"Why are they so obsessed with us?": young Muslim women's perceptions of Prevent in post-16 education

Lilly Barker

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
Nottingham Trent University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2024

Copyright Declaration

Published Work

Barker, L. (2024) 'Prevent and post-16 education: the implications for Muslim women', *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, pp. 1–24. DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2024.2397151.

Abstract

Research upon Muslim women within the counterterrorism strategy 'Prevent' is limited. As a UN Special Rapporteur suggested that 'there is indeed much to discuss on this topic' of Muslim women within counterterrorism policy (Serim, 2023, p.1). Within this thesis, I address these limitations by exploring how Muslim women students in the post-16 education sector experience and view Prevent, along with post-16 educators.

The aims of this research are to 1) Critically explore the gendered impact of Prevent on young Muslim women in further and higher education and 2) Add to existing critical studies on terrorism that discuss the securitisation of racialised people and the expansion of the global war on terror. This thesis produces empirical data about the experiences of young Muslim women and educators in the UK's post-16 education sector.

I utilise online focus groups and interviews with 20 Muslim women students and six post-16 educators across England. 15 of Muslim women participants were Higher Education students in the East Midlands region of England. There were also five Further Education students from different regions in England. Six educators were interviewed concerning their perceptions of their Prevent Duty. Four were Further Education educators and two were Higher Education educators.

Critical Race Feminism serves as my theoretical framework to inform the participants perceptions of Prevent. I utilise counter storytelling as a method within the focus groups and interviews. It acts as a tool in exposing intersectional stories from racialised women. The theory highlights how Prevent operates as a racial project and how the strategy serves to further racialise Muslim women.

Drawing upon my findings, I argue that Prevent should be withdrawn from the education sector due to the racialised, gendered and Islamophobic impact it has upon Muslim women students. I demonstrate this through the women's stories that detailed issues surrounding self-censoring, their responsibilisation and gendered Islamophobia. The educators that I interviewed were also critical of their Prevent

Duty, whether it concerned their training or how Prevent is deemed as safeguarding. This thesis is one study of many to detail the negative impact that Prevent has had upon education, however, Muslim women students specific experiences of Prevent had been overlooked. I add to this literature and argue that young Muslim women have been used as a tool in the UK's deradicalisation sphere and it is evident within the post-16 education sector.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervision team. Katerina Krulisova, Jane Pilcher, and Michael Keenan gave me advice, guidance, support, and reassurance over the past three years. They all provided insightful feedback and kindness throughout my PhD journey. For that, I am eternally grateful. I would also like to thank Waqas Tufail who supervised me during my Master's and encouraged me to apply for a PhD scholarship. I likely would not have if I did not have that encouragement.

Thanks to my family and friends who I could not have completed this thesis without. To my parents for unending support, love, and encouragement. They always told me to 'do something that I enjoy', and thanks to them I have been able to. My sisters, Natassja, and Zosia, for keeping me grounded and being proud, as I am of them. To all my grandparents, who always remind me of how proud they are. And, to my partner and best friend Sam, who has continuously shown love and support.

Lastly, I am forever grateful to those who chose to participate within this study, for sharing their invaluable experiences and stories with me and taking time out of their lives to do so. This work would not exist without you.

Table of Contents

Abbreviations

BIT= Behavioural Insights Team

BSBT= 'Building a Stronger Britain Together'

CC= Community Cohesion

CRF= Critical Race Feminism

CRT= Critical Race Theory

CT= Counter Terrorism

CTS= Critical Terrorism Studies

CVE= Countering Violent Extremism

ERG22+= Extremism Risk Guidelines including 22 factors

FBV= Fundamental British Values

FE = Further Education (sixth forms & colleges)

FOI= Freedom of Information

HE = Higher Education (universities)

NMWAG= National Muslim Women's Advisory Group

MUU= Mixed, unclear or unstable

OfS= Office for Students

Ofsted= Office for Standards in Education

PPA= Prevent Priority Area

PVE= Preventing Violent Extremism

UNSC= United Nations Security Council

WPS= Women, Peace and Security

WOT= War on Terror

WRAP= Workshop to Raise Awareness of Prevent

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

My research explores the gendered impact of the Prevent Duty on young Muslim women's experiences in England's post-16 education sector. I contribute to the existing critical discussions of Prevent and education. Although there are many studies concerning Prevent and education that are highlighted later, there are two considerable gaps that this thesis addresses. The first gap is that there has been a lack of focus upon Muslim women students and their lived experiences of Prevent. The second gap involves the post-16 education[1] sector combined being overlooked regarding the Prevent Duty. I offer unique contributions to existing work on Prevent and bridge these significant gaps that overlooked Muslim women students and post-16 educators within Prevent. I do this by demonstrating how Prevent operates within post-16 education within gendered avenues, such as responsibilising Muslim women students to look out for signs of radicalisation. My study utilises Critical Race Feminism (CRF) as the theoretical framework, with the main feature being CRF's counter storytelling method. I analyse counter stories from the Muslim women student participants and post-16 educator participants in the form of focus groups and interviews. Within this chapter, it is first important to state my personal rationale of the study. I then discuss the background of this study and the gap in literature will be addressed. Next, I explore the aims and research questions of this study in detail. And finally, the thesis structure and chapter outlines are discussed.

---

[1] [1] Post-16 education refers to all post-16 learning. For example, sixth forms, colleges, and universities. Usually, those aged 16 and over attend these settings.

