationalism and ‘the so-called “war on terror”’ (p.199). In this way, Prevent is highly reminiscent of colonialist policymaking. This is emphasised, for example, by Karlsen and Nazroo (2015, p.760) who contend that the strategy is part of a wave of anti-terror legislation that positions Muslims in Britain as ‘illiberal, ignorant and fanatical, perpetual semi-citizens unable and unwilling to resolve the assumed inherent contradictions of their commitments to Islamic and British lifestyles’.

Moreover, O’Donnell (2018, p.53) determines that the conceptualisation of terms associated with radicalisation, such as ‘vulnerability’, is strongly resonant of colonial discourses of contagion and immunity, which ‘risks silencing and even pathologising the person labelled as ‘vulnerable’’. Contagion is understood as a threat to the dominant colonial society; the quarantining and/or silencing of those vulnerable is thus required. Gilroy (2004) identifies ‘postcolonial melancholia’ as dominant in the political imaginary which underpins, and is reproduced by, Prevent’s FBV, citing a lack of willingness to confront present or historical wrongdoing, or to explore the possible legitimacy of ‘grievances’, raised by those marked as ‘other’. Further to this, Vincent (2018) analysed data from interviews with teachers and

observations in schools to explore how teachers respond to Prevent, and concluded that the requirement to promote FBV arises from a ‘problematic’ liberal-nationalist philosophy that can ‘exclude’ certain students, despite avowed efforts by teachers to ‘neutralize’ these aspects of the policy. This casts doubt on Prevent’s ability to achieve policymakers’ aims and corroborates arguments that Prevent echoes colonialist policymaking.

Guidance from the Department for Education (DfE) stipulates that, under Prevent, it is the duty of education professionals to challenge extremist views. Yet, Ofsted refuses on national security grounds to fully reveal examples of extremist thoughts, ideas, behaviours, influences, and outlooks (Belaon, 2015, p.19). O’Donnell (2017, p.185) finds this lack of transparency regarding assessment criteria to be ‘deeply problematic’. Further to this, Prevent training has been criticised for its inconsistency (Spiller *et al.*, 2018) and for issues within the knowledge base that informs the training, in part due to ‘the paucity of research into factors underlying extremist offending’ (Lloyd and Dean, 2015, p.15).

As with the confusion surrounding the precise definition of ‘radicalisation’, Lakhani (2014) argues that there exists no agreed upon definition of ‘extremism’, while Bartlett *et al.* (2010) take issue with non-violent extremism being defined as ‘extremism that is not accompanied by violence’, as it fails to recognise the difference between ideas and violence. According to Boyns and Ballard (2004), many of the simplest definitions of words such as ‘radicalism’ and ‘extremism’ routinely used by various scholars and governmental agencies can be conceived of as efforts to delegitimize and stigmatise opponents with the terrorist label. PISOIU (2012 p. 14) observes that it is common for authors to explore the ‘etymological meaning of “extreme” as opposed to “moderate”’, which leads to questions about the definition of moderate. Coleman and Bartoli (2003) assert that extremism can be defined as beliefs, attitudes, feelings,

actions, and strategies of a character far removed from the ordinary. Again, this provokes questions as to the definition of ‘ordinary’ viewpoints. Smith (2013) identifies that maintaining the status quo is a key strategy in policy design. In their critique of the teaching standards in England (1984–2012), Smith (2013) argues that they operate to maintain a status quo in which homogeneity is overtly approved through an assimilationist agenda. Once more, this amplifies the notion of Prevent as a fundamentally colonialist policy, bringing to mind Edward Said’s (1995, pp.38–41) conception of Antonio Gramsci’s (1971) ‘subaltern’, and the colonialist perspective that the West is the cultural standard to emulate, the norm from which others deviate. Gramsci’s influential concept of the ‘subaltern,’ differs from Marxist conceptions of ‘the proletariat’ and ‘the working class’, as it concerns ‘the relations of force and power beyond the terrain of socio-economic relations’ (Liguori, 2015, p.118). The subaltern is relevant when considering Prevent in terms of its potential to silence, dismiss and undermine those who deviate from its norms.

Nevertheless, a study by Busher *et al.* (2017), found evidence that newer iterations of Prevent are more expansive in the populations they target. Before undergoing training, some respondents expected that the Prevent duty was focused mainly on extremism related to Islamic fundamentalism, in line with the critique summarised above (Prevent 1.0). Yet the Prevent training received by participants in Busher *et al.*’s (2017) research foregrounded case studies of young white people being drawn into right-wing extremism. The authors thus suggest that the national Prevent training approach has achieved significant ‘success’ in conveying to educational practitioners the key policy message that the newer iteration of the policy (Prevent 2.0) is not (or is no longer) primarily, or exclusively, focused on al-Qaeda/ISIS-inspired extremism, but is designed to combat all forms of extremism. According to Cruickshank (2020, p.1) the new

conflation of non-violent extremism with violent extremism is a significant cause for concern, for example, ‘left-wing and environmental organisations engaged in extra-parliamentary protest are now defined by Prevent as potentially extremist’.

Despite such expansions in Prevent’s remit, however, Muslim youth in particular are still overwhelmingly situated as both ‘risky and at risk’ (Heath-Kelly, 2013), a ‘suspect community’ (Ragazzi, 2016) ‘at risk’ of catching the terrorist disease (Thomas, 2016) within the policy’s framework. Jarvis and Lister (2013) draw on focus group data from the UK to argue that counterterrorism measures may be counterproductive through contributing to a condition of disconnected citizenship, with Muslims and participants from other ethnic minority backgrounds believing that anti-terrorism measures have restricted and undermined their sense of citizenship in the UK, in contrast to white participants. Similarly, Panjwani (2016) finds, in a study of British teachers of Muslim heritage, concerns about Prevent’s manifestation in educational practice leading to the alienation of Muslim youth. Prevent is criticised for being a securitisation of multiculturalism (Ragazzi, 2012; 2017), and ‘flatly contradictory’ to the policy approach of community cohesion (Thomas, 2014a, p.40). Gutkowski (2011, p.346) contends that state-security policymakers have characterised Islamic extremists as ‘slippery, uncontainable, mysterious and strange’ who pose ‘diverse, amorphous and strange’ risks to society, in order to justify the creation of policies such as Prevent.

The literature overwhelmingly identifies the UK’s Muslim population as the primary targets and victims of Prevent, subject to profiling and discrimination even after the 2011 policy update. Farrell (2016, p.281) states that, from a genealogical perspective, ‘the roots of the war on terror lie in a legacy of Orientalism and racism which stretches beyond 9/11’, while Muslims are ‘already “othered” by a legacy of dominant colonial narratives’. The ‘Islamophobia that

permeates the securitisation discourse' is, he continues, 'an expression of a neoliberal imaginary'. In Edward Said's (1978) seminal analysis, 'Orientalism' involves the framing of the 'other' as an inferior subject of colonial powers. A key proposition of the present research is that the 'improved' iteration(s) of Prevent have not substantively ameliorated its central flaws: chief amongst them is its embedded Islamophobia, as the Muslim community remains the policy's key target. What has changed, however, is that the treatment previously applied almost exclusively to the Muslim population is now being applied more broadly, with ever more potential 'extremists', including non-violent individuals, identified on shaky grounds. In other words, Prevent's net has widened. This is unwelcome, but not necessarily unexpected, given its nature as a fundamentally colonialist policy. As Foucault (2003, p.103) states:

It should never be forgotten that while colonization, with its techniques and its political and juridical weapons, obviously transported European models to other continents, it also had a considerable boomerang effect on the mechanisms of power in the West, and on the apparatuses, institutions, and techniques of power. A whole series of colonial models were brought back to the West, and the result was that the West could practice something resembling colonization, or an internal colonialism, on itself.

Giroux (2002) contends that such colonisation is made possible by the seemingly apolitical nature of the neoliberal agenda; debates about education are notionally 'depoliticised', with the ideological underpinnings of neoliberalism veiled in the language of economic efficiency. Lynch (2006) similarly worries about a silent 'colonisation' of the hearts and minds of academics and students taking place in universities, a colonisation that is embedded in and facilitated by neoliberal discourses of accountability, progress, and efficiency (Giroux, 2002).

Superficially, the focus on teaching 'British values' and identifying and challenging opposition to them can be framed in terms of Durkheim's theories of deviance, a form of

‘boundary maintenance’ designed to reaffirm society’s shared rules and reinforce social solidarity after acts of terrorism (Durkheim and Mauss, 2009). From this perspective, the duty to promote and embody FBV becomes an essential tool to promote social solidarity, part of a Prevent agenda that provides a mechanism of social control designed to maintain social order (Turner, 1967). The question is: what kind of social order, precisely? Prevent’s expansion includes the targeting of non-violent civil protest groups and social movements; democratic and entirely legal social movements may now potentially be labelled as ‘deviant’, given they disrupt the existent (neoliberal) social order. Considering Prevent at a deeper level then, and within this crucial context, it becomes clear that the policy could operate as a powerful and exclusionary force in society (Smith 2016). Even those largely positive toward Prevent admit that there are ‘legitimate concerns about the inclusion of “non-violent extremism” and the need for some other fine tuning’ (Greer and Bell, 2018, p.1).

Updated iterations of Prevent do not address accusations of the policy as racist, Islamophobic, and characteristically colonialist. Instead, policymakers have apparently doubled down on the most heavily critiqued elements of the policy, casting the net for Prevent’s targets ever wider, into areas of society, and behaviours, that were not previously associated with, or criminalised alongside, (violent) extremism and terrorism. Its expanded remit to include non-violent extremism as a key target is perhaps most troubling. Under Prevent, education professionals are tasked with both upholding the stated FBV and referring students if they express opposition to them. For this reason, it is essential to interrogate the perceptions of these apparently universal ‘British’ values, and the vocal opposition to them as an indicator of extremism. By interviewing education professionals, we can gain a better sense of how this aspect of the policy plays out on the ground.

Safeguarding the Vulnerable: The Epidemiological Justification for Prevent

The securitisation of education has been achieved in part through the discourse of safeguarding vulnerable individuals (Coppock and McGovern, 2014), a ‘construction’ (Busher *et al.*, 2019) which serves to justify the kinds of questionable interventions under Prevent that were discussed in the preceding section. Heath-Kelly (2017, p.1) argues that through the ‘biopolitical discourse’ of safeguarding vulnerable individuals, the Prevent duty has ‘radically reconstituted the epidemiological imagination of pre-criminal space, imagining that all bodies are potentially vulnerable to ‘infection’ by radicalisers and thus warrant surveillance.’ As established above, Prevent is framed by some in (colonialist) terms of ‘contagion’ and ‘disease’ (Thomas, 2016). At the heart of the policy, then, is the core belief that potentially all individuals are existentially ‘vulnerable’ (Buzan, 1991), susceptible to the infection of radicalisation by extremist ideas and charismatic extremists. Thus, young people studying in UK education institutions are framed as ‘vulnerable’, ‘at risk’ of harming themselves and harming society based on problematic conceptualisations of young people’s mental health and well-being (DeMause, 2002; Lifton, 2007). Contested definitions of ‘radicalisation’, ‘psychological vulnerability’, and ‘child protection’, have been used to legitimise a pre-emptive, interventionist, and securitising approach that is justified as ‘safeguarding’ and risk management (Coppock and McGovern, 2014). Such a framing of individuals as fundamentally vulnerable to anarchy and chaos tacitly invokes the Hobbesian image of human existence in the state of nature, with individuals violent and unruly without the imposition of any political authority (Hobbes, 1914). This paradigm has been utilised to support the creation of Prevent’s ‘regime of truth’, serving as justification to legitimise the unprecedented securitisation of education in the UK, positioned as ‘necessary’ in the Hobbesian framework.

O'Donnell (2017) argues that the Prevent agenda has been framed using the language of therapy, resilience, and well-being, and thus uses indicators guiding its implementation that might otherwise be seen as illegitimate—or even as illegal forms of profiling. Heath-Kelly (2017) tacitly invokes Foucault's (2007b) smallpox and plague models of governance by contending that counterterrorism policy has taken an 'epidemiological' approach to concepts of vulnerability and radicalisation, and that this epistemological shift is, in effect, a biopolitical technique of pathologising those at risk of radicalisation. By targeting ideas instead of focusing on violence, Prevent undermines educators: professionals engage in discourses and practices beyond their specific expertise, operating as counterterrorist educators 'between the spheres of security, psychology and education' (O'Donnell, 2017, p.177). Consequently, legitimacy is ascribed to a faulty epidemiological approach that pathologises those deemed to be at risk. By reframing the Prevent agenda in the language of medical interventions for epidemics and contagion the state attempts to create legitimacy for a policy and model of governance with a genealogy reminiscent of Foucault's theorisation of the epidemic models of governance described in *Security, Territory, Population* (2007b); the smallpox model, the leprosy model and the plague model, and their attendant disciplinary mechanisms to identify, intervene, and manage the spread of contagion. For Foucault, the smallpox model of governance involves managing the risk of contagion through biopolitical techniques of surveillance and statistical modeling, allowing the disease to exist but managing its spread, avoiding disciplinary measures where possible. This contrasts with; the disciplinary plague model whereby citizens are confined to their homes, and movement is restricted and punished; and, the totalitarian leprosy model where those 'contagious' are separated, excluded, and removed from society, isolated instead into leper colonies.

Coppock and McGovern (2014) explain that identifying the nature of ‘vulnerabilities’ to radicalisation, which include specific thoughts and behaviours, is seen by policy makers as a crucial step in diminishing risk. In the dominant ‘conveyor-belt’ theory, as noted above, radicalisation leads almost inexorably to non-violent extremism, and then to violent extremism (Powell, 2016). This presumptive trajectory is used to justify the securitisation of education. Important background to Prevent’s characteristically epidemiological approach is found in the mental-health sector, from which the policy directly draws models and practices, including the routine pathologisation of normal experiences and reactions (Harrist and Richardson, 2014). The wider context for this encompasses the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (known as DSM-V in its current fifth edition), a highly influential guide created by the American Psychiatric Association comprising standard definitions for mental disorders in the USA. DSM-V and its predecessors have been, and continue to be, widely criticized (Bentall, 2003; Follette and Houts, 1996; Hayes *et al.*, 1996; Littlewood and Lipsedge, 1989) for the way in which they legislate what can be considered ‘normal’ (or not), with questions in the literature about whether psychiatry as a medical speciality is illegitimately pathologising non-clinical, meaningful states of being. Davies (2017) asserts that the psychiatric profession is beholden to the neoliberal political economy and serves its aims. Watters (2010) contends that the categorisation of mental and emotional disorders in the Western world serves to homogenise the landscape of the human psyche itself, a process instigated and shaped by the ‘ethos’ at hand (presumably neoliberalism) which has become a colonialist export to the non-Western world. Through this framing Prevent can be conceived as a colonialist policy, one which attempts to impose “norms” of affect, behaviour and thought onto the entire population, which leads to erroneous categorisation or labelling of individuals that deviate from such models as “deviant”.

Counterterrorism policies in education also lean on theories developed in the security and crime sectors, such as Sageman's (2004; 2008) seminal research on al-Qaeda which develops what has become known as the 'bunch of guys' theory. By re-articulating terrorism through the lens of Cohen's (1955) theory of delinquent subcultures, Sageman (2008) essentially argues that informal social networks, peer groups, friendships, and kinship bonds are the primary sites and processes of radicalisation, particularly amongst the young and those feeling moral outrage. Sageman's theory posits that the bonds of childhood and youth friendships are absolutely crucial to the conceptualisation of group dynamics, and thus that they are critical to understanding the causes of terrorism and formulating effective counterterrorism strategies. Appropriate responses include surveillance and policing of the informal social spaces and networks in which the relevant 'bunch of guys' are found, to identify 'vulnerable' individuals and ensure that there are 'no ungoverned spaces in which extremism is allowed to flourish' (H. M. Government, 2011a, p.9). Along with theories such as the 'conveyor-belt' theory, Sageman's 'bunch of guys' theory underpins the Prevent policy, evident as the strategy seeks to govern and surveil the social sphere.

Following a critical analysis of the practical application of Prevent in educational institutions, Dudenhoefer (2017) argues that the policy not only has the potential to undermine 'inclusive' safe spaces in schools, but may also pose the danger of further alienating the British Muslim population, in line with similar critique found elsewhere, as explored above. The author pinpoints that certain terminology—such as the 'safeguarding' of students who are classified as 'vulnerable' to extremist ideas—is misleading and conveniently hyperbolic in its characterisation, deployed in order to legitimise the Prevent duty and facilitate its smooth implementation.

Coppock and McGovern (2014) analyse official Prevent policy documentation including guidance on identifying and ‘safeguarding’ ‘vulnerable’ children and young people in schools from being drawn into terrorism. Through close-textual analysis, the authors reveal the problematic, discursive construction of ‘childhood vulnerability’, children’s mental health, and well-being that prefigure and inform equally problematic constructions and practices of ‘child protection’ and ‘safeguarding’ in the Prevent duty. Education professionals are expected to operationalise these official frameworks, thereby facilitating the subjugation of young British Muslims to Foucauldian practices of governance and discipline—practices that may be seen to reproduce and perpetuate institutional anti-Muslim racism and Islamophobia.

Research from various disciplines testifies to the critical absence of agreed-upon terminology in counterterrorist work. Basic terms such as ‘extremism’, ‘radicalisation’, ‘safeguarding’, and ‘vulnerability’ are contested in either their definition or their relative applicability to a given individual and/or circumstance. There is significant opposition to the official Prevent ‘regime of truth’, especially owing to the manner in which the policy legitimises itself by labelling individuals as ‘vulnerable’ based on questionable assumptions and ‘diagnostic’ criteria. By consequence, the Prevent duty presents itself as a ‘necessary’ intervention rooted in the need to ‘safeguard’ children and society more generally from the ‘contagion’ of radicalism. The literature thus evidences the need for an exploration of these issues in terms of education professionals’ own understanding (and application) of core concepts, alongside the impact (and understanding) of the official ‘regime of truth’ used to legitimise Prevent in their own conceptualisation and implementation of the policy.

Governmentality, Freedom of Speech, and Surveillance: Could Prevent be Counterproductive?

‘Governmentality’ can generally be understood as the techniques and strategies by which a modern society is rendered governable (Lemke, 2002). The concept was first elucidated by Foucault (1991); in his theorisation, ‘governmentality’ refers more specifically to the attempts of the liberal-democratic state to ‘shape human conduct by calculated means’ (Li, 2007, p.5). This ‘conduct of conduct’ (Burchell *et al.* 1991, p.48) emphasises the ways in which the mentality of the population to be governed is shaped, and the importance of such intervention in governmental rule. Foucault expanded on Bentham’s notion of the ‘panopticon’, a social control mechanism to allow a prison guard to monitor prisoners without being seen, and offers a theory of the ways in which such reshaping is achieved: the constant, oppressive observation of individuals through the ‘examining gaze’ (Foucault, 1977). Foucault posits that this form of constant surveillance inculcates a consciousness of being observed and judged at all times; the panopticon is internalized to the point of self-regulation and internal surveillance, a process Foucault (1975) terms ‘panopticism’. In this context, Prevent can be conceived of as an artefact of Foucauldian governmentality practised through counterterrorism measures (Aradau and Van Munster 2007; Mythen and Walklate 2006). As a disciplinary control mechanism, the policy is essentially panoptical: individuals are constantly observed throughout their educational lives (and elsewhere), to the point that they ultimately internalise state regulations.

Saeed and Johnson (2016) attest that the securitisation of education institutions leads to a culture of surveillance. Elton-Chalcraft *et al.* (2017) similarly contend that Prevent reflects the state’s politicisation of the education sector, with education professionals transformed into instruments of state surveillance, a shift which fundamentally modifies professional roles and

identities. Bryan (2017) explicitly leverages the concept of governmentality in an analysis of the ways in which the state, via Prevent, regulates its subjects from a distance, using teachers as, in essence, proxy agents. The Prevent policy, according to Bryan, is designed to produce ‘governmentable subjects’, not just in terms of students but also of education professionals, who themselves internalise state regulations in the process of applying them to the student population by discharging the Duty.

O’Donnell (2016) outlines the widespread implications of Prevent for educators and educational institutions: The policy directly, and significantly, impacts what is allowed in the classroom (the curriculum, freedom of speech, critical enquiry), the educational experience more generally (the nature of pedagogical relationships), alongside the personal integrity of students, teachers, and lecturers. The ambiguity surrounding core concepts, as noted above, may make both students and staff alike fearful of speaking freely in classrooms and lecture halls, leading to alienation, disaffection, and disengagement. The problematic lack of transparency regarding the criteria used for Prevent assessments, as discussed above, results in ‘de facto mass profiling’ in educational institutions, as per O’Donnell’s (2016) analysis. What is presented as ‘safeguarding’, the author concludes, is effectively surveillance, which ultimately leads to pedagogical, testimonial, and epistemic injustices (O’Donnell, 2017; 2018).

Lingard and Martino *et al.* (2013) argue that the effects of new policies within the education sector—such as those relating to accountability, performance-related pay, and restrictions placed on teachers’ pedagogical remit due to the requirements of the national curriculum—amount to a ‘global panopticon’. According to Foucault (1977), the Panopticon’s utility is that it induces the belief that one is being constantly observed by others, without requiring that any such observation is actually taking place. Eventually those who believe that

they are being perpetually observed will internalize the panoptic gaze, and thereby become their own supervisors who engage in ‘appropriate’ state-sanctioned self-discipline without the need for any external authority (Hayles, 1993). Prevent functions in much the same manner: as a form of Foucauldian governmentality, with consequent power, discipline, and ‘force relations’ (Foucault, 1991). With this framing, Prevent creates an atmosphere of perpetual surveillance, creating a space in which the surveilled ‘prisoners’ cannot even ‘see’ each other, due to fear of revealing thoughts and ideas that could be perceived as indicators of radical thought.

Empirical qualitative research undertaken by Revell and Bryan (2016) probes the ways in which head teachers in the UK approach appraisals in light of Prevent, especially in terms of the policy’s requirements for teachers to actively uphold fundamental British values (FBV) (Department for Education, 2011) and to promote them both inside and outside of schools (Department for Education, 2014). Revell and Bryan’s (2016) findings indicate confusion amongst head teachers about how these standards should be achieved, and a culture of fear and uncertainty surrounding the concept of teacher professionalism. Whilst the majority of Revell and Bryan’s respondents (all head teachers) believed in freedom of expression and teachers’ right to engage in political activities, there was also confusion with how the Prevent standards should be observed, and concern about teachers potentially undermining FBV through some—or any—kind of radical expression. Teachers’ uncertainty in these areas caused risk-avoidant behaviour, deterring and/or limiting frank and honest discussions of controversial topics in the classroom, despite requirements by the Department for Education for schools to provide ‘safe spaces’ for students to ‘develop the knowledge and skills to be able to challenge extremist arguments’ (Department for Education, 2015, p.5).

Habib (2016) argues that education institutions can become critical sites of opportunity for students to build resilience against radicalisation, on the proviso that students have safe spaces, as mandated by the DfE. Yet, this stipulation has apparently not been effectively met. Critics insist that opportunities for Muslims to express critical thinking and activism are reduced under the Prevent duty (Brown, 2010; Puar, 2007), and that the policy has had a ‘chilling’ effect on academic freedom (Habib, 2016; McCormack, 2016), with some claiming this has the potential to radicalise the British Muslim population (Dudenhoefer, 2017).

In 2018, the UK Home Office published statistics relating to the number of individuals referred through Prevent in the past year (April 2017 to March 2018). The data show that approximately 95% of the 7318 total referrals to Prevent in that time were ultimately deemed unnecessary, with just 394 being classified as requiring Channel support (Home Office, 2018). Channel is a governmental deradicalisation programme, consisting of a multi-agency approach that provides support to people who are identified as being vulnerable to being drawn into terrorism. 33% of all Prevent referrals in the 2017/2018 period originated in the education sector; the median age of individuals in this segment of referrals was 14 (p.12). Original research for the present project was conducted in the South West of England. The Home Office (2018) statistics show that 6% of all total referrals to Prevent in 2017/2018 were made in this area, with a minority flagged as requiring Channel support (27 out of 469 individuals total) (p.15). The large proportion of false referrals reported by the Home Office is counterproductive in that it presumably takes time and focus away from investigating known terrorist threats, and potentially creates the very problem that Prevent aims to counter, creating alienation and anger in those falsely referred and their communities. One of the most concerning aspects regarding the Prevent agenda is the possibility of it being counterproductive and actually increasing rather than

decreasing the threat of terrorism. This demonstrates a need to talk to education professionals to understand why these false/unnecessary referrals are happening, in an effort to learn how to avoid them in future and thus attempt to ensure Prevent is not counterproductive.

The Russell Group of universities, an affiliation of typically high-achieving academic institutions, cites limitations on freedom of speech as likely counterproductive to efforts to combat terrorism: Enabling free debate within the law is a key function which universities perform in our democratic society. Imposing restrictions on non-violent extremism or radical views would risk limiting freedom of speech on campus and may potentially drive those with radical views off campus and ‘underground’, where those views cannot be challenged in an open environment. Closing down challenge and debate could foster extremism and dissent within communities (Russell Group, 2015, paragraphs 3.1–3). Similarly, Khaleeli (2015) argues that Prevent creates an atmosphere of self-censorship, with students potentially feeling unable to express a sense of injustice or engage in peaceful democratic processes. Khaleeli asserts that this produces a fertile climate for terrorist recruitment, while Massoumi *et al.* (2017) contend that Prevent and other counterterrorism programmes have made it increasingly difficult for Muslims to engage in politics or public life.

Powell (2016) maintains that Prevent is counterproductive due to a lack of substantive engagement with ‘extremists’, alongside the denial that ideas classified by the policy as ‘extreme’ can function as meaningful expression within a democratic society. Radicalisation, extremism, and terrorism cannot be prevented, they conclude, without knowing the motives, views, and assumptions of those targeted by Prevent: radicals, extremists, and those vulnerable to their ideologies. McGovern (2016) takes issue with ‘non-violent extremism’ being identified in Prevent as a crucial step in the process of radicalisation. The phrase has only a vague definition,

referring to an ambiguous and potentially shifting amalgam of illiberal views on a wide range of issues with little or nothing to do with violence or terrorism, which the Prevent duty guidance classifies as having the capacity to ‘create an atmosphere conducive to terrorism’ and which ‘can popularise views which terrorists can exploit’ (H. M. Government, 2015b, paragraph 8).

Saeed and Johnson (2016) analyse narratives of Muslim students in higher-educational institutions with regard to their experiences of existing counterterrorism policies. The authors reveal that the securitised classroom negatively impacts freedom of expression, leading to a culture of surveillance in direct contradiction of the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015 which requires universities to have ‘particular regard to the duty to ensure freedom of speech’ and ‘to the importance of academic freedom’ (H. M. Government, 2015a, Section 31.4). The Muslim students participating in Saeed and Johnson’s study were reported to routinely censor themselves and were constrained in their capacity to discuss sensitive topics such as radicalisation, with one student describing a reluctance to research sensitive areas. These findings are echoed in Saeed’s earlier study (Brown and Saeed, 2015), which suggested that the promotion of a ‘moderate’ version of Islam resulting from attempts at counter-radicalisation have removed opportunities for Muslims to engage with political activism and ‘critical citizenship’.

Durodié (2016) explores the dialectic between the spheres of security and education, suggesting that heightened sensitivity on the part of the education sector with regards to the effects of inflammatory rhetoric on the well-being of students has opened the door for the ever-increasing securitisation of education. The author proposes that ineffective counterterrorism measures, specifically the failure of authorities to support the absolute freedom of expression within academia and beyond, are counterproductive, and actually tacitly encourage the very people the government would hope to stop. Durodié contextualises the Prevent duty as one

programme within a broader policy-making environment that aims to strengthen the surveillance powers of the police and security services. There are parallels, for instance, between Prevent and the now-defunct Draft Communications Data Bill (first proposed in 2012), which came to be known as the ‘Snooper’s Charter’. The Bill mandated the storage of records relating to all online activities, including internet browsing, email, and mobile phone messaging, for twelve months; Prevent guidance on IT policies encourages broadly similar data collection and storage at every tier of the education sector. Durodié points out that responses to previous terrorist threats, such as the campaigns waged by the IRA and the Cold War, comprised traditional political and military interventions, not the wholesale securitisation of the education sector. Prevent, then, equates to an unprecedented policy response to terrorism in the UK.

McCormack (2016) asserts that Prevent is entirely misconceived, an exercise in ‘bad faith’ and a ‘displacement activity’ in the absence of any effective policy, while Ramsay (2017) maintains that the policy can only succeed in encouraging the very thing it aims to prevent (Rights Watch UK, 2016). Rather than preventing radicalisation, Novelli (2017) avows that Prevent runs the risk of pushing potentially problematic discussion underground, moving it to spaces where teachers and others are far less likely to be able to intervene. O’Donnell (2016, p.53) argues that it is an error—and potentially counterproductive—to embed counterterrorist strategies in educational institutions, harnessing educational practices in terms of their instrumental value as part of a counterterrorism strategy. Forcing educational institutions to become sites of surveillance risks changing the fundamental nature, and utility, of pedagogical relationships and the role of educational institutions more generally.

The Prevent discourse uses terms such as ‘vulnerability’ and ‘resilience’ that are commonplace in the language of therapeutic society and ‘therapeutic education’ (Ecclestone,

2012; Ecclestone and Hayes, 2008). O'Donnell (2016) contends that the pathologisation of dissenting individuals as suffering from 'vulnerability' and a lack of 'resilience' to radicalisation risks silencing students and precludes them from partaking in dialogue about difficult and complex ideas. This consequently serves to increase individuals' alienation, disaffection, and estrangement—the very conditions that the Prevent discourse claims leads individuals to embrace terrorism and violent extremism in the first place. In this way, Prevent feasibly inflicts epistemic violence upon those it notionally aims to protect, individuals who must also reckon with the broader effects of the programme, including a reduction of space in the public sphere for democratic processes.

The literature evidences the fact that Prevent could feasibly alienate targeted individuals—thereby potentially operating as a vector for terrorist 'contagion', rather than its 'cure'—thus leading to injustice. Lakhani (2014), for instance, contends that Prevent may actually be fuelling terrorism in the UK. O'Donnell (2018) and Fricker (2007) identify the risks of testimonial injustice if students, teachers, and parents feel that their voices are unfairly ignored or mistrusted based on their race, ideology, or identities. By excluding students from authentic conversations rooted in mutual trust and respect, they are marginalised, unable to participate fully in their education (Sukarieh and Tannock, 2015). Such educational exclusion undermines students intellectually, potentially leading to students' loss of confidence in previously held beliefs and a growing distrust of justifications for them; ongoing learning becomes compromised and knowledge is 'lost'. Hermeneutical injustice is a possible by-product of the classification of a group as a 'suspect' community, a designation which operates to silence group members over doubts about their ability to communicate their own position accurately in an environment in which their statements are interpreted primarily through the lens of security concerns

(O'Donnell. 2018). At the same time, epistemic injustice at a macro level occurs when established communication processes break down, and conventions as to the basis for interpreting discourse are unfairly or unequally (re)formulated (O'Donnell. 2018).

The research summarised above proposes that Prevent negatively affects freedom of speech. By contrast, Busher *et al.* (2017) found relatively little support among education professionals (n=225) for the idea that the policy has led to a 'chilling effect' on conversations with students in the classroom and beyond. Only 15% of participants reported less trust in the classroom under Prevent, with a similar proportion of those surveyed (12%) describing less openness in terms of discussions about extremism, intolerance, and inequality. The authors thus determine that there is 'relatively little support' for the notion of Prevent's 'chilling effect' on freedom of expression. Concerns expressed regarding the adverse impact of Prevent on freedom of speech appear to represent a minority viewpoint in Busher *et al.*'s study. Nevertheless, the figures remain highly significant, if extrapolated to the millions of education professionals in the UK as a whole. What's more, Busher *et al.* discovered 'a strong current of concern', particularly from Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) respondents, that the Prevent duty is 'making it more difficult to foster an environment in which students from different backgrounds get on well with one another'. In the same study, 29% of BAME education professionals and 9% of white British education professionals reported less openness of discussions with students about issues such as extremism, intolerance, and inequality (p.53).

Busher *et al.*'s (2017) study refutes, to some extent, fears that Prevent could be counterproductive. Indeed, only a 'small' number of respondents believed that Prevent may be counterproductive to the prevention of extremism. These respondents were apprehensive that the policy may lead to Muslim students withdrawing from sharing concerns and questions with staff,

due to feelings that they were under increased scrutiny, or because the policy (and its applications) may, more generally, stoke feelings of students' marginalisation by the state and society. The authors dismiss this segment of participants as a 'highly critical minority'. Whilst this may be true for Busher *et al.*'s study, this 'small' number could feasibly represent tens of thousands of concerned professionals, if the research findings were extrapolated to include education professionals nationwide.

Following widespread criticisms of Prevent's 'chilling effect' on free speech, the Revised Prevent duty Guidance for England and Wales was introduced in 2015, under section 29 of the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015 (CTSA). The revised policy underscores that schools 'should be safe spaces in which children and young people can understand and discuss sensitive topics, including terrorism and the extremist ideas that are part of terrorist ideology, and learn how to challenge these ideas', stating explicitly that the Prevent duty is 'not intended to limit discussion of these issues' (Department for Education, 2015, p.11). Under section 31 of the CTSA higher education Bodies were made subject to the duty in S.31 CTSA to have "particular regard" to the duty to ensure free speech and protect academic freedom.

McGlynn and McDaid (2018) offer a rebuttal of sorts to the widespread negativity expressed towards Prevent in much of the literature. Their study combines two data sets, comprising an assessment of a corpus of university policy documents, and original focus-group research with university lecturers and undergraduate students (n=21). The researchers found that Prevent has not caused a 'chilling effect' on academic freedoms; rather, study participants perceived the policy to be a form of tick-box managerialism (p.134)—an issue explored in more depth in sections below. Counterterrorism is a 'universal democratic obligation and the battle of ideas is a key arena in the struggle against the threat undeniably posed to the UK', according to

Greer and Bell (2018, p.1). The Prevent strategy, they avow, is a direct response to palpable and urgent problems. As such, universities cannot be exempted from their responsibilities in this arena. Whilst the authors acknowledge concerns about the inclusion of ‘non-violent extremism’ and the need for some other fine-tuning as justified, they affirm that the legislation is appropriate and necessary. Although they concede that opposition to Prevent may be well-intentioned, they insist that such push-back rests on myth, misconception, misinformation, and misrepresentation. Nonetheless, the authors admit that the Prevent counterterrorism measures do in fact potentially pose ‘a risk to human rights, social integration and public confidence in the state’ (p.11). Similarly, in a small-scale study of three education professionals in the UK, Bryan (2017) found none of the participants had concerns with or questioned the counter-terrorism role they have been given by government through Prevent.

The potential for Prevent to impinge upon freedom of speech and wider academic freedoms is a common theme in the literature. A range of studies put forward the view that Prevent may be counterproductive, causing more problems than it solves, for example by increasing alienation amongst targeted groups. Perhaps one of the most concerning aspects of Prevent to emerge from the literature is the potential for the policy to be counterproductive in terms of promoting, and protecting, democracy. Prevent has the potential to infringe civil liberties, including restricting individuals’ ability to take part in democratic activities. This reduces the space for meaningful democratic engagement within society, thereby potentially undermining Prevent’s principle objectives of tackling the causes of radicalisation and responding to the ideological challenge(s) of terrorism. However, there appears to be a discrepancy between the general opinion of non-empirical research which positions Prevent as discriminatory and limiting freedom of expression, and the findings from the post-2015

empirical studies that suggest only a minority of education professionals are concerned (McGlynn and McDaid, 2018; Bryan, 2017; Busher *et al.* 2017) This in itself signals more research is needed.

Audit Culture, Professional Identities, and Autonomy

Since the introduction of the national curriculum in the 1980s, claims have been made about the erosion of education professionals', and educational institutions' autonomy. For some, this constitutes an era of post-professionalism, in which external parties make judgements on professionalism within the education sector (Ball, 2003), and professional identities are continually being undermined (Helsby, 1999; Menter *et al.*, 1997). Ball *et al.* (2010) contend that the state has utilised education policy-making in efforts to control, manage, and transform society. Professional identities in the education sector are to some extent already unstable, discontinuous, fragmented, and subject to continual change (Day and Hadfield, 1996). Demands introduced under the Prevent duty intensify such instability, as education professionals are mandated to routinely carry out counterterrorism work, such as primary prevention and threat identification, as part of their existing role (Russell and Theodosiou, 2015).

McLaughlin and Muncie (2006) suggest that audit culture, including the requirement for frequent school inspections, kills creativity and reflection in the classroom, prioritising performance targets and manufactured performance indicators instead. In terms of Prevent specifically, Lynch (2017, p.50) argues that, if deployed in the context of the market-orientated, risk-averse managerialism of the neoliberal education sector, the policy's core concepts—such as

‘risk’, ‘safeguarding’, ‘protection’, and ‘reputation’—will promote ‘a culture of control and compliance, for students and staff, in what is able to be said, taught and researched.’

Bail (2015) explains that regulators such as the Office for Students (OfS) use a data-driven risk-based process to measure compliance, covering a range of Prevent-related areas of interest. For example, regulators demand extensive bureaucratic documentation relating to external guest speakers, events, student welfare, and staff training practices. Such regulatory surveillance captures information on non-Prevent related welfare cases: any systems, policies, or processes used by Higher Education institutions to exercise their duty of care for staff and students, across academic and non-academic spheres and spaces, are subject to reporting. Bail postulates that this would, in theory, allow the government to ‘explore’ pockets of resistance to the Prevent agenda (and associated training) beyond education professionals themselves. Activities of employees in related roles—for example, staff in student-services departments, personal tutors, and pastoral-focused staff, such as security guards, cleaners, and sports coaches—are opened up to scrutiny.

Priestly *et al.* (2015) argue that the Prevent duty affects education professionals in both negative and positive ways. While embedding important values into the curriculum the statutory Duty has foreclosed previously existing avenues that effectively endowed teachers with the agency to interpret and enact policy. Previously, teachers were authorised to sensibly translate policy into a curriculum context and exercise their own judgement when integrating concepts, such as FBV, into lessons (McCowan, 2008). Further to this, Elwick and Jerome (2019) interviewed classroom teachers and members of school leadership teams from ten schools. Drawing on an ecological approach to theorising teacher agency, the researchers discovered that teachers develop different responses to Prevent depending on a variety of factors, including: their

specific role, the institutional context, and their own personal beliefs. The implementation of Prevent had, they found, ‘closed down’ some important options for professionals’ agency in terms of interpreting policy generally. Yet, staff were still allowed room to exercise agency in the interpretation and discharge of policy in a curriculum context. Whilst aspects of these findings are optimistic, others however identify the potential risks posed if the education sector’s independence from security and intelligence agendas is compromised, as a result of Prevent’s unclear definitions (for example, radicalisation and extremism), alongside the potential danger of the pathologisation of dissenting students as a suspect community, with discourses of vulnerability and victimhood (O’Donnell, 2018; 2017).

Saeed and Johnson (2016) examine the effects of Prevent by evaluating the experiences of Muslim students, with their analysis inflected by Louis Althusser’s conceptualisation of ideology as a part of the state-security apparatus (Althusser, 2006). Althusser theorised that the state shapes and controls society through two separate fields of influence: Repressive State Apparatuses (RSA) such as the army, the police, the judiciary and the prison system; and Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA), which include education institutions, the media, churches, and the family unit. While RSA are associated with ‘hard power’, operating through latent or actual coercion and violence (Buchanan, 2018), ISA generally, according to Althusser, use ‘soft power’ methods to achieve the same objectives as RSA—the reproduction of production relations. For Althusser, RSA and ISA combine to create the nature of individual subjects’ identities through a process of ‘interpellation’. Saeed and Johnson (2016, p.37) aver that the CTSA ‘appears to have drawn universities into the security apparatus of the state’, as education professionals are compelled to monitor ‘mostly’ Islamic students. In an Althusserian framework,

Prevent can thus be conceived of as strengthening the presence, and propagation, within educational institutions of the state apparatus in both its ideological and its repressive forms.

Haynes and Passy (2017) connect the Prevent agenda, racism, and the Brexit referendum result in the UK. The combination of a variety of factors owing to neoliberalisation—increased workloads for academic staff; an insecure academic workforce, with endemic ‘cultures of compliance’ (McGovern, 2016); greater pressures on teachers’ professionalism (Revell and Bryan, 2016); and increased emphasis on performance-related pay within the appraisals process (Department for Education, 2013)—produces an environment in which staff and students may become risk-averse, in terms of broaching potentially controversial topics or inciting discord. Again, Prevent is shown to be potentially counterproductive to its stated mission.

For Ball (2003), audit culture, with its prioritisation of metrics in judging professional performance, has led to the privileging of surface image over substance. Lynch (2006) determines that this audit regime has resulted in an Orwellian surveillance culture: university institutions monitor individuals during the working day, after which the latter, even in their nominally personal life, reflexively surveil themselves, having internalised the Foucauldian panopticon. Trust in professional integrity and peer regulation is being replaced with performance indicators and a culture of ‘tick-box’ performativity. This can lead to alienation, personal inauthenticity, and a culture of compliance (Cooper, 2000).

Professional identity forms an important part of the basis for interpretive and decision-making processes (Beijaard and Meijer *et al.*, 2004) that are obviously integral to the implementation of the Prevent duty. Yet the policy stymies these processes, by adding a further layer of ambiguity around the working relationships between students and education staff

(Haynes and Passy, 2017). The literature demonstrates that the changes to the professional role enacted by Prevent have unquestionably raised moral and ethical concerns. For example, Ippgrave (2017) questions whether the requirement to promote FBV puts schools in the business of defending, rather than productively critiquing, 'British' values.

To conclude, the securitisation of the education sector is embedded within a broader macro context, one that is crucial to any effort to fully understand Prevent: the neoliberal dissolution of the public sphere, and the trajectory of top-down authoritarianism undermining the autonomy of education professionals and their institutions. With Prevent, the managerial 'authoritarian power of command' has seemingly been transliterated into the bureaucracy of education institutions (Weber, 1978, p.946). Through Prevent the education sector has been folded into the security sector, a 'field capture' which potentially undermines academic freedoms, freedom of speech, and the agency of education professionals and their institutions. Education professionals are therefore Prevent policy subjects, thanks to Prevent's politicisation of roles in the sector. However, as this literature review testifies, many academics continue to engage in policy activism through challenging Prevent, and the 'regime of truth' that seeks to legitimise it, in their research. Although we have testimony from academics in the field that critiques Prevent, the empirical research in this study aims to present and explore views on the policy from the perspective of the education professionals tasked with policy implementation and whose (marginal) voices are still underrepresented in the corpus.

Preventing and Countering Radicalisation, Extremism and Terrorism through Educational Practices

Ragazzi (2017) asserts that the policies contained in the Contest strategy and Prevent, represent a ‘re-colonisation of social policy by the logics of security’ (p.172), and a blurring of social and security policy, stating that the managerial ‘turn’ of the 1970s and the racialised reframing of social and police work in the 1980s resulted in an undoing of the separation of the functions of ‘care’ and ‘control’. This section explores the challenges faced by education professionals in enacting Prevent while undertaking prevention of radicalisation (and prevention/countering of violent extremism and non-violent extremism) work taking place in the education sector and beyond.

Ragazzi (2017, p.168) contextualises the new securitisation of the education field, noting that a first key effect of the managerial turn in wider society appeared to be to question the professional distinction between social work and policing. ‘Joined-up’ interdisciplinary teams, multi-agency and community–police partnerships, became the new model of crime prevention and a core principle of the securitisation of social policy. Rather than police, social workers and youth workers having a monopoly on the maintenance of social order, a wider spectrum of public-facing professions are now involved in counter-terrorism work, preventive policing, and countering extremism (Department of Education, 2015).

Stephens and Sieckelinck (2019, p.303) state that the level of trust and transparency between the actors involved in PVE work is perhaps one of the central challenges to collaboration between disciplines due to the ‘challenge of shared vision around purpose and approach’, as while education professionals may share the overarching vision of preventing

violence, reaching consensus around educating ‘deeper levels of norms, values, or narratives is no simple task’, while, ‘collaborative arrangements with the overarching orientation towards intelligence sharing and intervention’ may present the kind of difficulties (p.304) explored previously in the literature review.

While Burde *et al.* (2015) declares that there is no robust evidence that shows the best ways for the education sector to counter extremism, and Stephens *et al.* (2021) admit there is currently no clear framework for developing resilience in relation to violent extremism, there are however occasions for more optimism in the literature. For example, Liht and Savage (2013) describe preventing violent extremism through an appeal to values in what could be categorized as work in the affective domain of education practices. The authors describe a ‘value complexity’ intervention designed to prevent violent extremism in young UK Muslims, reporting that by using films and group activities that enabled participants to solve problems according to a broad array of their own values, the results in participants’ conflict resolution style were a significant shift towards pro-social conflict styles of collaboration and compromise when faced with moral dilemmas.

Feddes *et al.* (2015) reinforce the need for a holistic approach to CVE and CE. In a longitudinal quantitative evaluation of a resilience training focused on adolescents with a dual identity, they found that that developing self-esteem and empathy can prevent individuals from being drawn to violent extremism. The authors postulate that resilience training as a possible method to prevent violent radicalization (such as Project Diamant; SIPI, 2010) resulted in attitudes toward ideology-based violence and their own violent intentions becoming significantly lower, with increased levels of empathy and less positive attitudes toward ideology-based violence in general. This suggests that intervention aimed at empowering individuals in

combination with strengthening their empathy can be successful in countering violent radicalization.