My initial concerns surrounding Prevent progressed because of my pre-existing knowledge of Prevent from my Master's course, and following my duties as a trainee teacher in the FE sector. I became apprehensive about employing the Prevent Duty within the classroom after completing Prevent training and being instructed to implement 'Fundamental British values' (FBV) into my lesson plans. I found there was little room for criticism concerning the Prevent training and the implementation of 'British values' as a trainee teacher. In addition to my own personal concerns about Prevent, it came at a time in which several UK politicians denounced teaching Critical Race Theory (CRT) in schools (see Appendix A). An MP stated that 'White privilege' is an 'extremist term' and those who use or teach it 'should be reported to Prevent' or 'face a disciplinary hearing' (Shand-Baptiste, 2020, p.1; Stone, 2021). The above reasons combined, led me to the timely research questions outlined below, that are aimed at critically exploring the impact of Prevent within education. As such, this thesis engaged with a CRF framework, with the researcher being a storyteller, in which I have my own theoretical assumptions and interpret participants counter stories (Verjee, 2012). My researcher positioning is further discussed in chapter 4. There is extensive academic attention on the effects of counterterrorism (CT) policy on the Muslim population, this thesis provides an analysis of the intersectionality of religion, gender identity and the effects of CT policy (Allen & Guru, 2012; Bhattacharyya, 2008; Crenshaw, 1989; Kundnani, 2009; Satterthwaite and Huckerby, 2013).

I begin here with the overarching, recent criticisms of Prevent that I found to be highly relevant to this research, they also highlight how this thesis is timely. David Omand, the architect of Prevent, asserted that the Prevent strategy was 'founded on

the perceived need to do something, and that it might work, but if it didn't work out then Prevent would be scrapped' in Pettinger's (2020, p.977) study. Yet, despite research that has highlighted the inadequacies of Prevent (Child Rights International Network, 2022; Cohen & Tufail, 2017; Gulland, 2017; Guest et al., 2020; Faure Walker, 2021; Heath-Kelly, 2013; Kundnani, 2012; Lakhani & James, 2021; O'Donnell, 2020; The People's Review of Prevent, 2022; Sabir, 2022; Sian, 2017; United Nations, 2016; Qurashi, 2018; Younis, 2022; Zempi & Tripli, 2022), and numerous organisations calling for the strategy to be scrapped (Amnesty International, 2023; Open Rights Group, 2024; Rights and Security International, 2024; The People's Review of Prevent, 2022), the Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) policy persists and could be expanding from the Shawcross Review (Home Office, 2023a). The possible expansion of Prevent from the Shawcross review recommended that the policy should explore 'the extension of Prevent' and develop specific measures to counter what Shawcross described as the 'anti-Prevent campaign' at universities' (Home Office, 2023a, p.158; MacDonald et al., 2024).

At the time of writing, no other studies have engaged with FE and HE together, hence my focus upon the two sectors together with this exploratory approach with a small number of educators and 20 Muslim women students. Therefore, it is important to outline the existing research that concerns Prevent in education, and how this thesis contributes a gendered outlook to this field. I focus upon the post-16 education sector within this thesis, due to it oft being neglected by the UK Government, particularly regarding the underfunding of FE institutions (Kirkup, 2021). The FE and HE sector are also overlooked regarding how Prevent operates within them both together. This is despite universities and colleges being highlighted

in both the 2011 and 2023 UK Government independent Prevent reports, as they claim that some institutions are not engaging with Prevent (HM Government, 2011a; Home Office, 2023a). The Prevent Duty has been widely criticised in HE institutions, with many other studies focusing on HE and Prevent (Abbas et al., 2021; Brown and Saeed, 2015; Macdonald et al., 2024; Kyriacou et al., 2017; McGlynn & McDaid, 2019; Saeed & Johnson, 2016; Whiting et al., 2021; Zempi & Tripli, 2022). Other previous research surrounding Prevent has predominately focused upon on schools, FE and HE sectors separately (Bamber et al., 2018; Bryan, 2017; Busher et al., 2019; Guest et al., 2020; Lockley-Scott, 2016; Moffat and Gerard, 2019; Panjwani, 2016; Revell and Bryan, 2016). Some studies have engaged with data from students aged under 18 concerning Prevent (Habib, 2018; Higham-James & Holland, 2024; Higton et al., 2018; Elwick & Jerome, 2019). And others have focused solely on Prevent in the FE sector (Beighton and Revell, 2018; Higham-James & Holland, 2024; Higton et al., 2018; Moffat and Gerard, 2020). By considering the two post-16 sectors together, I give an updated picture upon how Prevent has impacted upon not only the Muslim women that are aged between 16-25, but of the educators that teach this demographic also. I also discuss how the lived experiences of the women and educators differ between the two post-16 sectors. This thesis is the first to explore Prevent in FE and HE combined. By analysing how Prevent operates in both FE and HE sectors, this thesis can contribute to a better understanding of the affects that the strategy has on both Muslim women students and educators, and to provide research on Prevent's gendered impact upon post-16 education.

Not only is Prevent overwhelmingly aimed at Muslims and young people, but this thesis will also demonstrate the UK[2] government's incorporation of Muslim women into CT/CVE policy. I discuss how this incorporation aids the Prevent strategy's wider acceptance and legitimacy and categorises Muslim women as a mere tool in deradicalisation (Alimahomed-Wilson & Zahzah, 2023; Allen & Guru, 2012; Cook, 2017; Rashid, 2016a). Furthermore, the UN special rapporteur Fionnuala Ni Aolain, previously stated that 'there is indeed much to discuss' on the position of Muslim women within CT policy (Serim, 2023, p.1). Within this thesis, I pay particular attention to how Muslim women have been utilised within the Prevent strategy. Previous research has centred around how the CVE strategy has situated Muslim women as moderating influences within their communities (Brown, 2008; Rashid, 2013). Andrews (2020a), Mirza (2015) and Fernandez (2018) have studied specific Prevent initiatives and their impact upon women's lives. Furthermore, much of the scholarly work focuses upon Muslim students in general and their opinions of Prevent (Busher et al., 2019; Coppock and McGovern, 2014; Guest et al., 2020; Kyriacou et al., 2017; McGlynn and McDaid, 2019; Moffat and Gerard, 2019; Spiller et al., 2017; Zempi & Tripli, 2022). At the time of writing, no other studies have specifically focused upon Muslim women students' perceptions of the Prevent strategy. This thesis offers original and empirical research regarding Muslim women post-16 students, and their perceptions of the Prevent strategy. The literature outlined above surrounding the criticisms of Prevent and my reasoning for focusing upon Muslim women students in post-16 education, highlights how this research is timely and necessary.