Akram and Richardson (2009) advocate prevention through what could be termed an inclusive emancipatory educational approach to citizenship education that gives greater voice to Muslims, and a clear sense of identity and belonging within the United Kingdom as citizens with rights and responsibilities. The authors state that schools should protest against superficiality and prejudice, and instead ‘promote deep understanding of complex issues through citizenship education to provide resources and opportunities to enable their pupils to play full parts as citizens locally, nationally and globally, and to produce outcomes that are fair for all’ (p.55). Similarly, Herz (2016) suggests that education professionals should use traditional pedagogy to promote democratic, social and human rights, and outlined a holistic approach to preventing radicalization and violent extremism: effective collaboration between authorities, having a local presence, involving family and civil society, increasing human rights and access to welfare, focusing on the individual instead of the ideology and critically examining one’s own organization.

Stephens *et al.* (2021) suggest that the reevaluation of the methods of resilience education could provide the basis for a common framework for prevention, stating that rather than focusing on the individual when developing resilience to extremism, that more attention should be given to the role of contextual structures and institutions and the changes required at an institutional and social level, and that a social–ecological perspective on resilience could re-orientate the discourse on resilience to extremism. In a similar vein, Stephens and Sieckelinck (2020) state that a framework of response to extremism that recognises individuals and communities as political actors, who rather than being shielded from ideologies, instead require resources for

empowerment, and channels to challenge violence, discrimination, and injustice (be it state or non-state driven). This framework is similar to the findings of Liht and Savage (2013), and is resonant with Biesta's (2010) notion of 'value-based' education practices as an important counterpoint to complement 'evidence-based' education practices.

Another advocate of the holistic approach to prevention is Davydov (2015) who suggests a thorough examination of the causes of youth extremism as a means of developing ways to prevent it in the educational environment. While admitting that 'a great deal depends on the state of the economy and other conditions of the macro-environment' (p.159), Davydov advocates teaching both students and teachers to unconditionally reject violence as a value and as a means of solving problems, and to develop skills in conflict-free interaction. Furthermore, Davydov states that interpreting 'tolerance' (included in one of the FBV) literally as a readiness to tolerate or put up with something or someone cannot effectively prevent an extremist worldview and extremist behaviour. According to Davydov, tolerance has to be understood as a willingness to accept a diversity of views of the world, and advocates educating students into looking at problems from differing points of view without classifying perspectives as "correct" or "incorrect".

In a review of the literature on education and extremism, the Health and Education Advice and Resource Team at the UK Institute of Development Studies (IDS, 2015) identified a range of educational 'facilitators' that were found to help build resilience to extremism in young people. These 'facilitators' included: clear communication of learning objectives, ground rules for discussion, using simple theoretical frameworks and interactive techniques, encouraging engagement with a range of information, and appreciating the value of an evidence-based

approach. The authors admit that these pedagogical techniques are essentially common sense ‘good teaching’ and are not specific to preventing extremism.

For Pratchett *et al.* (2010), educational pedagogy that challenges ideology and theology is more successful when it is non-prescriptive, and instead allows individuals to develop independent critical thinking skills. Sheikh and Reed (2010), and Cockburn (2007) found a key element of successful pedagogical intervention was gaining the trust of students by utilising a listening style of interaction while engaging with their ideas and challenging beliefs respectfully and constructively. In a similar vein, McCauley (2002) claims teaching values and principles is more likely to succeed than teaching ideologies.

Davies (2016) explores different forms of security (e.g. national, human, and societal) to foreground the narrowly focused model offered by the Prevent strategy, which prioritises national security almost exclusively. Davies considers possibilities to safeguard young people effectively without securitising education institutions, highlighting methods to build students’ resilience. The author suggests educational approaches such as a focus on inclusivity and active citizenship as a means to promote national security. Davies (2018) infers that a holistic multitude of ‘drivers’ of extremism should be acknowledged by education professionals, and that CVE/PVE work is more successful when embedded into an education institution’s ways of thinking and in its curriculum, for example through a pedagogy that encourages civic engagement and promoting active citizenship in terms of tackling injustice and grievances via non-violent and democratic means by promoting human rights, integrative complexity, and philosophy for children, while acknowledging a multiple perspective history that provides a political understanding of conflict and counter narratives. Furthermore, Davies (2018)

recommends that prevention works best when acknowledging, envisioning, and targeting the networks of community that surround learners, such as their family and wider community.

Conclusion to Chapter

A review of the literature illuminates a complex set of problems with, and inherent tensions within, Prevent and the Prevent duty. Indeed, despite examples of positive work in terms of prevention of radicalisation in the education sector, many argue that the policy may be counterproductive to its stated aims. The ‘regime of truth’ used to legitimise and justify Prevent is frequently and fulsomely critiqued in research from across the disciplinary spectrum. A brief genealogical analysis of the systems of social thought underpinning Prevent arguably shows that the policy’s ‘regime of truth’ and the unprecedented securitisation of the education sector are the results of contingent turns of history, the 9/11 and 7/7 events, and are underpinned by ideologies of neoconservatism and neoliberalism, rather than the necessary logical outcomes of rationally inevitable trends. Concepts which form the policy’s backbone—including radicalism, extremism, and vulnerability—are criticised as overly vague, ill-defined, and open to interpretation. There is little disagreement on the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism. However, lack of definitional and conceptual clarity in the policy’s terminology, alongside the overly expansive understanding of apparent ‘indicators’ of radicalism, conceivably means that a wide range of people—for example, civil protest groups and democratic social movements—are at risk of being unfairly targeted under Prevent’s remit (Amster, 2006). This has worrying implications not just for the autonomy of education professionals and the education sector, but society as a whole. Foucauldian theory allows us to perceive the intricate policymaking web in which Prevent is

embedded, and its potential for manifold effects in classrooms, educational institutions, and communities across the UK. What emerges from a careful, cross-disciplinary study of relevant research is that Prevent, despite some positives, is widely perceived to be part of a broader, increasingly authoritarian, neoliberal policy agenda, and, equally worryingly, carries with it the potential to do harm to the very people it seeks to protect.

Prevent has been, and remains, the focus of extensive and often highly polarised debate, with the ‘party line’ of governmental officials often at odds with the findings of researchers. Whilst the UK government argues that in regards to free speech and controversial issues ‘the Prevent duty is not intended to limit discussion’ (Home Office, 2019, paragraph 64), critics of Prevent contend that it will have, and, in fact, is exerting a ‘chilling effect’ on free speech in schools and colleges, owing in part due to increased risk in participating in these conversations. The UK government insists that Prevent targets all forms of extremism. This is hotly contested within the literature: researchers maintain that whatever the intention of individual policymakers, practitioners, and professionals, Prevent and CVE work in general continue to focus primarily on Muslim communities in practice. Prevent’s characteristically colonialist application exacerbates the stigmatisation and discrimination faced by Muslim students. What is more, Prevent’s unequal treatment of Muslim communities, and the effects thereof, are being replicated as the policy expands its focus to include non-violent extremism. This is reminiscent of Foucault’s theory of ‘boomerang’ colonisation, whereby colonial policies are ultimately enacted on the domestic ‘home’ population (Foucault, 2003).

There is ample evidence in the literature that Prevent, as a policy, is weakened by various flaws in its conceptualisation and implementation that render it ineffective at best, or even actively harmful. Its potential to undermine, for instance, relationships between education

professionals and students by damaging trust and confidence. These are vital elements of social capital that appear to be strongly associated with student success (Allan and Persson, 2018). Countering the criticism and negativity surrounding Prevent are examples of successful prevention of radicalisation work undertaken by education professionals that resonate with Foucault's concept of 'pastoral power' (Foucault, 2007b), a productive power whereby education professionals derive legitimacy and power through their roles in providing pedagogical and curriculum-based prevention work that is underpinned by value-based education strategies. Nevertheless, research is limited in terms of empirical studies (James, 2020; Busher *et al.*, 2019), which negatively impacts the ability to fully comprehend the policy, and to analyse its effects. There is a demonstrable need to develop the existing knowledge base, which leans heavily towards more abstract and theoretical work, with empirical research conducted with the front-line education professionals tasked with policy enforcement. Simply put: a stronger evidence base is required from which to understand and assess how the Prevent duty is playing out at the 'coal face' of the education sector. This establishes the necessity, and indeed the urgency, of the present research project. The following chapter sets out the methodological grounds for this project, responding directly to problems identified in this literature review.

Chapter 3a: Methodology Part 1: The Critical Realist

World Systems (CReWS) Theoretical Model

Chapter Two's review of the relevant literature allowed major themes to emerge in terms of the conceptualisation, and critique, of the Prevent duty, permitting a better understanding of the policy's wider context(s) and its most contested aspects. The review demonstrated that Prevent is legitimised through a widely disputed discursive 'regime of truth'. This regime of truth is found to be underpinned by mechanisms in the macro level of society, for example ideologies of neoliberalism and neoconservatism. The regime of truth underpinning Prevent is one that arguably exemplifies Foucault's concept of 'power/knowledge' in action. It became clear, however, that the existing research corpus is significantly limited in terms of the relative scarcity of empirical studies of Prevent. This project's research questions, and its methodological approach(es), have been formulated in response to such findings, in order to productively advance, and nuance, extant critical-theoretical work on Prevent by expanding the empirical evidence base for the policy's enactment on the micro/meso levels.

This two-part methodology chapter sets out the methodology—or methodologies—pursued in this study, in terms of its critical and philosophical apparatus and its more practical logistics, such as research methods, survey design, data gathering and analysis. There is no standard methodology for research in the field of education policy, as Malen and Knapp (1997, p.419) point out: 'there are multiple metaphors and models but no "grand theories" of public policy generally or education policy more specifically'. As such, the researcher developed a new

theoretical framework, the Critical Realist World Systems (CReWS) model, for use as a multi-level heuristic thinking tool to research Prevent. Such methodological innovation is similarly necessitated due to Prevent's unprecedented nature and impact, in terms of the securitisation of the UK's education sector at a scale never before witnessed. The epistemological and ontological positions underpinning the embryonic theoretical CReWS model, and the overall research approach, are elucidated below. Research methods and design are thereafter reviewed and justified, followed by an exploration of issues relating to the validity and reliability of the research findings in chapter 3b. Chapter 3b concludes with a review of ethical considerations.

Critical Methodologies and Apparatus

Critical realism: multiple ontologies require multiple epistemologies

Critical realism is a meta theory with a meta-ontological approach which allows for a stratified conception of reality that attempts, ultimately, to diffuse the ongoing tension between positivist and interpretivist camps. The philosophical approach was first forwarded by Bhaskar (1975) and others (Harre and Madden, 1975) in the 1970s, as a means to understand the social world by identifying the causal mechanisms that generate events. Unlike structural-functionalist approaches, critical realism does not prioritise structure or culture above agency when explaining causation in the social domain (Archer, 2020). The critical-realist approach combines ontological realism, where reality is considered intransitive and independent of our perception and knowing, with epistemic relativism; it insists upon a stratified ontology of the social order, with upwards and downwards causality between higher and lower level strata (Archer, 2020). From the critical-realist perspective, ontological reality is emergent and differentiated, constructed in

layers such as the biological, chemical and social. This stratified ontological reality encourages a pluralistic approach to generating knowledge that draws on a range of ontological, epistemological and methodological concepts or ‘tool kits’. Human knowledge is considered transitive, finite, contextual and fallible, meaning that researchers should use judgemental rationality, the third pillar of critical realism (the other two being ontological realism and epistemic relativism) whereby the undertaking of the evaluation of diverse and competing claims about the world is necessary (Archer, 2020).

Stephen J. Ball, Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault provide conceptual ‘tool kits’ that offer multifaceted epistemological perspectives in the present research. For example, Foucault provides an ontology of power that addresses the relationships between power and knowledge and thus allows insights into how government policies are used as a form of social control through societal institutions. Bourdieu’s relational sociology facilitates explorations of the relationships between individuals, groups and societies and how social order is maintained within and across generations through the transference of power. Deployed in combination, as with the pluralist CReWS model, these ‘tool kits’ excavate a range of often-interconnected insights that may not be evident in a more traditional, singular methodology.

Bhaskar (1975) outlines three main domains of reality which may benefit from a critical-realist approach in order to fully discern their workings: the ‘empirical’ domain where events are observable; the domain of the ‘actual’ where events take place but may be unobserved; and the domain of ‘real’ which contains the causal mechanisms of the events taking place in the other domains. All of these domains are under investigation in the present study. Bhaskar’s ‘empirical’ in this study refers to experiential data from participants. It can be further sub-divided into topic areas about which participants offer their testimony, including: ideological concerns, stress levels

and emotional responses, pedagogical issues, notions of the self and subjectification, and so forth. The ‘actual’ is the domain where events occur, even though some may not be experienced. This includes events occurring at the meso institutional level. In terms of studying Prevent policymakers are causal agents, triggering events on education professionals’ experiential plane – but at the same time, through Prevent’s transformative impulse education professionals are themselves causal agents in the ‘actual’, triggering events on students, peers, and their own experiential plane during policy enactment. The ‘real’ relates to the often-unseen underlying mechanisms and ideologies that shape the ‘actual’. For the purposes of this study, the ‘real’ includes the ideological themes identified in the literature review, such as: neoliberalism, economic pressures, corporate agendas, the impulse to preserve the status quo. It also encompasses the ideologies and values of the participants and the mechanisms in operation which remain as yet ‘unknown’ for a variety of reasons, such as issues of national security, and/or due to falling under the Official Secrets Act 1989 or non-disclosure agreements. Furthermore, the critical realist notion of open-systemic causality allows for ‘downwards’ causes (such as Prevent) emanating from the domain of the real to be co-determined or negated by the ‘upwards’ causal agency of the education professionals and institutions who intervene and interact with the policy.

Critical realism’s retroductive framework seeks to find the simplest and most likely conclusions from observations, and thus allows for a comprehensive analysis of the research data, along these three distinct domains. The ‘empirical’ and ‘actual’ domains allow us to identify significant occurrences and connections between events and generate knowledge about causal factors. Positivism, Bhaskar (2009, p.308) argues, ‘at once naturalizes and normalizes things and reflects in an endless hall of mirrors’. Critical realism, by contrast, offers us a way of

navigating the hyperreality of modern life by providing tools with which we can discern reality from simulation, using three ‘pillars’; judgemental rationality, ontological realism and epistemic relativism (Archer, 2020), as well as reflexivity to achieve authentic critical comprehension of a problem (Archer, 2009). At the same time, the ‘real’, the causal domain which is typically obfuscated from view and yet substantively interacts with, and impacts, all other domains, becomes visible, and thus contestable. In this way, critical realism offers a highly productive multi-dimensional framework for an investigation into a complicated, multi-factorial situation: the potential disadvantages experienced by education professionals and their students within, and at the hands of, an increasingly securitised and marketised education sector. This inquiry entails, for instance, examining the extent to which socially constructed notions of vulnerability, contagion, and radicalisation implicitly affect education professionals’ decisions in practice—the intersection of policy discourse, day-to-day subjective experiences, and industry-wide pressures.

Along with key concepts such as stratification and systemic openness, ontological emergence is another notable feature of Bhaskar’s critical realism (Creaven, 2002). According to Mingers (2011) the emergent properties of an entity under study (such as Prevent), are properties possessed only by the entity as a whole, not by any of its components or the simple aggregation of the components. Emergence is whereby the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.

The Critical Realist World Systems Theoretical Model (CReWS)

The Prevent policy can be conceived of as what Foucault (1980) terms a ‘dispositif’. In Foucauldian terms a ‘dispositif’ refers to mechanisms and knowledge structures which maintain and strengthen the exercise of power within society. Prevent can be viewed in these terms as

having multidisciplinary roots that stretch into the fields of security, military, politics, criminology, and psychiatry: a dispositif that is bolstered by neoliberal and neoconservative ideologies. Any attempt at understanding Prevent fully thus requires a multidisciplinary, pluralised methodology. This contention spurred the researcher's development of a new conceptual model, one fit for the task at hand. The Critical Realist World Systems (CReWS) critical paradigm has evolved over the course of the project, with different theoretical 'tool kits' privileged at different times, depending on their relative utility to the analytical task at hand. By locating the research in a stratified critical-realist paradigm, a wide variety of epistemological and methodological approaches are available with which to most productively interrogate a given dataset or theme.

At a basic level, the CReWS theoretical model—illustrated in Figure 1—represents a combination of critical-realist meta-theory with Wallerstein's (1974) world systems theory, with the latter discussed in depth below. Central to this framework is the understanding, following Ball (1998; 2012), of policy-making as operative on a global scale, transcending the nation state. Ball (2012; 2016) maintains that, when considering education policy, methodological nationalism must be rejected, in favour of an approach which acknowledges the contemporary, intra- and international topography of education policy which does not solely influence the education sector in a given country, but spills ever outwards to other nations, and other fields. This is obviously the case for the Prevent duty, a global policy ensemble with an international remit in its production and implementation (Ball, 1998; 2008; 2013a), and mirrored by similar policies across western societies. Education policy research does not typically, as Ball (1997, p.267) remarks, 'locate policies in any framework that extends beyond the national level'. This serves to obfuscate the broader implications of policy, whilst exacerbating ongoing tension in

terms of the field's competing concerns of efficiency (national level) and social justice (national and international level) (Ball, 2005). The researcher seeks to ameliorate such problems with the CReWS model, use of which influenced selections of texts in the literature review, for example those that permit consideration of the policy's rationale and international geopolitical context on a macro level, while facilitating engagement on the micro/meso levels, for example exploring the expansive impacts on a local and national level.

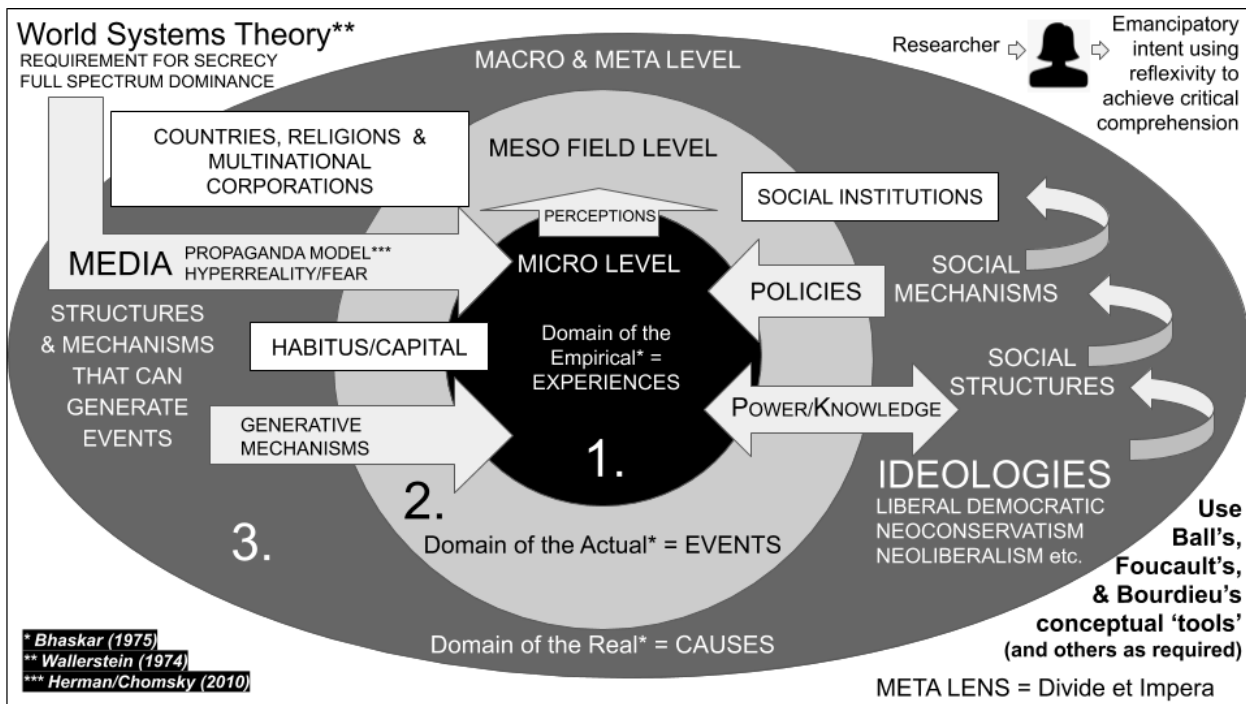


Figure 1. *The Critical Realist World Systems (CReWS) model*

Wallerstein's world systems theory is a multidisciplinary, macro-scale approach to world history and social change. It posits a capitalist world economic system in which some countries and multinational corporations benefit to the detriment of others. World-systems (and not nation states) should, therefore, form the basis of social analysis as a framework for studying reality. Using world systems theory allows us to contextualise Prevent, a policy which emerged as a

direct result of geopolitical events, within the global field of power relations on a systemic (macro) level, and bring these insights to bear when analysing Prevent at the individual (micro) and institutional (meso) levels. Foucault (1980, p.117) argues that ‘one’s point of reference [for research] should not be to the great model of language and signs, but to that of war and battle[...] the history which bears and determines us has the form of war rather than that of a language’. The CReWS model therefore uses a meta lens of ‘divide et impera’ (‘divide and rule’) as an additional tool to analyse policies emanating from the field of power as technologies used to not only mitigate against blowback from foreign policy ‘war and battle’ activities in the Middle East, but also to prevent domestic populations from achieving solidarity. Political strategies used by modern Western countries to dominate their own populations are not typically framed in terms of ‘divide and rule’. Nevertheless, such framing remains legitimate and appropriate. Russia, for example, has been accused of using this very strategy against the West recently (de Jong, 2016; Karlsen, 2019). In addition, the tactic was routinely used by the British Empire as a method of colonial rule (Colley, 2010). This study links Prevent to British colonialist history – which is considered to be felt and lived daily in the UK today through the colonialist ‘othering’ of Muslims by the policy.

Baudrillard and Derrida’s theorisation of hyperreality is another significant conceptual support for the CReWS model. Hyperreality refers to the representational environment in which individuals are unable to distinguish reality from simulations thereof, and thus are incapable of understanding reality itself. It *arguably* characterises the reception of twenty-first century political discourse (Parry-Giles and Parry-Giles, 1999) and mainstream media news (Virilio, 2002). For example, Herman and Chomsky’s (2010) ‘Propaganda Model’ identifies bias within media discourses (Klaehn, 2002; Chomsky, 1989), emphasising ‘the symbiotic relationship

between journalists and agents of power' (Klaehn, 2009, p.44). The CReWS model forges links between the Propaganda Model, and political 'spin' over issues of education policy, with 'divide et impera'; the former can be understood as discursive tactics of the latter (Gewirtz *et al.*, 2004). In this way, the paradigm amounts to a refusal to read information emerging from the field of power at face value, and instead emphasises the need for multi-layered critical engagement with the stated aims of government policies.

Ideological axes of power

The Western field of power currently comprises, in the simplest of terms, two axes which chart the main opposing ideologies (see Fig. 2). The left vs. right ideological dynamic is widely acknowledged. Yet, it does not operate alone; a similar, yet separate, dichotomy exists spanning authoritarianism and libertarianism on an intersecting axis. This interplay is important to grasp in any discussion of Prevent: the policy emerged under a Labour government (left-leaning 'third way', democratic socialist and neoliberal), and was significantly expanded under a Conservative government (right-leaning, and more overtly neoliberal). Prevent transcends traditional party politics, and thus the left-right ideological axis alone is insufficient to fully comprehend the policy. Reference to the 'second' axis, authoritarian vs. libertarianism, or more specifically security vs liberty, is required.

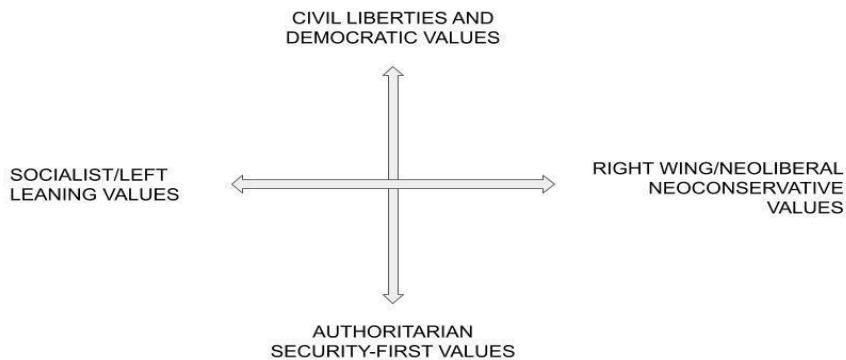


Figure 2. *Ideologies in the field of power*

On the horizontal (ideological left-right) axis, one pole is represented by a neoliberal capitalist outlook. Socialist-democratic values occupy the opposite pole, with an ethos of supporting, rather than privatising or monetising, social and public sectors. The vertical axis represents the oppositional power dynamic between ideologies of libertarianism and of authoritarian control. As the placement of this axis makes clear, authoritarian values do not align solely with either capitalism or socialism. There exists in both camps individuals who are ideologically driven to use power to control, and those who advocate individual freedoms. Indeed, history has shown that an authoritarian left is as dangerous as an authoritarian right. This tension plays out in Prevent in terms of a number of competing concepts with which education professionals must reckon on a daily basis: managerialism vs. autonomy and professionalism; structuring effects vs agency; surveillance vs. right to privacy; restricted speech vs. freedom of speech; restricted liberties vs. civil liberties.

Bourdieu and Foucault

Theories formulated by Bourdieu and Foucault are fundamental to the CReWS model, not least because of their focus on identifying and unpacking power dynamics, and their prominence in the sociological field more generally (Callewaert, 2006; Myles, 2004; Cronin, 1996; Hoy, 1999). While Foucault is known for his ontology of power and archaeological approach in creating a ‘history of the present’ (Foucault, 1975), the idea of using historical research as a means of critical engagement with the present in ways that can be powerfully critical and revealing (Garland, 2014), Bourdieu’s theory of social practices is a theoretical framework that explores the relational dynamics of power in society, encompassing notions of power transference and the maintenance of social order across generations. With his framework, Bourdieu attempts to solve the objective/subjective divide: the opposition between subjectivism and objectivism is ‘ruinous’, he proclaims, due to there being no such thing as a social world either external to individuals’ own practices or inseparable from the knowledge of agents (Bourdieu, 1990, p.25). As a result, he conceptualises the ‘habitus’ as a mediating device between the objective structuring effects of the field and human agency (Davey, 2009; Grenfell and James, 1998). The habitus describes the habits, skills, and dispositions ingrained through our life experiences as the physical embodiment of cultural capital. Bourdieu (1992, p. 53) describes the habitus as a system: ‘a set of interacting elements of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures’. Similarly to Foucault’s notion of historicising the present through archaeology, Bourdieu locates the habitus within a historical context (Reay, 2004) with an ‘individual history’ (Bourdieu, 1993, p.86).

While Bourdieu (1984) argued that the reproduction of power in society is due to structuring effects limiting and shaping agency, Archer (2009) argues for an analytical dualism

that considers structure and agency as distinct and autonomous, and as operating on different timescales. Rather than conflating structure and agency, Archer suggests that the conceptualization and operationalization of *reflexivity* allows for a clear separation between subject and object so that their interplay can be analysed. For Archer reflexivity is defined by an ‘internal dialogue’, which can help to manage dislocations between habitus and field by allowing individuals to project their agency, and is exercised in diverse ways depending on the interplay between their personal subjective beliefs, values and concerns, and the objective social conditions and contexts they are faced with.

For Beck *et al.*, (2003) the current era represents a ‘meta-change’ in society whereby it is arguable that the fundamental distinctions and criteria previously identified with modern society and nation states no longer apply to the same extent, replaced by ‘a host of consequences resulting from the boundary-shattering force of market expansion, legal universalism and technical revolution, a limitless world of transnational capitalism’ (p.2). Sweetman (2003) suggests that the ‘meta-change’ in society outlined above has led to a new era that Beck *et al.* (2003) characterise as ‘reflexive modernity’, involving permanent disruptions of social position due to continual disjunctions between habitus and field. While for Bourdieu the habitus is a durable and relatively stable ‘system of dispositions’, only developing through ‘lasting experience of social position’ (1990, p.131), Sweetman argues that in an era of meta-change, that reflexivity may become habitual as a way of mediating between habitus and a continually changing field, and is thus incorporated into the habitus in the form of the flexible or reflexive habitus (Sweetman, 2003). Beck *et al.*, (2003) go so far as to theorise that this era of reflexive modernization produces ‘a new kind of capitalism, a new kind of labour, a new kind of global order, a new kind of society, a new kind of nature, a new kind of subjectivity, a new kind of

everyday life and a new kind of state' (p.3). Understanding the implications of the rapid pace of change in society is therefore one of the central tasks for the social sciences.

Bourdieu's expansive theorisation of the inter-related suite of concepts—field, habitus, and capital—can only be summarised here, for the sake of brevity. They are, in the main, taken as axiomatic, with only the most important elements discussed when relevant. For the purposes of this research, the education sector can be thought of as a Bourdieusian field made up of a set of sub-fields. For example, primary and secondary education, FE, and HE can all be considered subfields within the education field. Bourdieu's notion of field in the CReWS model allows for Wallerstein's World Systems Theory on a macro level. The education field intersects with other fields in a variety of ways. The education sector, for instance, can be thought of as a field that is hierarchically subordinate to the political field, which has powerful forms of 'meta-capital' across and between all fields (Couldry, 2003). At the same time, the education field is subject to comprehensive neoliberal incursions from the economic field, in a process of 'field capture'. With the Prevent duty, the security field is arguably engaged in a similar process, increasing oversight and control over the education sector for reasons of national security.

Within a Bourdieusian paradigm, the importance of 'relationalism' for any robust study of the Prevent duty becomes clear (Mohr, 2000): the policy is embedded within, and produced by, a field of power with complex, shifting currents linking notionally isolated components. Prevent can only be fully understood as part of this context, as a part of a whole with reference to its relationship to the field of objects, practices, or activities within which it is embedded. The literature review demonstrated, for instance, that Prevent is one expression of a much broader phenomenon: top-down policy-making in an era of marketisation, surveillance capitalism, and securitisation. Thus, Prevent's effects and the impacts thereof are functionally determined in

relation to wider discourses, practices, effects on the ‘field’, matters of professional identity, and so on. For this reason, the research leverages Bourdieusian ‘field analysis’ to situate the effects of counterterrorism measures in education in terms of perceived changes to the ‘habitus’ of agents (education professionals), i.e. the disposition(s) that individuals have developed in relation to Prevent, alongside any associated shifts in their ‘position’ within the ‘field of power’ (Grenfell, 2014). Such shifts include, for example, a new sense of precarity under Prevent, with non-compliance understood as a risk to livelihood, and the loss of autonomy.

Relationality is similarly central to Foucault’s ontology of power, in his conceptualisation of ‘power/knowledge’, i.e. the unbreakable link between power and knowledge, where one (re)produces the other. ‘Power/knowledge’, for Foucault, amounts to a form of social control mechanism wielded by societal institutions whereby values are constructed in multiple and dubious ways. Foucault developed archaeological and genealogical methods which emphasised the role that power plays in society over time, with a focus on the ruptures between ages rather than focusing on each age in a linear sequence. For Foucault, these ruptures are caused by ‘events’ which disturb the extant ‘power/knowledge’ base, leading to a ‘modification in the rules of formation of statements which are accepted as scientifically true’ (Foucault, 1980, p.112) and thereby instantiating a new ‘regime of truth’. Foucauldian ‘archaeology’, in this context, involves an examination of the discourses and artefacts of power from the past in order to understand and write a ‘history of the present’. The terrorist attack of 9/11 represents the Foucauldian ‘event’ which manifested the new ‘regime of truth’ which birthed Prevent, a ‘new normal’ in which the enactment of counterterrorism measures in schools became not just necessary but commonplace. While Foucauldian archaeology seeks to understand and contextualise how artefacts combine and relate, Foucauldian genealogies are attempts to de-

subjugate historical knowledges by focusing on power hierarchies, their origins, and adding context to the meanings of institutional & scientific discourses in societies that form the ‘regimes of truth’ that determine what is determined to be true in any given society. Genealogies thus constitute a historical knowledge of struggles, allowing us to make use of that knowledge in contemporary tactics. Influenced by Nietzsche's notions of perspectivism, and his concept of slave-master morality where morality is relative to subject position, for Foucault (1976), a genealogy is a counter-history which views the development of people and societies through history from the position of the subject, and thus attempts to liberate discourse from power hierarchies. A genealogy locates instances of power/knowledge and the influence that power has had on what is held up as ‘truth’, and attempts to ‘de-subjugate historical knowledges in order to set them free... to enable them to oppose and struggle against the coercion of a unitary, formal, and scientific theoretical discourse (Foucault, 2003, p.10). As a methodology, Foucault insists upon researching, and restoring, marginal discourse, giving voice to those that are often voiceless (Foucault, 1980). This approach was influential in shaping the research, for instance in terms of selecting literature for review that engaged with the Prevent ‘regime of truth’, and in terms of choosing a professionally diverse sample of participants, seeking out marginal voices—with a cross-section of roles and sub-fields in the sector represented—and ensuring that the sample comprised a diversity of attitudes, representing a wide spectrum of opinions towards Prevent.

Foucault’s work further influenced this research in a number of ways. For example, the literature review was conducted with Foucauldian archaeology and genealogy in mind, targeting greater understanding of the historical power dynamics, trajectories and the regime of truth underpinning Prevent and its evolution. Equally, Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA), discussed in more detail in the Data Analysis section below, foregrounds power relationships and

hegemony in the production of discourses of truth. Foucauldian paradigms thus allow for an investigation of Prevent which probes the ways in which top-down sovereign power flows through society via ‘capillary action’, making its presence known and felt in citizens’ daily lives. This includes, for example, the autonomy (or lack thereof) granted to education professionals at the ‘lower’ micro/meso levels of the power hierarchy, and the ways in which this impacts their perceived professional identities.

Bang (2014) maintains that, when analysing power, a theoretical approach combining Foucauldian and Bourdieusian approaches is most productive. Their frameworks are not oppositional but complementary and are strengthened in combined application whereby the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. For Bourdieu, power operates as a hierarchy within the field, shaping the practices and habitus of individuals through forms of capital. On the other hand, Foucault maintains that, through the use of archaeological and genealogical analyses, it becomes possible to discern the workings of power and the formation of ‘knowledge’ via analysing the centralising power effects caused by institutional and scientific discourses to create a ‘history of the present’, and to make use of that knowledge in contemporary tactics of resistance. Analysing educational fields with Bourdieusian theory, it is possible to measure, quantify, and visualise power as it manifests and reproduces itself in the present day on an experiential level. This is complemented by the historical context which emerges in a Foucauldian framework, in which power can be analysed in terms of the history that leads up to the present moment. By consequence, we gain a deeper understanding of the contemporary situation, alongside the ways in which power is distributed across various discourses, institutions, and practices.

The complementarity of Foucauldian and Bourdieusian frameworks is advantageous to the empirical analysis of education professionals and their institutions, by underscoring the ways in which both are embedded in, and arguably produced by, larger socio-historical processes. Foucault provides productive tools for the analysis of power on a historical and macro scale. Yet these tools are perhaps less useful in explaining how individuals operate in their day-to-day life, and how they can resist increasing regulation to retain power and autonomy in their professional lives. This is, however, Bourdieu's strength: his relational framework helps us to understand the micro-level individual in relation to the meso and macro-level fields in which they operate. In this respect, the research at times combines the work of Foucault with Bourdieu, especially where the concepts at hand are interrelated. For example, similarly to Bourdieu's habitus, Foucault's notion of discipline entails 'structure and power that have been impressed on the body forming permanent dispositions' (Eriksen and Nielsen 2001, p.130). More specifically, this research draws on four pairs of interrelated concepts in the theorists' tool kits, as identified by Schlosser (2013): habitus and disciplinary power; ethos and docile bodies; doxa and panopticism; the 'theory of practice' and the 'history of the present'.

The Bourdieusian habitus and Foucauldian disciplinary power both represent a way of ordering and regulating the social without the need for overt 'sovereign'-style power. For both Foucault and Bourdieu, subjectivity is produced on a macro scale, then subsequently internalised by individuals, and finally reproduced to fit into the established order through the reinforcing modes of habitus and discipline. In this study, the dispositions and subject positions (habitus) created by the Prevent disciplinary control measures are identified and explored to better explain the lived realities of education professionals enacting Prevent.

The production of Foucault's 'docile bodies' whereby individuals under systems of constant surveillance and regulation leads to normalization and acceptance of such systems (Foucault, 1975), can be conceptualised as existing within Bourdieu's notion of 'ethos', a term used by Bourdieu, in part, as a field level account of morality (Emmerich, 2016): both involve experiential processes of learning, regimentation, regulation, and discipline. Becoming 'docile' can be contextualised within learning to 'fit' into an institution's ethos. Exploration of participants' rationale for their Prevent-related practices permits insights into how they 'fit' into the meso-level ethos of their institutions. Exploration of the 'dispositions' constituting the habitus of agents can give insights into how external regulation and agents' inner ethos combine and manifest in practice. In terms of Prevent, these two concepts relate to individuals' agency and the autonomy with which they are empowered (or coerced to acquiesce) in terms of policy enactment by the macro-level ethos of the field of power, mediated through the meso-level institutional ethos, for example through Prevent training.

Bourdieu (1977, p.164) uses the term 'doxa' to denote that which is taken for granted in any particular society, the experiential process by which 'the natural and social world appears as self-evident'. Bourdieusian doxa and Foucauldian panopticism are linked in that both are mechanisms of power, or political technologies, that conceptualise individuals as being to some extent complicit in the internalisation of the limits that constrain them (Schlosser, 2013). In Foucauldian terms, the watcher (i.e. the education professional tasked with policy enforcement and the surveillance of students) is simultaneously being watched under the Prevent duty. In Bourdieusian terms, the subject accepts this situation as common-sense doxa, necessary for the protection of students and society from the threat of terrorism. In this way, these paired concepts

allow for the exploration of the extent to which panopticism has become doxic in the education sector.

The Bourdieusian theory of social practices involves using a self-reflexive methodology that mirrors aspects of Foucault's 'history of the present' (Foucault, 1975). For Bourdieu the habitus is not deterministic, when a subject's habitus does not 'fit' a field's positions they become more reflexive: "the habitus, like every 'art of inventing' is what makes it possible to produce an infinite number of practices that are relatively unpredictable, even if they are limited in their diversity" (Bourdieu 1992, p.63). The individual researcher must acknowledge that their subjectivity is, in part, constructed and contextualised by historical processes. The interplay between the past and the present, evident in the evolutionary trajectory of discourse, helps to reveal the historical contexts that are often invisible, yet fundamentally structure the present. These critical paradigms are re-considered in light of the study's findings in Chapter 5.

The description of the embryonic CReWS theoretical model above provides an insight into the thinking behind the research design and outcomes, and it must be noted that while the selection of texts in the literature review was influenced by the macro dimension of the model, that the 'applied' CReWS model engages primarily with the micro/meso dimensions experienced by participants at their levels.

Chapter 3b: Methodology Part 2: The Research Approach, Methods and Design

Research Approach

The drivers for this research originate in the researcher's background, notably his formative experiences in Africa (as detailed in the Introduction), and his wide-ranging professional career in the education sector as a lecturer in FE and HE, and a teacher in primary and secondary education. These experiences, taken as a whole, can be considered as a form of limited observational fieldwork. During his tenure in the education sector, for example, the researcher began to discern the often-subtle effects of Prevent on his own educational practice and professional identity, and observed the policy's impact on colleagues, students, and the broader field. This was instrumental in terms of the formulation of a research project as a means to go beyond the researcher's own circumstances and experiences in order to understand the effects of the Prevent duty more generally.

Unofficial 'fieldwork' was further supplemented by the researcher's experiences during the writing of his professional doctorate, in which he worked as a supply teacher in over fifty schools local to the Bristol and Bath area—the area targeted for in-depth qualitative study in the present study. Prevent was a routine conversation topic, discussed by colleagues and students in a variety of circumstances. For example, colleagues shared their opinions of the policy after Prevent training events, in staff-room discussions of Prevent-related incidents, and in social time

away from work, and thus this informal ‘fieldwork’ is ongoing, shedding light especially on the diversity of institutional ‘takes’ on policy enactment, dependent on different cultures and situational contexts (Braun *et al.*, 2010). The researcher’s professional experiential knowledge thus remains critical in terms of informing this research project, from its design and execution to the analysis and interpretation of findings.

The researcher’s own experiences catalysed the project, signposting the need for further study in the area that could take account of, or critically reflect upon, his observations in education institutions, which seemed to be mostly absent from the discourse. Such experiential knowledge generated macro-level research questions and aims, which formed the basis for both analysing the literature and formulating methods to generate the data, the online survey and semi-structured interviews. The latter would provide an empirical evidence base by which to test the researcher’s hypotheses and serve to contextualise his own perceptions of Prevent.

The literature review was designed in part as a way of exploring the macro dimensions of Prevent in line with the CReWS model. Transparency about the review process enables the reader to assess the quality and trustworthiness of the findings (Snyder, 2019), and thus it will be sketched briefly here, with further detail provided in the Data Analysis section below. A thematic analysis (TA) technique was used as a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns in the literature in the form of themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This allowed for the detection of recurrent, and hence noteworthy, theoretical perspectives and criticisms related to Prevent, and thereby for the identification of necessary components for the development of an appropriate theoretical framework (Ward *et al.*, 2009). The literature review was designed to acknowledge the historical and ideological context(s) of the Prevent policy, to help to map the broad field of research, and to synthesise knowledge across disciplines, ultimately creating an agenda not just

for the present study, but also for further research (Snyder, 2019). The researcher established a corpus for the review using a critical, exploratory, cross-disciplinary approach. This was necessitated by the policy's disciplinary diversity in research terms: the Prevent mandate operates across numerous sectors; the policy itself is multi-faceted, combining education with crime prevention, and more; and literature on the policy in the education-research field is sorely limited at present.

A self-reflexive approach was taken to the process of designing the review and thus the method for collecting literature, influencing the broader study in an iterative fashion. The literature review was designed not just to advance knowledge but also to support the development of an appropriate conceptual model, and was thus fundamental to the formulation of the CReWS model (Snyder, 2019; Torraco, 2005; Baumeister and Leary, 1997). Similarly, the literature review identified knowledge gaps in the existing literature in an evolving area of a policy that, at time of writing, is itself under review by the government. There was a clear deficit of empirical data related to the perceptions and experiences of individuals tasked with enacting Prevent, i.e. those at the 'coal face' of the education sector.

Education professionals are not sufficiently represented at the policy-making table (Robert, 2017; Tabachnick and Zeichner, 1984). Individuals with hands-on experience and sector-based professional expertise are not afforded a substantive role in the creation and writing of education-policy texts (Knapp *et al.*, 1998). This is especially the case for Prevent, a policy which emerged from the security field and was met with widespread outcry from education professionals upon its application to the education sector. According to Ball (1993), policy enactment can be understood in terms of both 'discourse' and 'text'. When policy is regarded as 'discourse', education professionals are policy subjects; when policy is regarded as 'text',

individuals become policy actors (Ball, 2003). This research is grounded in the understanding of Prevent as both ‘discourse’ and ‘text’, often occupying these classifications simultaneously. As such, it is taken as axiomatic that education professionals can and do mediate policy, at times conforming to, or even ‘pace setting’, policymakers’ desired outcomes (Glewwe *et al.*, 2003), and at times resisting, or ‘foot-dragging’, aspects of policy (Datnow, 1998). Policy is understood in terms of being a sociocultural artefact (Shore and Wright, 1997): the meaning and form of policy is, in some ways, a negotiation between the actors involved. Education professionals take an active role in the interpretation of Prevent policy discourse. Most of the education professionals in this study engage with their local communities and the various stakeholders in the education process. In this way, they correspond to Lipsky’s (1980) definition of the ‘street-level bureaucrat’, empowered to use their own discretion in the application of policy to the point where ‘implementation’ may not be consistent with policymakers’ intentions. This study considers education institutions to be important sites for the negotiation of policy discourse, spaces for ‘doing policy’ (Ball, 2008) which facilitate the transformation of education professionals into ‘policy protagonists’ (Robert, 2017).

The education professionals in the study are therefore considered to be both policy subjects and policy actors in the education sector (Ball, 2008), and, to some extent, partners in the research at hand. In this way, this study seeks to decentralise knowledge-creation beyond traditional venues and disrupt epistemological hierarchies, incorporating and uplifting the voices of those that have previously been marginalised, or neglected, in research and by policymakers (Bottles, 2011; Brown, 1998; Wallerstein and Duran, 2010). Research participants were selected from a relatively wide variety of roles in the sector which, in Foucauldian terms, allows insights into a discourse of the marginal (Spivak 1988; Foucault 1980), thereby providing informed,

alternative perspectives to the official Prevent discourse based on first-person, hands-on experience. The researcher directly quotes from interview transcripts in Chapter 4's presentation of research findings, to 'give voice' to participants, many of whom may not ordinarily participate in public debates (Kvale, 2006).

Research Methods and Design

The following sections outline the research methods used to collect, analyse, and interpret the data. A mixed-method approach combining mainly qualitative with limited quantitative research (Johnson and Turner, 2003) was determined to be most appropriate to evaluate education professionals' views of the Prevent duty and their reported enactment practices. This comprised an online survey, followed up by in-depth in-person interviews. Both the survey and interviews were piloted on a smaller scale to evaluate and improve design (Rattray and Jones, 2007, p.237).