---

[2] I use the term "UK" throughout this thesis for reasons of simplicity, while acknowledging that Prevent and CT/CVE policies in the United Kingdom are not evenly implemented.

Therefore, this interdisciplinary project, combining Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS), Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Critical Race Feminism (CRF), analyses the effects of the Prevent policy for young Muslim women in FE and HE. The research aims to close the gap between feminist research and the lived experiences of racialised Muslim women in relation to CT policy. The motivation for this thesis derives from wishing to illuminate the experiences of young Muslim women in relation to Prevent's operation within post-16 education, and to develop a detailed and rich understanding of how it does so. Furthermore, this thesis makes several significant empirical contributions to CTS and CRF scholarship. I build upon existing work from a CRF perspective, which has not previously informed research upon Prevent. CRF is a theory that addresses issues of intersectionality, with the examination of how different categories such as race and gender overlap or intersect with one another (Crenshaw, 1989; Ansari & Patel, 2024). This research engages with CRF predominately through the use of counter storytelling, which were told within the focus groups and interviews with the young Muslim women students and the post-16 educators. The counter stories allow for the participants to challenge majority ideas and assumptions of Prevent through the re-telling of personal experiences (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017). Drawing upon these two perspectives, this study makes a contribution to the CTS and CRF field by applying the intersectional approach to empirical data collected on Prevent, Muslim women and educators. Ali (2014, p.1258) highlighted that 'Muslim youth are discussed, but rarely included in the conversation'. Therefore, the empirical data are based upon a year of fieldwork, via five online focus groups and 11 online interviews, to research the impact of the Prevent strategy on post-16 education.

During the fieldwork, the Shawcross Review of the Prevent strategy was released by the UK government, with implications for targeted communities and the education sector (Home Office, 2023a) (see Appendix A for a timeline of Prevent and thesis related events). In addition to the review, in 2024, the UK Prime Minister Rishi Sunak, asserted that the definition of extremism should be widened and that undermining British values would be considered guilty of extremism (Wright, 2024). Sunak's statement was in relation to increasing public support for a ceasefire in Palestine. Following the statement, the UK government published a new definition of 'extremism' due to the 'pervasiveness of extremist ideologies in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on Israel' (Department for Levelling up, Housing & Communities, 2024, p.1). As such, this research makes a contemporary and timely contribution to the pre-existing work upon Prevent. Overall, the findings of this research have implications for the future of the Prevent strategy, and how it operates within the UK education system. I seek to provoke further debate regarding the impact of Prevent upon racialised people in the UK and whether it is appropriate to utilise as a pre-emptive counterterrorism strategy, particularly within the education system, to prevent radicalisation. Acting as a critique of the Prevent strategy, this thesis will raise issues that will have direct relevance for policy makers.

Aims & Research Questions

Within this project, I sought to build on existing work from a CRF perspective and apply this intersectional approach to empirical data collected on Prevent and Muslim women (Bernal, 2002; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). I anticipate that through this research, an exploration of the lived experiences of Muslim women, and the issues

that they raise surrounding Prevent, will result in a clearer understanding of the impact of Prevent upon Muslim women students in the UK. The aims of the project are: 1) Critically explore the gendered impact of the counterterrorism strategy Prevent on young Muslim women in further and higher education and 2) Add to existing critical studies on terrorism that discuss the securitisation of racialised people and the expansion of the global WOT.

Based upon the body of work I have produced, the central research questions addressed by this thesis are:

RQ1. How has Prevent impacted upon Muslim women's experience in post-16 education?

RQ2. To what extent is this a 'gendered' impact[3]?

RQ3. How do educators perceive Prevent and their duty to it within education?

Thesis structure and chapter outline

This thesis is comprised of 9 chapters. Chapter 1 is the introduction to the thesis, I present the background to this study and the aims and research questions, along with the rationale for this thesis. I also outline a timeline for this study, alongside other important events in relation to Prevent and detail the structure of the thesis.

---

[3] I use the term 'impact' to demonstrate how Muslim women have been affected by Prevent and the consequences of this.

Chapter 2 presents the policy background of Prevent. It begins by detailing existing literature of the racialisation of the Muslim population. I focus on the definitions of Islamophobia and racialisation to demonstrate how this thesis interacts with the terms. Following this, I discuss Saïd's (1979, p.60) notion of Orientalism and how Islam was seen as a 'trauma' for Europe. I then move on to highlight how Muslim communities were to be considered problematic by the UK government (Kundnani, 2009). Next, I review how pre-emptive CT strategies have become increasingly popular in the UK, particularly after 9/11. By highlighting how racialised pre-emptive CT strategies have resulted in Muslims being securitised, I demonstrate how this ultimately resulted in the creation of Prevent. After this discussion, I also consider Prevent's policy background by paying attention to phase one of Prevent, that details Prevent funding and community cohesion projects. I then move on to highlight phase 2 of Prevent which involves the Prevent Duty. Next, I outline the statistics relevant for this thesis, which include type of concern, referrals from the education sector, and gender and Prevent referrals. Finally, I discuss the Channel aspect of Prevent, which is Prevent's deradicalisation scheme.