Survey

Probability sampling was used for the survey, supported by convenience and snowball sampling when appropriate. Although ideally there would be a random chance of any of the target population answering the questionnaire (Kish, 1965, p.20), in practice certain individuals are more or less likely to participate depending on personality types, viewpoint, interest in the topic, and so on. A link to the survey was sent directly to educational professionals from schools, colleges, and universities through the researcher's existing professional networks. 'Snowball'-style recommendations from these professionals' own networks were also elicited. The survey

was shared in the bulletin of a local multi-educational trust in an effort to gain a wide spectrum of viewpoints and proactively combat any issues with probability sampling (Søgaard *et al.*, 2004, p.3). This includes self-selection bias, whereby respondents with strong negative feelings regarding Prevent may be more motivated to participate in this research, thereby leading to potentially unreliable outcomes (Bethlehem, 2010, p.161). The nature of the online survey meant it was open to anyone who had the link. A question on location allowed for the identification of the target sample for interviews: educational professionals working in the Bristol and Bath areas, representing a wide range of roles and sub-fields in the sector. Recruitment resulted in a sample size of 75 education professionals, of which 49.4% worked in the Bath and Bristol regions. Eighteen of the respondents who met the geographic criteria of the study indicated they would be interested in a follow-up interview, resulting in an interview sample of n=17 (with one having moved out of the area).

The survey allowed for the measurement of participants' knowledge, attitudes, emotion, cognition, intention, and behaviour (Rattray and Jones, 2007, p.235). Closed questions commonly restrict the depth of participant response (Bowling, 1997), and thus potentially diminish the validity of the resultant data. Such questions were eschewed in favour of open questions and Likert-type scales, in order to better understand participants' attitudes, opinions, and practices in their own terms, or as close to this as possible (Burns and Grove, 1997).

Participants were asked to confirm having read the information sheet (supplied electronically), and give their informed consent, as a condition of entry to the survey. Participants were then asked to provide basic identifiable information: their work contact details, and their name. This information was used to ensure 'clean' data as far as practical, and all data was ultimately anonymised. Nevertheless, the request may have deterred some prospective

participants from completing the survey. The collection of demographic data was kept to a minimum for a variety of reasons: to keep the focus on the main research questions; to minimise any potential security issues; and to obviate challenges posed by linking participants to contested forms of classification (Savage, 2008). Participants were next asked to supply information on their sub-sector of employment (see Fig. 3), the nature of their role (see Fig. 4), and their location, with the latter information used primarily to help establish the interview sample.

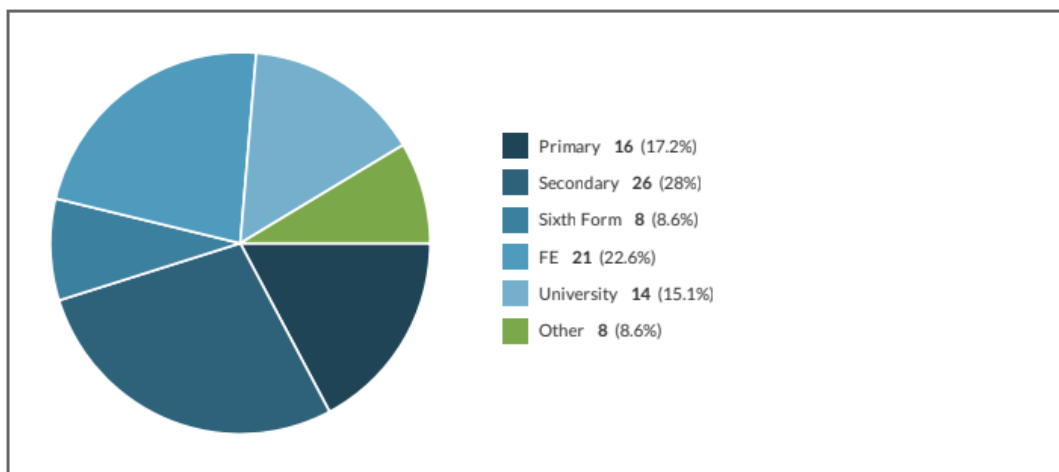


Figure 3. Survey sample breakdown: respondents' educational institutions (sub-sector of employment)*

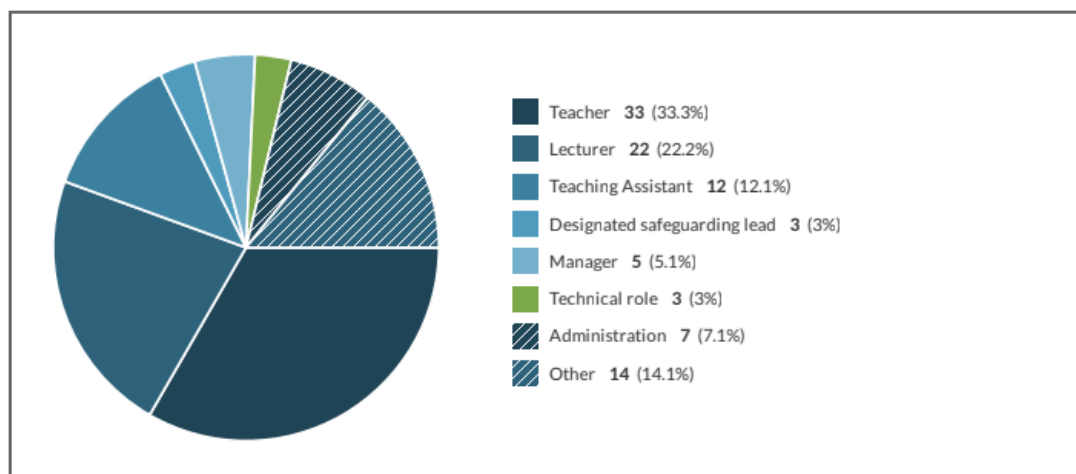


Figure 4. Survey sample breakdown: respondents' professional role*

**this was a multiple-choice question with some respondents working in multiple institutions/roles*

Whilst data was collected on participants' 'home' sector within the field, it was not determined to be appropriate for this study to focus on a single sector for a number of reasons. Firstly, the researcher's own professional experience of employment across the entire sector—with previous roles in primary, secondary, FE, and HE—represents, in some sense, the fieldwork which motivated the study, and in which it is grounded. Secondly, given the lack of empirical research in the area, especially in terms of Prevent's post-2015 revisions, gaining a holistic overview of Prevent's impact upon the sector as a whole was deemed preferable. Moreover, there is value in getting a 'big picture' perspective to be able to form a stratified 'overview' of the effects of the policy at a sector-wide level. This macro-level research offers a starting point upon which further research can build, offering preliminary findings which can be further nuanced by more granular studies in future.

Responses to survey questions (see chapter 4) gave some insight into the views broadly held by education professionals, and into the formal structures and systems within which the

participants operate in their professional lives. Relatively little was uncovered, however, in terms of the nuances of the lived experiences of policy enactment. Therefore, the survey was followed up with semi-structured interviews, incorporating questions which allowed respondents to reflect on their opinions and experiences of the Prevent duty in greater detail.

Semi-structured interviews: gaining insights into professional identity

Semi-structured one-to-one interviews were felt to be the best way to obtain rich data from which to analyse education professionals' perceptions and experiences of enacting Prevent, and to allow a focus on issues including reflexivity, risk, and identity (Waller, 2002a). Prospective interview participants who indicated they were interested in a follow up interview were contacted via the email address they supplied when completing the survey. Participants were emailed an information sheet (see Appendix 1) covering the aims of the research to read in their own time and supplied with a physical copy directly before the interview to re-read and retain for their own records. After being given the opportunity to fully read and digest the information, participants were asked to sign a consent form (see Appendix 2). No interview data was collected prior to the consent forms being signed. A copy of the signed consent form was retained by the researcher.

Seventeen individuals were interviewed in the study, with the sample representing ten institutions in total. Convenience sampling is widely used in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information-rich cases related to the phenomenon of interest (Etikan *et al.*, 2016). By restricting the interview sample size to less than twenty, it was possible to create a convenience sample that was an appropriate size for a single researcher using a

qualitative approach to data collection. The researcher's background working across institutions in the primary, secondary, FE and HE sectors in the local areas similarly supported effective convenience sampling.

All interviewees were drawn from the researcher's local area, broadly understood as the South West of England. This geographical specificity made sense for a variety of reasons. The study was limited by compressed timescales and minimal financial resources (Minichiello *et al.*, 2008), and thus geographical proximity ensured access. At the same time, a relatively narrow geographic focus maximises the validity of research findings to the given region(s), of particular importance in a study with a small sample. Selecting a sample of interview participants from Bath and Bristol, two main urban areas rather than just one, alongside interviewing individuals from a range of providers in all sub-sectors, allowed for greater anonymity. This permitted a wider exploration of the 'Prevent' experience across the sector, rather than privileging responses to a particular set of institutions in one sub-sector.

Table 1 below presents a breakdown of the interview sample, including: participants' home institution, professional role(s), experience (years) in the sector, and any supplementary Prevent-related duties above and beyond mandatory obligations. All interviewees have been anonymised by using a lettering system from A to Q, with individuals randomly assigned pronouns. The ten different institutions in which participants were employed have been classified in broad terms to give an indication as to the type of their place of employment without identifying them, or providing information that may risk the anonymity of participants and their institutions. Participants' years of experience in the sector have been approximated for the same reason. None of the institutions in the study were in Prevent priority areas (PPAs), those deemed to have higher levels of risk of radicalisation, which represents a limitation to the study's

findings, but was also regarded as an opportunity to unearth insights into how the policy is playing out in an area of the country which like most areas is relatively untroubled by terrorism. All schools in the study (by chance outcome) were academies, i.e. independent state-funded schools. This was not a deliberate choice and unsuccessful efforts were made to try and gain representation from the private sector and non-academised state schools.

The survey asked if respondents were willing to be contacted again, to participate in the interviews which took place between May 2019 and January 2020. Consenting participants (n=17) who worked within the targeted geographic region were then contacted and were asked to identify an appropriate location in their workplace as a venue for the interview that allowed for sufficient privacy, such as a quiet classroom or office. Deferring to participants in terms of location choice allowed them to exercise a measure of control, and hopefully helped make them feel more comfortable (Malta, 2009; Minichiello, Aroni, and Hays, 2008; Opdenakker, 2006).

Interviews were audio-recorded, with notes taken as an aide memoire. Notes were limited in scope, so as to minimise potential distractions and to mitigate any sense of the researcher as intrusive (Knox and Burkard, 2009). Care was taken with the questioning to ensure participants were not asked or encouraged to disclose anything that they were not fully comfortable with sharing. Participants were further reassured that they would be able to end the interview at any point, and without explanation.

Table 1. Sample breakdown: interview participants (n=17)

Participant	Institution	Role(s)	Experience (Years)	Notable Extra Prevent Responsibilities
A	Primary school	Head teacher	30+	Designated safeguarding lead
B	FE	Lecturer	5-10	N/A
C	HE	Lecturer	10-15	N/A
D	FE and HE	Lecturer; Teacher trainer	20+	N/A
E	FE	Tutor; Technician	10-15	N/A
F	Secondary school	Attendance officer	20+	N/A
G	University Student Union	Permanent staff	5-10	Sits on University's Prevent panel
H	HE	Manager	15-20	Prevent trainer
I	Secondary school	Teacher	15-20	N/A
J	Secondary school	Teacher; Head of Key Stage 4	15-20	N/A
K	Secondary school	Head teacher	15-20	Designated safeguarding lead
L	Secondary school	Teacher	5-10	N/A
M	FE	Lecturer	5-10	N/A
N	University Student Union	Permanent staff	10-15	Sits on University's Prevent panel
O	Secondary school	Designated safeguarding lead (DSL)	20+	Prevent trainer of trainers
P	HE	Lecturer; Course leader	10-15	N/A
Q	Secondary school	Teacher	5-10	N/A

Semi-structured, one-to-one interviews are a primary method for qualitative research (Doody and Noonan, 2013; Schultze and Avital, 2011), and have been used effectively to reveal insights into the discursive struggles through which individual members of a profession manage and renegotiate their professional identity on a daily basis (Agha 1995; 2007; Bottero, 2010). Professional identities arguably only become coherent, or fully legible, in discourses of the self because they are contingent, consciously desired, dynamically constituted, and reconstituted (Bottero, 2010; Clarke *et al.* 2009). They are constructed iteratively (Agha, 1995; 2007), partly as a response to ‘the need for legitimating one’s presence while remaining other-oriented’ (Sarangi, 2010a, p.30). Interviewees’ testimony, then, may offer insights into the ways in which professional identity is actively constructed and contingent on workplace contexts, despite the routine categorisation of professional identity as relatively stable.

Counter-terrorism and counter-extremism are sensitive, highly charged areas of investigation. Participation in such research poses substantive security concerns for individuals. For this reason, privacy was privileged, and thus one-on-one interviews were deemed to be more appropriate than a more ‘public’ interview setting, such as a focus group. This individual-focused approach afforded participants a level of privacy, thereby eliciting more frank, authentic responses, offering the researcher a deeper understanding of the sensitive issues at hand and leading to more reliable research findings. Interviews facilitate direct interaction between researcher and participants (Kazmer and Xie, 2008, p.258) and generally allow researchers greater insight into participants’ perspectives than is possible through a survey alone (Patton, 2002, p.341). This is the case with the present study. Similarly, interviews allow researchers to gain insights into participants’ subjective viewpoints and gather relatively nuanced, in-depth perceptions on issues relevant to the study (Flick, 2009). Interviewees were thus encouraged to

discuss subjects related to the Prevent duty— their own perceptions, experiences, meanings, and ultimately the ‘reality’ of the policy for them—on their own terms (Choak, 2012), supported by the flexibility of the semi-structured interview format. Interviewees were also given the opportunity to check transcripts for accuracy, in order to retain their confidence and support authentic disclosures without fear of being misunderstood or misrepresented. A degree of follow-up was possible, with participants providing clarification on particular points or inaudible moments on the recordings when necessary, thus strengthening the reliability of the data.

Interviewees’ testimonies provided a rich dataset, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 4, containing material not just on individual’s experiences and their work lives, but also emergent patterns and themes arising from a triangulation of data, thereby allowing the synthesis of knowledge (Warren, 2002, p.85). In particular, the interview format allowed an exploration regarding the complexity of Prevent enactment in the education field, a mandate that is informed by discourses, assumptions, and ideas drawn from other fields (as discussed above), and society at large (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This offered insight into how education professionals legitimate and validate their Prevent-enforced roles (Sarangi, 2010).

Recording, verification, and bias

The interview method is open to criticism on the grounds of its inherent subjectivity. It must be acknowledged that some bias may be present in this research. Nevertheless, every effort was made to ensure that the recording of data, and its subsequent analysis, was conducted in an objective manner. The researcher was mindful, for example, of ‘interaction effects’ (Doody and Noonan, 2013), including the possibility of participants seeking to please the researcher with

‘acceptable’ answers (Wilson *et al.*, 1998, p.315) shaped to fit the perceived purpose of the research, its ‘demand characteristics’ (Orne, 2009, p.110). Care was taken to have neutral interactions with participants, and, crucially, the research(er) adopted a neutral position towards Prevent at all stages, including in the information sheet (see Appendix 1), consent form (see Appendix 2), and the interviews themselves. This research is controversial and sensitive in terms of its topic; participation in the study may have significantly impacted those who chose to take part (Sudman and Bradburn, 1974, p.291), with the potential for added anxiety and stress associated with individuals potentially being flagged as policy critics in their institutions. At the same time, there is the possibility for self-selection bias within the sample, leading to the over-representation of individuals motivated to spend time and intellectual resources sharing critical opinions. The researcher attempted to mitigate respondent bias in the interview sample by reference to responses in the survey: survey-takers with a broad spectrum of opinions and feelings regarding Prevent that met the willingness to be interviewed eligibility criterion were identified and then interviewed, including individuals who indicated a range of opinions with regard to support for Prevent and their overall comfort with enacting the policy.

The exploratory and open nature of semi-structured interviews allowed participants to interpret their own experiences and values. The subjectivity inherent in this approach is, however, vulnerable to bias (Walsham, 1995); as such, the research is neither ‘value-free’ nor repeatable. The limitations of the research in terms of time available and its economic viability necessitated using a convenience sampling method. As noted above, care was nevertheless taken to select participants spanning a range of positions towards Prevent in order to gain as full an understanding as possible. The survey results were broadly in line with similar nationwide surveys of education professionals’ views of Prevent, such as the study conducted by Busher *et*

al. (2017) meaning that while there might be bias, given the data's similarities to other studies' findings, we can be reasonably confident of its validity.

The researcher recognises his own bias, rooted in his specific subject position, and the impact it may have on the present research. The researcher hopes to mitigate this bias as far as is possible by making visible the implicit assumptions, interests, and objectives concerning the research, as above, and by acknowledging his personal, philosophical, and political perspectives in the thesis' Introduction and in reflexive comments where appropriate throughout (Pyett, 2003, p.1171).

Data Analysis

Data analysis involved a hybrid approach, combining deductive and inductive reasoning as 'complementary processes' (Gravetter and Forzano, 2015, p.46), with an open attitude towards new theories emerging from the raw data. This corresponds to the critical-realist analytical method, which encourages the use of retrodution, or abductive reasoning, which entails the combination of deductive and inductive modes of inquiry and theorising (Denzin, 1978).

Abduction allows for the reconceptualisation of a phenomenon from different angles while retrodution explicitly acknowledges the position of the researcher and the processes deployed when using intellectual, theoretical, and experiential knowledge to develop useful explanations for observed facts.

Miller and Crabtree (1992) advocate for multiple approaches to the description, organisation, and interpretation of data, in what they term a 'subjective/objective dance toward

contextual truth' (p.13). They stress the importance of corroborating and validating the data to ensure accurate representation of participants' accounts. Accordingly, raw data from the survey and interview transcripts were systematically organised and reviewed in detail as a starting point. The data was first grouped according to the research questions (Table 3), and the themes identified in the literature review. Interview responses were reviewed iteratively to identify data relevant to the research questions and to look for insights and patterns. This data was coded using NVivo, a qualitative analysis software that facilitated the identification of themes, sub-themes, and discourse strands, and allowed the researcher to gather similar participant responses together for comparative interrogation (Taylor and Ussher, 2001; Potter and Wetherell, 1987). By becoming familiar with the data, and working through the transcriptions over multiple iterations—initially using closed coding and then subsequently open coding—it was possible to identify common responses, unexpected or rare viewpoints, and emerging sub-themes. This supported the creation of a typology of education professionals' policy work and policy positions towards Prevent.

For the qualitative data, thematic analysis (TA) was the preferred tool. TA is a 'neutral' method for identifying themes in qualitative data (Dapkus, 1985). It is 'open' in that it allows for the incorporation of other qualitative approaches (Willig, 2013), such as critical discourse analysis (CDA) and Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA). TA fits thus into the critical-realist paradigm as an approach that allows theoretical flexibility (Clarke and Braun, 2013), which can help to bridge the quantitative (positivist) and qualitative (interpretative) divide (Boyatzis, 1998). TA was useful in pinpointing, examining, and recording of patterns and themes within the data.

TA is a fairly value-free data analysis tool, allowing for the use of a variety of theoretical frameworks in the process of data coding and interpretation, and the identification of themes in

qualitative data. The raw data was coded line by line using an inductive-deductive process (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Data in the present study was coded along two axes: data-driven codes arising in the empirical study were applied, alongside theory-driven ones based on the thematic framework developed during the researcher's own fieldwork and the literature review. In this way, analysis of the raw data from the survey and interview transcripts progressed towards the identification of overarching themes that captured and contextualised the perceptions and experiences of Prevent as described by education professionals in the study.

Aspects of critical discourse analysis (CDA) were useful in analysing the qualitative data in relation to concepts such as power, ideology, and autonomy, and were especially relevant when framing the themes in relation to the ideologies at play. CDA draws from a wide range of critical social theories—including those formulated by Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser, Jürgen Habermas, Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu—in order to examine ideologies and power relations (Fairclough, 2013), without being beholden to any singular theoretical paradigm, which could skew analyses. Using CDA, then, meant that the data was not analysed in isolation, or with an overly narrow critical lens. Rather, data was considered as part of the institutional and discursive practices in which, and by which, it was produced, and in relation to discourses in the wider social sphere.

Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) is a method for the exploration of language and social practices in terms of power relationships. FDA fits into the critical-realist meta-paradigm of this study as it allows for the identification of unseen and hidden mechanisms, for example those that reproduce power, and can thus help to account for the political implications of discourse (Wooffitt, 2005). Foucault (1969, p.54) uses the term 'discourse' to mark the knowledge and meanings generated by a social system which produces 'practices that

systematically form the objects of which they speak'. Discourse sets out permissible subject positions, and then serves to compel individuals to adopt them. In this context, Prevent arguably compels education professionals into a subject position endowed with authoritarian powers, wherein they are expected to spend increasing time and energy on surveillance as part of their new role; students are forced to adopt a 'surveilled' subject position, with reduced power.

FDA was crucial in the formulation of a new typology of education professionals' responses to the Prevent duty, in terms of the dispositions and subject positions adopted, alongside the strategies used by individuals to mitigate any discomfort linked to policy enactment and associated ontological ruptures. There are a range of typologies that seek to conceptualise academic identity in the existing literature (Lam, 2010; Whitchurch, 2008; 2009; Fanghanel, 2007; Barry *et al.*, 2006). None are sufficient, however, in terms of education professionals' identities under Prevent. More specifically, education professionals situated themselves as 'both receivers and agents of policy' in the empirical data (Saunders, 1987, p.108). Ball, Maguire, Braun, and Hoskins (2011a) identify a typology of 'policy actors' with regard to 'policy enactment', categorising a variety of roles, responses, and actions adopted by individuals during processes of policy 'interpretation' and 'translation'. This typology, summarised in Table 2, provided the most promising starting point for data analysis in terms of classifying education professionals' activities and behaviours as policy work, and thereby drawing out the ways in which Prevent enactment can lead to both disenfranchisement and empowerment. Although it will be referred to throughout, ultimately, however, Ball *et al.*'s typology proved insufficient to fully account for the data, leading to the formulation of a new typology, detailed in Chapters 4 and 5 (Tables 4-6).

Table 2. Ball et al.'s (2011a, p.626) typology of policy actors

Policy actor	Policy work
Narrator	Interpretation, selection, and enforcement of meaning(s)
Entrepreneur	Advocacy, creativity, and integration
Outsider	Entrepreneurship, partnership, and monitoring
Transactor	Accounting, reporting, monitoring/supporting, and facilitating
Enthusiast	Investment, creativity, satisfaction, and career
Translator	Production of texts, artefacts, and events
Critic	Union representatives: monitoring of management, maintaining counter-discourses
Receiver	Coping, defending, and dependency

Research Questions and Analytical Approach

Research questions were formulated to narrow the research's diffuse overarching objectives and purposes into specific and targeted queries (Johnson and Christensen, 2004). These are presented in Table 3 below. The 'applied' CReWS theoretical model was used to engage with the data in terms of the micro/meso dimensions of the model as it is not within the scope of the thesis to explore the macro aspects on an empirical level. Perceptions of the macro level however are evident in the participant data especially in terms of some of their perceptions of the justifications and rationale for Prevent and for example the construction of terrorism as an ever-present problem requiring a solution in the discourse.

Table 3. *Research Questions (RQ) 1–9*

Research Question (RQ)	
RQ1	What are education professionals’ perceptions and experiences of Prevent training?
RQ2a	What are education professionals’ perceptions of Prevent?
RQ2b	What are education professionals’ perceptions of fundamental British values (FBV)?
RQ3	In which ways (if any) has the Prevent duty changed the way education professionals interact with learners?
RQ4	What is the effect of Prevent on academic freedoms, freedom of speech generally, and discourse in the public sphere?
RQ5	What is the effect of Prevent on the autonomy of education professionals?
RQ6	What are the impacts of Prevent on the professional identities of education professionals?
RQ7a	What (if any) are the negative aspects of Prevent?
RQ7b	To what extent is Prevent seen as counterproductive?
RQ8	How do education professionals position themselves with regards to Prevent?
RQ9a	What strategies do education professionals use in terms of Prevent policy enactment?
RQ9b	How do education professionals overcome any discomfort associated with the enactment of Prevent in practice?
RQ9c	What strategies do education professionals use to mitigate against any potential negative effects related to enactment of Prevent?

Reliability, Validity, and Trustworthiness of Results

The trustworthiness of research is conventionally discussed in terms of validity and reliability (Seale, 1999). The trustworthiness of this predominantly qualitative research project is of central importance in all analyses, given the study’s findings are dependent on the perceptions and experiences volunteered by the participants. The empirical element of the research was based on participants’ subjective sense-making, in particular how they perceive and recount their own experiences. In a very real sense, then, the trustworthiness of the research lies in the

trustworthiness of the participants as reliable narrators. In terms of reliability and validity, the interpretation of participant responses is critical. Providing participants with the opportunity to correct transcription mistakes and to clarify any unclear areas strengthens the trustworthiness of these interpretations. Although the data was analysed with an attempt at objectivity, it is difficult to make claims for complete objectivity.

In social research, ‘triangulation’ refers to the observation of the research issue at hand from multiple perspectives to thereby improve the findings’ validity (Simons, 2009; Sale, *et al.*, 2002). Forms of triangulation were utilised in the present study to help generate and strengthen evidence. For example, data was drawn from different sources, including participants working across a range of roles and institutions in different sub-sectors of the education field.

Triangulation of theories is implicit in the CReWS model, as an approach to data analysis which privileges multiple perspectives, hypotheses, and theories to gain a more complete understanding of a given topic, experience, or phenomenon (Denzin, 1970). Denzin (1978, p.297) suggests, for instance, that a variety of theoretical points of views should be triangulated and considered in parallel, to assess their ‘utility and power’. Following the CReWS model, this research utilised a variety of theoretical frameworks, as summarised above, at times in parallel and at times in combination. This form of methodological triangulation can involve a process of playing each methodological approach off against the other in an attempt to maximise the findings’ validity (Denzin, 1978, p.304).

Participants were informed that contributions would be anonymised and that their personal data would be destroyed at the end of the study. With such provisions, the researcher aimed to reassure participants that their participation would not put them in harm’s way, and to ensure the internal consistency, credibility, and reliability of the data collected from the semi-

structured interviews. However, it must be acknowledged that participants may not be objective in terms of the neutrality of their values and may have had specific motivation for offering a particular viewpoint. Criticism could, for example, be rooted in an attempt to reduce the perceived workload and stress associated with enacting Prevent. When making judgments as to the internal validity of a piece of research, Miles and Huberman (1994) ask, ‘Do the findings of the study make sense? Are they credible to the people we study and to our readers? Do we have an authentic portrait of what we were looking at?’ (p.278). The researcher contends that these questions can all be answered in the affirmative, and thus that the present study possesses a substantive measure of internal validity. Nonetheless, the study’s limitations, such as its relatively small sample size and its constrained geographic focus, alongside the participants’ and researcher’s own biases, means that its findings cannot be classified as representing the wider national and international picture. Without making claims to the results’ generalisability, the findings, as set out in Chapter 4, nevertheless provide valuable exploratory insights into the attitudes of a range of education professionals towards a highly contentious policy—and thus hopefully another starting point for larger, nationwide studies in the future.

Ethical Research Practices

The research was prompted in part by an awareness of the potential ethical dilemmas caused by the latest iteration of the Prevent duty, particularly in the introduction of increased monitoring responsibilities for education professionals tasked with surveillance of students in the pre-crime space that Prevent functionally establishes (Goldberg *et al.*, 2017, pp.208–11). Ethics have thus been centred throughout the research process, from its earliest inception onwards. There were a

variety of ethical issues associated with this study that needed to be analysed prior to the data-collection phase, especially as the research lies within a sensitive area and thus exposes participants to potential risk if for example they were to disclose non-compliance and it came to the attention of their institutions.

Ethical consciousness, including a high standard of ethics and ethical practice in the conceptualisation and conduct of educational research, is required to ensure all participants are treated with respect and protected from any potential risks associated with their participation in the study (Payne and Payne, 2004, p.66). Key ethical issues arising in qualitative studies such as the present research include: the nature, and influence, of the relationship between the researcher and participants; the influence of the researcher's subjectivity upon research design and interpretations of data (Ramos, 1989). Ethical considerations included full anonymity and neutral interactions with participants, full informed consent granted, participants allowed to withdraw at any time without stating a reason, and participants' control over interview location and privacy during the interviews themselves. The safety and wellbeing of the participants was the primary concern throughout. Ensuring that each participant was given a voice was another priority, and thus the findings and analysis chapter is a relatively long one.

It is essential to reflect critically on the researcher's own multiple positionalities (Hopkins, 2007; Kobayashi, 2003; Mohammad, 2001; Anderson, 1998)—for example, as a teacher, lecturer, head of department, researcher, member of the public, and citizen/taxpayer—to ensure ethical research practices. The researcher's own ethical stance, in terms of its relevance to the present study, is consonant with critical pedagogy (McLaren, 2015; Kincheloe, 2008; Giroux, 1997; Freire, 1996): a key purpose of education is to contribute to the development of a more socially just world (Kincheloe, 2004; Itin, 1999). These subject positions may influence all

aspects of the research process (Skelton, 2008). As such, it was important to adhere to a range of external ethical guidelines throughout the research process (Hopkins, 2007). This includes, for example, the guidelines provided by the researcher's home institution, the University of the West of England (UWE), and broader disciplinary standards, as set out in Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (BERA) (2018). After a robust formal vetting process, the study received approval from UWE's Faculty Research Ethics Committee, signalling its compliance with all necessary protocols, including right to privacy, anonymization, secure data collection and data storage, consent, transparency, right to withdraw and protection from harm arising from participation in the research. The research was conducted within the approved framework throughout its duration and the researcher reports no conflicts of interest.

This research seeks to provide valuable insights into Prevent's problematic aspects. Yet it has been designed to offer a balanced, as opposed to one-sided, perspective on the reality of the situation, through first-hand accounts of education professionals. The project engages critically with the policy to draw out perceptions about Prevent, both positive and negative, on the understanding that the primary intent of the policy is the prevention of radicalisation and terrorist violence—a worthy goal. The following chapter presents research findings from the survey and interviews, demonstrating that all involved in the study, the researcher and participants alike, found common ground in a shared conviction of the importance of the ethical and effective protection of students from the harms of radicalisation and terrorism as becomes clear in the following chapter's presentation of research findings.

Chapter 4: Findings and Analysis

This chapter presents and analyses the data collected during this study, from both the survey and seventeen interviews conducted between May 2019 and January 2020. The *Critical Realist World Systems* (CReWS) Model is used as a framework for data analysis. Research questions (RQ) 1–7 (RQ1–RQ7) foreground much of the raw data, which allows for findings in terms of RQ8–RQ9 where participant’s policy positions and enactment strategies are explored. Many of the RQs intersect and cannot be answered in isolation, so whilst sections focus primarily on answering the question at hand with specific survey questions, the macro-level findings – a combination of all sections – must be considered for the full picture. Parenthetical references to RQs—e.g. ‘(RQ1)’—provide cross-references to the data presented in other sections which are relevant to the discussion at hand. This chapter will frequently refer to the policy positions outlined in Ball *et al.*’s (2011a) typology of policy actors, as previously discussed in chapter 3.

Quantitative results from the survey (n=75) are presented as pie charts, with excerpts of qualitative responses from both the survey and the interviews used to add further nuance. Survey questions were designed to afford micro and meso-level insights into the relevant topic area, not the least by providing robust quantitative data; interviews used these questions as a starting point, facilitating in-depth free-flowing discussion of core subjects. For the purposes of anonymisation, individual interview participants are identified using letters, whilst individual survey respondents are identified using numbers. A distinction between ‘respondents’ (survey-takers) and ‘participants’ (interviewees) is made to facilitate anonymous references to specific

individuals. The terms are otherwise used interchangeably. Survey participants typed their responses directly into an online webpage, whilst interviewees gave oral testimony, later transcribed verbatim by the researcher. Responses have been reproduced below without interventions.

Participants in this study interface with Prevent in a variety of ways, depending on several factors, including their position in their home institution and their role-specific duties (see Table 1). These circumstances may affect participants' perceptions, experiences, and responses to the policy. For this reason, the study design explicitly targeted a diverse sample of respondents, with individuals representing a wide range of positions, and thus perspectives, from across the micro/meso levels of the education sector. The specific context(s) in which participants are embedded must, thus, be taken into account when interpreting all data, and have been considered in formulating the findings detailed below.

RQ1: What Are Education Professionals' Perceptions and Experiences of Prevent Training?

The statutory guidance states that Prevent training should provide 'the knowledge and confidence to identify at-risk pupils, as well as how to refer pupils for further support' (Home Office, 2019, paragraph 70). The efficacy of Prevent training in achieving its stated aims was thus identified as apposite in terms of a starting point for empirical research, forming a baseline of experiences across the sample.

50.6% of survey-takers felt confident implementing the Prevent duty (see Fig. 5). 21.3% of respondents were undecided, with a further 28% lacking confidence in this arena.

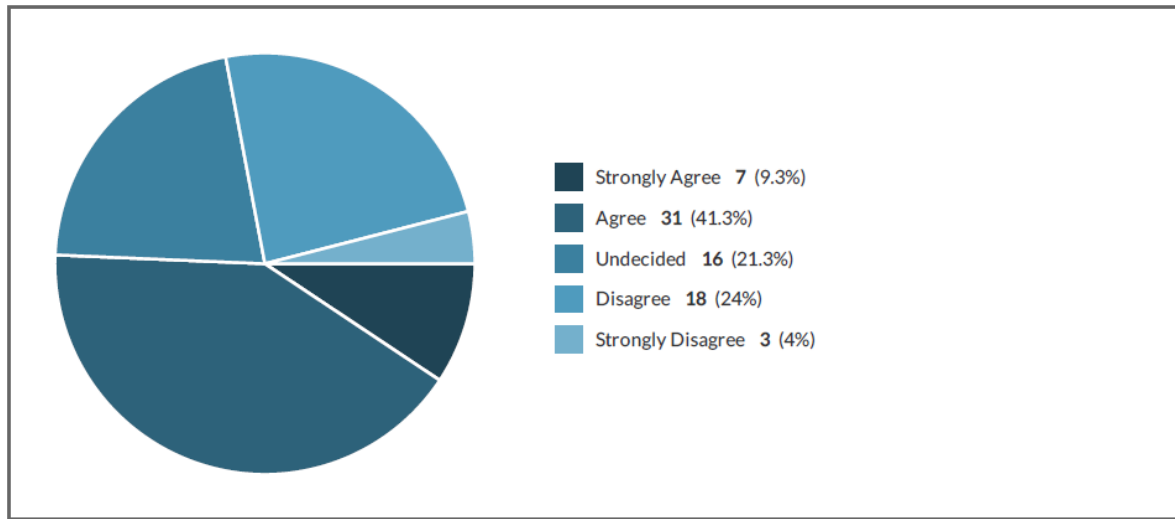


Figure 5. Responses to survey question: ‘I feel confident about implementing the Prevent duty’

Positive responses highlighted the appropriate range of teaching materials and topics. Respondent 153404, for example, reported that their training was ‘balanced and not targeted towards any particular group’, whilst Respondent 909116 (a secondary school teacher) recounted that it was ‘made [...] clear’ what trainees ‘would need to be mindful of’, with guidance given on the need to ‘remain vigilant’, as with ‘all other safeguarding concerns’. By contrast, respondents expressing negative attitudes towards the training pointed to issues with the teaching materials, and core concepts. So doing, they echoed one of the principal problems associated with Prevent that was identified in the literature review—the lack of clear definition for key terms:

Poor information given. Extremism and radicalisation labelled as ‘something you’ll know when you see it’. 45 mins in total, questions by participants poorly responded to [Respondent 398971]

First of all, you have to define what you mean by a radical anyway, what is a radical? Am I a radical because of certain beliefs I hold? Radicalisation itself is such a subjective term (Participant J)

Prevent training was generally perceived as inadequate in terms of providing education professionals with the required level of competence needed to perform a counterterrorism surveillance role to the level required. This held true for those reporting a lack of confidence and those undecided (49.3% of total respondents combined)—and even for some respondents who classified themselves as confident in implementing the policy. Indeed, just over three-quarters of all interview participants expressed negative or critical views about Prevent training, whilst a little under three-quarters of respondents referred explicitly to the programme's deficiencies in actually providing the requisite knowledge and skills. Participant Q testified:

How would I know what a terrorist is? I'm a teacher [...] We're not given adequate training and it's [...] so open to interpretation that I think it is a minefield.

More specifically, interviewees pointed to the way in which the statutory training did not, in fact, equip education professionals with the necessary specialist skills, including: how to judge whether a referral is warranted; how to foster students' resilience to radicalisation; and how to identify or challenge the ideology that supports terrorism. Participant M noted, for instance: 'I never really felt [that Prevent training] gave me many tools that I could actually use in real life'.

Participant E, for instance, reported that 'there was no talk about developing resilience to radicalisation' in the training they had received. Participant K, a head teacher in a secondary school, emphasised that 'resilience is absolutely key and lots of that happens with what Ofsted

would call “cultural capital”, the experience of what happens in childhood’. Students ‘pick up a lot of that resilience at home before they have even come to school’. The challenge thus becomes: ‘how do we [education professionals in schools] do that and does the training tell us or give us ideas how to do that?’. The Participant is clear in their answer: ‘No, I don’t think it does’. Perhaps most revealing was testimony offered by Participant O, a designated safeguarding lead (DSL) and trainer of Prevent trainers, who observed: ‘We are like elephants blundering around in this sort of world, we have got no training in this, so our job is to signpost, it’s just to signpost the authorities, to something that we think is not quite right’.

Participants commonly intimated that the failure of official Prevent training to develop core competencies reinforced notions of it as a low-priority, ‘tick-box’ exercise (McGlynn and McDaid 2018), with 15 of 17 interviewees explicitly mentioning ‘tick-box’ or ‘ticking the box’ unprompted by the researcher. Participant H, for example, commented: ‘I do think Prevent is a box-ticking exercise and I do feel that with the limited training that we’ve had, that’s all it can ultimately be’. Participant C contrasted the training, which ‘felt a bit like a box-ticking exercise’ to ‘an actual educational thing’, due to the ‘vague’ and ‘ambiguous’ guidance given: ‘it was sort of like; “you need to watch out for these things, but these things don’t necessarily mean there is a problem, so don’t assume, because they could be changing their moods and the way they are acting”’. Others linked the training’s ‘tick-box’ nature to time pressures, with some participants expressing the desire for more comprehensive competence training, undertaken at a pace in which the material could be taught, and absorbed, more effectively. Participant I explained:

It’s taught in such an idiotic way [...] where you have a massive amount of information chucked at you [...] it’s just rushed through and it’s just this tick-box [...] there are a lot of things that could be done so that teachers could be educated a lot more[.]

Participant J similarly foregrounded the ‘tick-box’ theme, whilst alluding to Prevent’s continued focus on Islamic terrorism (Prevent 1.0) (see RQ4)—despite its claims to cover all forms of radicalism (Prevent 2.0)—and the inherent problems in terms of this one-size-fits-all model of counterterrorism:

[...] certainly, if you are talking about Islamic radicalisation, it was never going to present itself as a problem in leafy middle-class Chippenham or Devizes. So then how do you apply that to the particular context you are in? I found that an ineffective part of Prevent training] and I know part of the training was ‘it’s not just for Islamic extremism’ it was sort of for right wing terrorism and things like that, but again to my mind it was kind of like ‘oh it’s this stuff too, it’s not that we’re *just* concerned with Islamic extremism’. It always felt that this was a kind of ‘add on’

Participant J further remarked that it ‘says a lot about the training itself’ that ‘it didn’t have a massive impact’ on him. In particular, the ‘idea that professional educators working with children [...] needed to be trained to identify concerns about a young person’s attitude’ provoked alienation: ‘It maybe put me off the whole process because to my mind that’s what we have always done’. This evokes the importance of the caring aspect of vocational culture that pervades the educational field (Bates, 1994a), and—typically for the participants surveyed—suggests that safeguarding measures that prevented students from being drawn into terrorism were already in place, even before Prevent’s introduction (RQ5, RQ6). This suggests that Prevent is in fact considered redundant to some degree.

Participant J’s resilient habitus arguably ‘orients’ his behaviour; he resists attempts rooted in top-down policy to direct his actions. This reflects a phenomenon evident more generally in responses. Some participants gave a sense of resisting such behavioural transformation, leading to the inference instead that they based their responses to Prevent

training on practices they have developed themselves over a number of years. In this way, they incorporated the policy into their existing safeguarding habitus, confident that existing practices were already sufficient. Nevertheless, this was not universal: some participants clearly testified to engaging with processes of transformation in terms of both practices and identities, indicative of a willing ‘habitus transformation’.

Survey responses demonstrated that education professionals’ conception of their professional identity can be generally understood as one of vocational dedication and resilience, formed through their on-the-job experiences, alongside their experiences of being a student, and undertaking teacher training to develop specialist expertise (RQ6). Participant J’s approach is exemplary of an attitude evident more generally amongst more experienced respondents: ‘I’ve always taken the view I will smile politely when we go through these bits of training. I will do what I am asked to do and ultimately, I won’t change that much as I’ve got great confidence in how I was trained previously’. It is noteworthy that here a form of resistance emerges, one that can be characterised as ‘paying lip-service’, in this case indicative of a confidence in existing practices (RQ4, RQ5, RQ6).

Lack of opportunity to discuss Prevent as a policy during training was pinpointed as a problem by a minority of respondents. Two participants explicitly voiced a preference for two-way learning, rather than the one-way format of current Prevent training:

I do remember being a little upset over it being brushed over why we had these problems in the first place [...] the most important thing was to defend British values and it was almost very awkward to discuss illegal arms trade or what effect ‘we’ might have on wars overseas [Participant B]

there needs to be a lot more talking about how this works [...] I need to be able to ask questions about stuff to fully understand it and get my head around it [Participant C.]

Such remarks suggest the need for Prevent training to be dialogic and interactive, allowing participants to engage critically with both the policy itself and the logistics of its discharge. This again hints at the theme of counter-discourse being sidelined, further highlighted by comments as to the lack of contextualisation regarding potential terrorists' motivations. As Participant Q noted: 'the biggest concern I found with the training was that there was no attempt to attach a narrative as to why people end up in those sorts of situations in the first place'.

Some participants situated themselves as policy actors opposed to Prevent, invested in different ways of thinking about the policy, thereby adopting Ball *et al.*'s (2011a) role of 'critics'. Participant B evoked counter-discourses to Prevent, implicitly alluding to the notion of 'state terrorism' (Blakeley, 2007; Jackson, Murphy, and Poynting, 2010) as a causal factor for terrorism in Britain: 'when you see things like drone strikes and you see children being bombed in Syria or you see MPs voting for those bomb strikes and you think hang on, we are not talking about this in Prevent training'.

The lack of opportunity for participants to interrogate aspects of Prevent during training serves to render the workings of power visible: the government hands down official guidance, which front-line educators must passively recapitulate. This, arguably, has the intended effect of focusing trainees' minds on self-discipline and self-policing (Manokha, 2018). This was

reinforced by the use of shock tactics as a method of leveraging fear in Prevent training to ensure trainees' compliance, as reported by several respondents:

I attended a regional Prevent training session at Exeter University and a member of MI5 came [...] he was explaining how there are publications that explain in detail how to conduct mass murder effectively[...] These extreme shock tactics were basically an interesting mechanism for ensuring we all complied and took the FBV seriously [Participant H]

with the destabilisation effect of Prevent, it seems a deliberate cultivation of fear by the government, so we don't object to this ever-growing lack of freedom and increasing invasion of our personal spaces [Participant E.]

A common theme, expressed by around half of all participants, was that the discussion of controversial topics or the articulation of overt challenges to the official Prevent narrative increased 'risk'. 'Risk' was related to another common strand, the framing of professional performativity—a frequently identified risk was the 'threat to livelihood'. Participant B was most forthcoming about this intersection. Asked whether he would discuss his thoughts with managers at work, for instance, Participant B responded: 'I wouldn't want to be on a watch list[...] out of just needing a job I wouldn't approach it because it would put me on a radar that is just not worth being on[...]'. For Participant B, and other respondents in a similar position, counter-discourse was fundamentally risky. He perceived a lack of affirmation, with his views not being acknowledged or valued—or worse, with his critique situated as actively supporting terrorism. His fear that challenging Prevent would mean being put on a 'watch list' by management reinforces themes that arose in the literature review: the ways in which the policy exerts a so-called 'chilling effect' (UCU, 2015; Coppock and McGovern, 2014; Husband and Alam, 2011) on 'freedom of speech' and 'academic freedoms' (RQ4, RQ5).

RQ1 Summary

Education professionals reported that Prevent training did not equip them with necessary competencies, including the skills to confidently make informed judgements regarding referrals, to develop students' resilience, or to identify or challenge the ideology that supports terrorism and those who promote it. Confidence in enacting Prevent was expressed at a similar rate amongst interviewees and survey-takers, with just over half of each sample indicating their assurance in this area. Nevertheless, lack of clarity over key policy terms, such as 'extremism', 'vulnerability', and 'radicalisation', was cited by many as problematic in both interviews and survey responses (RQ4). The subjective and ill-defined nature of key terminology (Coolsaet, 2011) was referred to as a causal factor contributing to a lack of confidence, as was the lack of opportunity to discuss the policy.