Chapter 3 contains the comprehensive literature review for this research, which details how Prevent has situated women within the strategy, along with how the Prevent Duty has impacted upon the post-16 education sector. I begin by addressing the issue of how women were embedded within the WOT discourse, paying particular attention to how colonialist ideas of 'liberation', 'freedom' and 'women's rights' were used to justify the military action (Butler, 2020; Shepherd, 2006). I then move on to discussing literature surrounding how Muslim women were to be involved within UK CT/CVE strategies. I pay reference to how Muslim women are

viewed within CVE discourse as either moderate, or as mothers that can fix problems within their communities (Auchter, 2020; Brown, 2008; 2013). Following this, I review literature that concerns how the terms 'radicalisation' and 'extremism' are used within Prevent (Faure Walker, 2021; Kundnani, 2012). The next section of the chapter details Prevent initiatives aimed at Muslim women. For example, the National Muslim Women's Advisory Group (NMWAG) (2007) and Prevent Tragedies' (2014), and how they left Muslim women feeling securitised. The rest of the literature review chapter focuses on previous research that concerns the Prevent Duty and its impact upon students and educators. I discuss the Trojan Horse Affair, along with the subsequent Fundamental British Values (FBV) that were implemented (Holmwood & O'Toole, 2017). I also consider how the 'safeguarding' rhetoric has affected Prevent's acceptance amongst educators (Busher et al., 2017; Sabir, 2022). Finally, the chapter discusses existing literature upon Prevent and its impact upon Muslim students, and how Muslim women students are viewed in the British education system (Zempi & Tripli, 2022; Taylor & Soni, 2017).

Chapter 4 describes the methodology utilised in this thesis. I begin by outlining the theoretical framework of CRF, along with a discussion of CRT and CTS. The trio of theories is outlined, with CRF overall informing this thesis. I discuss how my research engaged with counter storytelling within the CRF framework (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). I further discuss how Eurocentric epistemologies often do not focus on the experiences of racialised people, and experiential knowledge through counter stories can aid their re-telling of experiences (Crawford, 2017). The second section of chapter 4 details the research design and the methods used to collect my empirical data, that consist of counter stories. I begin by outlining the sample and setting of my

participants, with reference to their profiles, for example their ethnicity, age or location. I discuss the use of online focus groups and online interviews, along with utilising thematic analysis with NVivo software. Lastly, I reflect upon possible limitations of this research, including the 'exception to anonymity' clause in my consent forms, the role of educators, and the generalisability. It was also important here to reflect upon my positionality as a non-racialised, non-religious woman and the impact that this had on this thesis.

Chapter 5, 6 and 7 are the three empirical data chapters that draw exclusively upon the counter stories collected from young Muslim women in education. The counter stories derived from the online focus groups and follow-up one-to-one interviews that were conducted with 20 Muslim women aged between 16-25 that were either in FE or HE in England and Wales. The chapters are woven in a way which presents the individual themes found within the counter stories of Muslim women and educators. For example, the chapters are organised into themes, in each theme contains specific counter stories and sub-themes. To elaborate on the first and second research question, chapters 5, 6, and 7 will discuss the three key themes and related sub-themes from the focus groups and follow-up, one-to-one interviews with Muslim women students. The key themes analysed in these findings and discussion chapters include: 'self-censoring', 'the responsibilisation of Muslim women' and 'gendered Islamophobia'. The FE students and HE students varied experiences are also reflected upon.

To build on the third research question, Chapter 8 is the final empirical data chapter that will discuss the findings from the six educator interviews that were

implemented. The key themes and sub-themes found will be analysed. The themes found were: 'Prevent is counterproductive', 'is Prevent 'safeguarding'?', 'Prevent training is inadequate' and 'Alternatives to Prevent?'. I also offer the diversity of experiences regarding the FE and HE educators, along with the data from the students versus the educators.

Lastly, in Chapter 9, I offer a conclusion to the thesis. Within it, I revisit the research questions in relation to the findings of this thesis, along with a discussion of how CRF has a role in the findings. I further highlight the studies limitations and contributions to knowledge from this research, along with the recommendations that should be made regarding my findings. I now turn to an overview of the policy background.

Chapter 2: Racialisation and Policy Background

It is the intention within this chapter to briefly discuss the 'racialisation' of Muslims, and racialised pre-emptive surveillance strategies. Along with this, I also highlight the policy background of the Prevent strategy. This chapter will guide this thesis by illustrating how and why Prevent was formed and the implications of the strategy. It is important to outline the policy background before delving deeper into the existing literature that surrounds Muslim women in the CT and CVE sphere. Therefore, I draw upon a discussion of the racialisation of Muslims in the UK, with a specific focus on racialised pre-emptive strategies and profiling within Prevent and CONTEST. Lastly, I outline 'Channel', the UK's deradicalisation scheme. I discuss this scheme with an overview of the official statistics that are vital to this thesis, namely the 'type of concern' statistics, 'gender' statistics and statistics from the education sector.