In line with findings by McGlynn and McDaid (2018, p.134), respondents generally perceived Prevent—and associated training—to represent a form of 'tick-box' managerialism. This perception, alongside the lack of opportunities for discussion, meant that the policy itself was 'devalued' in the eyes of education professionals to some extent. Rather than endowing individuals with knowledge and skills for specialist tasks, participants viewed Prevent training as transmitting certain dispositions and attitudes (Frykholm and Nitzler, 1993, p.434). The data reveals evidence that the official Prevent discourse oppresses not just its avowed targets but also those charged with its implementation, by 'subordinating everyone and collapsing everything into one "grand narrative"' (Boje, 1995, p.1000). Participants, as policy critics, felt unable to overtly challenge or provide alternative storylines without fear of censure, or worse. This reinforces notions of participants as policy subjects, passively implementing Prevent despite

many instances of policy translation whereby they are able to ‘enact’, rather than simply ‘implement’ policy, by translating it into everyday working practices (Ball, 1994).

RQ2a: What Are Education Professionals’ Perceptions of Prevent?

Participants were asked about their general perceptions of Prevent, with the following two survey questions aimed at gaining insight in this area: ‘Do you have any concerns with education institutions being asked to implement the Prevent duty?’; and ‘I feel comfortable about implementing the Prevent duty’.

40% of survey-takers had concerns with education institutions being asked to implement the Prevent duty (see Fig. 6). This provides empirical evidence to support findings in the literature review. 38.7% of participants did not have any concerns, whilst 21.3% were unsure.

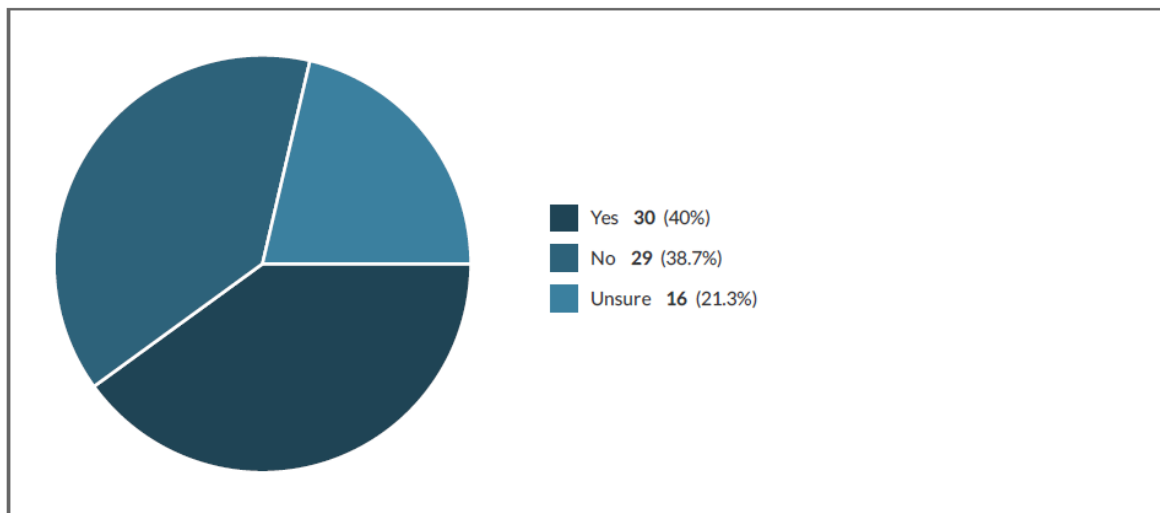


Figure 6. Responses to survey question: ‘Do you have any concerns with education institutions being asked to implement the Prevent duty?’

41.3% of respondents were comfortable implementing Prevent, whilst 32% reported their discomfort, with a further 26.7% undecided (see Fig. 7). A similar split was evident in the interview data. Again, these findings mirror results from the literature review, in terms of a significant proportion of education professionals having concerns regarding Prevent.

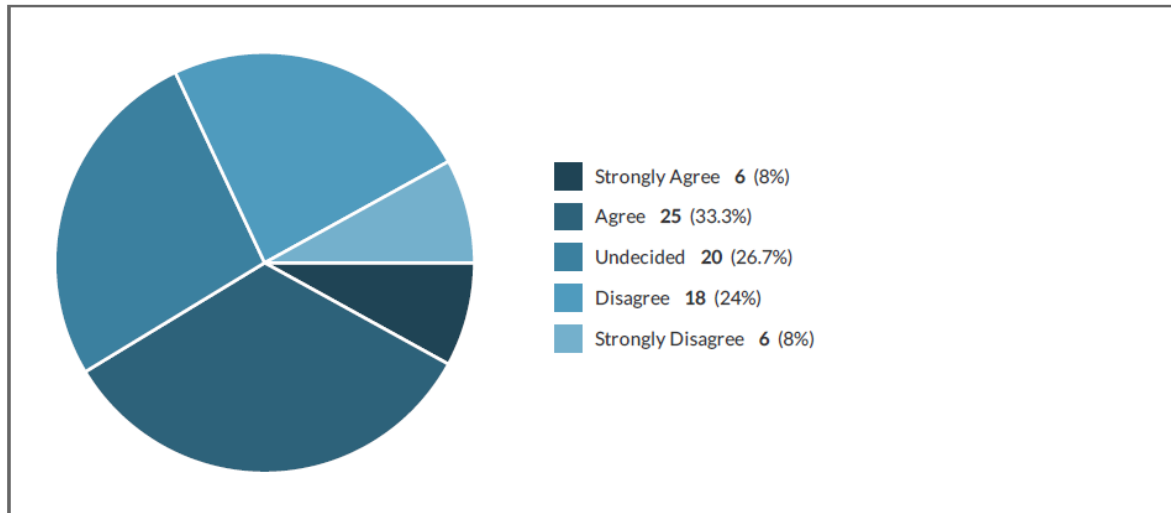


Figure 7. Responses to survey question: ‘I feel comfortable about implementing the Prevent duty’

Ball *et al.* (2011a) delineate a bipartite model of non-oppositional policy responses. ‘Enthusiasts’ tend to ‘champion and represent particular policies, or principles of integration’ (p.628), whilst ‘receivers’ exhibit ‘policy dependency’ and high levels of compliance (p.632). Study participants who were broadly comfortable with Prevent advanced pragmatic viewpoints corresponding to this model, with a mixture of ‘enthusiasts’ and ‘receivers’. Participant A, for example, classified the policy as ‘a sensible and reasonable approach’, whilst Respondent 419258 foregrounded the importance of safeguarding:

The need to ensure student safety is of predominant concern. Therefore, the implementation of Prevent is a proportionate response to the growing issue of radicalisation and/or extremism.

By contrast, approximately a third of participants were concerned about institutions being asked to implement Prevent and were personally uncomfortable implementing the policy. Participant G exemplified the critical attitude of many of those doubting the policy: ‘Prevent is just too far gone to be retrieved, it is like an irretrievable brand[...] I am personally against any form of surveillance and I don’t think this is the correct way to go about [countering] radicalisation’.

The conflation of democratic protest with extremism (Amster, 2006) was a significant cause for concern, reflecting findings in the literature review. This viewpoint, expressed by a majority of participants, was perhaps best expressed by Participant M:

The environmental focus made me feel very uncomfortable because it seemed to be a little odd to be asked to watch out for students being mindful of climate change and being mindful of the environment[...].

Participant J, in line with Ball *et al.*’s (2011a) ‘critic’, exemplified responses by those who made repeated ‘contributions to interpretation’ (p.631) of the policy:

It did feel like it was sort of ‘reaching a bit’ in terms of its desire to call something like environmentalism (an indicator), yeah ok, theoretically you could go down the wrong path, but you could go down a wrong path supporting a trade union movement, you could go down a wrong path following a particular political party, there is always the potential for wrong paths to be taken, and trying to iron those out before they’ve happened means you’re on dangerous ground[.]

Further echoing themes identified in the literature review, Prevent was perceived by some participants as an attempt by the government to politicise teachers' identity (Elton-Chalcraft *et al.*, 2017):

I feel that we are simply teaching people to blindly follow the government without question, and almost instilling paranoia into them that if they don't, they could have a record written against them [Participant H]

Are they trying to prevent 'radicalisation' or is this simply another word for politicisation? Teachers have always been at the forefront of safeguarding, but a politicised version of safeguarding driven by the Home office and security services has a different agenda of national security which impacts on our personal roles with students, knowingly and unknowingly [Respondent 932078]

Prevent risks making an intimidating environment for minority groups, particularly those who have been stigmatised by discourse from the War on Terror. Universities should act at all times independently from the state and state interests [Respondent 398971]

One participant appeared to (unintentionally) connect the politicisation of educators' roles with Bush-era neoconservative doctrine (Schmidt and Williams, 2008), an ideology which arguably underpins Prevent (Powell, 2016). 'The training is very much based on "you have to follow the government and you have to follow their policy and support them"', reported Participant H, 'it's almost like they're saying "if you're not with us you're against us"' echoing George W. Bush's words in his UN speech (Bush, 2001). The 'Bush doctrine' outlined a neoconservative strategy whereby the United States were prepared to wage preventive wars and to act against emerging threats before they could become fully formed (Jervis, 2003).

Finally, the sense of being ‘responsibilised’ by the government (Thomas, 2017)—another major theme revealed in the literature review—was expressed by a third of the participants, as exemplified by Participant M’s testimony:

It feels a bit like it’s about shifting responsibility to you as an individual as opposed to working on a societal wide level to work out why these things are happening[.]

RQ2a Summary

While only around a quarter of education professionals in the study reported a lack of confidence in their enactment of Prevent, many more have significant concerns with core aspects of the policy, especially in terms of its politicisation of educators’ roles (Elton-Chalcraft *et al.*, 2017), and the way in which it potentially facilitates discriminatory practices (Cohen and Tufail, 2017). Data from the present study is congruent with such findings. Although approximately half of all respondents professed that they were comfortable in terms of enacting Prevent, much of the rest of the sample articulated significant concerns with the policy, and with education institutions being tasked with its discharge. 16 of 17 interview participants reported concerns with the policy. The cumulative data related to RQ1 and RQ2 indicates a range of concerns which tally with many of the themes raised in the literature review. For example, education professionals had concerns that the ‘broad array of indicators posited as drivers of radicalisation’ could further ‘discriminatory practices targeting the Muslim community’ (Monaghan and Molnar, 2016, p.394), with the expansion of indicators to target protest groups and social movements seen by many as potentially discriminating against non-Muslims too (RQ2b, RQ3, RQ4). The Prevent duty is generally regarded by participants as placing an enhanced responsibility upon their shoulders: a third of all respondents felt ‘responsibilised’ for terrorism (Thomas, 2017), with

many citing it as a technique to shift blame away from the government and security services. In Foucauldian terms, ‘responsibilisation’ can be considered a technology of power (Peters, 2001), a neoliberalist ethic (Bailey, 2013), and an indirect technique for controlling individuals, in part through ‘empowering’ them to discipline themselves (Barry *et al.*, 1996).

RQ2b: What Are Education Professionals’ Perceptions of Fundamental British Values (FBV)?

Two survey questions were formulated to gain greater understanding of issues related to FBV: ‘I feel confident about promoting fundamental British values’; and ‘I feel comfortable promoting fundamental British values’. Questions regarding confidence and comfort/discomfort provided further insights into this topic, opening up conversations about the disparity between Prevent-mandated practices and education professionals’ values and experiences (Ibarra, 1999; Schein, 1978).

54.7% of respondents were confident about promoting FBV, whilst 29.3% reported lacking confidence, and 16% were undecided (see Fig. 8). 49.3% of respondents were comfortable promoting FBV, with 38.7% expressing the opposing viewpoint, and 12% of participants undecided (see Fig. 9). For both questions, a similar breakdown of responses was evident in the interview data. Once more, these findings mirror results from the literature review: a significant proportion of education professionals have concerns regarding FBV as part of the Prevent agenda.

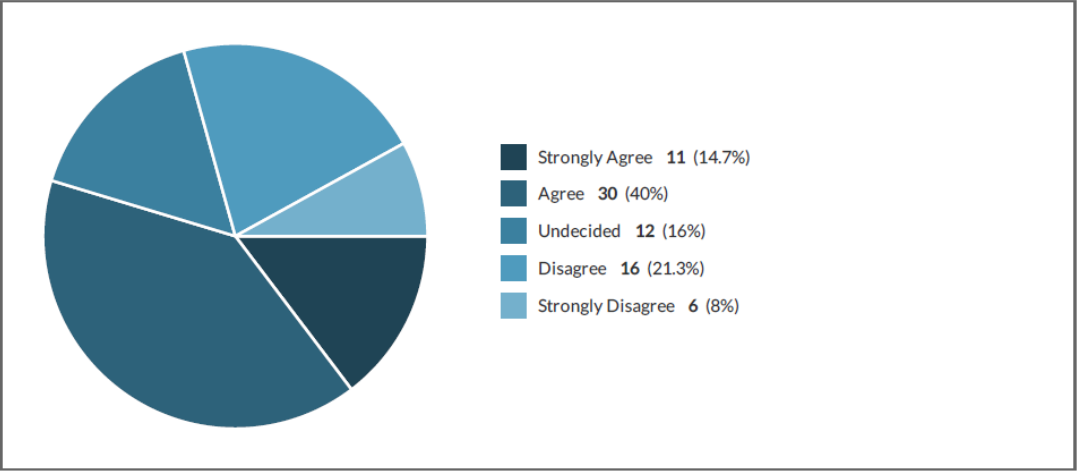


Figure 8. Responses to survey question: ‘I feel confident about promoting fundamental British values’

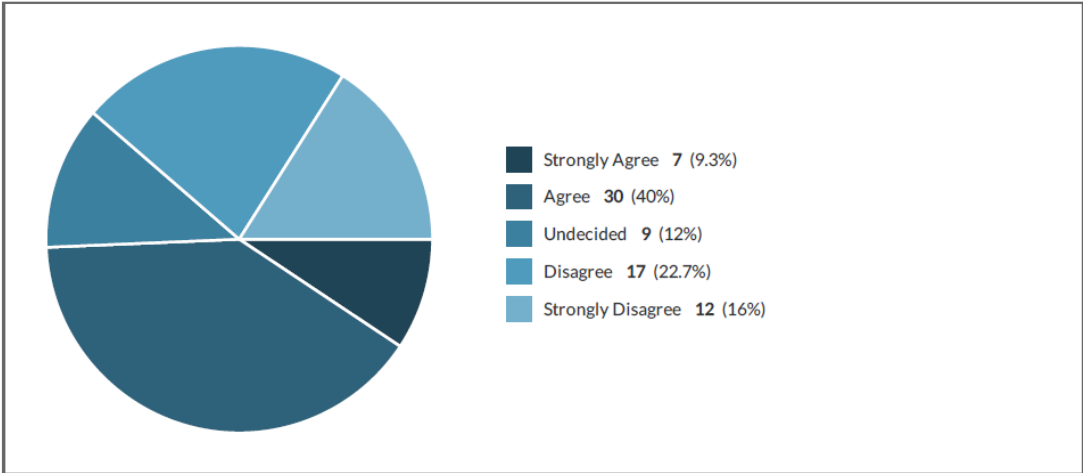


Figure 9. Responses to survey question: ‘I feel comfortable promoting fundamental British values’

Remarks by Participant O, a DSL and trainer of Prevent trainers working in a multi-academy trust, were emblematic of the perspective held by those broadly comfortable with the policy and the promotion of FBV, and also that Prevent is considered a “fact of life” in many schools now:

Prevent has altered the way I operate as a practitioner[...] and not just me but all the staff I work with, we now have to make sure in every subject we teach throughout the term that we are representing fundamental British values [...] it's like the writing through a stick of rock, it's integral to everything we do[.]

Although critical of Prevent in other areas, Participant D, a teacher trainer, was able to find positives aspects of the mandate to promote FBV resonant with Davydov's (2015) conceptualisation of tolerance:

I think for one of my learners who is Muslim it has been good to talk about those fundamental British values because it has given us a serious reason to talk about it and that's been very good[...] and it enabled us to then discuss homosexuality and the tolerance of that, whereas perhaps we would have probably just said you can't discriminate, but 'tolerance' is a good tool for teaching[.]

Such assertions are indicative of a theme evident in responses more generally, with education professionals reporting that they incorporated the 'good' aspects of Prevent into their pedagogical practices, and using them in positive ways, whilst dismissing (Singh *et al.*, 2013) or reinterpreting the policy's 'bad' aspects (RQ9). This amounts to a kind of selective 'meaning making' in the process of policy enactment (Ball *et al.*, 2011a).

Indeed, the data provides substantive evidence of education professionals confronting 'the problem of meaning' in policy analysis, whereby they understand themselves as 'both receivers and agents of policy' (Saunders, 1987, p.108). Observations made by Participant D, cited above, are reflective of a wider behavioural trend, as demonstrated by other participants' reports of their selective value-based (re)interpretation of Prevent:

I am comfortable but I don't call them 'British'. They are values shared by large swathes of humanity. [Respondent 957354]

I am comfortable about promoting Fundamental Values. I am not comfortable about claiming these values exclusively for Britain. [Respondent 430202.]

Some participants challenged the notion that FBV are apolitical or ethically objective, describing them instead as artefacts of nationalism:

The problem is that there are no such thing [as FBV], and the whole idea is a political construct of a Conservative government to suit its own nationalist agenda [Respondent 909486]

No information given as to what constitutes British values in comparison to other values. I do not feel it is my duty to promote ‘national’ values. [Respondent 398971]

Whilst study participants articulated a range of positions in relation to Prevent, even if positive about Prevent more generally, many critiqued FBV on these grounds—as in the preceding quotations— and found common ground in the refusal to accept the classification of a set of generally agreed upon values as specifically ‘British’. This criticism was frequently reiterated by those who were not comfortable with Prevent more generally. Participant L, a secondary school teacher (originally from another country), developed this critique further, setting out the problematic implications generated by the FBV framework, including the potential to alienate teachers (and students) originally not from Britain:

I don’t like that they call them ‘British’ values [...] I would just call them basic human values [...] this need to be ‘British’ lends itself to intolerance or a lack of tolerance[...] I am not from Britain and maybe it implies that other people cannot have those values and if they are not from Britain, they can’t have those values.

Participant J, head of Key Stage 4 in a secondary school, demonstrably used ‘meaning making’ as a way of translating policy—thereby adopting Ball *et al.*’s (2011a) ‘narrator’ and ‘critic’ roles. He challenged the ‘rule of law’ being included as an FBV, and the ‘fact’ that opposition to FBV is an indicator of extremism:

I have got absolutely no problem at all with a kid having opposition to British values because to my mind what is described is not ‘British’, that’s human values. [...] the law is a constantly changing thing, and therefore ‘respect for the law’ is a difficult one, because laws change all the time and they always have done, and the idea that [FBV are] somehow ‘uniquely British’ for example is utterly bonkers to me, makes no sense to me.

With such remarks, Participant J arguably evidenced a lack of ‘policy integration’ at his institution (Ball *et al.*, 2011a). Similar value-based views expressed by other respondents, notably Participant M, testify that this phenomenon is not isolated to Participant J’s home institution.

RQ2b Summary

Although education professionals are often positive about FBV in terms of the actual values themselves, participants were overwhelmingly reluctant to actively promote them as specifically, or uniquely, ‘British’ (Panjwani, 2016). At the same time, more than a third of the survey sample expressed concern with education institutions’ mandated responsibility to enact Prevent. This provides further empirical data to support critical findings in the literature review. Education professionals are uneasy with the way in which institutions are tasked to discharge Prevent. They perceive, by and large, that the promotion of FBV is unlikely to contribute to the achievement of

‘consensus’ goals, but instead will more likely sow division. However, many cited the humanist potential of the value set underlying FBV, with only a small minority of participants challenging them in terms of conceptual and/or definitional ambiguity (Richardson, 2015). The prospect of a quasi-neutral value set—if FBV were stripped of their perceived nationalist branding, and opposition to FBV was no longer considered to be an indicator of extremism—was welcomed almost unanimously.

Prevent, for some, it can be argued, creates a ‘fish out of water’ dissonance with an established habitus by its unfamiliar demands on education professionals. For Bourdieu, a fish in water response occurs when habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it takes the world for granted as it appears as self-evident (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). For many in the study Prevent did not seem as a taken for granted, self-evident response to the societal problem of terrorism and their responses show signs of internal struggle in incorporating it into their practices. Participants were frequently involved in ‘meaning making’, creating their own alternative policy narratives as key policy actors (Ball *et al.*, 2011a; 2011b), bringing to mind Bernstein’s (1990; 1996; 1999; 2000) concept of recontextualisation. Bernstein asserts that educational institutions transmit two kinds of knowledge, with the first kind related to abstract concepts and skills, and the second kind related to the transmission of issues around moral conduct. Recontextualisation implies a redefinition, a change of meaning that occurs when knowledge from one domain is transferred to the other, a process that extracts meaning from its original context and reuses it in another context. Education professionals rebrand FBV by removing the purported nationalist dimension, the notionally innate ‘British-ness’, and thus achieve the re-organisation of knowledge as part of a moral discourse (Singh *et al.*, 2013). In this way, education professionals show evidence of ‘delocating a discourse, [...] relocating it, [...]

refocusing it' (Bernstein, 1996, p.47) using value-based education practices (Biesta, 2010). Foucauldian theorisations of power are relevant here, given that recontextualisation comprises the negotiation, and potential subversion, of complex power relations.

RQ3: In Which Ways (If Any) Has the Prevent duty Changed the Way Education Professionals Interact with Learners?

This section focuses narrowly on Prevent's effects on education professionals' interactions with learners. Broader discussion of findings relevant to this overarching research question are found in later sections (RQ7, RQ8, RQ9).

The vast majority of survey-takers (81.3%) reported that the Prevent duty did not change the way they interacted with learners (see Fig. 10). Just 8% of respondents reported that the policy *did* change the way they interact with learners, whilst 10.7% were undecided. A similar breakdown was evident in the interview data.

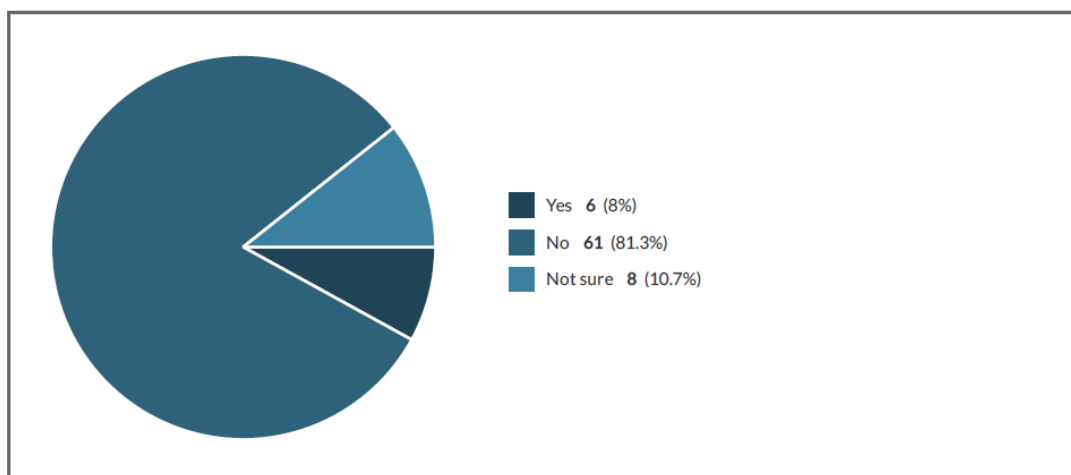


Figure 10. Responses to survey question: 'Has the Prevent duty changed the way you interact with learners?'

The majority view-point was marked by an attitude of belief in traditional pedagogy, ‘good teaching’ and common-sense pragmatism (Herz, 2016; IDS 2015). ‘I still approach the class with honesty and would challenge inappropriate thoughts’, observed Respondent 085791, whilst Respondent 674112 emphasised the importance of continuity in student-teacher relations and trust in their ingrained education habitus: ‘If I modified the ways in which I interact with learners to be more “Prevent” aware, there would be a shift in the balance of my relationship with my students’, a (tacit) acknowledgment that changing the nature of the interaction/role in line with Prevent’s goals would damage the relationships built on respect and trust (Stephens and Sieckelinck, 2019; Sheikh and Reed, 2010; Cockburn, 2007), and thus risk reducing their social capital in the eyes of students. Others flagged their contingent policy enactment strategy: ‘I may act differently if a situation relating to Prevent came up but until that does, I carry on in the same way as I had done before’ (Respondent 906397). Contingent strategies were framed as compatible with compliance, as described by Respondent 057633, who testified that he did not change the respectful way he interacted with students and developed trust (Sheikh and Reed, 2010; Cockburn, 2007), until the need for pragmatic formal reporting: ‘I listen to what students say/think about things, if I’m concerned about what they’ve said then I would report it following the school procedures.’

Whilst respondents cited above tacitly acknowledged the potentially negative consequences of Prevent on their interactions with students, others were much more forthright. Respondent 085791, for instance, remarked that ‘We are educators, not investigators’. As such, reports of no change in interactions with learners may *not* reflect the Prevent’s lack of (potential) impact in this arena, but rather signal education professionals’ active (covert) resistance to the policy’s myriad potentially damaging impacts, by outright refusing to change their practices

(when made possible by light-touch enactment regimes). This is made particularly clear in Participant E's response, which testifies to his status as a reflexive 'policy actor' in the mode of Ball *et al.*'s (2011a) 'critic':

I choose to use my judgement and intelligence, as opposed to blindly following government diktats—were I to accept all policies from the government as gospel then it would by necessity change the way that I interacted with learners[.]

Similarly, Respondent 879365 situated the lack of change in their interactions with students in terms of an attempt to minimise Islamophobic discrimination, a potential effect of Prevent's implementation, instead using an inclusive emancipatory educational approach (Akram and Richardson, 2009): 'We have a high population of students who practise Islam. I am genuinely concerned about "othering" and being forced to question students about why they choose to wear or not wear hijabs'.

The minority of education professionals reporting a change to interactions with students foregrounded the surveillance demands of Prevent, which for some transformed the school atmosphere in line with the 'chilling effect'. Participant Q noted, for example, that 'Both parties will be less likely to open up to one another for fear of judgement', re-iterating the theme identified in the literature review. In a response otherwise characteristic of the minority viewpoint, Participant H was unique in explicitly linking his straightforward policy implementation to the 'financial success' of his institution, hinting at an increase in capital for enthusiastic Prevent enactment in terms of his employment:

I am permanently watching for both tutors and students, and I talk to tutors and if they feel that there is a case that should be discussed I encourage the conversation whereas before Prevent I would wait for the tutor to come to me but now I am proactive in my approach, because[...] it is linked to the financial success of the institution[...] [.]

Further examples of similar responses are found in the section relating to RQ4 below.

RQ3 Summary

The quantitative data reveals positives for those in support of Prevent: the overwhelming majority of education professionals report ‘no change’ in the way they interact with learners under Prevent, with the qualitative interview data mostly reinforcing this. However, the interviews reveal nuances which contextualise the results of the quantitative data, including evidence of worrisome issues. Respondents were concerned about the potentially negative impacts of implementing Prevent, including the ‘othering’ of Islamic students, and a damaging transformation in student-educator relationships due to surveillance practices, for example with reductions in trust and social capital. Responses to RQ1 and RQ2 indicate widespread concerns with Prevent, yet findings for RQ3 show largely ‘no change’ in student-educator interactions. This apparent contradiction may be explained to some extent by the ways in which education professionals, as ‘policy actors’ (Ball *et al.*, 2011a), asserted professional autonomy when engaged in ‘policy work’, including through interpretation/recontextualisation to resist changing practices, perhaps hinting at a resilient education professional habitus. This attitude, and practice, was common in the data, revealing respondents undertaking policy translation through forms of ‘meaning making’ (Ball *et al.*, 2011a). This is consistent with findings for other research

questions, especially RQ2b: education professionals deploy processes of Bernsteinian recontextualisation when enacting policy (Singh *et al.*, 2013; Singh, 2002), translating—and at times even jettisoning—key aspects of Prevent policy through a partial ‘tick-box’ enactment or through emancipatory educational practices built on principles of ‘good teaching’ and traditional ‘tried and tested’ pedagogy (Herz, 2016; IDS 2015).

RQ4: What is the Effect of Prevent on Academic Freedoms, Freedom of Speech Generally, and Discourse in the Public Sphere?

RQ4 concentrates on one of the major themes arising in the literature review: Prevent’s potentially ‘chilling effect’ on academic freedoms and freedom of speech. Three survey questions probed this topic explicitly: ‘Has the Prevent duty made it more or less likely you would discuss controversial issues at work with students and other staff?’, ‘Is the Prevent duty a surveillance policy?’, and ‘Which target groups/views were referred to in the Prevent training? (Tick all that apply)’.

Discussion of controversial issues

The survey found that, by an overwhelming margin, Prevent was not considered to be a factor in impeding discussion of controversial issues in the workplace. 92% of respondents reported that the policy either had no impact on such discussions, or that it even inspired more of these kinds of conversations (see Fig. 11). Only 8% of respondents indicated that Prevent would make it less likely for such interchanges to occur. These results were broadly reflected in the interview data.

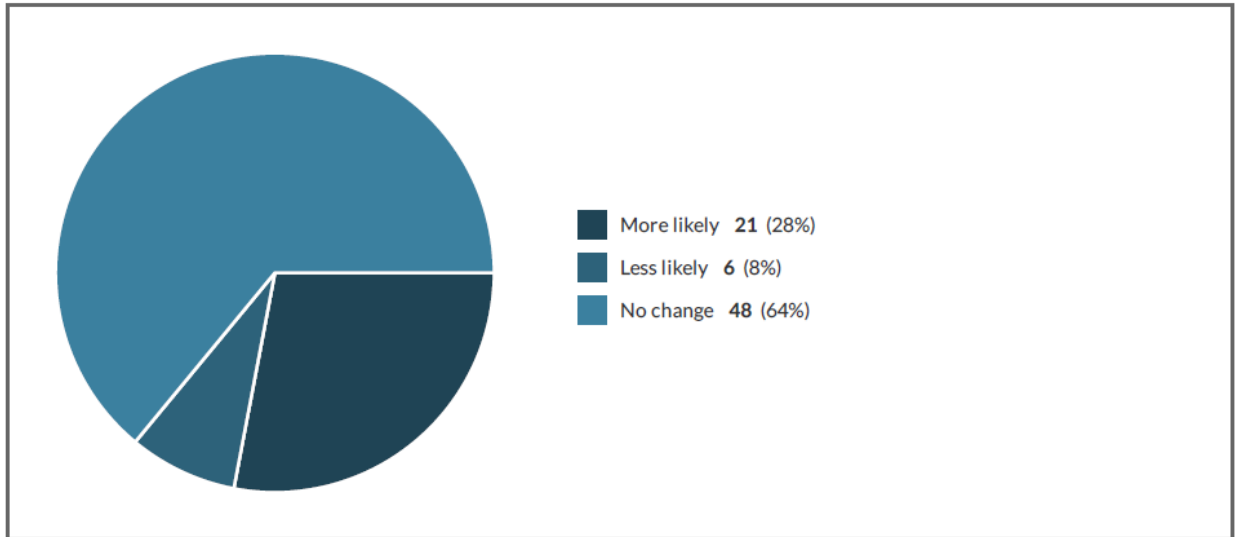


Figure 11. Responses to survey question: 'Has the Prevent duty made it more or less likely you would discuss controversial issues at work with students and other staff?'

Representative observations of participants reporting 'no change' include: 'I discuss all issues and have always' (Respondent 972951); 'I don't think I would steer people away from topics' (Participant C); 'I haven't seen any instances of free speech being shut down' (Participant G). Nevertheless, there was an awareness, for some, that colleagues' experiences could feasibly differ on this topic. For example, Participant K, a head teacher in secondary education, acknowledged that they 'see how potentially that it could be a minefield for teachers that may not be that well versed in what is appropriate', though they had not experienced any problems.

The minority of participants espousing the opposite viewpoint referred to the added 'risk' of discussing controversial topics under Prevent, both for education professionals and students:

Having strong political opinions which are not in line with a Home Office approved script means we are creating mental watchlists of opinions which are beyond the pale and unable to be debated [Respondent 932078]

To discuss these topics openly would involve being monitored by Prevent[...] you would be putting those students at risk [Participant B]

There's a definite perception that there is a threat to livelihood, if you were to talk negatively about British foreign policy online, as this could be seen as bringing the company that you work for into disrepute. So, for job security people would steer away from negatively talking about policy that has been implemented abroad [Participant H.]

Such observations further reinforce the conceptualisation of Prevent as politicising educators' roles (Elton-Chalcraft *et al.*, 2017).

Participant D intimated that the Prevent duty impacts curriculum design and delivery as risk avoidance is privileged, signalling the ways in which some education professionals are made 'docile' (Foucault, 1979), and how avoidance of discussions about political context(s) limits learning (RQ3), due to the 'chilling effect' (Coppock and McGovern, 2014):

when you are teaching about music and political movements [...] you think 'I don't know now whether now I would discuss it', because there are certain narratives now that we sort of have to follow.

These remarks offer supporting evidence to major themes identified in the literature review: the way in which Prevent has transformed the education sector, creating a chilling effect and making bodies 'docile'.

The sector previously permitted, and prioritised, academic freedoms. Prevent's advent has, by contrast, securitised the education system, creating an environment in which education professionals and students alike are warier about discussing controversial topics (Coppock and McGovern, 2014; Husband and Alam, 2011). This could be counterproductive in terms of

limiting traditional pedagogy that encourages civic engagement with democratic processes (Davies, 2018) (RQ7b) by adding the perception of risk to such prevention work, an eventuality about which some participants expressly indicated concern:

[Prevent] could push it deeper and deeper underground, that's the concern [Participant K.]

In general, Prevent is not perceived as automatically infringing upon participants' freedom of speech, or as directly affecting their autonomy except in cases where automated electronic surveillance systems captured student data input that triggered algorithms designed to detect a wide range of indicators. Indeed, many education professionals reported no issues in terms of freedom of speech issues. Nevertheless, for some the policy is perceived as increasing the risk posed by discursive practices surrounding controversial topics. The data suggests that some education professionals may find themselves in a difficult position: tasked with facilitating discussion of topics perceived to be 'risky', yet reluctant to challenge any counter-discourses voiced by students, which would then reduce trust and social capital if they were perceived by students as 'agents of the state'. At the same time, 'forcing' free speech underground is also potentially counterproductive to the aims of Prevent, an issue identified by participants and in the literature review.

Prevent as surveillance policy

More than half (50.6%) of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that Prevent is a surveillance policy (see Fig. 12). The rest of respondents were split more or less equally in their views, with

24% undecided and 25.4% in disagreement. The interviews provided an opportunity to explore participants' interpretations of what a surveillance policy is.

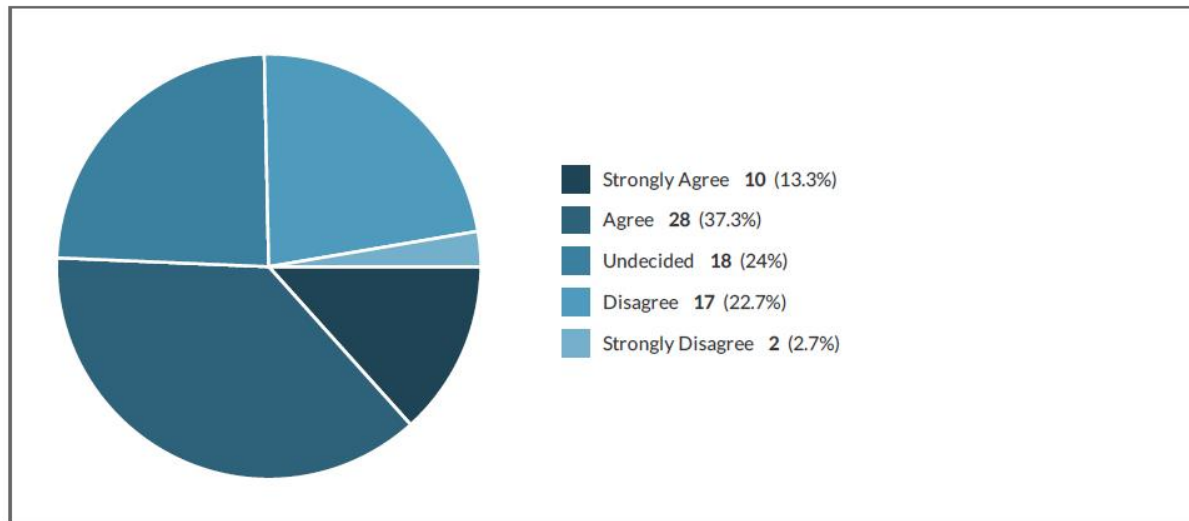


Figure 12. Responses to survey question: 'Is the Prevent duty a surveillance policy?'

The literature review revealed widely held perceptions of Prevent as a surveillance policy (RQ4). Such perceptions were (re)articulated by study participants, from their vantage point at the front-line of the education sector. Participant E connected Prevent's monitoring aspects to wider surveillance culture(s), invoking notions of a 'surveillance society' (Gilliom and Monahan, 2012; Lyon, 2001; 2003; Norris and Armstrong, 1999; Gandy Jr, 1989):

I believe that this form of monitoring, perhaps even more than things like CCTV, and the very controversial recent trials of live facial recognition software [...] to me lumps together to draw negative parallels with events from history that we perhaps should take as a cautionary tale.

Many participants reported their discomfort at being tasked with enforcing surveillance policies upon the student population. Participant H, for example, stated outright: 'I think it's unacceptable the amount of surveillance that is expected'. There was significant tension between the way in which respondents conceptualised their own roles and the expectations of

policymakers. Participant B commented, for instance, that ‘it doesn’t seem like it should be my decision to make that judgement on somebody’. Other participants were more explicit, pinpointing the way in which Prevent was shifting the goals of educational institutions (RQ3, RQ7):

instead of looking out for people’s educational needs you are becoming more aware of other things and it shifts the focus[.] [Participant C]

to my mind teaching staff are being asked to do more and more and here is another layer, I mean what about just getting on with some teaching? I think if I had had the choice to not do it and it didn’t put my job in jeopardy I would have refused[.][Participant P.]

A comparative reading of the narratives of three participants allows the contours of Prevent’s surveillance practices to come into greater focus:

[redacted] reported a student to the safeguarding team for writing things into the Google search box without even pressing enter. The student was writing and deleting concerning things before actually pressing enter on the search engine and it was picked up through the automated detection software [Participant E]

I would get emails back from the IT department telling me what the student had been searching for [Participant F]

I was asked by the safeguarding lead to go onto the student’s Facebook profile and have a look at the pictures and then identify anything that I thought was suspicious [Participant H.]

These participants work at different institutions, yet their experience of Prevent’s surveillance culture is connotatively similar, providing insight into the ‘surveillance assemblage’ (Ball, 2006,

p.300), or socio-technical surveillance approach, a combination of human and automated technological monitoring of students, operationalised by institutions in response to Prevent. Even if education professionals only enact Prevent partially, e.g. by recontextualisation policies or avoidance, Prevent as a surveillance culture is nevertheless omnipresent and inescapable, in part through its automated technological surveillance through private industry created software algorithms. The impact of such omnipresent and inescapable panoptic surveillance practices on student-educator relationships is explored further in relation to RQ3, RQ4, RQ7a, and RQ7b.

Elsewhere, Participant H reinforced the conceptualisation of the UK as a ‘surveillance society’, of which Prevent was one component (Gilliom and Monahan 2012; Lyon, 2001; 2003; Norris and Armstrong, 1999; Gandy Jr, 1989):

Prevent makes us feel like we cannot discuss certain topics with our colleagues, and in the classroom. For instance, British foreign policy could be considered a controversial topic and it’s normally avoided in any scenario where a recording could be made, or minutes taken during a meeting[...] It felt like everyone was a lot more free before, that people had freedom of speech, that we didn’t have this paranoid culture where we felt like we were being watched, that our emails were being read, that our Facebook posts are being read. I think we live in a time of surveillance where your telephone, your smart device, Alexa, all these devices are listening and monitoring what you’re doing on a daily basis, that it almost becomes accepted now that you are being watched, and it creates a sense of paranoia and that’s just mirrored in the Prevent policy[.]

Participant H hypothesised the potential ramifications of Prevent’s surveillance culture:

‘[education professionals] perhaps wouldn’t discuss sensitive or controversial topics when they’re not in work. I think it instils that belief system right through into every aspect of people’s lives.’ This lends further credibility to findings from the literature review, in terms of Prevent’s intersection with Foucauldian panopticism: the process whereby individuals subject to (or

perceiving that they are subject to) perpetual surveillance ultimately internalise the panopticon, and become docile when they begin to police themselves (Foucault, 1995).

Indeed, a third of participants admitted to self-censorship and self-regulation according to Prevent's model; these education professionals have seemingly internalised the Prevent panopticon, consequently engaging in self-monitoring both in and outside of the workplace. This reinforces notions of Prevent as a component of the surveillance culture which pervades neoliberalised society more generally (Gilliom and Monahan, 2012; Lyon, 2001; 2003; Norris and Armstrong, 1999). This paints a rather bleak picture: Prevent's panopticon is inescapable, yet it represents only one of the many forms of surveillance with which respondents must contend. Indeed, in light of the Coronavirus Act 2020 some were prescient about the expectations likely levied by future policy initiatives, perhaps suggesting that Prevent (and its panopticon) may simply reflect an ever increasing securitisation of education (and wider society) and resigned to further intrusion into education professionals' lives:

Something else will come up in a couple of years which won't take the place of Prevent but will be something else that we don't even know about yet that will happen, and it's just about how the world we live in evolves, and we have got to evolve with it.
[Participant O.]

Target groups/views identified by Prevent

The literature review demonstrated concerns regarding the unfair targeting of civil-protest groups and social movements, alongside documenting the perception that Muslims remained Prevent's primary targets, even under revised versions of the policy (Amster, 2006) in Prevent 2.0.

Consequently, survey-takers were asked to list the groups and views that were referred to in Prevent training, thereby providing empirical data on this topic. Results indicate that Islamic terrorism is still perceived as Prevent’s main focus, in terms of the frequency with which it was referred to in training (36.6%) (see Fig. 13). Extremist views from the left and right end of the political spectrum, however, came in a close second (32.8%). Other groups which featured in training as targets, though to a considerably lesser degree, include: anti-capitalists, environmentalists, and hunt saboteurs.

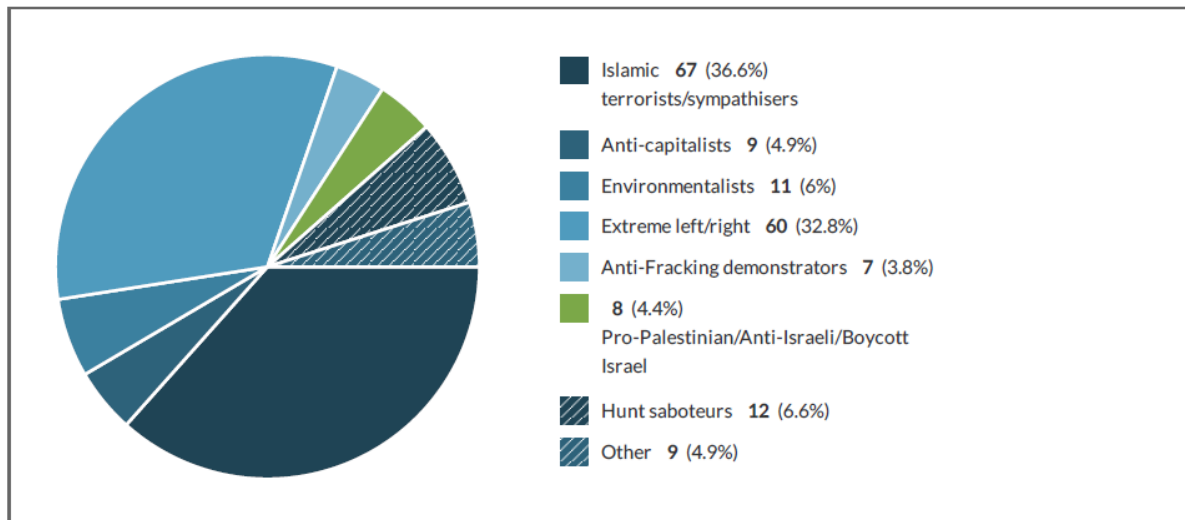


Figure 13. Responses to survey question: ‘Which target groups/views were referred to in the Prevent training? (Tick all that apply)’

The interviews tell a different story. A little under half of all interviewees (8 out of 17) reported that their training made mention of civil-protest groups and social movements. This proved to be a contentious point for respondents, as explained by Participant H:

I have also attended training where they are talking about fracking and talking about hunting and [...] people protesting [...] so that was definitely quite concerning.

Whilst Participant H expressed confidence in terms of his competency in discharging the Prevent duty, he infers that the policy itself is not fit for purpose: ‘I feel I can identify the indicators that they put into place, but I do not feel that they are sufficiently accurate indicators to be able to judge if somebody is genuinely being radicalised’.

For some, Prevent increased the ‘risk’ burden attached to the open discussion of ideas, thereby impinging upon freedom of speech, and limiting individuals’ ability to safely, and critically, engage with a plurality of viewpoints. Participant M flagged the detrimental effects of this outcome:

[...] just the very name ‘Prevent’ suggests that they are implying criminality before you have even done anything, so from a freedom of speech perspective that’s an issue if people will stop saying the things they want to say, potentially, because they are concerned they are going to be dubbed as ‘extremist’ or ‘having extreme views’ or as ‘being radicalised’ before they have actually done anything[.]

The literature review provided evidence that individuals with questions or viewpoints that could be considered as providing grounds for referral under Prevent may be disempowered, and even arguably victimised by a form of epistemic injustice (O’Donnell, 2018) (reminiscent of victims of Orwell’s ‘thought police’ (Orwell, 2009)), due to the loss of symbolic capital attached to their view(s) or mode(s) of expression—for example, modes of expression that are challenging or polemical in nature.

RQ4 Summary

Over 80% of education professionals reported ‘no change’ in their interactions with learners since Prevent’s introduction, whilst two thirds reported that the policy had not exhibited any negative effects on academic freedoms and freedom of speech. Nevertheless, over half of all respondents perceived Prevent to be a surveillance policy. Similarly, many believed that the policy could facilitate discrimination against certain groups (specifically Muslims). At the same time, many voiced concerns about the inclusion of non-violent extremism in the Prevent policy (Greer and Bell, 2018), seen as the expansion of discriminatory practices to encompass broader populations. Prevent is conceived by some education professionals as either having, or having the potential for, disciplinary panoptic effects, with evidence of policy enactment through a ‘socio-technical’ approach, for example through automated software moderation systems. It becomes clear that Prevent manifests as a surveillance infrastructure comprising ‘disparate arrays of people, technologies and organizations’, which constitute ‘surveillance assemblages’ when connected (Ball, 2006, p.300). This infrastructure, and associated discourse, greater than the sum of its parts, has emergent properties and can be considered in terms of a Foucauldian panoptic ‘dispositif’, a multiplicity of technologies of power involving power/knowledge configurations that attempt to define ‘normality’ (Manokha, 2018).

RQ5: What is the Effect of Prevent on the Autonomy of Education Professionals?

The current neoliberal era has witnessed the ascendancy of managerialism (Skinner *et al.*, 2018), the centralisation of power (Fisher, 2008), and a reduction in autonomy for education professionals across the sector (Lundström, 2015). Against this backdrop, RQ5 seeks to gauge

education professionals' perception of the ways in which Prevent specifically has affected their autonomy. Two survey questions explicitly probed this topic: 'Prevent has no impact on my autonomy'; and 'Fundamental British Values have no impact on my autonomy'.

Most survey-takers (38.7%) were undecided about whether Prevent impacted their autonomy in general terms (see Fig. 14). A third of respondents (33.3%) acknowledged the policy's impact on their autonomy, whilst 28% indicated that the policy did not affect them in this regard. By contrast, a higher proportion of respondents (40%) reported, more specifically, that the inclusion of FBV in Prevent policy did not have an impact on their autonomy (see Fig. 15). 32% of survey-takers were undecided on this question, whilst 33.3% responded that the inclusion of FBV affected their autonomy. The specific Prevent-related responsibilities with which education professionals are tasked varies according to the area of the sector in which they operate. Individuals working in Higher Education, for example, are exempt from the duty to actively promote FBV as part of their discharge of Prevent, unlike their colleagues in primary, secondary and further education. This difference could explain the disparity in results between the two questions. Notwithstanding this variation, it is significant that the results are fairly even for both questions, with around a third of respondents reporting that Prevent does impact their autonomy, a third reporting no impact, and a third unsure.

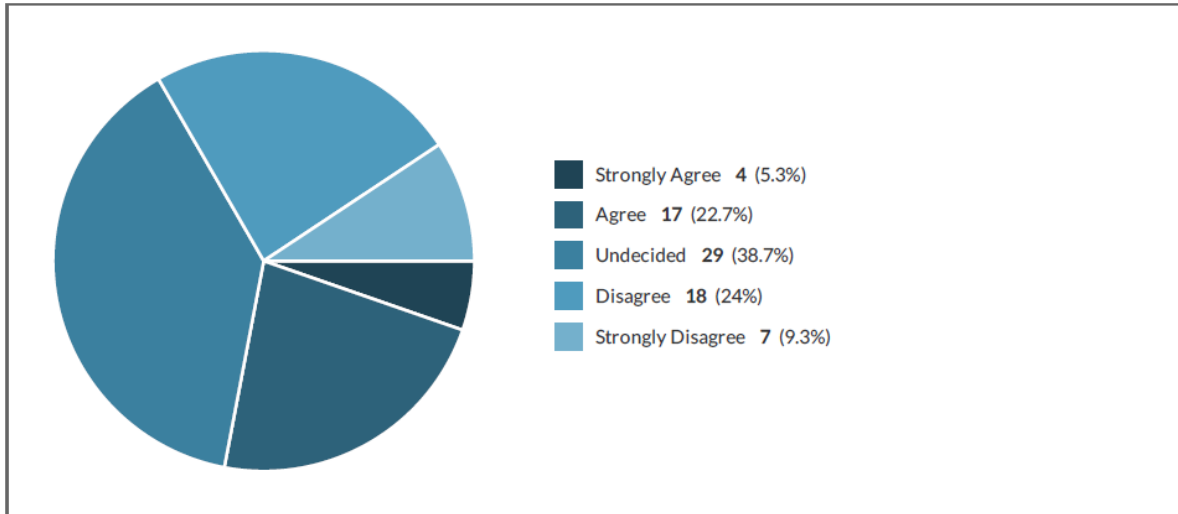


Figure 14. Responses to survey question: ‘Prevent has no impact on my autonomy’

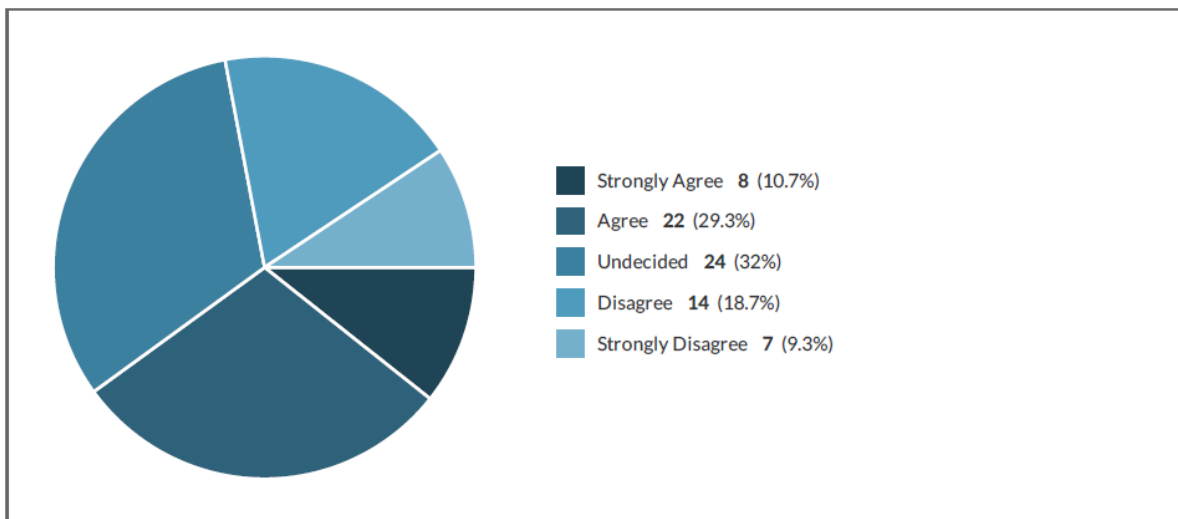


Figure 15. Responses to survey question: ‘The duty to actively promote FBV has no impact on my autonomy’

Participant D’s response was typical for those that did not consider that Prevent had affected their autonomy: ‘I think given what I teach I don’t think it has affected my autonomy’. Participant O, a DSL and trainer of Prevent trainers, discussed having the autonomy to make referral decisions, linking it to her knowledge of the students:

[...] if I rang that number up every time our students talked about guns or shooting people, I would lose my credibility. So you do have to make sure that you have a threshold and that threshold is defined by what we know about a student, so if a student who wouldn't normally talk like that, which we find worrying, we would report that, we would make that judgement.

Participant P, by comparison, exemplified the opposing viewpoint. They emphasised the role of top-down managerialism in the sector, laying blame for educators' loss of autonomy on the government rather than employers:

I am uncomfortable that this has been put on teachers, this is a top-down thing, 'you've got to do *this* now'. By top-down, I mean from the government not from my superiors at work [...] I see it as a government policy [...] I think if I had had the choice to not do it and it didn't put my job in jeopardy I would have refused, I did it because I had to do it not because I chose to do it [...] I feel uncomfortable, unqualified[.]

The feeling of being 'unqualified' for the role into which Prevent has thrust him generates ongoing discomfort for Participant P, coupled with deep-seated fear of the 'threat to livelihood' posed if he fails to enact the policy satisfactorily. The discomfort, and the distress, felt by education professionals legally tasked with discharging Prevent was a common theme in the responses of those who reported the impact of the policy on their autonomy. Indeed, around a fifth of interviewees connected the loss of autonomy to the perceived 'threat to livelihood': education professionals are legally obliged to enforce Prevent, and thus do not have the ability to refuse or overtly resist the policy without fear of consequences. Whilst education professionals may experience a loss of autonomy at the micro level, the ethics of neoliberal 'performativity' (Ball, 2003) and managerialism ensure that such circumscription of agency can also occur on the meso—institutional—level. Participant N, for instance, described the 'operational purpose' of

the regulator, the Office for Students, as apparently ‘about discipline’, sketching the way in which funding is linked to the implementation of Prevent at his home institution: ‘if we weren’t working with them on the Prevent duty and understanding its impact on our students and ensuring therefore that they are compliant, if they were to go bust we would go bust’.

As with Participant P, Participant J explicitly linked the loss of autonomy to sector-wide issues of top-down managerialism, developing the scope of critique to foreground the broader societal phenomenon of a loss of trust in institutions, and the education system specifically:

Top-down policymaking is what we have seen for many many years now, almost since the birth of the national curriculum, this idea of: we tell you what to teach, we tell you how to teach [...] we have neither trust in you as a profession, nor frankly do we have the national trust in ourselves, the country’s own self confidence - I feel it’s eroded to the point where we don’t trust our education system[.]

From this perspective, Prevent represents an institutionalised ‘distrust’ of teachers’ habitus, facilitated in part by the longer-term trajectory of the education sector, including the centralisation of power (Fisher, 2012) and adoption of top-down policies. Participant J’s observations testify to a theme evident more generally in the data: the issue of Prevent ‘damaging trust’, in the wider context of the generalised erosion of trust in the education sector and its practitioners. Some participants considered this process as affecting all fields of power: a lack of trust in society on a macro level, mirrored by a lack of trust in institutions on a meso level, and in individual education professionals on a micro level. This echoes findings in the literature review, in terms of the potential for Prevent to damage the ‘trust’ between students and education professionals (RQ3, RQ7b), further confirmed by Participant J: ‘I think it absolutely erodes the potential for me to form the best working relationship with a young person’.

The tensions described above represent instances where power can be seen—or felt—in operation. This is the case, for example, when participants felt pressured to refer students, if following the letter of the regulations, thanks to the ‘authoritarian power of command’ instituted by the Prevent bureaucracy (Weber, 1978) which transfers interpretive authority from educators to policymakers. This is perceived, by some participants, as an attempt to co-opt education professionals’ agency, especially their ability to make common-sense judgements, such as in making calls on whether behaviours that Prevent would classify as indicators of terrorism are, in fact, symptomatic of a specific student being vulnerable to terrorist ideologies.

A minority of education professionals considered that efforts to enforce Prevent through heavy-touch, top-down regulation functions to render educators policy subjects, rather than actors, and politicised their roles (Elton-Chalcraft *et al.*, 2017). This attitude is exemplified by Participant J, who believed that this approach caused a cascade of counterproductive effects:

As soon as you start doing top-down intervention people are resistant to it. I feel like it [Prevent] second guesses my professional judgement. If I was a kid I would be resistant to it because I would feel frightened, I would feel scared, and I would feel intimidated into not just being able to allow my opinions to develop naturally, and therefore it doesn’t work[.]

Participant H was unique in the sample, as the sole interviewee who testified to the consistently ‘heavy-touch’ regulatory framework operative in his institution, alongside disclosing a significant loss of autonomy in his workplace in relation to Prevent decisions. He reported feeling a personal obligation to refer ten students:

You know we received this policy in a top-down managerial style from the government and we are blindly obliged to go through and tick the boxes to say ‘Yes, we have done this’, and if we haven’t ticked the box then that will absolutely negatively impact on the

organisation [...] I've personally reported around ten cases to my Prevent lead and none of them have resulted in further action being taken, and the students were not being radicalised. And I have encouraged others to do the same. I would change that, and I would use a common-sense approach with more autonomy for the staff member[.]

In this case, the Prevent duty appears to have an implicit 'quota' of referrals that must be fulfilled in order for an institution to be seen to be discharging the policy satisfactorily, underscored by the fact that Participant H encouraged the staff he line-managed to follow his example. Prevent was detrimental not just to employees' autonomy, but to that of the institution itself:

I think there is an expectation that the report contains information every year which is sent to the regional Prevent lead because if it isn't it could be considered that with an institution with thousands of students such as ours, if there's no cases where anyone said anything even slightly controversial then that would be flagged as strange in itself.

RQ5 Summary

The study reveals mixed results, with a roughly even split between education professionals who felt that Prevent *did* impact their autonomy, those who affirmed the opposite, and those who were unsure. Notably, a third of survey-takers and interviewees alike indicated some loss of autonomy due to Prevent. Loss of autonomy was contingent and intrinsically linked to issues of top-down managerialism (McGovern, 2016), with compliance coerced through a 'threat to livelihood' as a consequence for refusal to discharge Prevent. Taken as a whole, the empirical data evidences that education professionals in the geographical area of study [Bath and Bristol area] are generally able to assert autonomy in their Prevent enactment strategies, despite their criticisms of the policy. Generally, audit frameworks were considered to be 'light-touch', though they 'had teeth', whilst institutional enactment was widely regarded by participants as 'tick-box'

managerialism (McGovern and McDaid, 2018). Only one interview participant (H) reported an almost total loss of autonomy, due to what he perceived as a ‘heavy-touch’ regulatory framework. His compliance was reluctant, achieved both at an individual and institutional level via fears of negative consequences for resistance, including the ‘threat to livelihood’.

RQ6: What are the Impacts of Prevent on the Professional Identities of Education Professionals?’

Revell and Bryan (2016) avow that Prevent significantly alters professional identities within the educator sector, referring specifically to the way in which responsibility for Prevent’s implementation politicises existing roles. Data presented in the preceding section supports this contention: around a third of participants believed that Prevent exerted a detrimental impact on their autonomy. Such findings help elucidate the general atmosphere in which respondents operate. A further survey question—‘Does the Prevent duty change the way you view your professional identity?’—offers the opportunity for more narrowly focused insights.

Two thirds of respondents (68%) indicated that Prevent did *not* change the way they viewed their professional identity (see Fig. 16). 22.7% of survey-takers offered the opposite viewpoint, whilst 9.3% were undecided.

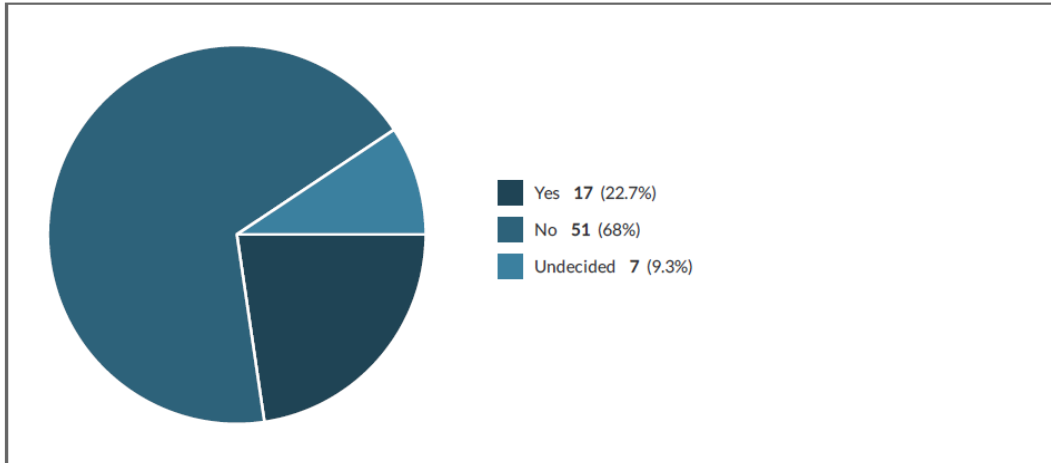


Figure 16. Responses to survey question: ‘Does the Prevent duty change the way you view your professional identity?’

The perception of Prevent regulation being ‘light-touch’ was cited by the majority of participants as underpinning the belief that the Duty had not changed their view(s) on their professional identity. Respondent 674112, for instance, explained that ‘[g]iven the implementation of the university is particularly “light touch” there has been no impact or perceived impact upon my role’. Respondent 886112 similarly referred to the relatively lenient, or flexible, implementation of Prevent in the Higher Education (HE) context, contrasting it with more onerous enactment strategies required in schools and Further Education (FE): ‘I’m struck by the huge impact in schools and FE (Ofsted driven?). Very different in HE. No training. No discussion. No monitoring. Long may it continue like that!’ Participant I, however, offered a rebuttal to the contention that schools in particular suffered from ‘heavy-touch’ regulations regarding enactment, stating that educators are ‘pretty much left to your own devices - nobody would take any lead on these new policies in the schools’.

Another predominant reason supporting participants' reports of no change in professional identity was the acceptance of Prevent as a 'common-sense' response to ongoing, urgent needs (RQ2). In this regard, Respondent 309486's remarks were characteristic of prevailing attitudes: 'It is the basic duty of all teachers to safeguard their students. The Prevent strategy is designed to do that. We should always be observing our students to protect them from dangers'. Relatedly, participants also contextualised Prevent in terms of the constant evolution in the remit of education professionals' roles, highlighting the fact that stability of job spec is not actually the norm in the sector. For example, Respondent 182313, a primary school teacher, described Prevent as creating '[j]ust another role to add under the umbrella term "teacher" (counsellor, medic, social worker, speech therapist, truant officer, physiotherapist etc.)'

Surprisingly, two thirds of the entire sample stated that Prevent did *not* change the way they viewed their professional identity. The interview data, however, revealed nuances in terms of the underlying rationale for this perspective, in much the same way as described in discussion of RQ3 above. For some participants, proclamations that their professional identity had *not* changed were in fact illustrative of forms of *resistance* to change, rooted in their perception that Prevent, in fact, *attempted* to effect such changes:

I absolutely don't want to change my professional identity, I am very proud of my role in society [...] I'm not comfortable about the idea of that being modified to be some kind of general educator in a particular set of beliefs and values [Participant J]

I do feel that my professional identity has been changed, or at least that there has been an attempt to change it, because if I follow Prevent legislation then I effectively become a tool for enforcing the entrenched system[.] [Participant E.]

In other words, the fact that these participants' conceptualisation of their professional identity had *not* shifted was a result of their own, conscious resistance to Prevent's inherent pressures, not the policy's neutrality in this regard. Participant J, a teacher and head of key stage 4, evidenced in particular a resilient disposition 'acquired through experience' (Bourdieu, 1992, p.9), emerging as an individual who relies on experience—as opposed to governmental mandates—to influence and regulate his pedagogical practices.

Some participants framed Prevent as fundamentally incompatible with established pedagogical roles. Participant M, for instance, considered Prevent-related duties to fall outside of teachers' remit, with the policy even 'warping the role of the educator':

If you're starting to think about these other things as well then you're not necessarily focusing on the best interests of the kid [...] that's not an educator, that's the role of a policeman [...] I think the role of an educator should be about helping the child reach their potential and facilitating their development.

Participant M's attitude was shared by around a third of interviewees, including Participants C, B, O, P, and Q. These respondents explained their opinions in terms of feelings that Prevent demanded a change in their focus. Participant Q linked the change in focus, specifically the de-emphasis of pedagogy, effected by Prevent to the policy's surveillance practices (RQ4):

I think the role of the teacher is becoming a role of the teacher brackets counsellor, and community police officer [...] my job title is 'teacher', it's not 'teacher of deradicalisation strategies' [...]

Such observations resonate with Foucault's (1995) concept of the 'examining gaze', with Prevent thus conceptualised as a disciplinary 'act of looking', a surveillance technique to govern

individuals and society. This interpretation of a new ‘securitised’ gaze is further supported by the testimony of numerous other participants, exemplified by Participant P’s remarks:

It puts a certain amount of pressure on you to profile your students in a way that’s out of the ordinary [...] If you are expected to be ‘on the lookout’ [for Prevent indicators] I think it will impact on the teaching [...] I feel like the sector is going that way anyway but what am I, some kind of informant as well? That I’m on the lookout for someone who is *potentially*? [...] it could definitely affect the trust between educators and students particularly if you get it wrong, I mean what if you refer someone and it turns out to be nothing?

Participant E reflected upon a clash between practices of securitisation and surveillance, set forth in Prevent guidance, and the established values of the education sector (RQ4):

This is a quote from the Prevent training materials: ‘We are not asking you to spy on anyone, all we’re asking you to do is recognise just as you might notice a child or vulnerable adult whom you suspect is being abused or neglected.’ Here they are effectively trying to legitimise spying by reassuring us with, ‘we aren’t spying’, and instead are playing on, or some could say intentionally subverting, our basic caring human nature[.]

With these remarks, Participant E centres the perception of Prevent discourse as playing on, and subverting, the sense of ‘duty’ inherent to education professionals’ caring, vocational habitus. Educators are encouraged—or compelled—to shift their focus, to no longer view their students through an ‘education gaze’, so to speak, but instead subject them to the ‘examining gaze’ (securitised gaze) of disciplinary panoptic surveillance (Foucault, 1995). Prevent was perceived by many not just to require a shift of focus, but also to demand an *intensification* of that focus, with more time and energy spent on counterterrorist interventions. A significant theme emerged in the data: participants’ reluctance to cede their time to Prevent enactment, or to let the policy

distract them from educational concerns. This can be conceptualised as educators' attempts to resist 'becoming' something that felt alien in terms of existing professional identities.

As Deleuze and Guattari explain (1988), the process of 'becoming' describes a new way of 'being' that can involve a process of removing an individual from their original functions and instantiating new ones. In a Deleuzian framework, then, Prevent can be conceived of as encouraging, even compelling, the 'becoming(s)' of individuals in the education field into a new, securitised (and securitising) mode of 'being'. This is supported by respondents' own descriptions of the transformative process catalysed by Prevent: they repeatedly described their sense of the policy as exerting the pressure of 'becoming police', 'becoming spy', or 'becoming informant', and their own reluctance—or resistance—to giving in to this process. One respondent (398964), for instance, declared that Prevent had transformed them into a 'prison guard'. More broadly, participants' responses suggest that the theme of 'becoming police' indicates awareness, and discomfort with, Prevent as a regulatory regime. 'Becoming police', then, euphemises 'becoming (agents of) state authority' and the involuntary adoption of the state's ethics of securitisation, at odds with pre-existing conceptualisation(s) of professional identities within the education sector.

Participant J pointed to the way in which Prevent enacted an authoritarian 'becoming' in conflict with the pedagogical role:

My biggest problem when I am trying to get a student to engage in what I am trying to teach them is that they see me as some kind of enemy, some kind of authority figure that needs to be fought against [...] things like Prevent to my mind, are automatically putting me in there as an authority figure, they are taking away what I am trying to do and making me go 'oh well actually I know I am trying to stand next to you helping you go through this educational journey that we are going on, but if you say anything wrong I am going to report you to the authorities' [...]

Alongside reporting challenges with student engagement, many participants reported feelings of alienation in the classroom and in institutions. Even for education professionals with years of experience in the sector, these spaces no longer felt like ‘home’. Established professional values were situated as being directly at odds with Prevent’s ethos, as noted by Participant D:

What it felt like at the time at the initial training was, ok we are going to become the Stasi and report our comrades? But I think actually... students are students, and if you have a genuine concern about it you will report it to safeguarding so it doesn’t necessarily have to be a Prevent thing [Participant D].

This respondent, as with many others, expressed a reluctance to undergo a Prevent ‘becoming’. Yet their testimony also reveals a reframing of Prevent in a way that allows them to keep their careers through attempts to deal with the cognitive dissonance at play here, reinforcing Busher *et al.*’s (2017, p.65) findings that ‘engagement with the idea of ‘Prevent as safeguarding’ was an important factor in underpinning this confidence because it enabled [...] staff to incorporate the duty within existing safeguarding policies and processes with which staff were already by and large familiar and comfortable.

RQ6 Summary

The majority of respondents did not believe that Prevent has significantly changed their professional identities. However, the data suggests that this attitude is rooted in education professionals’ resilience in terms of resisting Prevent’s transformative pressures, rather than the

policy's mandate 'fitting' with their self-conceptions. The maintenance of professional identities is challenging, with individuals struggling to overcome the difficulties and discomforts involved with enacting Prevent. Professional identity can be broadly defined as one's professional self-concept, based on attributes, beliefs, values, motives, and experiences (Ibarra, 1999; Schein, 1978). In this context, Prevent was often perceived by participants to be a bad 'fit' in terms of aspects of established beliefs, values, and experiences within the education sector. For example, for a minority of education professionals, maintaining their established professional identities necessitated resisting pressures exerted by Prevent which 'encourage'—or even force—the adoption of more authoritarian and/or discriminatory practices. In Foucauldian terms, the policy represents an attempt to change educators' professional regard for (or attitude towards) students, from an 'educational gaze' towards a securitised 'examining gaze'. Rather than adopting the latter, participants tended to fall back on established traditional pedagogic practices (IDS 2015), reluctant to 'police' their students in the ideological domain (Herz, 2016).

Education professionals' resistance to Prevent's transformative force in terms of their professional identity involved, for many, engaging in policy translation, using a variety of strategies of enactment, including active reinterpretations and reframing of the duty—processes explored throughout this chapter (RQ3, RQ8a, RQ8b), and it is interesting to note that justifications for what could be described as a 'partial' enactment of Prevent emerged in the data. Chief amongst these was the assignment of higher value (and efficacy) to established, pre-Prevent 'common-sense' practices of 'good teaching' (IDS 2015), procedures which had been developed 'on the job' and that worked in the 'real world', unlike the more disciplinary values and practices prescribed by Prevent. Participants corresponding to Ball *et al.*'s (2011a) model of policy 'critics' often attempted to reduce the perceived detrimental effects of Prevent, for

example by asserting care-based pastoral power (Foucault, 2007b) in adopting educational approaches that minimised potential harm in terms of limiting students' ability to develop independently, or think critically (Pratchett *et al.*, 2010), or creatively (Snyder, 1970). These strategies are explored in greater detail in later sections related to RQ8 and RQ9.

RQ7a: What (If Any) are the Negative Aspects of Prevent?

Although the majority of participants reported 'no change' to their professional identities under Prevent (RQ6), critical views were threaded through responses to other questions, even in those which also contained positive or neutral opinions. In this way, 16 of the 17 participants corresponded to some extent to Ball *et al.*'s (2011a) model of policy 'critics'. This section concentrates specifically on issues that respondents explicitly identified as flaws in the Prevent duty.

The literature review and data presented thus far establishes that, in general, education professionals express concern with a wide range of negative aspects potentially associated with Prevent. Chief amongst these is the perception that the policy could enable discrimination against the Muslim community (and other groups targeted by Prevent), leading to increased marginalisation and exacerbating existing racial bias within society (Dodd, 2010). Numerous respondents (RQ2a, RQ2b) criticised Prevent on these value-based grounds—and did so in blunt terms. 'Prevent is fundamentally racist', stated Respondent 878184, whilst Respondent 085791 noted that the 'surveillance' policy 'feels targeted towards one section of society - i.e. Muslim[s]'. Respondent 942658 tacitly invoked Hussain and Bagguley's (2012) notion of Muslims as 'securitized citizens': 'It is state racism and Islamophobia. It is incredibly concerning

that teachers are encouraged to act upon their implicit biases against pupils of colour/Muslim pupils.’ Others similarly emphasised that the policy ‘risks damaging cultural relations’ (Participant E) by increasing ‘suspicion, stereotyping and intolerance towards other cultures’ (Respondent 818528), an issue affecting ‘both international and British dual heritage students’ (Respondent 875757).

Even those otherwise supportive of Prevent signalled the policy’s inherent danger as a means to facilitate the targeting of certain groups. Participant A, a head teacher generally very positively disposed towards Prevent—a ‘policy enthusiast and translator’ in Ball *et al.*’s (2011a, p.630) typology—remarked:

if you chose to take [Prevent] in a child-centred way then it could be very useful and very helpful, but if you chose to pursue it in terms of political ideology then it became risky and it then became a stick to beat people with, that certain groups in our own society could use[.]

If applied in ‘bad faith’, by politicised education professionals (Elton-Chalcraft *et al.*, 2017), Prevent could become a potent vector for discrimination. Many participants (RQ2a, RQ2b) worried about Prevent granting education professionals the authority to enact policy using illiberal practices, with several explicitly citing the policy as ‘dangerous’. Even participant A, a policy advocate (Ball *et al.*, 2017) stated that the policy opened the door to ‘extremist’ practices of discrimination: ‘it was easy to see that in combating extremism one could become extremist oneself, one could take it too far, one could jump too much on everything that somebody said, or somebody indicated’. Participant B underscored the way in which education professionals could be seduced by their new authoritarian powers into using a securitised gaze:

I think Prevent is making people feel they have got the right to look out and categorise and judge people and stereotype people. [...] that's probably the most dangerous thing about it, because then it's going to [...] empower people with their own agendas[.]

A small but significant minority of participants perceived Prevent as imposing government views, forcing education professionals to become agents of the state (Bryan, 2017).

Participant E, for example, alluded to a covert agenda in the policy as a form of home rule by *divide et impera*:

I feel that part of the covert agenda of Prevent is to stifle any form of opposition to the government—and crucially not just radical and extreme opposition, but legitimate and some might argue necessary opposition too. It is a form of ‘smoke and mirrors’—distracting attention away from things the government would rather we didn't inspect too closely, foreign policy, oil control, sales of arms, etcetera. It is essentially a destabilising tactic, [...]. The more you can make people confused and afraid of the bogeyman, the more scared and insular they become [...] This seems to be linked to the governmental policy of creating a ‘hostile environment’ for migrants.

Participant G described Prevent as an artefact of ‘cultural imperialism’, rooted in ‘Western arrogance’. This is evident, she affirmed, in the kind of things Prevent classifies as indicators of radicalism:

They are looking for changes in political stances that are more anti-western, or anti UK changes in your behaviour. [...] all of these behaviours [flagged as indicators of radicalism] have a very Muslim slant to them, it's always focused on a conversion to a Muslim way of life[.]

Such testimony lends empirical weight to the critique summarised in the literature review, highlighting Prevent's embedded Islamophobia. The strategy functions as a kind of policy-based

‘Orientalism’, anchored in the disproportionate and discriminatory profiling, and thus ‘othering’, of Islamic faith and worship practices (Farrell, 2016).

A significant minority of education professionals in this study indicated that the expansion of Prevent into the non-violent ‘pre-crime’ space risks ‘othering’ anyone radically critical of the status quo. Respondent 879365, for example, characterised the policy as ‘an oppressive strategy that spreads fear of individuality’ because education professionals ‘are required to “report” and “question” (read as interrogate) any observable differences--ANY!’.

Prevent classifies ‘[a]nyone who demonstrates any non-conformist or non-compliant behaviour’ as a threat. Participant M alluded to Prevent as a functionalist strategy to ‘correct’ students and thereby maintain the status quo (Smith, 2013): ‘the cynic in me would say it’s about trying to minimise the scope of kids’ views so that they are less of a problem for the general society as they grow up, less likely to try and fight and make radical change to things’. In this way, Prevent corresponds to Durkheim’s (1973, p.148) paradigm of education as an essential tool for ‘imprinting’ shared social values into the minds of children, resonant with his emphasis on the strong link existing between discipline and values.

Participant P classified Prevent’s functionalist rationale as ‘some totalitarian weird stuff’. Playing the role of policy critic, he maintained counter-discourses and showed evidence of interpretive policy work by looking at the ‘second-order implications of policy’ (Ball, *et al.* 2011, p.632):

I’m not comfortable with the idea of trying to educate somebody’s values[...] are we trying to reach this kind of homogenised society where it’s ‘well there’s no threats because everyone thinks the same way’?

Participant H shared Participant's J opinion that Prevent represents an attempt to homogenise society, developing this theme further by highlighting the way in which the policy could, over the long term, normalise securitisation and detrimentally subjectivise individuals:

Prevent in Further and Higher Education is the most powerful time for the government to implement this belief system within people, because that's the point where they start to have their own free thoughts and they start following government policy and foreign policy and watching the news, and because we've been bound by Prevent for about 12 years now it's sort of ingrained into your psyche in the way that you think about things. So now it's almost 'normal' because it becomes normal even when you are not at work and out in normal society[.]

Several participants offered first-person accounts of the 'politics of fear', as Furedi (2006; 2007; 2009) puts it, at play in the education sector which emerged as a major theme in the literature review. Participant J, for example, observed that the policy 'creates fear among the students, but it creates fear among the staff as well'. This underscores the way in which education professionals tasked with enforcing Prevent are themselves subject to the policy and its ill effects. Participant D added nuance to the theme of 'fear', intimating that the lack of competence training (RQ1) led him to think Prevent had a different purpose to the stated one, lending credence to the notion of a manufactured 'moral panic' regarding terrorism (Walsh, 2017, Morgan, 2016; Kappeler and Kappeler, 2004; Rothe and Muzzatti, 2004) and inferring a hidden curriculum:

Prevent is not that [protecting students and combating counterterrorism], it's got a different purpose, I think it's more to put it in our minds [...] I don't know, it could be fear, possibly? [...] maybe sometimes I think it's a drama to scare us[.]

Whilst many commented on Prevent's perceived homogenising effect, two participants (Respondent 878724; Participant Q) emphasised the fact that British schools, broadly split along class lines into state and private institutions, comprise diverse populations and thus do not offer students identical pedagogical experiences. For this reason, Respondent 878724 remarked that, whilst the promotion of FBV 'in a traditional private school is not difficult as the pupils have a very real grasp of these, in a traditional context', Prevent might be 'more pertinent' in schools with a 'broader ethnic mix' (read: urban state schools). Although he considered the policy broadly necessary, 'still relevant due to the prevalence of the Internet and the potential access the pupils have to extremism' at both kinds of institution, state-school students were framed, implicitly, as 'needing' Prevent more.

The classism of which Respondent 878724 appeared to tacitly approve was roundly called out by Participant Q, a secondary teacher at a maintained school, an outlier as one of the few interview participants who explicitly classified Prevent as operating along class lines. After close examination of guidance documents regarding the promotion of FBV, it became clear that Prevent is demonstrably implemented differently in state schools and private schools:

I discovered that there were two different ones being given out to schools [...] one is for independent schools, free schools and academies: [...] the title says 'improving' the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of people. Whereas in the maintained schools document we're supposed to be 'promoting' fundamental British values [...] the implication there is just that the kids in the independent schools have already 'got it' and it just needs to be merely improved, but in the maintained schools they are 'lacking' and it needs to be promoted and be encouraged [...] There was this assumption that kids from a certain type of school were going to either be in a position of power where they could make that sort of difference or that it would be on their level of consideration, whereas in the maintained schools those are the rules, you will follow them[.]

This is highly connotative of Bourdieu's (1973) theorisation of cultural reproduction (Chandler and Munday, 2011), a mechanism whereby cultural forms, values, practices, and norms are transmitted from generation to generation and society to society. For Bourdieu, the education system 'reproduces' the culture of the dominant class in order for the elite to continue to maintain power (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990).

RQ7a Summary

To a large extent, the empirical data confirms the critical findings of the literature review. Despite its avowed intent to maintain social cohesion in the UK, Prevent, as currently formulated, has the potential to cause a range of negative effects. This includes the facilitation of Islamophobic discrimination, the exacerbation of existing biases in the education sector—including racism and classism—and the classification of non-violent individuals engaged in processes of democratic protest and civic engagement as terrorists (Amster, 2006). Prevent was further identified as potentially exerting detrimental homogenising and normalising effects on students, teachers, and broader society, and as likely counterproductive to its stated aims (Awan, 2012; Thomas, 2012). The latter viewpoint is explored further below, in relation to RQ7b. Respondents were well aware (and concerned) that the 2011 version of Prevent widened the policy's remit beyond its initial focus on Islamic terrorism, (re)framing *all* students as securitised citizens (Hussain and Bagguley, 2012), potentially resulting in the production of a wide range of new suspect communities.

Flaws identified in Prevent undermined the legitimacy of the policy for many of the education professionals in this study. Taken along with other concerns about Prevent, this

evidences the way in which enacting the policy causes education professionals notable discomfort—or even ‘rupture’—resulting from the attempt to transform their existing professional identity. This can be characterised as a Bourdieusian ‘fish out of water’ response, signalling a divided or cleft habitus (Bourdieu, 1999; see also 2000). However, whilst participants routinely acknowledged Prevent’s ‘potential’ for harm, the majority of education professionals believed that their *own* enactment of the policy (and their institution’s enactment) was light-touch/value-based enough to avoid this. A primary concern was that the policy endowed *others* with potentially harmful powers.

RQ7b: To what Extent is Prevent Seen as Counterproductive?

The potential for Prevent to be counterproductive to its stated aims was a strand of critique articulated by approximately a third of the education professionals participating in the study. This offers substantive empirical support to the literature review’s findings on this topic. The theme of Prevent being counterproductive is explored throughout this thesis and in the interests of brevity this section is relatively more condensed than the other RQs.

Many education professionals expressed the view that, by punishing non-criminal views, Prevent could force potential extremists ‘underground’ which would make challenging their ideology impossible. Participant E encapsulated this prevailing attitude:

If someone can discuss their extreme views openly then there is an opportunity for them to be rationalised and diffused, whereas if they are afraid to do this then instead they will enter an echo chamber, where radical views will only become amplified further [...] they’ll just go underground[.]

Other respondents highlighted the potential damage wrought by Prevent's disciplinary ethos and authoritarianism. Participant F, for example, observed:

If you are against something and those people you are against punish you or make it hard and put you in jail and give you some kind of sanction or consequence then it's just going to fuel your anger and your isolation[.]

Some respondents highlighted the divisive nature they perceived as inherent to the Prevent discourse. Participant Q, for example, stated:

The idea that you have been told that there is an 'us and them' means that you aren't creating that separation between us and them, it's already there, even as far as 'they' see it even as far as those who are writing the Prevent strategy, they are 'them' and 'we' are 'us'.

Such responses centred the policy's perhaps unintended, but possibly inevitable, consequences in terms of *students'* responses to Prevent. Similarly, Respondent 357407 suggested that Prevent may trigger 'a counterproductive rebellious streak in many staff', in part due to the additional burden enforcement places on 'already overstretched' educators. For Participant Q, it was a matter of common sense—and not necessarily the specific context(s) of the education sector—that Prevent, a policy that mandates that one group of individuals (education professionals) 'look at and judge another set of people' (their students), seeds suspicion and creates alienation: 'I don't see how it can be anything but divisive'.

RQ7b Summary

Regardless of whether education professionals were pro- or anti- Prevent, there were widespread fears the policy could be counterproductive (Awan, 2012; Thomas, 2012), both to the education

process and in terms of creating the problem it seeks to address. For example, participants observed that individuals vulnerable to radicalisation could potentially be pushed into ‘echo chambers’ where extremist views could flourish unchallenged ‘underground’. This reinforces findings from the literature review. Nevertheless, the majority of education professionals—even those expressing concerns—did not think that the enactment of Prevent in their *own* institutions was counterproductive. Overwhelmingly, participants reported non-intrusive and ‘light-touch’ implementation strategies that gave them the agency to pursue policy-enactment practices that were, on the whole, felt to be non-discriminatory, and even educationally beneficial.

Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that where the study evidenced ‘heavy-touch’ strategies (at just one of the ten institutions in which participants were based) that the negative consequences of this interventionist regime were made clear: Participant H reported iatrogenic policy effects he considered to be counterproductive and illiberal. Regardless of differences in regulatory oversight between institutions, nearly all participants voiced concerns about the policy’s *potential* to be used in an illiberal fashion. This includes, for example, discriminatory implementation strategies that could cause the breakdown of social bonds and alienation, potentially creating anomie among the individuals that Prevent notionally seeks to ‘protect’, thereby paradoxically and counterproductively increasing the very risk for radicalisation that Prevent purportedly seeks to mitigate (Taylor, 2020; Siedler, 2007).

RQ8: How Do Education Professionals Position Themselves with Regards to Prevent?

Individuals may react to different situations by taking on a range of novel, sometimes overlapping subject positions, according to Foucault (1989). For Hall (1997, p. 56), these subject-positions are constructed by the discourse itself, whereby the subjects of a discourse subjectify themselves to ‘its meaning, power and regulation’, by adopting a subject-position from which they can make the most sense of it. This is evident in the way in which education professionals are variously situated and subjectivised by, and under, Prevent. Tasked with enacting the policy and facing a host of situational contexts and expectations, they are both policy actors *and* policy subjects. Education professionals’ roles and subject positions are, in this way, contingent, fluid, and dynamic: different subject positions may be adopted at different times or held simultaneously. Whilst an undeniably productive framework for initial investigation, Ball *et al.*’s (2011a) typology of policy actors does not, ultimately, fully reflect the nature of the subject positions adopted by education professionals towards Prevent evident in this study. A broader typology emerges from the data presented above, which allows for the identification of three main policy positions: ‘legitimators’, ‘assimilators’, and ‘doubters’, mapping onto the subject positions of individuals most to least supportive of policy enforcement. The present section delineates this embryonic typology (Table 7), whilst further detail and insights into Prevent enactment positions and associated policy work is offered in the following section (RQ9). Throughout, the phrases ‘subject positions’ and ‘policy positions’ are used interchangeably.

The subject positions theorised below are a product of the researcher’s analysis of data gathered in a specific place and a specific time. Nevertheless, this typology, as a heuristic device,

is grounded in a thorough interrogation of the data in order to group broadly similar attitudes. Crucially, participants did not self-identify in these terms. As such, it is essential to acknowledge that this typology may not be representative of how participants themselves view(ed) their positions, and positions are considered fluid with it being possible to occupy multiple subject positions on a contingent basis. In this way, the typology proposed in this section offers only a subjective snapshot of the terrain at hand.

Typology of Prevent policy actors (see Table 7)

Legitimators

Legitimators are the least critical of the groups. They are most likely to defend and support Prevent implementation following the letter of regulations, likely suggesting that the policy's negative aspects can be mitigated by 'light-touch' implementation. This group incorporates aspects of Ball *et al.*'s (2011a) 'policy models', 'enthusiasts', 'translators', and 'narrators'. Whilst sharing many characteristics with Ball *et al.*'s 'enthusiasts', 'translators', and 'entrepreneurs', legitimators differ in that they are likely to exhibit awareness of counter-discourses to, and flaws in, policy. Despite such doubts, they are likely to be policy models and maintain a compliant image. In this way, they legitimate the official narratives underpinning Prevent and its requisite enactment protocols. Participants A, F, H, and O are the model for legitimators: they are policy champions, actively and enthusiastically compliant with enactment mandates.

Assimilators

Assimilators are generally ambivalent towards Prevent. They are critical of the policy in general terms but work hard to mitigate its negative effects while enacting the policy and incorporating it into practice. This group incorporates Ball *et al.*'s (2011) 'critics', 'translators', and 'narrators'. Unlike Ball *et al.*'s 'receivers', assimilators proactively engage in policy translation and adaptation. While assimilators may not publicly resist or undermine Prevent, as with Ball *et al.*'s 'critics', they are reflexive and generally demonstrate their agency on an individual level, such as in terms of pedagogical leadership. As policy protagonists (Robert, 2017), assimilators translate policy in accordance with their own principles and values (Liht and Savage, 2013; Biesta, 2010). In this way, they forward counter-discourses whilst maintaining a compliant image. Participants D, I, K, L, M, and N are the model for assimilators: they are broadly policy-compliant and use active values-based enactment strategies. Whilst they evinced a shared disbelief in aspects of the official narratives underpinning Prevent, these participants still enacted the policy actively, rather than using avoidance strategies as is the case for doubters. Such dissonant behaviour, a mixture of critique and compliance, is not fully accounted for in Ball *et al.*'s (2011a) existing typology.

Doubters

Doubters are the education professionals most likely to be critical of Prevent, most likely to advocate its removal, and are highly sceptical of policy more generally. While almost all participants shared some aspects of the doubter position the participants occupying the doubter policy position are most likely to be Prevent policy-avoidant and maintain counter-discourses. This group incorporates aspects of Ball *et al.*'s (2011a) 'critics', 'outsiders', 'narrators', and 'receivers'. Doubters may not publicly resist or overtly undermine Prevent. Yet, as with Ball *et*

al.'s 'critics', they exert their agency on an individual level by engaging only superficially with policy and by maintaining counter-discourses. Similar to Ball *et al.*'s 'narrators', doubters create their own alternative policy narratives while maintaining a compliant image. By contrast to Ball *et al.*'s 'receivers', however, doubters adapt their behaviour and attitudes only minimally to escape external censure believing existing values-based practices are sufficient. Participants B, C, E, G, J, P, and Q are the model for doubters: they are policy-resistant, deploy a minimally compliant enactment strategy, and express disbelief in aspects of the official guidance and narratives underpinning Prevent. Nevertheless, regardless of their policy avoidance tactics, through lack of overt resistance doubters to some extent still arguably tacitly legitimise Prevent.