The Racialisation of the Muslim Population

The following section briefly discusses the history of the racialisation of Muslims within the UK and documents how this transitioned into Islamophobia[4]. A key concept to this thesis is that of 'Islamophobia', it is regarded as a term in transition and widely regarded as 'racism against Muslims' (Gilks, 2019; Kundnani, 2014, p.11; Runnymede Trust, 2017). The UK has no official definition of Islamophobia,

---

[4] Politzer and Alcaraz (2023) provide an in-depth discussion of the term 'Islamophobia'.

the nearest definition is one that was formed by the all-party parliamentary group in 2018, which is: 'Islamophobia is rooted in racism and is a type of racism that targets expressions of Muslimness or perceived Muslimness' (UK Parliament, 2018, p.1). It is also necessary here to clarify what is meant by the term 'racialised'. Omi & Winant (1986, p.64) define the term racialisation as 'the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice, or group'. Racialisation is not exclusive to biological terms, rather Sian (2015) suggests it can occur through a set of markers in which reinforces the otherness surrounding a group. Understanding 'racialisation' in relation to Prevent will be discussed further, particularly within chapter 4 when analysing the CRF theoretical framework of this thesis. This discussion is a necessary step in addressing the previously mentioned aim of adding to existing work that focuses on the expansion on the global WOT and its impact on racialised communities.

Countering violent extremism (CVE) and counter terrorism (CT) measures came to the forefront on politics worldwide in the period post-9/11 and the 7/7 London bombings (Kundnani, 2014). CT measures aim to terminate terrorism through 'hard' interventions, such as military and/or law enforcement intervention and intelligence gathering (ICRC, 2017; Sinai et al., 2019, p.95). CVE measures are 'soft' interventions to aim to prevent or dissuade individuals, such as programmes of deradicalisation and reintegration (Sinai et al., 2019, p.95; ICRC, 2017). The term 'terrorism' itself is a highly contested term, serving as a 'persistent problem' for academics and policymakers (Stampnitzky, 2013, p.7). This thesis engages with CTS scholarship to demonstrate that the 'state-centric perspective' of terrorism serves to securitise Muslim populations (Jackson, 2007a). 9/11 was not necessarily the starting

point of the association of Muslims and terrorism, but rather a 'turning point' for the creation of a racial project (Naber, 2008, p.4). Whilst the events of 9/11 and the following WOT triggered discourses surrounding targeted communities, anti-Muslim discourse and anti-Muslim policies did not originate here. It is important to consider here what this thesis defines as a 'project'. For instance, Alsultany (2013, p.208) defines the post-9/11 racial project as a way to 'redefine US borders', citizens, and 'the position of Arabs against the US nation'. And the 'project of white supremacy' is asserted by Jung et al (2011) as race being the fundamental ruling logic that perpetuates racial hierarchy and privilege. Much like how Selod and Embrick (2013, p.647) argue that the social construction of the 'Muslim as the Other is a racial project' that evolves and alters just as racialisation does. This thesis oft refers to Prevent as a project, this is due to Prevent being positioned in this research as an ideological project and one that upholds the project of Western colonial modernity, particularly in relation to CTS's standpoint of the 'racist, colonial logic and intellectual and structural foundations of Western civilisation' (Khan, 2021, p.499).

There is consensus that the Orientalism that emerged during the European colonial era has undoubtedly remained intact within Islamophobia today (Abbas, 2021; Fekete, 2009; Trein, 2018). Edward Saïd's (1979) notion of Orientalism explicates how imperialistic and stereotypical discourse was reproduced by the West about the East. Islam soon became a symbol of terror; Saïd (1979, p.60) described Islam as a 'lasting trauma' for Europe. European Orientalism had a specific gendered focus, with the position of women in other regions of the world serving as justification for Western colonisation (Volpp, 2020). Spivak (1994, p.93) put it: 'White men saving brown women from brown men'. Furthermore, CVE efforts have been described as

reaffirming Orientalist tropes about women in Islam. In particular, by positioning

Muslim women as victims within their own religion (Alimahomed-Wilson &

Zahzah, 2023). This thesis will further explore how this gendered focus is evident

today in relation to Prevent. Post WWII up until the 1970's, most of the political and

media discourse in the UK was anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian with Islam not yet

being in the spotlight (Bazian, 2016).

Scholarship concerning the racialisation of Muslims discusses how Islamophobic

tropes have also been central to other forms of racism (Kundnani, 2014; Volpp,

2020). During the 1960's and 70's, anti-Muslim racism was 'inherited and

intensified' from existing forms of racism that were pre-existing within the UK

(Poynting and Mason, 2007, p.63; Webster, 2018). The 1989 'Salman Rushdie

affair' and the 1991 Gulf War events served as a basis to how the British political

establishment were to view British Muslims thereafter and may have been a

watershed moment for the emergence of Islamophobia (Bazian, 2018; Khan, 2000;

Poynting & Mason, 2007, p.78; Webster, 2018). During this time, the role of Britain

in the US-led conflict led to a divide in the British population. White-British, anti-

war sentiments were presented as legitimate, compared to British Muslims who

expressed anti-war sentiments being regarded as anti-British, exposing the 'us' and

'them' (Poynting & Mason, 2007). Islamophobia was further explicated through the

2001 Northern England riots in Oldham, Bradford, and Burnley (Kundnani, 2001;

Webster, 2018). The British media and the political establishment, namely a Home

Office report led by Ted Cantle (the Cantle report), blamed Muslim communities[5] 'failure to integrate' and claimed that the communities 'self-segregated' (Kundnani, 2001, p.110).

The Cantle report led to the term 'community cohesion' (CC) emerging in policy discourse, particularly discourse with a focus upon Muslim communities. The report defined 'community cohesion' as being 'based upon a greater knowledge of, contact between, and respect for, the various cultures that now make Great Britain such a rich and diverse nation' (Home Office, 2005, p.10). CC is a central concept within the Prevent strategy, notably within its first phase and I return to this later within chapter 3. Following the 1989 Salman Rushdie affair, the 1991 Gulf War and the Northern England riots, it became clear that anti-Arab racism had transitioned into Islamophobia (Khan, 2000; Poynting & Mason, 2007). Having discussed how Islam has been racialised as a result of Orientalism and Islamophobia, the next section will highlight how Muslim have now been securitised through pre-emptive strategies.

Pre-emptive Profiling and Surveillance

Having discussed the racialisation of Muslims and how this transitioned into Islamophobia in the UK, it is now necessary to review how CT strategies have moved into pre-emptive profiling and surveillance, thus resulting in Prevent.

---

[5] The term 'Muslim community[5]' can be considered problematic due to the homogenous nature of the term (Martin, 2019). The term does not adequately reflect the cultural and ethnic diversity of Muslims in Britain. Often the term can homogenise Muslims and 'ignored multiple subjectivities' (Brown, 2020, p.20).

Following 9/11 there was an intensified societal panic from the heightened terror-panic climate, in which resulted in pre-emptive approaches and further securitisation[6] of Muslim communities being significantly increased (Patel, 2012; Thomas, 2017; Qurashi, 2018). These pre-emptive strategies consist of attempting to identify threats and make interventions before a crime occurs (Zedner, 2007).

The term 'pre-crime' is intertwined with preventing crime and pre-empting threats (McCulloch and Pickering, 2009, p.629; Zedner, 2007). 9/11 was not the start of pre-emptive strategies but rather they have been dramatically expanded since (O'Malley, 2004; Sharma, 2023; Younis, 2022). Within the counter-terrorism framework, pre-emptive strategies rely heavily upon proxies of risk, in which race, religion and ethnicity are all used. The proxies of risk have been described as 'racial, ethnic and religious profiling' (McCulloch & Pickering, 2009, p.635). Sageman (2016) is worth quoting, at length, as they detail how this pre-emptive profiling and how Muslims globally are disproportionately affected with this helpful statistical analysis:

> If all the various police departments in the West collaborate and carry out a gigantic sweep by applying this profile to their respective Muslim populations in order to catch terrorists hiding in their respective societies, they would arrest all 22 terrorists that emerge in a given year. However, they would make a mistake 1 percent of the time for 25 million people, which comes to 250,000 people. Therefore, in order to catch all new 22 global neo-jihadi terrorists, they would put 250,000 Muslims in jail by mistake. This rate of error of 99.99 percent is simply not acceptable in a liberal democracy. The reason that the instrument or profile is so misleading despite the fact that it is near perfect is because there are so many more non-terrorists than terrorists. (Sageman, 2016, p.99)

---

[6] 'Securitisation' refers to the process in which a group/issue is constructed as a security threat, thus enabling governmental and societal resources to be utilised to counter it (Buzan et. al., 1998). As the group becomes securitized, it becomes common sense that it is a security threat (Hussain & Bagguley, 2012).

The 7/7 bombings in London also contributed to an increase in pre-emptive approaches within the UK, such as section 44 of the Terrorism Act 2000 (Mythen et al., 2013). This particularly impacted upon young Muslims, who were regarded by the media and state as the enemy within (Webster, 2018). This impact of Prevent upon young Muslim women is the central topic that I seek to further explore. The pre-emptive, anti-terrorism policies ensued after Tony Blair stated that the rules of the game are changing (Amnesty International, 2005). These new domestic counterterror policies consisted of doubling the period a terror suspect can be held and increased monitoring of internet traffic, combined with military intervention in the so-called WOT (McCulloch and Pickering, 2009; Mythen et al., 2013; Thomas, 2017). The issue of how pre-emptive policies rely upon racialised proxies of risk raises further questions concerning how surveillance strategies have manifested themselves as tools to over-police and under protect Muslims globally, this is discussed next.

Racialised Surveillance

Having discussed how pre-emptive strategies have resulted in the monitoring of Muslim communities globally, I will now move on to discuss literature concerning how these pre-emptive CT policies have emerged as racialised surveillance projects. From the pre-emptive CT policies and schemes that were discussed within chapter 2, Patel (2012, p.231) observes that 'brown bodies' are continuously labelled as hyper-visible through these pre-emptive strategies. Therefore, they are subject to increased surveillance and stigmatisation, particularly from CT bodies through the agenda of

'White governmentality' (Patel, 2012, p.231). Saulnier (2017) asserts that it is Whiteness that maintains security whilst risk is ascribed to racialised groups. This over-surveillance of Muslims has led to the criminalisation of non-criminal behaviour. Adey's (2004) study highlights how airport surveillance associates particular objects, such as the Hijab, with increased suspicion and therefore increased monitoring (Patel, 2012, p.227). Ahmed (2007, p.161) also suggests that 'stop and search' technology leaves racialised people being described as 'strangers' in their own homes. Using an example of their experience at New York airport, Ahmed (2007) details how they are questioned in relation to their Pakistani heritage and British passport, resulting in them being on a no-fly list. They stated that 'I become a stranger, again, made strange by the name I have been given' (Ahmed, 2007, p.162).

The pre-emptive strategies employed by governments and government agencies have been described by some scholars as a Foucauldian-style self-governance through instilling discipline (Heath-Kelly, 2013; O'Toole et al.,2016b). Heath-Kelly (2013, p.397) observed that the UK government has fostered a CT approach that deems Muslims as simultaneously 'risky' and 'at risk of becoming risky'. Regarding Muslims as 'at risk of 'radicalisation' and as 'risky' securitises Muslims on what they *may* do (Heath-Kelly, 2013, p.397). The pre-emptive responsibility also extends to 'ordinary, non-authoritative' citizens. For instance, being encouraged to watch others (Finn, 2011, p.143). This responsibility is often encouraged by the state for citizens to always remain vigilant (Finn, 2011). Bigo (2009, p.47) notes that this pre-emptive encouragement to always remain alert holds society in a perpetual 'state of emergency' in which contributes to the racialised surveillance of Muslims (Khan,

2020). The securitisation of Muslims has emerged with media and political discourse constructing Muslims and Islam as a threat, ultimately resulting in Muslims becoming securitized citizens that are intertwined with over-policing and constant suspicion (Hussain and Bagguley, 2012; Khan, 2020; Kundnani, 2009; Poynting and Mason, 2007). What followed was the creation of the pre-emptive strategy 'Prevent', which will be discussed below in relation to phase one and two of Prevent.