RQ9: Strategies for Enacting Prevent (RQ9a), Negotiating its Discomforts (RQ9b), and Mitigating its Negative Aspects (RQ9c)

Despite a limited role in the creation of policy text, as front-line professionals (Knapp *et al.*, 1998) participants in this study are all directly responsible for the implementation of Prevent. Responses evidence a range of methods deployed by education professionals to fulfil their responsibilities, ranging from the practical enactment of policy, to mitigating potentially negative outcomes, and managing discomfort. Such methods—constitutive of 'policy work' (Ball *et al.*, 2011a)—can be understood as Bourdieusian 'strategies': measures taken by individuals to resist forces of extrinsic determination, which foreground the importance of individual agency within a structuralist framework (Swartz, 1997, p.98). The heuristic of Bourdieusian 'strategies' thus provides insights into how education professionals perceive and negotiate the rules of the field. This section provides an overview of the most frequent 'strategies' utilised by subjects for

enacting Prevent while mitigating negative effects on their students, in accordance with the typology sketched above (RQ8).

Legitimators: straightforward strategies of policy translation and enactment

Participants identified as legitimators were often in leadership positions. Typically, their values were congruent with those of Prevent—for example, they were likely to agree that the additional security measures enshrined by the policy were justified. Legitimators positioned themselves as progressive, despite being pragmatically security-conscious and accepting dominant Prevent discourse and narratives, whether explicitly or tacitly. As ‘policy models’, they were compliant in enacting Prevent surveillance practices fairly straightforwardly, i.e. closely following guidance. For legitimators, the framing of Prevent in dominant discourse reinforced their ‘common sense’ understanding of terrorism and efforts to combat it (McHale *et al.*, 2007). Prevent is legitimised thanks to its ‘scientific’ veracity, as a necessary, ‘logical’ solution to the urgent threat of terrorism. Acknowledgement, and fear, of the potential threat of terrorism is a key aspect of legitimators’ discourse, used to justify their straightforward approach to policy enactment. Prevent is essentially ‘taken for granted’ as an inevitable evolution of security policymaking reflecting the needs of the social order (Hall, 1993, p.102).

Participant A, a head teacher in primary education, expressed a characteristic legitimator opinion: ‘the whole Middle East politics have been part of our thinking for twenty or thirty years so when Prevent came in it wasn’t a new risk’. This notion of Prevent as ‘nothing particularly new’ was similarly foregrounded by Participant O, a DSL and trainer of Prevent trainers. She straightforwardly enacted Prevent, enfolded her responsibilities into established safeguarding

practices, for instance using the strategy for identifying potential instances of female genital mutilation (FGM) for identifying girls at risk of radicalisation: ‘you don’t say “are you going off to Syria to become a jihadi bride?” you say: “this is a strange time for a holiday! Where are you going, somewhere nice?”’

For legitimators, their existing habitus was fitted almost seamlessly with the securitised field, amounting to a ‘fish in water’ sense of comfort. There was little sense of an unwelcome transformation in professional role, reflected in their no-nonsense, ‘common-sense’ approach to policy enactment in general. This is exemplified by Participant O’s matter-of-fact statement: ‘I ended up going on a train the trainers’ course [...] now I am a (Prevent) trainer so I will go off and train other DSLs who haven’t had training’. Similarly, Participant A brushed off an unfounded referral lightly: ‘It did not meet the threshold for direct intervention from the specialists themselves [...] the outcomes from the intervention was affirmation that it was a right decision to make a referral [...] so that was quite nice’. The participant’s silence on the potential damage caused by an unnecessary referral is telling. In contrast to the discomfort felt by doubters and assimilators, legitimators seemed to have found relative harmony in the recently securitised field. In particular, they seemed able to enact the policy straightforwardly, despite apparent misgivings about how Prevent could be misused by others.

Legitimators’ professional identity was connected to ambitious career development. They occupied, by and large, leadership positions, congruent with Ball *et al.*’s (2011a) ‘policy models’. The kind of policy work described by legitimators often involved creating a leadership ‘vision’ for their institutions, a process that is in some ways analogous with ‘policy storytelling’ and associated narratives (Boje, 1991). Ball *et al.* (2011a, p.627) state that such narratives ‘are aimed both at staff (and students), as a focus of organisational commitment and cohesion, and for

consumption by various publics (parents, Ofsted, local authority)’. For these participants, their interpretation of the Prevent discourse—a kind of ‘policy storytelling’—provided legitimacy for their enactment processes.

Participant H provides the unique example of a reluctant legitimator. His position comprises aspects of Ball *et al.*’s (2011a) ‘policy receiver’, with the notable caveat that he occupies a leadership position, as a line-manager of more than thirty lecturers. Participant H described adopting an outward subject position of legitimator by enacting Prevent, despite his personal views being far more in line with doubters’ attitudes. He implemented Prevent rigorously, closely following regulations, with little opportunity for the discretion available to Lipsky’s (1980) ‘street level bureaucrat’. In fact, Participant H could only exercise his discretion in terms of operationalising Prevent ‘to the letter’. He made ten referrals not because he genuinely believed they were merited, but because he believed compliance offered hope of career progression, or at least shielded him from ‘threat to livelihood’ (RQ5).

Participant H’s testimony arguably evidences a process of ‘becoming police’ (RQ6). Yet Participant H’s other responses demonstrate that his inwardly held subject position corresponds to many aspects of the doubter classification, including his trenchant criticism of the way in which Prevent serves to politicise roles and enforce illiberal, counterproductive surveillance practices. As an ‘internal’ doubter his subject position is out of step with the disciplinary culture adopted in his workplace, administered through top-down managerialism. Whilst Participant H certainly does not overtly challenge the authoritarian enactment of Prevent at his institution, his straightforward docile compliance is reluctant, docility achieved through coercion. In this instance Prevent can thus be conceptualised as a form of Gramscian (1971) hegemony, an authoritarianism dependent upon a synthesis of both coercion and consent.

Assimilators: policy protagonism and curriculum leadership

Assimilators were the most diverse group, in terms of the range of ‘policy work’ in which they were actively involved. For this reason, they correspond to Ball *et al.*’s (2011a) ‘policy actors’ at a macro-level, though they do not fit easily into any one sub-category. For example, assimilators acted variously as: policy ‘narrators’, involved with meaning-making and vision; policy ‘translators’, transforming Prevent into practices that were in line with their established values (Liht and Savage, 2013; Biesta, 2010) and thus a better match for their professional identity; and policy ‘critics’, maintaining counter-discourses. At times, assimilators combined all of these policy positions to develop solutions to overcome issues with Prevent. Strategies utilised by assimilators often involved using judgemental rationality (Archer, 2020) to evaluate the likely impact of Prevent and then to use values-based reflexivity to reinterpret and recontextualise the policy accordingly, often using inclusive emancipatory educational approaches (Akram and Richardson, 2009). Reflexivity implies agency and describes the capacity of education professionals to mediate their environment through internal dialogue, prior to action (Archer, 2009). They reported successfully enacting Prevent without negatively affecting their students through strategies such as ‘curriculum leadership’ (DeMatthews, 2014; Glatthorn, 1987) and ‘policy protagonism’ (Robert, 2017; Robert and McEntarfer, 2014), that leveraged their social capital, their autonomy, knowledge of their students, and their field-specific expertise.

Participant L emblematised a ‘curriculum leadership’ approach, integrating respectful trust-building emancipatory pedagogical principles (Sheikh and Reed, 2010; Akram and Richardson, 2009; Cockburn, 2007) into their praxis in order to navigate tensions generated by Prevent enactment:

The Muslim students used to talk about their disgust at stories in the news, and how it was affecting them as individuals, and I worked quite hard with my colleagues to create a nurturing environment where they could talk about anything

A clear focus on students' needs, and a prioritisation of civic integration (Davies, 2018), values (Liht and Savage, 2013; Biesta, 2010) and inclusivity in the classroom (Akram and Richardson, 2009), was the hallmark of this strategy, as it is with emancipatory pedagogy and 'good teaching' (IDS, 2015) more generally.

Participant J foregrounded the agency of teachers in terms of modelling behaviours in the classroom, rather than simply parroting official talking points, invoking a foundational principle of social-learning theory whereby role models exert influence on those they teach (Bandura and Walters, 1977):

I will model a good way of being a collaborative human being, in an equitable society [...] having a sensible conversation with that child about why they hold that belief [...] sorting it out on a relatively ad hoc basis just using wisdom and sensitivity[.]

Participant D similarly evidenced a reflexive pedagogical approach in dealing with Prevent enactment, targeting the 'affective domain' of his students (Liht and Savage, 2013) in a respectful manner (Sheikh and Reed, 2010; Cockburn, 2007): 'you have to be quite sensitive in how you approach it', including encouraging students 'to be maybe more sympathetic [...] so it's not just knowing the facts but them "feeling" what they are actually saying'. The data taken as a whole evidences numerous examples of creative resistances through education professionals refusing to conduct themselves towards others in ways encouraged by Prevent, reminiscent of Foucault's notion of 'counter-conducts'. In Foucauldian terms resistance arguably manifests

through 'counter-conducts' whereby individuals resist power by refusing to conduct the conduct of others in ways that could be detrimental (Foucault, 2007b).

Several participants highlighted teaching critical-thinking skills as central to their pedagogy (Pratchett *et al.*, 2010). This shaped approaches to classroom discussions, alongside structural and logistical decisions. Participant N, for instance, a university student union permanent staff member, outlined the way their institution negotiated Prevent compliance in terms of their external-speaker policy using a pedagogical intervention encouraging engagement with a range of information (IDS 2015): 'we would look to have a panel to provide a strong alternative view' to ensure for the representation of 'a range of viewpoints [...] to counter extreme views'. This practice 'provide[s] students with the opportunity to learn and develop and have experiences that will benefit them by being exposed to different challenging viewpoints'.

The pedagogical and pastoral strategies deployed by the participants cited above in enacting Prevent depend upon their experience, expertise, and autonomy. Creative resistance (and resistance) to contested regulatory norms was grounded in the perception of the efficacy of 'common-sense' pedagogical techniques (IDS 2015), alongside the privileging of field-specific knowledge. Participants' behaviours were perceived to be justified due to an understanding of the integrally autonomous nature of their pedagogical role (RQ5, RQ6). Participants routinely utilised their own values system (Liht and Savage, 2013; Biesta, 2010) and expertise in making judgements, rather than strictly following policy to the letter. Frequently, assimilators discussed avoiding labelling students, which was perceived to be counterproductive. Such decisions tacitly evoke Durkheim's (1897) labelling theory, specifically that the identities and practices of individuals may be determined or influenced by the labels used to describe them. Participant J, for instance, explained:

If I take the word of a 14-year-old, and then say, ‘I am concerned about what this kid has said’, am I not labelling that kid? Am I not potentially criminalising that kid? [...] as soon as someone puts a label on you it changes the landscapes of your beliefs... as someone puts a label to it[...] it adds some kind of kudos to your belief[.]

Instead, he favoured ‘using just common sense’, and inclusive strategies (Akram and Richardson, 2009) such as engaging with students respectfully to foster trust (Stephens and Sieckelinck, 2019; Sheikh and Reed, 2010; Cockburn, 2007), and understand the context, and motivation, for potentially problematic remarks.

Respect for students as individuals—and their families—was a core component (Sheikh and Reed, 2010; Cockburn, 2007) of assimilators’ philosophy more generally. Participants routinely articulated a commitment to upholding the rights of these stakeholders, alongside supporting the building of social capital, and facilitating feelings of belonging and community. Participant F, for instance, outlined a holistic (Feddes *et al.*, 2015) ‘family-first’ model of Prevent enactment acknowledging and targeting the members of the community that surround learners (Davies, 2018):

I would raise it first with the family anyway first, I would say [...] ‘have you noticed your son or daughter has been different, or said this?’ and I would always talk about it with them, and 99 percent of the time they kind of agree, [...]. But if there was complete non-engagement then I would have to use the language to move it up and escalate it to agencies

For a minority of education professionals, enactment was not without struggle (RQ1, RQ2b, RQ4, RQ7a); some felt coerced into ‘heavy-touch’ policy implementation rather than ‘enactment’. This is the case, for example, with Participant H, as outlined in the preceding

‘legitimizers’ section. Some assimilators evidenced similar attitudes. Participant D, for example, reported self-regulation, owing to Prevent’s panopticism:

I was avoiding certain areas, not many, but one or two debates that might have come up in a course when you are talking about the civil rights movement, and the sort of movements where people are protesting, protest music, that sort of stuff[...] I definitely had to change that and had to rethink it when Prevent came out[.]

This provides further evidence of Prevent’s ‘chilling effect’ on frank discussion of ‘risky’ topics (Coppock and McGovern, 2014; Husband and Alam, 2011).

Transformation of professional habitus is arguably one of the defining characteristics of assimilators: Prevent enactment, for them, often involved using a variety of strategies to overcome reservations with aspects of the policy. In other words, assimilators respond to the pressures exerted by Prevent to change educators’ roles in favour of securitisation by developing their role along a different axis: by blending and reframing the policy’s securitising practices with their pedagogical expertise in an attempt to mitigate against negative effects. Assimilators’ efforts to alter old practices and create new Prevent-compliant counter-radicalisation and resilience building practices that ‘fit’ with their values function as attempts to resolve, and reconcile, fundamental discontinuities between their established value-based previous practices and those practices enforced by the Prevent duty.

Doubters: maintaining counter-discourses while outwardly compliant

Prevent has largely been adopted by education professionals without significant overt resistance, as demonstrated by findings from this study, and others (Busher *et al.*, 2017). Nonetheless, the data reveals that a significant minority of education professionals experienced substantive ‘struggles’ when enacting Prevent. Participants struggled, for instance, to overcome keenly felt discomforts, to grapple with ontological ruptures, and to manage potentially detrimental effects associated with the policy. This is particularly the case for doubters, who were dispositionally opposed to Prevent, outspoken about its flaws, and reported being deeply reluctant to enact the policy, thus amounting to a ‘fish out of water’ response to the securitised education field.

Doubters’ compliance was typically only achieved through (perceived) coercion, particularly in relation to the ‘threat to livelihood’. Participant C encapsulated doubters’ attitudes:

It's like an obligation that I have to do this training and this training means I am now trained to identify extreme people, and I'm in a position where I can't say no, if I say no, I'm not going to have a job[.]

Doubters repeatedly critiqued FBV in particular and developed enactment strategies to mitigate Prevent guidance in this area (RQ2b). For example, Participant K, generally an assimilator with legitimator responsibilities as a head teacher in secondary education, reported that they ‘embedded [FBV] into the PSHE programme’. This supported the delivery of Prevent ‘opt outs’ for students who might be upset or offended by certain topics and thus protect them from the risk of potential Prevent referral. This is typical of the way in which many education professionals in the study seek to reinterpret and recontextualise Prevent using ‘value-based’ education practices

(Biesta, 2010) in an ethical manner (RQ2b) in an effort to reduce potential negative effects, such as discrimination and ‘labelling’ through being referred. Whilst doubters, at a more “fixed” level, represent a small (but significant) minority of education professionals, many more education professionals in the study adopt this subject position at certain times, and/or in response to certain Prevent provisions.

Participant J, an archetypical doubter, turned to established practices as ‘common-sense’ alternatives to Prevent guidance (RQ1, RQ5):

Basically, what it [Prevent training] amounted to is that if you are concerned about students’ attitudes towards minority groups - tell the person in your organisation that you are concerned about that. [...] ultimately that is what it boiled down to [...] certainly in the fifteen years I have been involved in education I have always done that. If a student clearly has a deep-seated attitude that is of concern you know we do something about it and we don’t just ignore it[.]

Similarly, Participant E was clear: ‘I am going to take this [Prevent training] on board but use my own judgement, but ultimately if I’m in a situation that could fall under Prevent I’m going to use my own judgement and I’m going to use my own moral compass’. Prevent training is thus situated as paternalistic, and to some extent redundant. Indeed, Participant J acknowledged that, faced with ‘an Ofsted visit’, he ‘would probably have to do some crazy “nod” to the requirement to teach British values’, but was clear that this compliance was performative. He resisted any change in his day-to-day teaching praxis, as his habitus was already Prevent ‘ready’: ‘I’d like to think that I demonstrate those values every day in my professional practice rather than “actively promoting them”’. In a similar manner, Participant N reported a Janus-like approach to policy compliance in operation at his institution, a university student union. Whilst the student union as an organisation remained policy-compliant at a macro-

level, it supported the elected student union sabbatical officers' decision to condemn Prevent; the union's nominal support of condemning Prevent was 'very much a gesture in some ways because in practice we carried on operating in the same way as we had done previously i.e. 'Prevent-compliant'.

Despite the widespread perception that overt Prevent non-compliance was impossible if wanting to continue to work in the education field, doubters such as Participants J and E did not always feel it necessary to fully operationalise the policy. This strategy was, in part, anchored in participants' staunch confidence in existing practices, alongside their utilisation of avoidance of harm strategies. The latter can be termed 'tick-box enactment' or 'paying lip-service', as with the behaviours described by Participants J and N above (RQ9). This is further evident in Participant C's categorisation of Prevent enactment as 'just an extra layer of admin', which has limited, if any, 'direct effect': 'it's not going to change the way I teach or the way I view my students'.

A common cause: contesting Prevent's 'regime of truth'

Legitimators, assimilators, and doubters were unanimous in one opinion: Prevent potentially facilitates detrimental practices. Despite this shared opinion they articulate their critique differently. Doubters are more outspoken, individualist, and more likely to maintain existing practices as already sufficient. Assimilators turn to pedagogy, common-sense experiences, and recontextualisation. Legitimators are keen to highlight that though Prevent *could* be detrimental, it definitely isn't in their case, in part because of their self-perception of using 'light touch' enactment strategies and practices. Many decided that the policy's potentially negative aspects required mitigation through enactment strategies, hence adopting the position of assimilators and

doubters. Strikingly, Participant A, overwhelmingly a legitimator—and thus, one of Prevent’s most enthusiastic supporters—, best summed up shared doubts about the policy’s design:

Prevent had the potential to be applied to four-year olds and 30-year-olds and that’s too wide a spectrum for one strategy to be managed properly without problems. [...] I looked at what it could do for children and I thought it could do good stuff for children, but I could see that if you were 25 and at university and exploring that you could feel pressurised[.]

Legitimizers tend to frame Prevent as a securitisation issue, with the policy regarded as a pragmatic response to real-world terror threat. Despite such framing, in the ‘low-threat’ region in which this study was conducted, almost all participants reported ‘light-touch’ enactment processes. Only one out of seventeen participants reported that their institution used an approach that they perceived ‘heavy-touch’. Assimilators, by contrast, frame Prevent as an educational issue, an opinion anchored in their recognition of Prevent’s potentially iatrogenic effects. They tend to be proactive, using strategies of policy translation. This includes, for example, curriculum leadership, as a method to develop trust and open up dialogue with students and respectfully engage them in discussions of controversial issues (Elwick and Jerome, 2019; Sheikh and Reed, 2010; Cockburn, 2007). Doubters and assimilators were more outspoken, and more cynical, and likely to frame Prevent as unwarranted and illiberal. They thus tend to adopt passive strategies of ‘paying lip-service’ to the policy (El-Khawas, 1998; Henry, 1997), often on a contingent basis, i.e. they will enact Prevent only when absolutely necessary, and otherwise effectively ignore it.

Doubters and assimilators in the study described using their existing relationships with students to allow them to determine a ‘difference between thought and action’ (Bartlett *et al.*, 2010). They typically solved Prevent-related problems using ‘common sense’ good teaching and existing traditional pedagogical techniques (Herz, 2016; IDS 2015), without referral to outside

authority and without ‘punishing’ the students by subjecting them to disciplinary effects.

Participant B remarked, for instance, ‘I don’t think it would be enough [justification] to say “he’s posting something on Facebook, he’s sixteen years old, let’s open up a Prevent file on him”’.

Participant M foregrounded the difference between thought and practice (Bartlett *et al.*, 2010): ‘[...] people can have more extreme views, but it doesn’t necessarily mean they are going to behave violently or be a threat to the public’.

Doubters at times critiqued Prevent’s ‘regime of truth’, in terms of its predominant discourse and tactics of affective manipulation (Gewirtz *et al.*, 2004). Participant E asserted:

The government do what politicians do in a great deal of cases, they use spin and emotive language to try to convince us that we are doing this wholly for the student’s benefit, as opposed to the government’s[.]

Prevent is here framed as a discourse through which those in power can sustain the current political and economic systems (Gramsci, 1971). Participant E continued: ‘if I follow Prevent legislation then I effectively become a tool for enforcing the entrenched system, which is not how I would wish to view myself, either professionally or personally.’ This opinion was shared by several other participants (RQ2a, RQ5, RQ7). Participant H maintained that Prevent essentially mandates the identification of ‘students negatively talking about the government’, with educators compelled to report ‘anyone who is acting in a suspicious way, which they class as perhaps supporting an organisation that we are currently against as a British government’.

Doubters, and to a lesser extent assimilators, were more likely than legitimators to frame the policy as not fully legitimised by official discourses, for a variety of reasons (RQ8).

Participant B believed, for instance, that ‘there is a difference between what Prevent training

describes as a threat and what is actually a real threat' (Bartlett *et al.*, 2010). Participant F contrasted Prevent's hyperbolic portrayal of terrorism in the UK to the 'reality' of statistical data: 'given the area we live in and the students I came into contact with to be honest it seemed a bit exaggerated[...] in reality it is probably statistically not as high as other things that are affecting young people and causing them to die'.

Notwithstanding misgivings about the official rationale for Prevent, it was understood by participants as an unavoidable part of life in the education sector. Participant P, for instance, reflected: 'There is no choice, it's been decided that this is the best way forward and you've just got to do this.' With no power to withdraw from Prevent's influence entirely, participants engaged in strategies of negotiation, mitigation, and partial avoidance. As the human face of policy (Lipsky, 1980), education professionals in general operationalise Prevent by recontextualising the contested aspects of its 'regime of truth', often by translating or avoiding the official mandated practices thought to be iatrogenic, in order to develop an implementation mode perceived to be more ethical (RQ9c) and socially cohesive (Davies, 2018; Liht and Savage, 2013; Biesta, 2010).

Conclusion to Chapter 4: Findings and Analysis

The empirical data reveals the diverse responses of education professionals to the duty to operationalize Prevent on the front line of the education field, affording insights into their internal dialogues and values driven enactment processes, and their creative resistances when faced with guidance that they perceive to contradict their educational mission and/or duty of care to their students. Several contradictory conclusions emerge from the analysis of the data. In

contrast to empirical evidence presented in the literature review which presents the view that Prevent has little opposition among education professionals (Busher *et al.*, 2017) the findings of this study demonstrate that while education professionals tasked with the discharge of Prevent generally do consider policy enactment to be relatively straightforward, that this widespread view is despite, and perhaps in spite of the widely reported issues and equally widespread concerns with the policy. This ‘untroubled’ rollout of Prevent is at odds with a frequent contention, summarised in the literature review, of negative impacts of discrimination caused by the policy. Whilst individuals on the front line do voice these issues, in actuality they tend to characterise iatrogenic effect due to Prevent as 1) *potential*, 2) occurring in *other* institutions, not their own (RQ7a), and 3) mitigated by their own enactment practices. At the same time, the data *does* support other findings that emerged in the literature review, chiefly by documenting widespread concerns about Prevent’s *potential* harms, a potentially counterproductive ‘chilling effect’ on discourse for some participants, and the widely held perception that the policy’s flaws often require time and energy sapping mitigation measures to stave off negative effects on the student body. Many participants reported, for instance, emancipatory prevention work utilising a blend of traditional and student-first pedagogical practices. Some participants reported ‘partial’ engagement with Prevent such as avoidant ‘foot-dragging’ style enactment as a response to institutional-level ‘tick-box’ audit regimes, which presumably do little to effectively achieve the policy’s stated aims.

While education professionals unanimously agree with both the overarching aim of Prevent to prevent their students from being drawn into terrorism, and with the values regime underpinning the policy, the evidence presented has shown their deep reservations as to whether the official guidance represents the best approach to this task. The potential for Prevent to exert a

‘chilling effect’ on the discussion of ‘challenging’ topics was confirmed to some extent. The theory that Prevent causes a chilling effect has been extended by conceptualising the policy as a far-reaching socio-technical surveillance infrastructure with the *potential* to be used in a discriminatory and illiberal fashion regardless of the full participation of education professionals. Whether the policy’s panopticism was judged to be necessary, even welcome, differed according to participants’ attitudes towards the legitimacy, and efficacy, of Prevent overall, and their perception of terrorist threat in the UK. Participants described the added ‘risk’ attached to such exchanges under Prevent, for example, alongside feeling coerced to enact Prevent through fear of the negative consequences of non-compliance, including job loss.

Approximately 94% of the 17 education professionals who participated in the interview phase of this study reported that they felt able to enact Prevent in a way that minimised potential ‘harm’. Overall, then, education professionals—regardless of their subject position—are likely to challenge, translate, and recontextualise Prevent policy, arguably operationalizing a form of pastoral power. That this is necessary indicates that the policy is flawed, which alongside the widespread criticisms and its ongoing official review signals a failure in the government’s efforts to legitimise both the policy and its implementation. The evidence presented in this study contrasts with much of the previous empirical research and suggests that Prevent’s limitations/flaws are possibly under-reported or de-emphasised, given the fact that many of the education professionals in the current study reporting straightforward enactment and ‘no change’ to their role/professional identity do so *not* because of flawless policy design, but because of their ongoing strategies of resistance to the pressures exerted by Prevent.

Education professionals position themselves with regards to Prevent enactment in a variety of ways that are not accounted for in the existing literature, including Ball *et al.*’s (2011a)

typology of policy actors. Findings from this study support the formulation of a new framework for the classification of security policy enactment positions in the education field (and possibly beyond): legitimators, assimilators, and doubters. These positions are contingent and fluid – individuals can adopt multiple positions; for example while legitimators may at times occupy doubter positions with concerns with the policy, they choose to interpret Prevent as a pragmatic safeguarding issue as their dominant outwards facing position.

Reservations with the official ‘regime of truth’ that underpins the policy are used by doubters and assimilators to justify a range of value-based enactment strategies that, while technically audit-compliant, are generally not ‘full’ enactment of the policy in its literal ‘by the book’ sense. Doubters were most likely to avoid implementation guidance outright, to use resistance strategies of ‘counter-conducts’ in refusing to conduct the conducts of others in line with Prevent, or to follow guidance very selectively in a form of performative compliance. Many, for instance, ignored the indicators of radicalism identified in training that they considered to be spurious, and cited their expertise allowing them to discern the ‘difference between thought and action’ (Bartlett *et al.*, 2010). Assimilators also showed evidence of refusing to conduct the conducts of others and adopted active curriculum-leadership strategies rooted in traditionally held conceptions of common sense ‘good teaching’ (Herz, 2016; IDS 2015), routinely incorporating the fundamentals of emancipatory pedagogy (Akram and Richardson, 2009).

Such strategies represent a form of ‘policy protagonism’ (Robert, 2017; Robert and McEntarfer, 2014), however, such activities are possible only under certain conditions. For example, agency and autonomy are constrained/empowered by institutional context. And so micro-level individual responses, ultimately, depend on the meso-level of institutional

interpretation of macro-level policy. Education professionals must adopt some position to Prevent to work in the education sector – it is literally unavoidable; they cannot operate in a context in which it is completely absent. Hence, we see another link to the notion that there is no such thing as being “apolitical”, even legitimators being “apolitical” to a certain extent, and “just” following the law – is a political position. To be able to do policy work or undertake policy protagonism, assimilators attempting policy translation must be endowed with: the autonomy to challenge the dominant Prevent discourse as problematic; the agency to enact policy through non-iatrogenic practices; the expertise, in terms of sector-specific knowledge and experience and sufficient symbolic capital, as ‘trusted’ members of the local and educational communities, to legitimise their reluctance to implement Prevent in a ‘to the letter of the regulation’ manner. Ultimately, operationalising this kind of pastoral power as a form of counter power (Foucault, 2007b), requires light-touch enactment processes on the institutional meso level, which in turn appears to require light-touch audit practices emerging from governmental bodies such as Ofsted on the macro level. From the above it is clear that more studies are required in a wider range of geographical areas, including in areas of higher threat of terrorist activity than the current study, to be able to fully contextualise Prevent enactment on a national basis.

The ramifications of heavy or light-touch audit demands are exemplified by the practices of Participant H who presented a unique vantage point, as the sole respondent testifying to ‘heavy-touch’ enactment practices at his institution. Though he fundamentally disagreed with the disciplinary approach he perceived as demanded by his institution, he was nevertheless fully compliant, admitting to personally making ten referrals that resulted in no further action. His compliance was coerced, and his compliance was self-attributed to economic reasons related to

job security. Participant H—a legitimator in practice, whilst a doubter ontologically—represents perhaps the most troubling example in this study: an individual feeling coerced to implement policy, without being able to translate or enact it in a way that would fit in with their fundamental values, professional and otherwise. This begs the question: how many apparent legitimators are, in fact, ‘internal’ doubters? This reinforces the argument that we should not actually take reports of a lack of widespread overt resistance/criticism as evidence of a lack of widespread anti-Prevent sentiment, and that further research is required.

Having established that beneath optimistic reports of a lack of opposition to Prevent there lie deep rooted concerns with policy, the following chapter offers a discussion of the meaning, importance, and relevance of the results presented above, alongside a consideration of the study’s limitations. Recommendations for the field are offered, derived both from examples of excellent practice by participants in the study and also from the productive analysis of the empirical data using the new CReWs theoretical model developed during the study, which is underpinned with Foucauldian and Bourdieusian heuristics, among others.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusions

This study was designed to interrogate education professionals' perceptions of Prevent, and their experiences of its enactment. The literature review presented an overview of relevant previous research, revealing several significant issues with Prevent. These issues included concerns about Prevent as a surveillance regime, the disproportionate targeting of the Muslim community, and the chilling effect on discourse. The majority of existing research is limited, however, due to a focus on earlier pre-2011 iterations of Prevent, when the policy primarily targeted Islamic terrorism and violent extremism, and pre-2015 iterations prior to it being placed on a legal footing through the CTSA. Equally, perspectives on Prevent from the front-line of the education sector, i.e. from education professionals tasked to implement the policy, are relatively scant. This study begins to rectify such limitations in the critical corpus, foregrounding education professionals' perceptions and experiences of enacting the current version of Prevent, which expanded the policy to cover non-violent extremism, including targeting civil-protest groups and social movements—arguably conflating them with terrorism. The evidence reveals the complexity of education professionals' perceptions of the controversial Prevent duty, which necessitates the use of diverse enactment strategies. Individuals enacting the policy operate as both policy subjects and reflexive policy actors, seeking to rationalise and reconcile Prevent's confusing and ambiguous policy discourses, whilst negotiating the policy's manifold effects on all stakeholders (Ball *et al.*, 2011a).

The research attempts to address a gap in empirical research by offering insights into how education professionals engage with the Prevent discourse, how official guidance and training is

translated in practical terms, and how the policy catalyses widespread change in the education field, in terms of professional roles, practices, and values. The study reveals the importance of context when understanding policy enactment, and a primary contribution to knowledge lies in the space of the meso and micro domains. This chapter presents the study's major findings, drawing out macro-level themes, structures, and theories derived from the empirical data presented in Chapter 4 (summarised in Tables 4-6). The study's limitations are considered, followed by a discussion of the conceptual and practical implications of this research. The chapter concludes with a series of recommendations for practice, for policy, and for future research.

Interpretation of Findings

Meta-themes

Three meta-themes emerged from the data. Firstly, education professionals expressed widespread, significant concerns with Prevent (Meta-theme A). This meta-theme is broadly in line with findings from the literature review, in particular the potentially negative effects associated with Prevent. Respondents offered evidence of (their perception of) the policy operating as a disciplinary, panoptical political technology that has the potential to constrain liberal values, including freedom of speech. This will be conceptualised below as Prevent's 'hidden curriculum'. A hidden curriculum refers to the unwritten, unofficial rules and values which students are expected to conform to such as the transmission of norms, values, and beliefs conveyed in the classroom and the social environment. Secondly, a significant proportion of education professionals find that enactment of Prevent necessitates overcoming discomfort

caused by the perceived disparity between existing professional identities and the securitising, authoritarian role into which the policy has arguably positioned them. Strategies to negotiate such challenges often involve reflective and reflexive processes: the policy's legitimacy, core ethics, and practical demands are challenged, recontextualised, and reframed (Meta-theme B). Finally, education professionals adopt a range of subject positions and enactment strategies towards Prevent (Meta-theme C), often using 'good teaching' and traditional pedagogy in the practical application of their Prevent policy work (Herz, 2016; IDS 2015). This policy work includes strategies to overcome discomforts and disagreements with aspects of the policy in processes of policy translation. Analysis of empirical data permits the development of a new typology of subject positions adopted by education professionals in relation to Prevent, first detailed in Chapter 4: legitimators, assimilators, and doubters (Table 7). These Meta-themes are investigated in detail in later sections.

Meta-theme A: concerns with Prevent: the hidden curriculum

The empirical data shows 16 out of the 17 education professionals interviewed for the study expressed significant concerns with Prevent, offering empirical support to findings in the literature review, notably that those tasked with policy enactment on the front-line of the sector share critical opinions as voiced by academic researchers and commentators. Despite widespread surface-level compliance with Prevent and little overt resistance (Busher *et al.*, 2017), there is inescapable evidence of education professionals' concerns with the policy, including that it potentially contradicts efforts at social cohesion and is thus counterproductive to its stated aims (Husband and Alam, 2011). This is in large part due to the perception that the sector is forced to

operationalise a policy that is widely agreed to be poorly defined, and dependent on vague indicators that are open to subjective interpretation. Education professionals are mandated to utilise heightened and politicised surveillance modes in a predominantly ‘pre-crime’ space, when no laws have been broken. The ‘sheep’s clothing’ of Prevent’s safeguarding discourse potentially cloaks the metaphorical ‘wolf’ of authoritarianism.

Participants identified several specific concerns with the policy, and its potentially harmful effects, including: labelling, stereotyping, and discrimination. Some participants explicitly criticise Prevent as racist and Islamophobic and consider Prevent to unfairly target a wide range of civil-protest groups and democratic social movements (Amster, 2006), which have heretofore not been classified as terroristic in nature. This includes instances in which law-abiding non-violent civil-protest campaigners have been labelled as ‘extremists’ (Harbisher, 2015). Such classifications could deter public discourse (Leman-Langlois, 2009) and inflict symbolic violence on oppressed groups (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990; Foley, 2010).

This study reflects findings in the literature: for some, Prevent is considered to be an expansive component of the broader trend of increased surveillance in educational institutions (Heath-Kelly, 2017; Nemorin, 2017; Page, 2017; Taylor, 2017; Davies, 2016), and in society more generally. Citizens are being acculturated to surveillance, including through massive personal data collection (Turow, 2017). Testimony from study participants, presented in Chapter 4, reveals that a minority of education professionals also view Prevent as a mechanism by which they are enfolded into a panoptic disciplinary power system. The state clearly asks education professionals to add their eyes and ears to the monitoring apparatus of the panopticon, a disciplinary securitised ‘examining gaze’ that could potentially be used to discriminate against all those that come under the policy’s remit. This includes the policy’s (perceived) primary

target, the 2.7 million Muslims in the UK (Office for National Statistics, 2011), and those whom the policy appears to have started treating in a similar fashion: individuals expressing support for civil-protest groups and social movements. One of the key propositions of this research is that Prevent's intrinsic Orientalism, codified in its first iteration, has *not* been eliminated in subsequent 'updates' to the policy, as is claimed by the UK government. Instead, new(er) iterations of the policy extend the scope of its 'Orientalist' targeting beyond the Muslim community to encompass people of all races—including, crucially, supporters of civil-protest groups and democratic social movements. This is backed up by the empirical data. By absorbing education professionals into the panoptic apparatus, the state increases its power over the policing of discourse in educational institutions and risks 'othering' a wide range of people not previously targeted by earlier iterations of Prevent.

A smaller minority of participants described panopticism, particularly in the way in which they internalised Prevent's panoptacist monitoring regime: the 'watcher' is simultaneously the 'watched', both part of the surveillance apparatus *and* subject to it themselves. Some participants, for instance, worried about discussing sensitive issues, not just with students but with management and even with those in their personal sphere(s). Surveillance of individuals' 'professionalism' did not end at the end of the working day but was perceived by some as continuing into their private lives (Lynch, 2006), for example through monitoring of their social media. For participant H in particular, and for a minority of others to a lesser extent, these factors led to a form of panopticism, a paranoid internalised surveillance, potentially causing a chilling effect on their ability to enter into discourse in the public sphere and thus arguably blocking the traversal connections necessary to create and maintain social movements (Foucault, 1980).

Education professionals are to some extent complicit in Prevent's regulatory and monitoring regime. Most accept the way Prevent is 'constructed' as both an ever-present risk and as a natural extension of safeguarding (Busher *et al.* 2019), whereby the policy enfold surveillance into safeguarding as new 'common-sense' doxa. For this reason, panopticism has arguably become doxic in the field, tacitly accepted although criticised. Although the majority of education professionals evidence various strategies of straightforward Prevent enactment without significant changes to their role or personal identity—including, for example, avoiding, paying 'lip-service' to guidance, and translating policy through reflexive recontextualisation strategies that mitigate against harm, —many nevertheless internalise policy demands with some becoming docile, even engaging in self-regulation, to avoid a 'threat to livelihood'.

Some participants reported concern with the lack of opportunity for questioning or counter-discourse in Prevent training, alongside their own self-imposed silence on discussion of certain topics, due to the perception of their 'risky' nature. The effective silencing of counter-discourse can be conceived as a form of 'epistemic violence', as theorised by Gayatri Spivak in 'Can the Sub-Altern Speak?' (1988). Gramsci (1971) coined the term 'subaltern' to describe populations that are socially, politically, and/or geographically excluded from the hierarchy of power in order to deny their agency and voices. Spivak (1999, p.266) leveraged Gramsci's work, using the phrase 'epistemic violence' to describe the colonial silencing and oppression of marginalised groups in South Asia during the rule of the British Empire. Marginalised groups were, for example, referred to as 'illiterate peasantry', 'general non-specialists', and the 'lowest sub-strata of the urban proletariat' (Spivak, 1988, p.25). In this way, 'epistemic violence' becomes highly relevant to the present study as a means to describe the ways in which the epistemic practices of those holding power and influence are privileged under Prevent and in its

legitimising discourses, to the detriment of non-dominant groups. Through this lens Prevent becomes, or has the potential to become, a tool to silence the dissent, and full epistemic existence, of groups that the policy functionally determines to be a ‘subaltern’, potentially dangerous ‘underclass’.

Hill (2009, p.298) explains the mechanism by which the upper classes reproduce their power over generations. The process depends upon a ‘hidden curriculum that categorises some cultures, lifestyles, ways of being and behaving (for Bourdieu the *habitus*), and attitudes and values as praiseworthy’, and therefore ‘welcomed, praised and validated by schools (and universities)’, with the converse being true for those categorised as transgressing these codes (see Figures 20 and 21). According to Vallance (1974, p.5), the functions of the hidden curriculum include ‘the inculcation of values, political socialization, training in obedience and docility, the perpetuation of traditional class structure-functions that may be characterized generally as social control’. In this context, then, it becomes clear that Prevent, as currently written, is an artefact, and propagator, of the hidden curriculum—and that the policy, whether intentionally or not, has a hidden curriculum of its own, as illustrated in Figure 17 below.

This hidden curriculum aspect of Prevent, normally invisibilised and arguably neutralised by light-touch enactment practices, is revealed in cases of heavy-touch implementation at the meso level, such as those reported by Participant H, and can be regarded as a ‘field incursion’ where by the education field is subject to ‘capture’ by the security field/field of power.

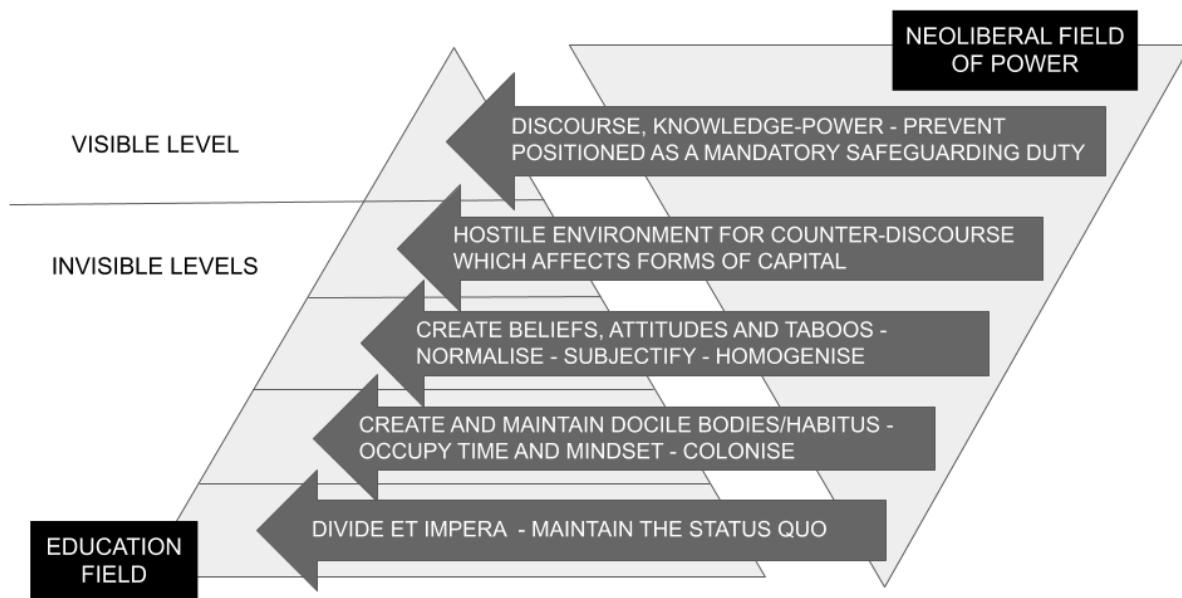


Figure 17. *Prevent's hidden curriculum*

Participants generally discussed the possibility of Prevent harbouring a hidden curriculum in terms of their own views and perceptions on the matter, rather than being able to locate it explicitly in their institution's formal training documentation or the official Prevent guidance. This is in line with Hafferty's (1998) contention regarding the insidiousness of the hidden curriculum, with its workings more diffusely sensed than explicitly stated. If we accept Prevent's intent to be a functionalist, socially cohesive policy that attempts to have a positive impact on society—for example, through boundary maintenance and the inculcation of shared values—then its hidden curriculum can be understood as an unintentional consequence of policy. It remains possible, however, to conceive the hidden curriculum as an *intentional* component of the policy. The *CRWS* conceptual model in particular allows for this somewhat cynical perspective, as it conceives the field of power from which Prevent emerges as being dominated by ideologies of

neoliberalism and neoconservatism, hegemony further entrenched in society in terms of Prevent's infrastructure.

In the majority of cases, Prevent is implemented in an invisible light-touch manner. Yet this does not negate the fact that the Prevent infrastructure is 'in place' as a socio-technological surveillance system, ready to be operationalised, as discussed in detail in a later section. What is more, the technology is exponentially improving in terms of its capabilities. Facial recognition technology and automated software algorithms that can monitor all keystrokes on institutional computer networks and send screenshots to the appropriate staff, for example, are either already in place or are available and affordable to colleges, schools, and universities. The Prevent infrastructure has an army of civilians in education, social care, and the health sector trained to identify opposition to loosely defined British values as 'extremism', to surveil pre-crime spaces where the automated surveillance software cannot operate as easily, and ultimately to refer people for 'intervention' by a range of agencies.

Prevent adds risk to traversal connections, establishes new highly contested, politicised norms in the education sector, and categorises as potentially 'deviant' a wide range of lawful views and behaviours that were previously considered to be non-suspect. The attempt to 'clamp down' on protest groups and activist groups with the aid of Prevent's expanded focus thus arguably helps to achieve a form of cultural reproduction that protects the status quo in an era dominated by ideologies of neoliberalism and neoconservatism, and described by Hill *et al.* (2015) as immiseration capitalism. Cifor and Lee (2017) aver that the harmful inequalities caused by neoliberal governance require management, i.e. to constantly be on the lookout for dissent, conflict and backlash amongst the citizenry as a result of the harmful inequalities. Viewed through this lens, the ultimate goals of Prevent come into clearer focus: the prevention

and management of society-wide dissent in an era of ever-expanding wealth disparities and neoliberal austerity measures. These measures harm marginalised communities most, with Prevent arguably functioning to double their victimisation. First, they are marginalised by austerity measures; then, as a means of managing their dissent, they are further marginalised as potentially terroristic, extreme, criminal. In this way, Prevent fits with Read's (2009, p.29) notions of the paradoxical 'trajectory of intensification' associated with neoliberal governmentality. As power becomes less corporeal, less about specific embodiments (people) and more entrenched within systems, apparatus, ideology and discourses, it 'becomes more intense, saturating the field of actions, and possible actions', thereby inviting self-regulation and transformation reminiscent of Althusser's concept of interpellation, and of Marx's assertion that history involves 'a continuous transformation of human nature' (Marx, 1971, p.147). In these terms Prevent can be viewed as a 'structuring' policy that attempts to transform/normalise the macro societal habitus in line with the needs of the neoliberal agenda and the status quo (Smith, 2013). The transformative process by which education professionals encounter, negotiate with, and ultimately become co-opted by, Prevent's hidden curriculum is summarised below, and illustrated in Figure 18 below.

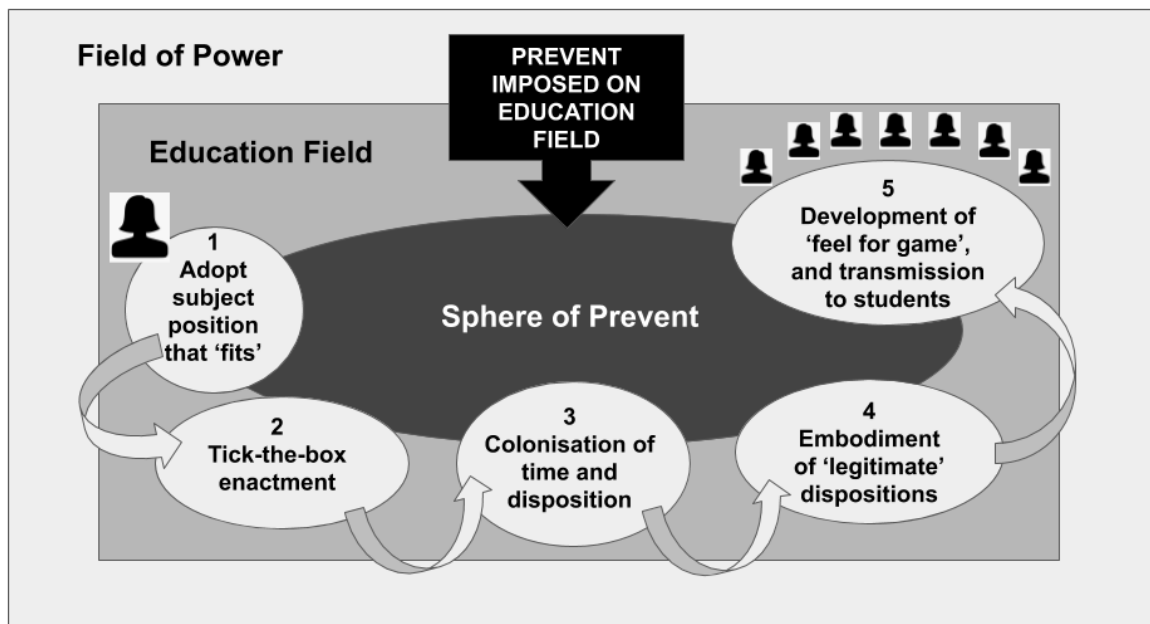


Figure 18. Model of education professionals' encounters and negotiations with Prevent's hidden curriculum (notes below)

1. Education professionals adopt a subject position that 'fits' though internalising Prevent discourse and undertake passive/active reinterpretation activities. A position of overt resistance is rendered impossible due to 'threat to livelihood', which serves to tacitly legitimise the policy.
2. Education professionals enact the hidden curriculum through a variety of strategies, such as: paying 'lip-service' and avoiding 'risky' areas of conversation; integrating emancipatory educational approaches; monitoring students for indicators; challenging 'risky' opinions; and ultimately in some cases making Prevent referrals. As a result, students may experience symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990; Foley, 2010).
3. The hidden curriculum is revealed through discriminatory practices that are encouraged by Prevent. This comprises, for instance: the conflation of civil protest and certain social movements with terroristic deviance; the implementation of panoptic surveillance practices and forms of 'colonisation'. The latter includes, for example, the colonisation of education professionals' time, focus, and awareness as they are compelled to adopt a securitised, rather than 'educational', gaze.

4. Participating in Prevent policies may become unavoidable as a result of bureaucratic power and audit regimes. This is the case, for example, when Prevent-related issues are raised in safeguarding meetings, which necessitates education professionals' adoption of dispositions that legitimise Prevent. This also reduces individuals' autonomy, who have only very limited options to exercise their own discretion once bureaucratic regulations are triggered.

5. Education professionals develop a 'feel for the game' within the Prevent framework. They complete the cycle of cultural reproduction (Bourdieu, 1973) by ensuring Prevent-compliant culture in their home institution, including through becoming role models. This 'sets the tone', and functions to transmit the 'common-sense' docile habitus—encouraged, if not outright enforced, by Prevent—to students as a 'feel for the game'. New moral values, redrawn systems of capital and new boundaries are transmitted to students, to 'prepare' them to fit in and comply with the corporate cultures of neoliberal workplaces.

Ultimately, the findings show that Prevent policy could be interpreted and operationalised in line with Giroux's (2015) notion of a 'new authoritarianism': an authoritarianism that combines the Orwellian 'Big Brother' surveillance state with forms of ideological control characteristic of Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932). With policies such as Prevent, neoliberal market fundamentalism is arguably transforming the education field into what Giroux (2014) would call neoliberal miseducation, one that perpetrates epistemic injustices and symbolic violence on a population that it situates, and produces, as 'subaltern'. Through this lens Prevent arguably serves to colonise the classroom—especially in terms of politics, subjectivity, power, and discourse—and contributes to the colonisation of the public sphere more generally. The 'colonised' includes education professionals who have their time and attention co-opted by the policy, whilst also being subject to its normalising effects.

Prevent can be seen to represent a way of transforming, (re)ordering and regulating the social world, whereby subjectivity is produced at the macro level (nationwide), the meso level (institutions), and the micro level (individuals). Engaging with and enacting Prevent requires individuals to adopt various dispositions and subject positions, providing evidence of education professionals as policy subjects. Although they may be active in interpretation and translation of Prevent, its all-encompassing socio-technical surveillance framework means they are ultimately unable to fully escape its disciplinary control measures.

Meta-theme B: reframing and recontextualising Prevent: a question of autonomy, agency, and covert/creative resistance

This study probed education professionals' attitudes towards official narratives used to legitimise the Prevent duty. They evidenced utilising reflexivity to consider themselves and their professional practices in relation to their social contexts (Archer, 2009), and revealed insights into their internal conversations whereby they challenged the regime of truth underpinning Prevent. Mirroring findings from the literature review, the results indicate that education professionals may draw on a range of discourses to challenge Prevent's legitimacy, as articulated in and reproduced by policy discourse. Education professionals with doubts about specific aspects of Prevent used a variety of value-based strategies to ameliorate policy, such as using 'counter-conducts', avoidance, or using their expertise to reframe and recontextualise Prevent in a variety of ways, for example by framing prevention of radicalisation work as an educational problem (viewing students through an education gaze) rather than a security problem (prioritising a 'securitised' gaze). Such recontextualisation of the policy is made possible thanks

to perceived ‘spaces’, or gaps, which appear to function as ‘loopholes’ within the Prevent discourse, including the conceptual and definitional ambiguity of key terms, notably ‘radicalism’, ‘extremism’, and ‘vulnerability’ (O’Donnell, 2016; Coolsaet, 2011). The problematic classification of certain behaviours and attitudes as indicators of radicalisation, often as a result of all-encompassing and sweeping generalisations, and the fear that policy implementation through certain interpretations facilitates discriminatory practices (Monaghan and Molnar, 2016) thus opens a space for education professionals to assert agency to resist some of the structuring effects of Prevent, and to justify reflexive policy work to ameliorate the policy’s potentially iatrogenic effects.

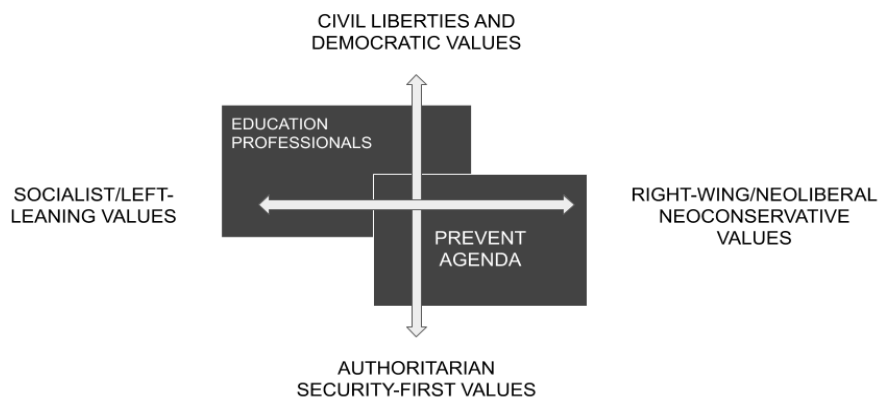


Figure 19. *Prevent’s relationship to ideologies in the field of power*

Education professionals expressing doubts about Prevent often reported what amounts to a partial enactment of the policy, in part linked to wide variations in training and institutional audit responses. Such partial enactment was achieved through a recontextualisation of the official ‘regime of truth’, justified for example by ‘common-sense’ perceptions of the problems facing society, such as extremism’s relative threat, with terrorism often being framed as a lesser

problem and concern for society than austerity, for example. Participants invoked distrust of the media characterisation of the ever-present threat of terrorism in line with Cohen's (1972) notion of 'folk devils and moral panics' (Walsh, 2017, Morgan, 2016; Kappeler and Kappeler, 2004; Rothe and Muzzatti, 2004), and Klein's (2007) notion of 'disaster capitalism' where a crisis is exploited to justify a policy response from authorities (see Appendix 3 and Appendix 4). Many participants, legally obliged to enact Prevent regardless of their own judgments, can therefore be regarded as political subjects, becoming active policy actors when forced to negotiate oppositional ideologies, such as authoritarianism and marketisation efforts emerging from the field of power, as illustrated in Figure 19. Negotiations in the field of power are functionally determined by the subject positions adopted by education professionals towards Prevent—legitimizers, assimilators, or doubters, as per the typology proposed in Chapter 4 (and further detailed below). Building on the idea established in previous chapters of education professionals utilising pastoral power anchored by notions of care, this research has shown that practitioners are able to utilize their autonomous power/knowledge as a counter-balance to the potentially normalising effects of Prevent, and are thus positionally more likely to advocate for traditional libertarian values that prioritise civil liberties above authoritarian market-first values.

Meta-theme C: subject positions and strategies of policy enactment: a new typology

Despite widespread surface-level compliance with Prevent, many participants voiced discomforts with their enactment role. Indeed, only one respondent (Participant O) was seemingly unaffected by any doubts or concerns about Prevent. Affective disruption is conceived by Sheikh and Bagley (2018, p.43) as an 'interruption to an individual's emotional equilibrium resulting from

interference to their cognitive sense-making in relation to policy'. Participants' discomfort can be understood in these terms, resembling an ontological 'rupture' provoked by the disparity between the existing education-professional habitus and new Prevent-mandated 'securitised' roles. Education professionals' misgivings about Prevent evidence, in Bourdieusian terms, a divided or 'cleft' habitus, a sense of self 'torn by contradiction and internal division' (Bourdieu, 2000, p.160), a factor common amongst a significant proportion of all those who participated in this study (approximately a third of interviewees and survey-takers combined). This 'cleft' habitus can also be conceptualised as a 'habitus tug', arising when individuals 'feel pulled in different directions' (Ingram, 2011, p.290), between practices in line with their professional identity, on the one hand, and Prevent-mandated practices, on the other. This conflict is further evident in data from the survey: 40% of respondents reported concerns with education institutions being tasked with the implementation of the Prevent duty, thereby providing empirical support for the literature review's finding that Prevent is widely contested. Despite this, on the whole, education professionals reported little to no change to their professional identity since Prevent's introduction. Nevertheless, interviewees regularly intimated a feeling of being pulled between two somewhat contradictory fields—education versus security—and the strategies they used in order to overcome associated contradictions and internal conflicts were often underpinned by reflexive inner dialogues.

For Archer (2009), reflexivity is an emergent personal property that in the case of this research can be conceptualised as helping education professionals mediate between the structuring effects of Prevent and their own autonomous agency. The articulation of participants' internal dialogues in Chapter 4 shows that reflexivity is a tool that can mediate and condition individual responses to top-down policy making. Many of the participants evidence utilising

what Archer calls ‘autonomous reflexivity’, the use of self-contained inner dialogues through which social circumstances are evaluated and beliefs, attitudes and goals are defined and clarified. The results of this reflexivity are in many cases emancipatory education practices that are based on education professionals’ own concerns and values without always necessitating the need for validation by other individuals in the institution.

The data shows that reflexivity, exercised by internal dialogues, conditions individual education professionals’ responses to Prevent and thus mediates the structuring impact the policy has on the education field. Using Archer’s (2003; 2007) three-way model that foregrounds both objectivity and subjectivity and incorporates their interaction in the exercise of reflexive mediation, we can infer: (1) the structuring properties of Prevent reshape the education field and have generative powers of constraint and enablement over education professionals who involuntarily face situations requiring judgement calls under a new regulatory framework; (2) Prevent causes many education professionals’ to have subjectively defined concerns for their students, especially with straightforward ‘by the book’ implementation of the policy; and (3) therefore, Prevent enactment practices are produced to a significant degree from education professionals’ reflexive deliberations, and are shaped by reference to considerations such as their existing value system and objective social circumstances in the classroom, institution and local communities.

In Foucauldian terms, power as exerted through Prevent depends on the production of scientific ‘truths’ (knowledge), forming a ‘regime of truth’ which is used and reproduced as a rationale to justify the governance of education professionals and their students. Through a Foucauldian lens, many of the individual education professionals in this study have shown they can attempt emancipation and resistance with regards to power, through utilising technologies of

the self to produce new ways of being and acting. Using reflective and reflexive techniques they firstly become aware of, and then challenge the 'regime of truth' by which they are mandated to judge the behaviours of their students, secondly they become aware of the ramifications for those students of 'by the book' implementation, and thirdly they utilise their autonomous expertise built on doxic values of the field to reinterpret and translate policy accordingly. Thus, emancipation and resistance becomes not only a process of identifying and challenging dominant ideologies and their effect on conduct, but also of applying technologies of the self to create policy positions and strategies for policy implementation that fit within their own ethical framework and the pre-existing ethos of the education field.

As the findings in Chapter 4 illustrate, strategies of enactment were found to be related to the way participants framed and recontextualised Prevent, and the subject positions they adopted. Subject positions are created by the subjects of a discourse to create a position which makes sense to them (Hall, 1997, p.56). Drawing upon discursive resources, education professionals construct a range of subject and/or policy positions that 'fit' with their professional identities, with each subject position serving a different purpose, and positioning the education professional towards Prevent in different ways. Hence, a new typology emerges: legitimators, assimilators, and doubters (see Table 7 below). Prevent enactment is a legal mandate; education professionals do not have access to a subject position that would allow overt resistance to, or outright refusal of, policy enactment without significant 'threat to livelihood'. As such, the typology of subject positions is integrally limited to those that are at least nominally compliant with Prevent, despite evidence of reluctant enactment and some instances of creative and covert resistance strategies. Whilst legitimators, assimilators, and doubters are all outwardly compliant, they change their practices and/or professional identities to different degrees when engaging with the policy. The

following sections provide further detail on typological policy positions, specifically: attitudes towards change and perception of role; strategies of sense-making and identity construction; perceived institutional needs, alongside attitudes and behaviours towards Prevent. These findings are summarised in Tables 4–6 below.

Attitude towards change and perception of role

All participants in the study arguably modified their existing habitus in various ways and to greater and lesser extents to ‘fit’ with the newly securitised education field; such ‘identity construction’ was often motivated by factors such as their ‘integrity’ (Pratt *et al.*, 2006, p.259) and ‘threat to livelihood’. Legitimators were the least likely to evidence ‘struggle’ with Prevent enactment and were most likely to see their role as supporters of top-down policy initiatives. On the other hand, doubters are most resistant to change, likely to invoke a range of reasons underpinning their rationale to avoid enactment; policy fatigue (van Engen *et al.*, 2016), confidence in existing practices, values-based objections to Prevent’s disciplinary approach, and a lack of coherence in top-down managerialist policymaking in the education sector in general, citing the ‘presence of too many disconnected, episodic, piecemeal, superficially adorned projects’ (Fullan, 2001, p.109). Assimilators, by contrast, are adaptable to change. Their attempts to negotiate the newly transformed field resonate with Bhabha’s (1994) concept of a ‘third space’ as a resource to negotiate a cleft habitus, a sense of self divided by dislocation and internal division (Bourdieu, 2000), caused in this case by Prevent. A ‘third space’ in this case is a place where education professionals can bring their own knowledge and discourses (first space) together with Prevent knowledge and discourses at work (second space) to attempt to mitigate

against discriminatory effects of the policy while remaining audit-compliant. The study reveals that this may involve reflexive processes, and 'thinking at or beyond the limit' (Hall, 1996, p.259) to resolve differences between their ingrained values and the values of Prevent.

Assimilators are likely to use strategies in the mode of the 'chameleon habitus', a strategy to overcome internal conflict that builds upon Bhabha's concept of a third space and which enables a negotiation of contradictory fields (Abrahams and Ingram, 2013) in order to resolve any perceived disconnects between their own values (prioritising educational gaze) and the values they associate with Prevent (prioritising securitised gaze). Like doubters, they may employ 'Janus-style' strategies with a 'two-faced' approach in order to maintain trusted relationships with students whilst satisfying audit requirements. Legitimators were more likely to see their role as supporters of top-down policy initiatives and initiators of any changes required to satisfy audit. Legitimators also tended to frame Prevent as a securitisation issue, with the policy supported as a pragmatic response to a real-world terror threat.

Strategies of sense-making and identity construction

In terms of strategies of sense-making and identity construction, legitimators are more likely to draw upon official discourses, especially the discourse of safeguarding, to justify their policy advocacy (see Tables 4-6). Their identity construction enables them to adopt securitised practices and to accept 'becoming police' more easily. Legitimators function as agents of institutional change and 'policy models': they are personally (and professionally) invested in and/or identify with policy ideas. Doubters, meanwhile, are more likely to draw on, and maintain, counter-discourses that offer counterpoints to official narratives.

Table 4. Typology of subject positions adopted under Prevent: attitude towards change and perception of role

	Doubters	Assimilators	Legitimizers
Attitude towards change	<p><u>Resistant to change</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> View Prevent’s transformational pressures as potentially detrimental and unnecessary. Attempt to protect students from discrimination through minimal engagement with Prevent beyond what is deemed absolutely necessary. Likely to characterise organisational policy-change efforts as ‘flavour of the month’ (Herold <i>et al.</i>, 2007). 	<p><u>Translators of change</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> View it as their job to translate and reshape Prevent’s transformational pressures to reduce harm whilst remaining broadly compliant. Likely to frame Prevent as an education issue. Likely to use strategies of ‘curriculum leadership’ (DeMatthews, 2014; Glatthorn, 1987), such as teaching FBV through the affective domain and engaging in pedagogic recontextualisation. 	<p><u>Initiators of change</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Actively formulate change initiatives and implement them. Likely to facilitate the training of others in policy enactment and compliance. Likely to frame Prevent as a pragmatic response to a security issue. Significant deviance from top-down policy initiatives likely to be thought of as ‘not only unacceptable but essentially unthinkable’ (Bottery, 2000, p.154).
Perception of role	<p><u>‘Fish out of water’</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Critiquing new policy and maintaining counter-discourses are central aspects of role. Proud of existing practices viewing them as sufficiently robust, aim to retain established habitus and practices. Very likely to refer to ‘threat to livelihood’ as reason for not overtly refusing to enact Prevent. 	<p><u>‘Fish swimming upstream’</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Evolving role, while preserving core aspects. Role and practices contingent on the situation. ‘Deeply held beliefs on good education are part of [their] self-understanding’ (Kelchtermans, 2003, p.995). 	<p><u>‘Fish in water’</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Largely agree with Prevent discourse, thus happy to change aspects of role. Many in leadership roles, and likely to view their role as policy defenders, agents, or enforcers—especially those that correspond with Ball <i>et al.</i>’s (2011a) ‘enthusiasts’. Consider themselves to be suitable leaders in this regard (Wright, 2001).

Table 5. Typology of subject positions adopted under Prevent: sense-making strategy and identity construction

	Doubters	Assimilators	Legitimators
Sense-making strategy	<p><u>Preserving</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existing practices felt to be robust enough to successfully enact Prevent without adopting new methods. More likely to view Prevent as unnecessary, a continuation of top-down managerial policies. 	<p><u>Preserving and evolving</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reflexive and contingent, depending on the situation. Willing to put energy into strategies to overcome ‘issues’ with Prevent, even if this results in heavier workloads. Such strategies include value-based education-focused policy translation. 	<p><u>Evolving</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Legitimise Prevent in some regards by accepting dominant discourse, but likely to be supportive of light-touch regulation practices. In terms of policy translation, likely to accept a ‘discourse of a surveilled universe and accept it as non-problematic’ (Bottery, 2000, p.153).
Identity construction: academic vs ‘becoming police’	<p><u>Academic</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Maintain and fortify pre-existing ‘academic’ identity construction. ‘Becoming police’ is regarded as unwelcome, counterproductive to academic intentions and goals. Utilise autonomous reflexivity. Reluctant to change habitus/practices. Decisions less likely to require the need for validation by management. Reluctant to teach ideologies (McCauley, 2002) 	<p><u>Academic and police</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attempt to undertake policy translation to reinterpret Prevent, thereby balancing the Prevent-mandated role with self-conception of ‘academic’ and student-first focus. Likely to shift back and forth in their identity construction on contingent basis. Fluid/reflexive identity construction in line with morphogenetic society (Archer, 2013) Habitus is less ‘fixed’ than doubter habitus but similar underpinning values 	<p><u>Police</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Relatively uncritical of Prevent discourse, pragmatically believing Prevent is justified by ‘real-world’ concerns. Transformable or docile habitus. ‘Becoming police’ actively integrated and welcomed into identity construction as ‘part of the job’ in a morphogenetic society (Archer, 2013) A ‘performativity’ discourse may be prioritised over ‘humanist’ discourse (Jeffrey, 2002).

In addition, they are likely to draw on pedagogical discourse in terms of the traditional role and practices of education professionals that are situated as superior to new interventions set out in Prevent guidance. Fundamentally resistant to what they perceive to be unnecessary change, doubters are likely to consider straightforward ‘to the letter’ policy enactment as threatening the interests of their students, and as compromising pedagogy. Assimilators are ambivalent, caught between the two poles represented by legitimators and doubters. While identifying with a range of counter-discourses, they are also likely to be mindful of, and susceptible to, neoliberal discourses of performativity, including themes of managerialism and professionalism. Nevertheless, they demonstrate their creativity and integrity by undertaking policy translation, using strategies such as ‘curriculum leadership’ (DeMatthews, 2014; Glatthorn, 1987), to minimise Prevent’s potential harms. Although compliant, assimilators typically do not advocate for the policy.

Institutional needs, and attitudes and behaviours towards Prevent

Doubters are more likely to object to, and challenge, their institutions’ transformation into ‘ciphers for government policy’ (Ball *et al.*, 2011b) (see Table 6). Rather than identifying with Prevent and the paranoid ‘securitised gaze’, they are more likely to identify with students, and the local community, preferring to view/examine their students through an understanding educational gaze. Unsurprisingly, then, doubters are more likely to criticise Prevent as an attempt to ‘override’ local priorities or principles, expressing reluctance to enact ‘designed teaching and learning’ (Buckles, 2010, p.7). Doubters are likely to regard Prevent as poorly defined and constructed, whilst judging their students to be at low risk of radicalisation. They are more likely

to offer covert resistance through strategies of avoidance—such as paying ‘lip-service’ or ‘foot-dragging’—which obviate as far as possible the need to change existing practices. Existing safeguarding practices, for example, are considered to be sufficient and robust enough to meet the aims of Prevent. Assimilators, on the other hand, are more likely to be proactive, working hard to ‘hold things together’ and ‘move things on’ (Ball *et al.*, 2011a, p.627) through value-based reflexive pedagogic strategies of ‘curriculum leadership’ (DeMatthews, 2014; Glatthorn, 1987). Their approach is (to some extent) compliant, pragmatic and energy-sapping, potentially linked to their acceptance of much of the rationale for Prevent and also to some extent their ambitions of becoming ‘future leaders’ (Ball *et al.*, 2011a). Whilst assimilators voluntarily engage with Prevent enactment, they may also feel coerced, especially in terms of a perceived ‘threat to livelihood’ if they refuse to follow policy mandates. For assimilators, Prevent operates as Gramscian hegemony, achieved from a synthesis of both coercion and consent (Gramsci, 1971).

At the other end of the spectrum from doubters are legitimators, more likely to be ‘policy models/champions’ (Ball *et al.*, 2011a), mindful of the implications of negative audit results for their institutions and (presumably) their career progression. Their rationale for policy compliance is more likely to focus on ‘extrinsic’ outcomes, chiefly regulatory (Ofsted; Office for Students) compliance and belief in official narratives. While legitimators may evidence some of the same doubts as other subject positions and may manifest policy in ‘light touch’ enactment processes they nevertheless may legitimize Prevent through lack of overt challenge and by facilitating the installation of covert automated surveillance systems in their institutions.

Table 6. Typology of subject positions adopted under Prevent: sense of institutional needs, and attitudes and behaviours towards Prevent

	Doubters	Assimilators	Legitimizers
Sense of institutional needs	<p><u>Student Focus</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identify primarily with the student community, local communities, and peers from academic discipline. Sensitive to potential damage to students’ trust if perceived as ‘informing’ or as ‘agents of the state’ (Bryan, 2017). 	<p><u>Mixed Focus</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identify with institutional need to satisfy audit, balanced alongside needs of students and the wider community. More likely to link success of their institution to performativity and career. 	<p><u>Institutional Focus</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Institutional image is part of identity construction as leaders. Light-touch implementation used to mitigate negative effects on—and critical perceptions of—staff, students, and the local community.
Attitudes and behaviours towards Prevent	<p><u>Defiant Compliance</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> More likely to believe existing practice is already sufficient. Refuse to be the education professionals imagined by neoliberal policymakers. Maintain counter-discourses (Ball <i>et al.</i>, 2011a). Endowed with discretion and power of street-level bureaucrats (Lipsky, 1980) particularly in <i>not</i> implementing policy ‘by the book’ e.g. through avoidance. 	<p><u>Ambivalent</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ability to hold divergent views about Prevent, including aspects inherent to legitimizers and doubters. Enactment practices shaped by reflexive deliberations, balancing existing value system and objective social circumstances in the classroom, institution and local communities. Some level of tacit agreement with, and legitimisation of, the policy. Project an attitude of compliance, while willing to work hard to find pedagogic solutions to issues related to the policy. 	<p><u>Legitimizes Policy</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Subtle agreement with the policy on the whole. Project an attitude of Prevent as ‘legitimate safeguarding’. However, most harbour some doubts regarding Prevent. Likely to advocate and/or operationalise ‘light-touch’ enactment practices, if possible, in their personal and institutional circumstances. Utilise communicative reflexivity requiring confirmation by others before resulting in specific courses of action. (Archer, 2009)

The Prevent Habitus: Beneath Surface Level Compliance and Docility

The findings from this study, and the literature review (Busher *et al.*, 2017), evidence relatively straightforward surface-level policy compliance. Yet participant narratives demonstrate that most education professionals do not perceive themselves as ‘docile’ subjects, despite acknowledgments that overt resistance to Prevent enactment is potentially damaging to careers. On the one hand, education professionals are policy subjects. Nevertheless, many also work as reflexive policy actors, using their autonomy and agency to mitigate the potential misuse of the added powers with which Prevent endows them, and to reduce the policy’s potentially detrimental effects on students. These reflexive education professionals show evidence of problematising and covertly challenging aspects of the Prevent discourse, utilising strategies of policy translation rather than ‘docile’ compliance, and complicity, with the full extent of the policy’s mandates. This study demonstrates that superficial signs of policy compliance and literature reporting minimal resistance (Busher *et al.*, 2017) may not, in fact, evidence a lack of opposition: a variety of forms of subtle, creative and covert resistance to Prevent have to some extent heretofore been overlooked in research. Straightforward, ‘to the letter’ or ‘by the book’, policy enactment is not typical; policy translation, partial enactment, or minimal policy integration (Braun, Maguire, and Ball, 2010), is the norm. From the above it is clear that what amounts to partial or ‘tick-box’ compliance should therefore not always be construed as fully ‘docile’ acts of submission and/or compliance. This study shows that for the human component of Prevent the policy in the area of study is largely ‘enacted’ rather than implemented, and operationalised in a value-based, contingent, and context-based fashion that generally removes, transforms, or ignores aspects of the policy that reflexive education professionals believe to be potentially harmful.

This research does not focus solely on the limiting, ‘constraining and “disciplinary” nature of relations of power’ (Butin, 2001, p.157). To do so would be to award power an illusionary autonomy (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983). While on some level all participants are ‘policy subjects’, the findings do not fully support the idea of the notion of top-down Prevent regulation as uniformly constraining. Education professionals exercise their agency in a variety of ways, dependent upon the (fluid, contingent) subject positions they adopt. In this study, education professionals articulated the knowledge ‘truths’ that underpin their pedagogical practices and offered insights into how they negotiate ‘clashes’ between these truths and those found in Prevent policy. Strategies of negotiation include alternative ways of thinking about, and ‘doing’, Prevent in practice (Ball *et al.*, 2011a). This kind of agency ultimately depends upon the extent to which education professionals are empowered to engage critically and proactively with the discourses that seek to shape their professional identity, and the extent to which individuals are able to escape the regulatory gaze (Osgood, 2006; Novinger and O’Brien, 2003; Cannella, 1997).

The dispositions constituting the post-Prevent habitus of agents is shown to be a result of both external regulation and their inner ethos, with struggle between these positions apparent for many. Despite widespread evidence of individuals’ agency and autonomy in terms of their pedagogical practices, many education professionals are nevertheless structured by the field into inhabiting docile bodies: in Foucauldian terms they are regimented, regulated, and disciplined by Prevent. In Bourdieusian terms these individuals are, to some extent, suppressed by the ethos of the field of power, and the field effects from the ‘field incursion’ by the security field. Prevent can thus be conceived in these terms as both a Foucauldian mechanism to make docile bodies, and as a Bourdieusian mechanism by which existing cultural forms, values, practices, and norms

are transmitted from generation to generation. In this way, Prevent can be viewed as an attempt to sustain cultural reproduction over time (Bourdieu, 1973; Chandler and Munday, 2011), a top-down structuring policy emerging from the field of power that encourages normalising pedagogical techniques as a form of ‘symbolic violence’, which produces docile workers to ‘fit’ with the needs of the neoliberal economy regardless of the best efforts of education professionals attempting to ameliorate its negative effects.

Preventing Prevent: Agency and the Resilient Education Professional

The data provides a nuanced portrayal of educational professionals’ habitus, at once resilient and flexible, reflexive even when subject to external regulation. The relationship between individuals’ agency and Prevent’s regulatory powers is complex and dialogic: education professionals can and do exercise their agency within the policy’s securitised (and securitising) broader context, in order to reduce its normalising and subjectifying effects on the student body. The findings show that there is no singular experience of Prevent regulation shared by all education professionals. This is to be expected, especially given the diversity of identities and beliefs amongst participants, who reported their experiences in various contexts at ten different institutions spanning a wide cross section of the education sector.

The data reveals that the habitus of individual education professionals may exist in harmony or in conflict with the securitised aspects of the education field, depending on their subject position. Such diversity affords valuable insights into the ways in which education professionals choose to negotiate discomforts and contradictions in enacting Prevent. There is clearly not a ‘one size fits all’ education-professional habitus, as is evidenced by the presence of

‘fish in’ and ‘fish out of water’ responses to Prevent. For education professionals with policy positions associated with the legitimator typology, Prevent typically fits with their existing habitus without provoking ontological disruption, and straightforward implementation was felt to be beneficial for career progress in terms of increasing their institutionalized cultural capital (Figure 20 below). For education professionals with policy positions associated with the doubter and assimilator typologies, the introduction of Prevent typically provoked clashes between what could be characterised as the pre-Prevent ‘common-sense’ approach, and the new ‘scientific’, ‘expert’ approach to safeguarding, anchored in Prevent’s ‘regime of truth’. For doubters and assimilators straightforward implementation was felt to be negative both for their students and potentially for the education process itself, for example in terms of reducing their symbolic and embodied cultural capital among students (Figure 21 below) and thus reducing trust. These concerns thus provoked reflexive deliberations on how to enact Prevent without these iatrogenic effects, perhaps pointing to a reflexive habitus developed over time and well used to ameliorating top-down structuring policy.

Regardless of subject position, participants in the study were universally reflexive in their thinking, with well thought through considerations and justifications for their enactment strategies, often based on weighing up policy demands against their own values and the established values of the education field. With the exclusion of the individual specifically trained as a Prevent trainer of trainers (Participant O), almost all participants in the study shared certain views. All except one (Participant O) expressed ontological doubt regarding Prevent. Virtually all said pre-existing practices (pre-Prevent) were sufficient to achieve the aims of Prevent, thus arguably making the policy redundant. Virtually all advocated a *partial* enactment of Prevent based on common sense rather than full ‘by the book’ implementation. The majority considered

Prevent training to be insufficient: it did not adequately equip them with the necessary skills to make judgement calls in regard to threat assessment and referrals. Consequently, many education professionals regard their role under Prevent as representing loss of autonomy in certain areas, for example their own judgement in terms of referrals reduced to ‘signposting’, constrained and structured by new automated software algorithms, bureaucratic processes and regulations; if in doubt – refer. Education professionals in the study ultimately find themselves as the human component of a broader panoptic socio-technical surveillance regime, which collates data on potential suspects from different vantage points, including through home visits from attendance officers, monitoring by education professionals and observation through automated threat detection software within institutions, and widespread use of CCTV video and audio recording systems with increasingly sophisticated algorithms able to detect and report suspect behaviours.

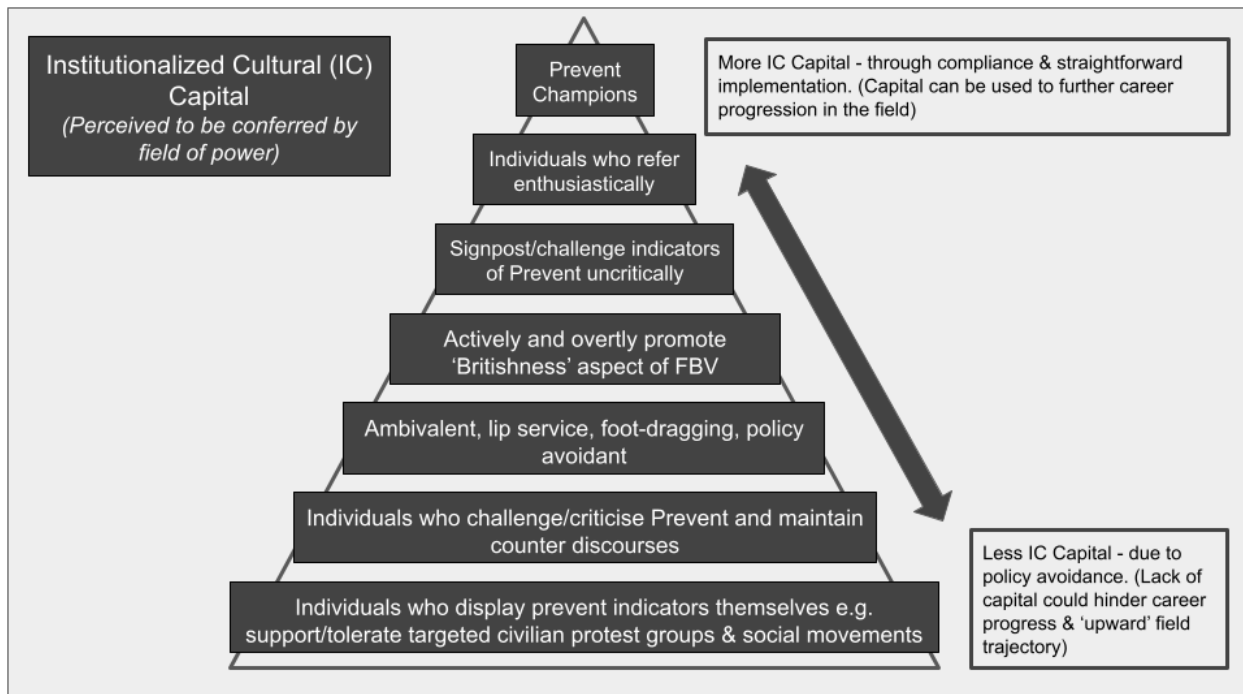


Figure 20. *The Institutionalized Cultural Capital of Prevent (Perceived to be conferred by the field of power)*

Aside from fearing damage to educational processes and negative effects on their students, another ‘struggle’ faced by participants was related to a fear of reputational damage. This is evidenced by concerns regarding the potential reduction in trust and embodied cultural capital in their relationships with students and local communities, damage caused if they were perceived as operating outside of traditional remit of education professionals, for instance as ‘agents of the state’ or as ‘spies’ for the security services (Figure 21). The results of the study show that while the education-professional habitus is generally adaptable to transformational change, ‘fluid’ in the context of ensuring a better ‘fit’ between the existing education habitus and the newly securitised field, that such change is facilitated by core vocational guiding principles including the value-based prioritisation of students’ best interests. Where Prevent was seen to conflict with this principle, education professionals evidenced using counter-power strategies. For example, pastoral power was operationalized whereby the policy was frequently reinterpreted or recontextualised using value-based logic, or avoided, a partial ‘tick-box’ enactment often carried out under duress, typically as a result of a perceived ‘threat to livelihood’. The transformative flexibility and agency of the education-professional habitus is, thus, limited to a significant extent by the structuring juridical powers underpinning Prevent.

Education professionals’ vocational habitus can be thought of as expressing what Bourdieu (1977) describes as practical common sense, and manifests in traditional tried and tested ‘good teaching’ pedagogical practices (Herz, 2016; IDS 2015). Such ‘sense’ appears to be natural, yet is arguably historically socially constructed, the education habitus conveying the ‘right way’ to be and to behave in the workplace (Bourdieu, 1977).

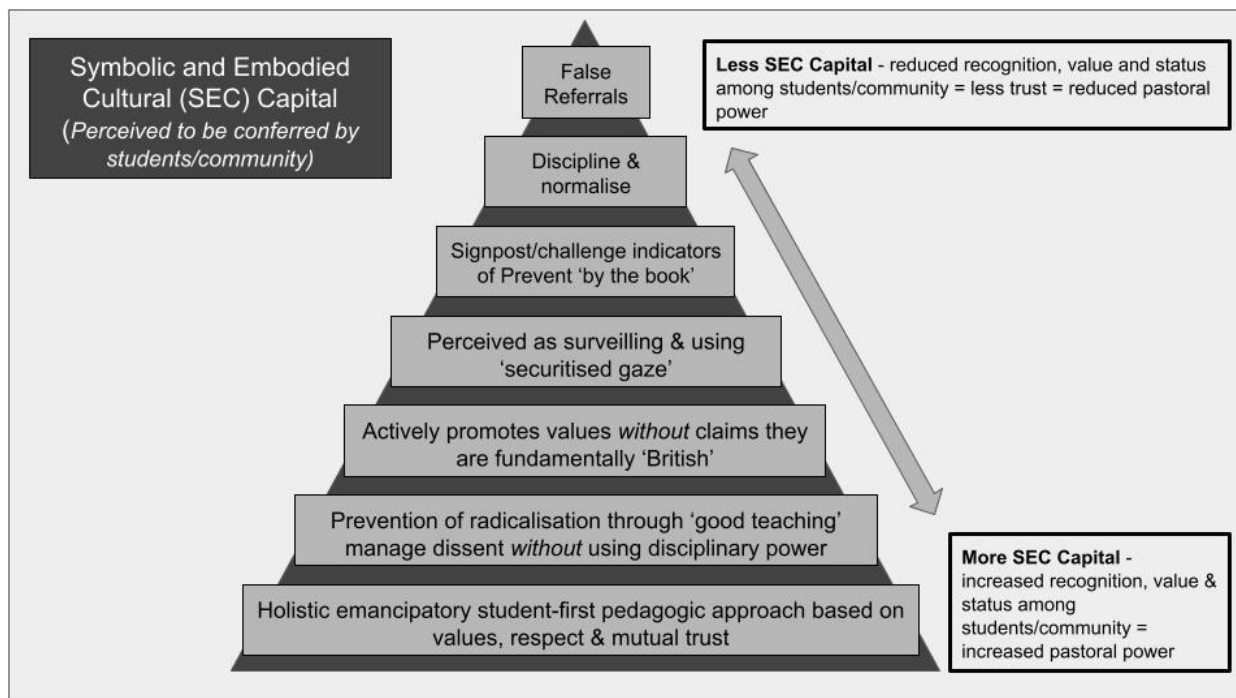


Figure 21. *The Symbolic and Embodied Cultural Capital of Prevent (perceived to be conferred by students/community)*

As established previously, ‘caring’ is central to the education-professional habitus, taken as a fundamental ‘common-sense’ value (IDS 2015). Education professionals in the study routinely ‘put the learner before the policy’, thereby demonstrating their exercise of Foucauldian (2007b) ‘pastoral power’ (Golder, 2007) as a counter power or form of resistance.

The research conceptualizes ‘resistance’ in terms of autonomy and agency in particular. Foucault's concept of subjection involves the individual having the perception of being an ‘active subject’ who is at liberty to utilise various technologies of the self through which there are different ways of behaving, with different reactions and diverse enactment strategies that may be realized, for example through adopting subject positions towards a policy. For the purposes of

this research Foucaultian resistance is conceived partially through an 'aesthetics of existence' whereby it is possible to utilise technologies of the self, such as reflexivity, field-specific autonomy, and expert knowledge to retain ontological cohesion. Through these strategies and others, education professionals show signs of attempting to counter and reverse techniques of governmentality, and to assert pastoral power through strategies such as counter-discourses and counter-conducts. In terms of Foucault's notion of modalities of power, this can be conceived as education professionals utilising pastoral power to counter top-down governmentality.

In a Bourdieusian sense autonomy can be considered as the point where the concepts of field, habitus, and capital intersect (RW Speller, 2011). Bourdieu's concept of autonomy is fundamental to his framework due to his belief that it is through an historical process of autonomisation and differentiation that fields become constituted. Bourdieu expanded on Weber's notions of the fields of politics, economics, security, and education forming separate and differentiated 'spheres' by explaining this differentiation through a process of autonomisation where each field forms its own 'fundamental laws' or 'rules of the game' (Speller, 2011). For Bourdieu, the 'rules of the game' are based on field-specific 'doxa' which determine the relative positions and practices of agents involved in that particular field. Using this framework, autonomy can be conceived as field-specific, with education professionals conceived as able to 'play the hand they are dealt' on their own terms, justified through the intrinsic logic of the education field.

Although the study shows that resistance might initially involve a form of rhetorical agency in which subjects simply occupy anticipated and predetermined subject positions, we can see that the effects of this agency, the strategies of covert and creative resistance arguably can and do in fact disrupt the narratives established by the dominant disciplinary rhetoric, arguably

exceeding the preconceived boundaries of these subject positions in unpredictable ways. Some of the most striking examples offered by interviewees in this regard are those describing instances in which participants clearly identify authoritarian aspects where Prevent goes ‘too far’ and thus reveal the politicised aspects to the policy, thus opening a legitimate ‘space’ for creative resistances to occur.

Foucault (1980) contends that power is not always realised as intended in real-world practices, and even if it *is* realised, it may not be done so effectively. This resonates with findings in this study: Prevent enactment is variable, and often partial. Considered through a Foucauldian lens, many of the education professionals in the study strategically utilise power/knowledge to exercise their freedom and agency, in order to resist the perceived negative effects of Prevent regulation and to create positive and respectful learning experiences that acknowledge the wider context of societal issues, and that focus more on the ‘good’ aspects of Prevent, such as the widely agreed upon principles underlying FBV, rather than the ‘bad’ aspects of the policy. Despite these optimistic findings, the data also contains instances of the effects of illiberal practices, such as normalisation and discrimination through heavy-touch referral and ‘risk averse’ avoidance of certain topics in the classroom, during Prevent enactment. Despite the lack of overt resistance to Prevent, there is evidence of the policy’s fundamental panopticism, with a significant minority of education professionals evidencing an internalisation of its surveillance regime, being made compliant through coercion and control (Lynch, 2017). Such findings are striking, given the fact that this is a small-scale study in a notionally ‘low-risk’ area of the UK that is relatively untroubled by terrorism, suggesting the need for future similar studies on a larger nationwide scale.

Prevent as a Structuring Socio-Technical Surveillance Infrastructure

There is little doubt in the literature, and in the broader media discourse, that Prevent is widely perceived to have the *potential* to be harmful, in particular to Muslim students. The empirical data presented in this study, however, allows for evidence-based insights into the actualities on the front-line of the education sector, including the challenges experienced during policy enactment, and worryingly reveals this potential for harm could also extend to the rest of the student body and wider society in general. Although education professionals in this study generally confirmed their ability to enact Prevent regulation without many of the negative effects widely reported in the media and previous non-empirical research, this positive outcome was not without struggle. As established in this study, to achieve a non-iatrogenic enactment of Prevent, education professionals often used the autonomous ‘common sense’ of the education field to reinterpret and recontextualise the policy, strategies that were justified through belief in their own expertise and inherent core vocational values, including a ‘student-first’ approach. As such, this research reveals that enactment is, in practice, variable, partial, and often undertaken with reluctance. Prevent had few champions in the study sample; education professionals’ perceptions and experiences of Prevent enactment revealed many areas of concern, especially regarding policy implications which transcend their autonomy.