The creation of Prevent

It is now necessary to outline the Prevent strategy and its different phases, along with official statistics surrounding the strategy and the Channel aspect of Prevent. The UK's[7] counter-terrorism policy Prevent has been described as a 'more-or-less cohesive project of risk knowledge which is deployed to render terrorism pre-emptively governable' (Heath-Kelly, 2013, p.395). The CONTEST strategy of the UK New Labour Government was launched by David Omand in 2002 and culminated with the publication of its official strategy named CONTEST 2003 (Baker-Beall, et al., 2024). CONTEST emerged as a UK Government response to the September 2001 attacks. The CONTEST strategy consists of four strands: Prevent, Pursue, Protect, Prepare. The Prevent aspect gained prominence post 7/7 due to the concerns of homegrown terrorism (Qurashi, 2018). Prevent was then officially launched by the then Labour government in 2007 (Rights and Security International, 2024). HM Government (2006) state that: *Prevent* has the aim of safeguarding people from becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism; with the outcome being

---

[7] The Prevent strategy is not applied equally across all UK nations (Heath-Kelly, 2024). Throughout this thesis, I mainly focus upon Prevent in England and Wales, therefore this study does not represent the entire UK.

reducing intent. *Pursue* focuses on stopping terrorist attacks happening in the UK and overseas; with the aim of reducing capability. *Protect* focuses on strengthening the UK's protection against a terrorist attack and *Prepare* seeks to mitigate the impact of a terrorist attack if one occurs (HM Government, 2006). Often the government conflate Prevent and Pursue (The People's Review of Prevent, 2022). A witness in the House of Commons Select Committee explained that 'Prevent is Pursue in sheep's clothing', suggesting that Prevent conceals its true nature of also actively pursuing suspected 'terrorists' (House of Commons, 2010, p,8; O'Toole, et al., 2016b). The government conflate the two strategies by frequently declaring the successes of Prevent when they truly mean *Pursue* successes under the CONTEST strategy (The People's Review of Prevent, 2022). Prevents' operation has been described by the UK Government as to challenge ideology, prevent people being drawn into terrorism and provide them with advice and support and works with sectors and institutions where there are risks of 'radicalisation' (HM Government 2011a, p.7). Those who are judged to be at risk of 'radicalisation' by those who work within Prevent are then referred to 'Channel', a deradicalisation programme. Channel will be discussed in more detail later within the chapter. See Figure 1 for a breakdown of the Prevent process from the Department for Education (2022).
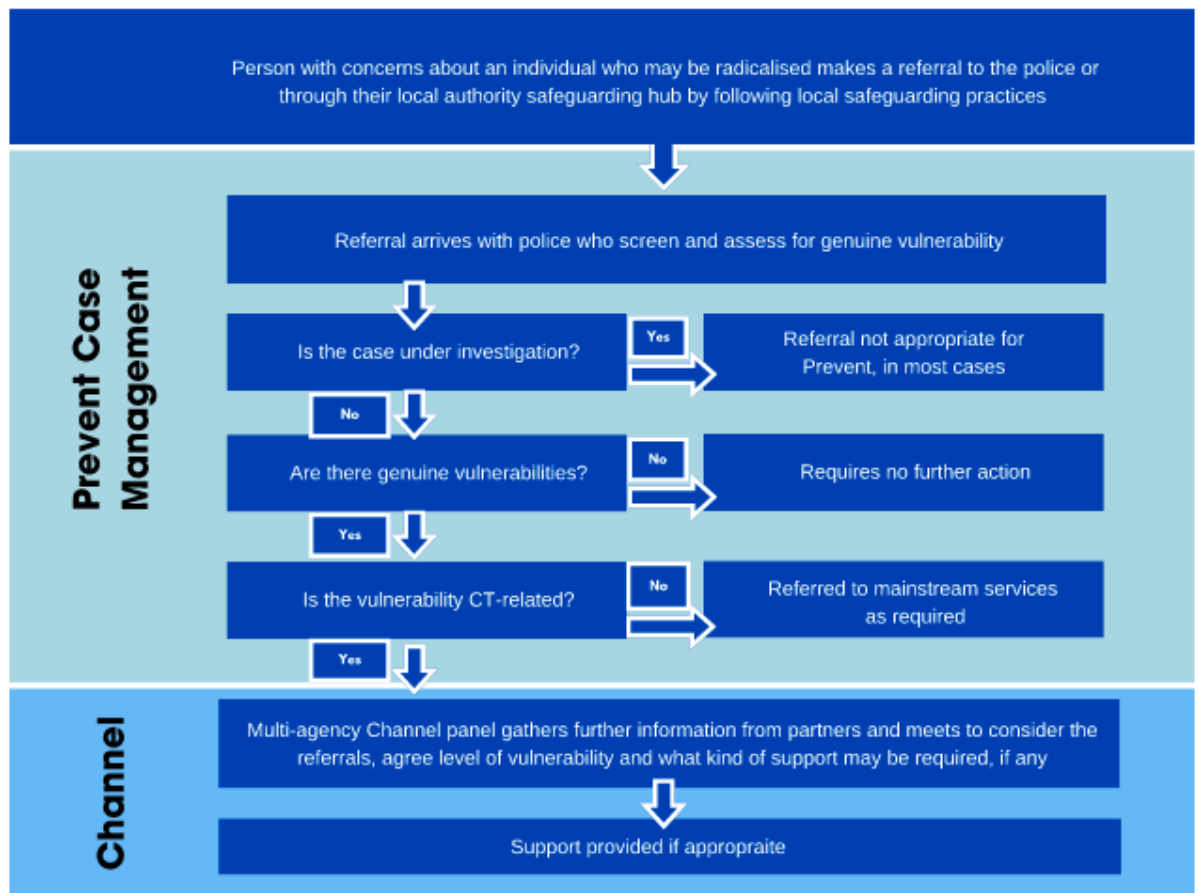
Figure 1 The Prevent Process (Department for Education, 2022)