This research offers concrete examples of education professionals as policy subjects, reluctantly enacting a policy with which they often do not agree, using a range of reflexive enactment strategies ranging from avoidant strategies of ‘lip-service’ and ‘foot-dragging’, to inclusive emancipatory pedagogical strategies designed to counter Prevent’s capacity to do harm (Davies, 2018; Akram and Richardson, 2009). Critics described the policy as irrelevant in the geographic area of study, lacking an evidentiary basis and lacking in common sense, and were

reluctant to intervene in the ideological domain, framing it as an attempt to politicise their role. Additionally, this study provides evidence of Prevent's panopticism: many education professionals reported engaging in self-regulation, having internalised disciplinary effects of the policy's 'inescapable' surveillance (for example, through automated moderation software algorithms). These results lend weight to the fears established in the literature review regarding Prevent's potential 'chilling effect' on civil liberties (UCU, 2015; Coppock and McGovern, 2014; Husband and Alam, 2011). It is worrying that the results of this small-scale study in an area of low threat demonstrate that Prevent, as currently written, has resonances with Giroux's (2005; 2015) theorisation of a 'new authoritarianism', and Foucault's epidemic models of governance (2007b), as noted previously. Through the use of Foucault's concept of governmentality we can gain insights into attempts by the state to manage the spread of the 'contagion' of radical ideas through the use of technologies of power as effected through the responsabilisation of education professionals for complex panoptic counterterrorism efforts.

Indeed, Prevent was repeatedly associated with a 'raft' of other top-down managerial policies in the interviews. Participants contextualised the policy in terms of the introduction of the national curriculum and the creation of Ofsted: the continuation of historical sector-wide trends which serve to reduce teacher autonomy (Lundström, 2015) and 'second guess' education professionals. This study's empirical data thus adds nuance to the theme of education professionals' generalised loss of autonomy, and associated discomforts. Equally, the findings can be contextualised as broadly symptomatic of a sector in which ideas and concepts of professionalism are in flux (Furlong *et al.*, 2000; Hargreaves, 2000), and perceived as being systematically undermined (Hargreaves, 1994; Darling-Hammond, 1993; Robertson, 1993; Lawn, 1990).

Behind the narratives of ‘light-touch’ enactment practices in the geographic area of the study, the findings reveal the installation of a permanent socio-technical surveillance infrastructure within institutions, as part of their response to the mandate to discharge Prevent. Whilst they may employ a range of emancipatory pedagogical practices individually, education professionals as policy subjects are inexorably enfolded into security services’ surveillance regime, as the state’s representatives and (reluctant) advocates, the eyes and ears in the classroom and beyond. Similarly, participants reported their experiences of institutional ‘surveillance assemblage[s]’ (Ball, 2006, p.300), at workplaces using CCTV, audio recording and automated internet and software technologies to monitor and moderate student behaviour. Such socio-technical surveillance assemblage(s) function as an advanced structuring infrastructure or apparatus, legitimised and reproduced by the knowledge structures of the official Prevent discourse, its ‘regime of truth’. Although largely hidden from view, the findings reveal the emergent properties of Prevent as manifesting as institutional, physical, technological, and bureaucratic mechanisms that can and do exercise power and control over the social body with or without the complicity of education professionals. In Foucauldian terms, this can be considered as the Prevent ‘dispositif’: an authoritarian, disciplinary infrastructure, arguably resulting from the ‘boomerang’ effect of colonialism (Foucault, 2003), designed to prevent blowback from kinetic foreign policy and conveniently in place as society heads deeper into a post-industrial stage of immiseration capitalism (Hill *et al.*, 2015). Althusser (2006, p.695) states that ‘ideology always exists in an apparatus, and its practice, or practices. This existence is material.’ In this context, Prevent—and the surveillance infrastructure it supports—can be considered as a manifestation of neoconservative and neoliberal policies that demand pre-

emptive incursions into the education sector (and beyond) to manage the reproduction of power and maintain the status quo.

Despite these findings, this research does not offer a grand narrative of policy success or failure. From a structural-functionalist perspective, Prevent may be perceived as achieving ‘success’ in protecting the status quo from unrest, for instance from a *Gilet Jaunes*-style uprising against neoliberalism. The *Gilet Jaunes* is a populist, grassroots protest movement for economic justice that began in France in October 2018 by ‘those who are disadvantaged in society and who see themselves being less and less protected in the social transformations imposed by neoliberalism’ (Galí *et al.* 2020, p.869). Further to this line of thought, in September 2020 the Department for Education (DfE) issued guidance for English schools categorising anti-capitalism as an “extreme political stance” and equated it with opposition to freedom of speech, antisemitism and endorsement of illegal activity (Busby, 2020). In the same article former UK shadow chancellor John McDonnell said the measures symbolised the growing “authoritarianism” within the Conservative party.

For those unhappy with the status quo and/or the trajectory of society, Prevent may be perceived as a ‘failure’. It appears to add blockages and limits to the traversal connections between people and a ‘chilling effect’ to the freedom of expression necessary in a liberal democracy, and its efficacy in terms of combating terrorism is, as yet, unclear. The ongoing controversy surrounding the policy, including widespread criticisms, represents to some extent a policy failure: it has made visible the workings of top-down power and this in itself may draw ire and inculcate resistance. Situating the ongoing response to the COVID-19 pandemic alongside Prevent reveals a worrying tendency for the state to put in place authoritarian infrastructures in response to a societal-level crisis, invoking notions of a ‘shock doctrine’ using ‘disaster

capitalism' (Klein, 2007). Disaster capitalism can be conceived as a neoliberal instrument for the construction of policies (Perez and Cannella, 2011) that would otherwise be difficult to enact, a strategy that Klein suggests can undermine the interests of the many while protecting (and enhancing) the interests of the few. In this context, much of the previous empirical research into Prevent seems to miss the point. Regardless of the policy's intent, regardless of its perceived success or failure, Prevent—understood as a Foucauldian dispositif and surveillance assemblage—represents a fundamental shift in power relations between the state and civil society, with the state increasing its authoritarian presence in citizens lives, often in ways that are difficult to discern, let alone resist. To invoke Marshall McLuhan, as a medium, perhaps Prevent is both the *message* (McLuhan, 1967) and the (structuring) *massage* (Fiore and McLuhan, 1967).

Limitations of the Study

This study is limited in terms of factors such as its scope, timescale, and geographical location. Research was undertaken at a specific time (2019 - 2020) and location (Bath and Bristol), with a small self-selecting sample of participants, by a single researcher. The study did not include representatives working in independent/private schools. As such, the study's findings cannot be claimed to be generally representative, or reproducible. The researcher's background and positionality may also have influenced research design, the approach to participant interviews, and all consequent data analysis. Throughout the survey and interview process, the researcher was mindful and reflexive of implicit bias, making every attempt to avoid making assumptions or influencing participants' responses. However, whilst this is true, the possibility remains that bias and especially unconscious interviewer influence have affected results. Whilst this research

seeks to uncover the realities of education professionals' perceptions and experiences of Prevent enactment, participants' testimony may also be lacking in objectivity—and at the very least, all are necessarily shaped by individuals' specific contexts. Nevertheless, the study's findings mirror many of the theoretical and empirical findings from the literature review. Equally, the social standing of participants as education professionals—trusted individuals occupying privileged roles in their communities and institutions—lends credibility to their accounts.

Implications and Recommendations

This is, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, the first significant study to gather empirical data on the perceptions and experiences of education professionals in the Bristol and Bath areas of the UK in terms of the Prevent policy. Equally, this study makes a substantive empirical contribution to the field, as a critical exploration of the different ways in which education professionals in a range of roles across a range of institutional contexts enact Prevent.

Conceptually, the research offers a new conceptual model, the CReWS model, as a multi-level heuristic for exploring the securitization of the education sector. The research offers an alternative framework for understanding and interpreting the perceptions and diverse responses of education professionals with regards to the Prevent counterterrorism laws enacted in the UK education field, including through developing a theory of the policy's hidden curriculum and a new typology of education professionals' subject positions with regard to Prevent enactment (Table 7 below).

Implications and recommendations for professional practice

The qualitative data underpinning this research may be of use for professionals in the education field as it reveals productive insights into the perceptions, experiences and practices of practitioners tasked with enacting Prevent, which alongside the conclusions emerging from the analysis of this data facilitates the generation of recommendations for professional practice. These participants occupy a wide range of roles across the education field (including some marginal voices), across a range of institutions, delivering education to all age groups from primary to university level and thus provides what is hopefully a useful overview of the effects of Prevent on the education field as a whole. The study's primary contribution lies in the space of the meso and micro levels (in one geographic region of England), however this is contextualised by an analysis of the macro level from where Prevent emerged. This research aims to be of direct use and interest to stakeholders in the region, including administrators of HE institutions, FE colleges and schools, and also local communities and parent groups.

The qualitative data reveals insights into a range of responses and strategies that go into the policy work of enacting Prevent, with the data analysis showing the particular importance of context when understanding the responses of education professionals, and the ways they engage with the policy. Insights into how education professionals negotiate the 'discomforts' that many associate with Prevent enactment may be helpful to professionals and institutions in the field, in terms of mitigating the potentially detrimental effects of the policy on their own student bodies. Participants in the study offered evidence of the ways in which the new counterterrorism measures are interpreted (and reinterpreted) to safeguard students from the risk of being drawn into terrorism, while attempting to negate possible iatrogenic and counterproductive effects,

often through field-specific expertise and autonomy underpinned by value-based principles and traditional pedagogical techniques of ‘good teaching’.

Reported strategies and practices could be used as models for other educators to emulate, as discussion points for reflexive practices, or as starting points for the development of institutional-specific approaches. These strategies include, for example, inclusive emancipatory pedagogical practices (Akram and Richardson, 2009) that are grounded in trust and respect (Sheikh and Reed, 2010; Cockburn, 2007), developing resilience through critical thinking skills (Pratchett *et al.*, 2010), using role model behaviour and curriculum leadership, whereby Prevent is utilised as a force for social cohesion in countering intolerance and extremism, including of a far-right nature. Reinforcing findings in the literature review, the study reveals evidence of education professionals engaging in productive prevention work such as resilience education using pedagogy that encourages civic engagement (Davies, 2018). This work is often underpinned by what amounts to a social–ecological perspective including developing understanding among students of the contexts and changes required at personal, institutional and social levels (Stephens *et al.*, 2021) to prevent terrorism. This prevention work ultimately involves the inculcation of a shared set of values (Liht and Savage, 2013; Biesta, 2010) that are widely considered by education professionals as ‘human’ values rather than being particular to Britain.

These recommendations for professional practice are to be applied within the education profession and institutional environment but may be of productive use in the other spheres where Prevent has been enacted. Please note that many elements of the following recommendations are already practiced by some education professionals and their institutions in this study, and beyond (as evidenced in the literature review).

Summary of Recommendations

- Increased sensitivity to the effects of Prevent upon civil rights, free speech and freedom to express ideas without added risk within the education environment. An increased sensitivity to language and context at both a local and national level is necessary to ensure that Prevent enactment utilises social values; attitudes and actions that do not contradict FBV by adding risk to civic engagement, democratic discourse and undermining respect and tolerance for the beliefs of others. The stated indicators and target groups can seem like they are continually being expanded, redefined, and remapped by policy makers in what appears to be an ad hoc fashion without an empirical evidentiary basis. We could start this process by using Prevent training to ensure teachers and other education professionals have a better understanding of, and are more sensitive to the language surrounding controversial topics and how this influences values and attitudes, and in turn how values and attitudes shape behaviours and discourse.
- Use ‘good teaching’ and traditional pedagogic strategies (Herz, 2016; IDS 2015) to ensure the widely agreed upon values that underpin FBV are part of the culture of learning and of the institution while being sensitive about claims to Britain’s ‘ownership’ of these values. Use an inclusive approach (Akram and Richardson, 2009) that values different opinions and beliefs that fall within the law and give these diverse beliefs and views *more* capital rather than reducing their capital and potentially discriminating against students through disciplinary measures which may end up forcing beliefs underground, away from the scrutiny of education professionals and thus being counterproductive to the aims of Prevent (Awan, 2012; Thomas, 2012).
- Deliver Prevent requirements to actively promote FBV through ‘good teaching’ (Herz, 2016; IDS 2015) strategies that are flexible, innovative, and inclusive (Akram and Richardson, 2009) and that develop trust (Stephens and Sieckelink, 2019). Differences in opinion and outlook can be seen as a fundamental feature of an inclusive institution where everyone has a stake and belongs. Be mindful that to some, Prevent represents a re-colonisation of social policy by the logics of security field (Ragazzi, 2017). If curriculums were flexible, inclusive, and promoted social cohesion including by avoiding teaching false dichotomies, it could redefine the experience for the student feeling alienated and could

diffuse the likelihood of Prevent referrals. In this way the curriculum and assessment regimes could be transformed, including by measures such as a careful decolonisation of the curriculum (that is sensitive to the needs of society of a whole) and a reduction on a focus of building a false sense of ‘pride’ and ‘unity’ over contested British historical ‘achievements’ related to empire, war and conquest. Instead, where possible the curriculum could focus more on less contentious national achievements including ones related to science, technology, the arts, and social justice, and ensuring it is attuned to the needs of the global community and appreciative of the multicultural nature of modern Britain.

- Use a holistic (Feddes *et al.*, 2015) and community minded ‘family first’ approach (Davies, 2018) to policy enactment, that for instance listens to parental voices for school-age children. Be sensitive as to the effects false referrals have on families and also on the resources of the state to tackle terrorism. Be mindful of power relationships and ensure effective communication with parents/guardians and stakeholders while treating them as partners (Lamb, 2009).
- Empowering the student. The student-empowered agent should be central to the education process (Stephens and Sieckelinck, 2020). The student should have full involvement in their negotiated learning journey, free from fear of reprisals if their opinions and statements stray into areas that while covered by Prevent do not break any existing laws. Students should be encouraged to develop critical thinking skills (Pratchett *et al.*, 2010), free from fears that education professionals and their institutions are surveilling and intervening into the ideological domain and seeking to enforce punishments for Orwellian ‘thoughtcrimes’.

Prevent is shown in many ways to be neither inherently constraining or enabling in terms of education practice (in the area of study), as the policy relies on interpretation of macro level policy discourses at meso and micro levels. When interpreted as requiring light-touch implementation processes the policy is perceived by many education professionals as a largely benign ‘common sense’ reaction to the problem of terrorism. Nevertheless, this study

demonstrates that even with light-touch implementation in an area considered low risk that the policy operates beyond the control of many education professionals, through automated electronic technologies which can trigger disciplinary bureaucratic power systems with potentially detrimental effects. Therefore, Prevent's operationalisation of power relations in the education field are potentially iatrogenic, in terms of educators' roles, their relationships with students, students' attainment/civil rights/wellbeing, and the pedagogical mission more generally. As such, it is recommended that education professionals and researchers continue to engage in critical reflexive processes (Archer, 2009) with regard to Prevent, following the example of many of the education professionals in this study. This may motivate individuals to actively reinterpret the current policy, including challenging and transforming its 'regime of truth', to mitigate its potentially negative effects.

The evidence presented has shown that education professionals could, for example, use their autonomy and reflective processes to 'unravel, criticise and reimagine' British values (Habib, 2017), attempt to free the Prevent discourse of disciplinary power hierarchies in line with Foucault's (1976) genealogical approach, and operationalise critical pedagogical strategies that encourage civic engagement as prevention work (Davies, 2018). In this way, education professionals could improve their capacity to operate as reflexive and active value-rational agents to mitigate the potentially iatrogenic effects of Prevent. If faced with discomforts and ontological ruptures, using a reflexive approach where agents consider themselves in relation to their (social) contexts and vice versa (Archer, 2009) could help to reduce the structuring effects of Prevent, with a student-first 'knowledge as emancipation' approach (Santos, 1999, p.36) as an underpinning ethos. This operationalisation of Foucauldian pastoral power (2007b) as a counter

power to top-down policy-making could support (creative) resistances to interpretations of Prevent that may be discriminatory, homogenising, and/or normalising.

Training providers could include more expertise-based competency aspects—for example, to clarify key terms such as ‘radicalism’ and ‘extremism’—to reduce false referrals and ensure that the behaviours and viewpoints that Prevent classifies as indicators do not countermand the civil liberties of the policy’s targets. Trainees may also benefit from the incorporation of opportunities for reflexive discussion about, and critical engagement with, Prevent, within the training curriculum, in order to improve levels of confidence and ‘comfort’ in the policy’s enactment.

Conceptual implications

This research also contributes to the understanding of the Prevent policy in theoretical terms. Education professionals’ perceptions are explored through an embryonic conceptual framework offered as an original contribution to knowledge, the CReWS model, a heuristic tool by which to investigate power dynamics. Through the CReWS model a range of sociological heuristics are used to conceptualise the counterterrorism strategy, and reactions to it, from multiple perspectives and across multiple levels of analysis. This includes: Wallerstein’s world systems theory; Bourdieu’s relational tools; and Foucault’s theoretical ‘toolbox’ including the concept of power/knowledge. This pluralised and stratified approach is underpinned by an approach influenced by critical realism and allows for the identification of a range of factors that contextualise the Prevent policy by using a stratified ontological approach including productive insights from utilising historical, global, and systemic perspectives to locate the causal factors of

Prevent, ultimately identifying the (hidden) mechanisms in the field of power such as the ideologies and logics of neoliberalism and neoconservatism that ultimately underpin the securitisation of the education field.

Through Bourdieu's concept of capital and field, the findings reveal education professionals' being pulled between two dimensions of capital resulting from the field effects of securitization: the lure of institutionalised capital conferred by the field of power for enthusiastic implementation of Prevent, and at the opposing pole the symbolic cultural capital conferred by their students for trust based 'enactment' of the policy (see Figure 20 and Figure 21). Through Bourdieu's concept of habitus, the findings reveal education professionals' historical, knowledge-based, and self-reflexive practices influencing their enactment of Prevent and the structuring effects of top-down policy, with transformation of habitus often being resisted, or reluctantly and reflexively yielded.

Calling to mind Foucault's genealogical approach to creating a 'history of the present', education professionals conceptualised Prevent as constructed and contextualised by historical processes, revealing the preceding contexts and power dynamics that structure their experience of the present. In particular, participants cited the broader trajectory of the education sector, with authoritarian neoliberal managerial practices becoming more prevalent as structuring influences of which Prevent is one of many. Areas of concern that many participants identify in Prevent policy can, for instance, be productively understood as manifestations evoking Foucauldian technologies of disciplinary power—such as the panopticon, managerialism, the hidden curriculum, and responsabilisation. Ultimately, despite the best efforts of reflexive agents Prevent comes into focus as a structuring socio-technical infrastructure with emergent and inescapable properties that have the potential for exerting disciplinary and normalising power across society.

Furthermore, this study proposes a new heuristic model for analysing the effects of Prevent style security policy-making as a contribution to original knowledge, influenced by, and developing, the work of Stephen Ball and colleagues: a typology of subject positions adopted by those tasked with Prevent enactment (see Table 7 below). This typology may be of use to future researchers investigating security-related policies as it attempts to account for the complex realities of the unprecedented securitisation of the education field to locate and explore the effects of macro-level policy-making on the meso and micro levels.

The chief strength of this stratified and contextualised approach is that the potentially hidden consequences of governmental policy on education professionals and their students are thus revealed and productively explored, which may be of help in identifying the effects of power, thus supporting resistance to the negative effects of top-down security policies, surveillance culture and ‘field capture’ of the education sector.

Table 7. Typology of Prevent policy actors

Policy actor	Security Policy work
Doubter	Maintaining and legitimising existing policy work, coping, policy avoidant, foot-dragging, tick-box enactment, and maintaining counter-discourses
Assimilator	Value-based reinterpretation & recontextualisation, entrepreneurship, creativity, production of prevention practices and texts, partial policy integration, career minded
Legitiminator	Advocacy, interpretation/selection and enforcement of meaning(s), production of texts and training events, reporting, monitoring/supporting, policy integration and career minded

Recommendations for policymakers and policy translators

In 2019, a radical expansion of Prevent was proposed by Matt Dryden, a Prevent Education Officer, former police officer and current Home Office employee (as of October 2020). Under his proposed expansion—the Terrorism, Radicalisation and Extremism Disclosure Scheme (TREDS)—any citizen would be able to effectively make a Prevent referral (Dryden, 2019) without any training at all. This type of scheme whereby any member of the public can make a referral appears to have manifested without fanfare as ‘ACT Early’ (Counterterrorism Policing, 2020), and as evidenced by Prevent referral forms being readily available from government websites for any member of the public concerned about a friend, family member or member of the public (for example see Safer Derbyshire, 2020). Yet the existence and need for the Independent Review of the government's Prevent counter-terrorism strategy, and evidence from the present study, clearly demonstrate that Prevent is perceived as being flawed along numerous axes. The recommendation of this study is thus in direct opposition to such expansion of Prevent. In fact, it is recommended that Prevent should be scaled back to focus on preventing violent extremism and terrorism itself rather than encompassing non-violent speech and indicators that fall within the law, with contested aspects of the policy nuanced, or removed entirely, in favour of strengthening its functionalist, consensus aspects as a socially cohesive policy i.e. Prevent 3.0.

The branding of fundamental human values as ‘British’ (FBV) was widely criticised by education professionals as unhelpful and divisive. It is therefore recommended that this labelling is reconsidered, with emphasis on the ‘British-ness’ of certain values replaced with a clear focus on the universality of the values at hand. Greater clarity is also needed in terms of the rationale for encouraging teaching practitioners to actively promote these values. Vocal opposition to FBV should not normally be classed as an indicator of extremism, unless it falls under existing

legislation, such as hate-crime laws and incitement to violence. This is particularly crucial, given Prevent's flaws in terms of ambiguity of terminology, use of vague indicators, and overly expansive targeting. The research indicates that including non-criminal speech and the targeting of civil protest groups in the policy in its present—overly vague—iteration could result in its punitive, discriminatory (mis)application.

Extinction Rebellion (XR), a climate change protest group, and other civil-protest groups have been included as targets within Prevent training, with XR listed by Counter Terrorism Policing South East as having an 'extremist ideology' for its 'anti-establishment philosophy' (Dodd and Grierson 2020). Whilst withdrawn after press attention, if the listing of XR was indeed a mistake as stated by the police force concerned, or overly inclusive labelling (Walker and Cawley, 2020), as has been claimed, then such missteps must be addressed by training providers, and by official governmental communications to provide clarity. Education professionals therefore need to be retrained to prevent false reporting, and to minimise Prevent's potentially counterproductive and iatrogenic effects, such as its 'chilling effect' on free speech. The removal of: indicators relating to counter-discourse that falls within the law, and non-proscribed civil-protest groups and social movements from Prevent 3.0 training should be a priority, and needs to be recognised and reinforced through mandatory (re)training throughout the sector, and through the dominant discourses of the media and political institutions. The direct link between education institutions and intelligence and counterterrorism agencies should be reduced or severed entirely in favour of the use of local resources, such as local police. Rather than education institutions referring students to counter-terrorism agencies, for example, the local police should be called upon to make evaluations in the first instance.

The principal policy recommendations are summarised as follows:

- Rebrand fundamental British values (FBV) as fundamental human values (FHV) to remove perceptions of nationalism and hypocrisy.
- Create a new discourse in Prevent training. Move away from characterising individuals as ‘vulnerable’ to extremism and ‘at risk’. Emphasise that tolerance and respect for other people’s beliefs includes acknowledging counter-discourses, British foreign policy failures, and the contradictions inherent in Western culture. Refrain from any portrayal of the UK as a model society with superior values, and highlight the resonance of multicultural, human values.
- Revise Prevent discourse more generally. De-emphasise the framing of terrorist threat as ‘ever-present’ in all areas of the country, the use of fearmongering and ‘othering’ to achieve policy goals. Utilise rational evidence-based discourse instead.
- End the conflation of non-proscribed civil-protest groups and certain social movements and their ideologies with terrorism, by officially and publicly removing them from Prevent training materials. Highlight the shift in focus to support for proscribed, violent terrorist groups in the wider Prevent discourse.
- End or significantly reduce the pre-crime aspect of Prevent, including referrals for non-criminal speech acts, except in exceptional circumstances. Practice what FBV preaches by recognizing that democracy must include tolerance of counter-discourses, including being more tolerant and respectful of beliefs that include an opposition to FBV, unless they violate actual laws.
- Remove the direct links between education institutions and counterterrorism and intelligence services. Remove the chance of generating a permanent intelligence file through simple referral alone, and instead revert to using local police as the first port of call for referrals, as per pre-existing safeguarding practices.
- Make it clear in the discourse that Prevent is underpinned by principles of human rights, consensus, freedom of speech, peace, community consent, and community cohesion.
- Rewrite or replace the policy in order to address counterterrorism in the education sector in a ‘holistic’ fashion (Feddes *et al.*, 2015). Address in particular the effects of austerity, poverty, and societal breakdown on students and their home communities—all of which cause much of the alienation and anomie that provide a fertile recruitment ‘ground’ for terrorism (Krieger and Meierrieks, 2011; Merton, 1957).

Recommendations for future research

The research provides empirical evidence that education professionals perceive Prevent as having potentially negative effects. The data permits the identification of elements of inequality embedded within the policy: individuals with lawful, non-violent views may be unfairly targeted under Prevent, alongside those with substantive political and/or religious objections to its politics. Participants in the study explicitly cited Prevent as racist and Islamophobic, with many reinforcing claims of the policy's 'chilling effect' of free speech. This provides ample grounds for follow-up research, both in the education field and in other fields where Prevent is mandatory.

Further longitudinal empirical research is needed into the topics interrogated in the present study, including the perceptions of both education professionals and their students with regards to Prevent. Longitudinal empirical research into the processes of social reproduction and transformation caused by Prevent (as theorised in this study) through research methods such as Biographical Narrative Interview Method (BNIM), which could be used to track dispositions and norms over time and thus aid in capturing habitus (Costa, *et al.*, 2019). Further exploration of the themes identified in this research could also be fruitful. Future research could, for example, continue to map out the impact of Prevent on the education field through further triangulation, with comparative and intersecting study of the policy's effects on education professionals and the student body. Research into the different subfields—such as primary, secondary, Further Education, and Higher Education—across different age and class groups would be particularly welcome, as a means to develop a greater sense of the potential long-term implications of Prevent over students' time in the education system, and in the context of education professionals' career trajectories.

The researcher intends to further test the embryonic CReWS model by researching the ‘draconian’ (Cowburn, 2020) legislation enacted by the British government in response to COVID-19, the Coronavirus Act 2020, and in particular its effects on the education field. This Act of Parliament appears connotatively similar to Prevent, in terms of the state’s legislation of a raft of authoritarian powers over its citizens in reaction to a society-wide crisis. More specifically, the Act grants the government emergency powers to handle the COVID-19 pandemic, through a range of measures described by Lord Robathan, a member of the governing Conservative Party, as ‘disproportionate’, ‘draconian and oppressive restrictions’ (House of Lords Debate, 24 March 2020). Although not implemented uniformly as ‘heavy-touch’ disciplinary regulation, the Coronavirus Act 2020 arguably incorporates aspects of all three models of Foucault’s epidemic models of governance (2007b), installs more socio-technical surveillance infrastructure, following and expanding upon Prevent’s model, and theoretically could be used to detrimental effect in the future. Further linking COVID-19 with Prevent, in September 2020 the DfE sent a briefing note containing non-statutory advice to senior leaders, teachers and safeguarding leads at schools and further education providers, with a warning to consider that ‘extremists are using COVID-19 to promote disinformation, misinformation and conspiracy theories’, and to review their institutional setting’s Prevent risk assessments accordingly (DfE, 2020, p.1).

Conclusion

The results of this small-scale study reveal the diverse responses (and creative resistances) of practitioners tasked with enacting Prevent, the values held by educators, and the ways in which they engage with the policy. The results indicate that, despite expressing significant concerns with Prevent, the majority of education professionals are able to enact the policy in a way they believe successfully reduces/eliminates iatrogenic effects. This is achieved by the use of reflexive strategies that are underpinned by a resilient sense of professional identity, individuals' autonomy, and the inherent 'student-first' values-based vocational logic of the sector. When education professionals are confronted by differences between their professional values and those of Prevent, they evidence turning to 'policy work' (Ball *et al.*, 2012) and policy protagonism to find solutions. Many fall back on their values-based vocational education habitus to reflexively challenge the official narratives and 'regime of truth' deployed to legitimise Prevent, and use their autonomy and agency to avoid the 'structuring' intentions of policy-makers to reinterpret, recontextualise, and reframe the policy itself. So doing, they attempt to remove aspects of the policy seen as harmful to the education process, the needs of their students and local communities.

Education professionals expressed reluctance to yield ground to security services, for example in terms of existing safeguarding practices within the sector already considered to be robust enough to achieve successful prevention work. While amenable to the underlying principles of preventing terrorism and the underlying principles of the stated FBV, they were resistant to adopting illiberal practices of securitisation that many felt were enabled, if not even encouraged, in Prevent training, as a result of vague indicators, and ambiguously defined concepts and terminology, such as 'vulnerability', 'radicalisation', and 'extremism' which

facilitated the production of a wide range of new ‘suspect’ communities. A significant and vocal minority of education professionals positioned themselves as informed social and political activists in the Prevent enactment process, thus arguably mediating between the citizen and the state in the best traditions of Weber (1968), evoking his theory of social action. The evidence presented has shown that in the workplace, this form of active citizenship manifests as an ‘enactment’ of policy rather than the ‘implementation’ outlined by policymakers in official guidance and discourse. The study therefore reveals the important role of the reflexive education professional and their perception that their interactions with students are vitally important in shaping personal identities and in turn the wider society. The study confirms that education professionals are generally able to negotiate with policy discourses, providing many examples of value-rational ‘policy protagonism’ (Robert, 2017) whereby individuals ‘do’ policy work that stretches the parameters of sociological theories such as ‘street-level bureaucracy’ (Lipsky, 1980; Weatherly and Lipsky, 1977) and ‘doing policy in schools’ (Ball, Maguire, and Braun, 2012), by firstly identifying policy ‘problems’, and then using their autonomous power and agency to address these problems often by ‘using’ social categories and symbolic identities such as perceptions in society of teachers as trusted professionals, utilising this conferred pastoral power in order to be able to counter and translate potentially discriminatory policy into more benign and socially cohesive emancipatory pedagogical practices. In this way individual education professionals undertake active strategies to ensure that Prevent is ‘enacted’ rather than implemented. This is in line with Supovitz and Weinbaum’s (2008) claim that policy typically undergoes ‘iterative refraction’ at a number of levels before impacting on students in classrooms.

Many positives emerge from the research. There are, for example, numerous examples of values-based ‘good teaching’ practice in terms of prevention work. This often involves utilising

‘good teaching’, traditional pedagogy and pastoral power as a rationale for creative resistances to mitigate against the negative aspects of Prevent. There is generally a widespread view that the security policy is enacted in a non-invasive, ‘light-touch’ values-based fashion in the area of study. Nevertheless, the study ultimately reinforces the widespread concerns with Prevent established in the literature review as evidenced by reports in the study of some illiberal practices in an institution with ‘heavy-touch’ implementation, reports of practitioners self-censoring, and reports of professional autonomy being reduced by the increasing prevalence of automated software ‘moderation’ systems which can for example monitor all student submissions and Internet activities and can thus trigger bureaucratic and disciplinary response mechanisms beyond the scope of influence of front line professionals.

The emergent properties of Prevent are properties possessed only by the entity as a whole, not by any of its components or the simple aggregation of the components (Mingers, 2011). This study has explored the emergent properties of Prevent and made a compelling case that the ‘whole’ is greater than the sum of its parts. The evidence presented has shown—regardless of individuals’ positive or negative perceptions of the policy, and their mitigation strategies and good practices more generally—that Prevent has already manifested as a massive permanent socio-technical surveillance infrastructure which already shows signs of operating with or without the complicity of education professionals, thus potentially undermining their autonomy and restricting their agency. In the final analysis the Prevent policy (as currently written) has the inherent capacity to transform the social habitus to become more docile and to conceivably inflict iatrogenic effects on students and the wider society.

This research makes original contributions to knowledge in four ways: empirically, conceptually, theoretically, and through data-derived recommendations for the field. It is not the

researcher's intention, however, to generalise from these findings to all education professionals in the Bath and Bristol areas, or beyond. Rather, this research offers productive insights and interpretations, with the aim of stimulating further investigation in this important area, alongside supporting emancipatory anti-discrimination work within the education sector.

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Appendices

Thesis Title:

Counter-Terrorism Measures in the Classroom: Exploring the Perceptions and Experiences of Education Professionals Enacting the Prevent Duty in Bath and Bristol

By:

Malachy (Max) Raymond Weedon

Appendix 1



Information Sheet

Thank you for taking part in this research. Please read through the information below and keep a copy of this sheet. Please feel free to contact me on the email below if you have any questions or require further information.

RESEARCH PROJECT:

Counter-Terrorism Measures in the Classroom: Exploring the Perceptions and Experiences of Education Professionals Enacting the Prevent Duty in Bath and Bristol

Address & contact details of research investigator:

Name of researcher - Max Weedon

Address - Dept of Education and Childhood,

UWE, Coldharbour Lane, Bristol BS16 1QY

E-mail: max2.weedon@live.uwe.ac.uk

About the Project

This research project is the final part of a professional doctorate in education and is focused on understanding the viewpoints and experiences of educational professionals related mainly to two government policies: the Prevent Act and the duty to promote Fundamental British Values. These are controversial policies because although we share a deep concern for the wellbeing and safety of our students we are also concerned about potential negative effects, for example on teaching and learning, academic freedoms, and professional identity. The principal aim is to explore the perceptions of education professionals regarding these policies.

What are the benefits for taking part in this study?

The benefits will hopefully be a better understanding of the effects of these government policies on; the education sector, education professionals, learners and the teaching & learning process. This research aims to give policy makers insights into the perceptions and opinions of education professionals in relation to these controversial policies. The research will include recommendations aiming to facilitate improvements in how these policies are interpreted and implemented to provide a better and safer learning environment for learners and education professionals.

Who is responsible for the data collected in this study?

- The researcher is Malachy (Max) Weedon, a teacher and doctoral candidate in education at the University of the West of England, Bristol
- The data that is being collected is the opinions of educationalists regarding the Prevent Duty and Fundamental British Values (FBV)
- The personal data will be encrypted, anonymised and stored safely until the end of the research project which is due to finish in 2020, at which point it will be destroyed
- The original data will not be shared with other organisations
- The anonymised data will be shared in a doctoral thesis with identifying information removed
- The research was reviewed and passed by the UWE's Education Faculty Research Ethics Committee on 7th November 2018.

What is involved in the study?

Between 2019 and 2020 I will be surveying education professionals to collect survey data and conducting follow up interviews with participants who are interested.

How do I opt out of the study?

There is a cooling off period after taking part in the research where participants can opt out and/or request withdrawal of data without giving reasons. Participants can opt out and/or withdraw data simply by emailing the researcher on max2.weedon@live.uwe.ac.uk with a cut off date of two weeks after the interview.

What are the risks involved in this study?

All contributions will be kept confidential. You will not be asked to disclose information that could jeopardize your professional standing.

You will be given the opportunity to withdraw participation up until two weeks after the interview.

Please be aware that as a general principle, researchers, as University students and as citizens or legal residents of the United Kingdom, have a responsibility to report to the relevant authorities any actions or planned actions, discovered during the course of research, which they believe are likely to result in serious and immediate harm to others.

If the topics addressed by the research are upsetting there are support services available in addition to your workplace support services, such as Samaritans on 116 123 or email them via jo@samaritans.org

For UWE staff the Wellbeing Service is based on Frenchay Campus (2FC 50 Felixstowe Court).
Tel: +44 (0)117 32 86268
Email: wellbeing@uwe.ac.uk

What are your rights as a participant?

Taking part in the study is voluntary. You may choose not to take part or subsequently cease participation up until two weeks after the interview. To opt out please email max2.weedon@live.uwe.ac.uk using your name and the work email used in the survey so that your information can be identified and removed.

Will I receive any payment or monetary benefits?

You will receive no payment for your participation. The data is not intended to be used by any member of the project team for commercial purposes. Therefore you should not expect any royalties or payments from the research project in the future.

For more information

The research was given research ethics approval by UWE's Arts, Creative Industries and Education Faculty Research Ethics Committee on 7th November 2018. If you have any further questions or concerns about this study, please contact:

Name of researcher - Max Weedon
Address - Dept of Education and Childhood,
UWE, Coldharbour Lane, Bristol BS16 1QY
E-mail: Max2.Weedon@live.uwe.ac.uk

What if I have concerns about this research?

If you are worried about this research, or if you are concerned about how it is being conducted, you can contact the Director of Studies & project supervisor: Dr Richard Waller.

Address - Dept of Education and Childhood, UWE, Coldharbour Lane, Bristol BS16 1QY
Tel: 0117 965 6261
E-mail: Richard.Waller@uwe.ac.uk

Appendix 2



Interview Consent Form

Research project: Counter-Terrorism Measures in the Classroom: Exploring the Perceptions and Experiences of Education Professionals Enacting the Prevent Duty in Bath and Bristol

Research investigator: Max Weedon
Director of Studies: Dr Richard Waller

Your name (PLEASE USE UPPER CASE): _____

The interview will take approximately 60 minutes. Some of the questions involve topics relating to counter-terrorism policies such as Prevent and are as such sensitive subjects and there may be risks associated with your participation, therefore anything that could identify you will NOT be revealed, and you have the right to stop the interview or withdraw from the research at any time. Furthermore, we would ask you not to reveal or disclose information that you feel could jeopardize your own professional standing or the professional standing of institutions where you work, as this is not the focus of the research.

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed as part of the above research project. Ethical procedures for academic research undertaken from UK institutions require that interviewees explicitly agree to being interviewed and how the information contained in their interview will be used. This consent form is necessary for us to ensure that you understand the purpose of your involvement and that you agree to the conditions of your participation. Would you therefore read the accompanying information sheet and then sign this form to certify that you approve the following:

- the interview will be recorded and a transcript will be produced
- the transcript of the interview will be analysed by M Weedon as research investigator
- access to the full interview transcript will be limited to M Weedon. Academic colleagues and researchers with whom he might collaborate as part of the research process may have access to the transcript but will not have access to any identifying information or information that may identify you.
- any summary interview content, or direct quotations from the interview, that are made available through academic publication or other academic outlets will be anonymized so that you cannot be identified, and care will be taken to ensure that other information in the interview that could identify yourself is not revealed

- the actual recording will be kept safe for the research period and then destroyed at the end of the doctorate.
- any variation of the conditions above will only occur with your further explicit approval

Content, for example quotes from your interview, may be used (anonymously);

- In academic papers, policy papers or news articles
- On our website and in other media that may be produced
- For related academic purposes

By signing this form I agree that;

1. I am voluntarily taking part in this project. I understand that I don't have to take part, and I can stop the interview at any time.
2. I understand I can withdraw my participation and/or ask for my data to be withdrawn up until two weeks after participation.
3. The transcribed interview or extracts from it may be used as described above.
4. I have read the information sheet.
5. I don't expect to receive any benefit or payment for my participation.
6. I have been able to ask any questions I might have, and I understand that I am free to contact the researcher with any questions I may have in the future.

Printed Name

Participants Signature

Date

Researchers Signature

Date

Further Information

This research has been reviewed and was approved by the University of the West of England's Arts , Creative Industries and Education Faculty Research Ethics Committee on 7th November 2018. If you have any further questions or material to submit related to this study, please contact:

Name of researcher - Max Weedon

Full address - Dept of Education and Childhood, UWE

E-mail: max2.weedon@live.uwe.ac.uk

You can also contact research supervisor: Dr Richard Waller

Full address Dept of Education and Childhood, UWE

Tel: 0117 965 6261

E-mail: Richard.Waller@uwe.ac.uk

What if I have concerns about this research?

If you are worried about this research, or if you are concerned about how it is being conducted, you can contact:

Chair of the Ethics Committee,

Research Information and Governance

Research Administration

North Avon House

Frenchay Campus

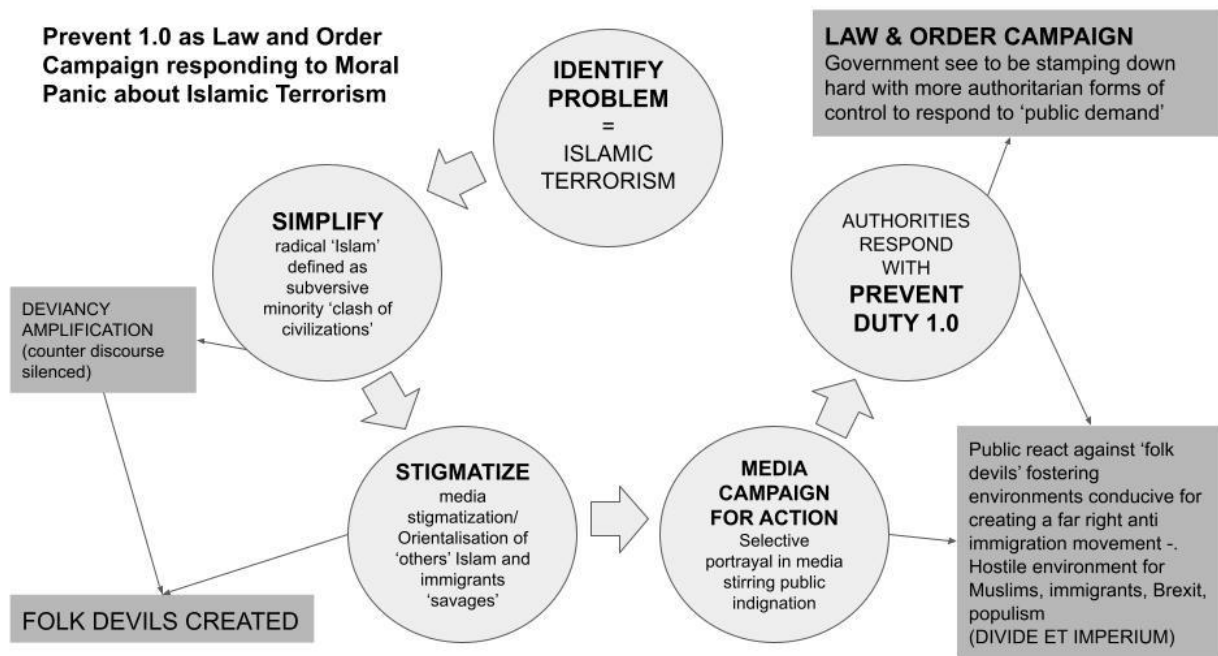
Coldharbour Lane

Bristol

BS16 1QY (or email at researchethics@uwe.ac.uk).

Appendix 3

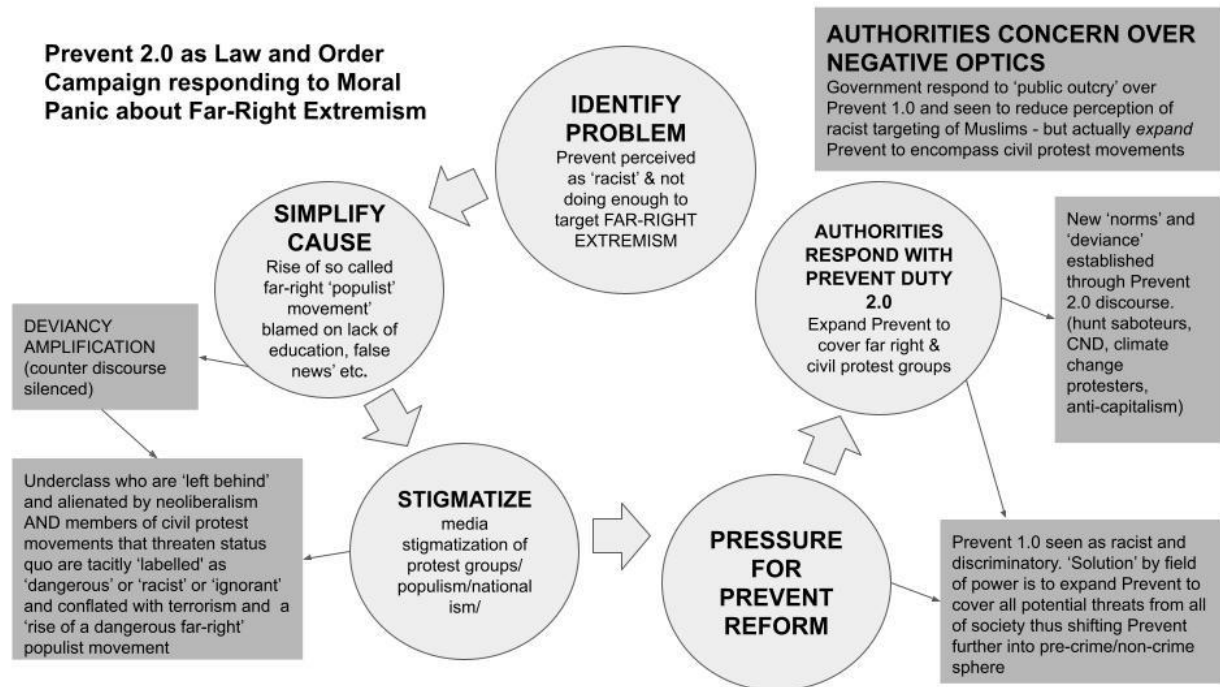
Figure 22. Prevent 1.0 as Law and Order Campaign Responding to Moral Panic about Terrorism



(Weedon, 2021)

Appendix 4

Figure 23. *Prevent 2.0 as Law and Order Campaign Responding to Moral Panic about Far-Right Extremism*



(Weedon, 2021)