As discussed previously, Prevent is a pre-emptive approach and was created to prevent violent Muslim extremism (Kundnani, 2014; O'Toole, 2016; Qurashi, 2018). Prevent predominately operates in the pre-criminal space, meaning identifying future threats through strategies of surveillance. The introduction of Prevent was quickly discredited not only by academics but by concerned citizens too when it became clear that this counterterrorism practice targets Muslims in general (Cohen & Tufail, 2017; Faure Walker, 2021; Kundnani, 2009; Sian, 2015; Qurashi, 2018). Younis (2020) discussed how Prevent is an institutionally racist policy that is not addressed sufficiently by the state due to the publics wider acceptance of Prevent as a 'safeguarding' strategy. This is discussed in further detail in chapter 3. Furthermore,

Clements et al. (2020) found that over half of the British Muslims surveyed had some concerns about the Prevent programme.

At the time of writing, attention has been focused upon an independent review of Prevent that was proposed following the Counterterrorism and Border Security Act 2019 (Home Office, 2018). The independent review was published in 2023 after being delayed for three years, it was carried out by William Shawcross (Home Office, 2023a). Some, such as Davison (2021, p.106) stated that a new review would result in recommendations being made to ensure Prevent targets 'all communities'. However, this was not the case as Shawcross called for a re-focus on Islamist extremism (Home Office, 2023a). There was already controversy surrounding the appointment of Shawcross as the independent reviewer. Shawcross was previously a trustee of the neoconservative security think-tank 'Henry Jackson Society' and had previously made Islamophobic comments (McNeill-Wilson et al., 2021). The review was met with criticism, it being labelled 'deeply prejudiced', 'minimises the threat of the far-right' and 'light on research and poor on analysis' (Aitlhadj, 2023 in Townsend p.1; Nagdee, 2023, p.1; Thomas, 2023, p.1). The People's Review of Prevent (2023) provide a well-documented response to the Shawcross review. They overall stated that the review was based upon poor evidence, and recommend that Prevent be removed from the education and health sector immediately. To highlight the relevance of this to my thesis, the Shawcross review was published whilst this research was being written and during the fieldwork (see Appendix A). The Shawcross review has implications for the post-16 education sector such as: recommending that universities have revised training for staff overseeing on-campus events with external speakers and that new training should be provided to public-

sector staff concerning the appropriateness of referrals (Home Office, 2023a). More recently, Shawcross argued that the UK public was at risk of further extremism due to his Prevent recommendations not being implemented and following the 'war in Gaza' (Dugan & Syal, 2024, p.1). The timing of the publication of the Shawcross review and the subsequent remarks enabled me to further explore the review within the interviews held with educators.

Prevent: Phase 1

Having discussed literature surrounding Prevent's background with reference to CONTEST, it is now necessary to document the first 'phase' of Prevent. There is a consensus among critical academics of Prevent that the strategy goes through continual and constant rebranding in order to 'avoid critique' (Faure Walker, 2021, p.17; Kundnani, 2009). Prevent occurred in two phases. Phase one was originally published in 2003 but revised and published in CONTEST 2006 and revised again in 2009 by the New Labour Government. It was made publicly available and updated following the 7/7 bombings in London (Home Affairs Committee, 2009). This first phase of Prevent was concerned with 'Islamist terrorism' and in 2009 the UK Government specifically referred to Islam in relation to terrorism, stating that 'the greatest threat at present is from terrorists who claim to act in the name of Islam' (HM Government, 2009, p.15).

Funding and Community Cohesion

This section analyses literature surrounding the funding of Prevent and how 'community cohesion' (CC) came to be at the heart of Prevent phase 1. Home Office funding for Prevent grew exponentially from £6million in 2006 to £140million in 2008/09 (HM Government, 2009). Funding is given to an array of institutions and organisations, from local authorities, the Youth Justice Board, the National Offender Management System, police forces (who work with education institutions) to the Department for Children and Schools and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (Kundnani, 2009). However, it was found that the allocation of Prevent funding was to locations with a Muslim population of over 2,000, Hickman et al. (2011) described this is as de facto 'suspect communities'[8]. The majority of funding given to local authorities was allocated to locations with large Muslim populations for community run projects, such as youth centres and IT facilities. Muslim women and young people were described by the UK government issued to local partners in 2008 as 'key constituencies to recruit as part of Prevent work', encouraging Muslim women to 'play a more active role in their own communities and wider society' (HM Government, 2009, p.13). The government also described community interventions in Prevent as aimed at certain social groups such as young people, students, or women (HM Government, 2009). Some Muslim civil society organisations submitted applications to receive Prevent funding, one Muslim youth organisation stated that 'it was easy' to get the money in order to expand their organisation (Qurashi, 2018, p.6). Qurashi (2018) observed that whilst on the surface, these

---

[8] The notion of 'suspect communities' derives from Hillyard's (1993) study into the impact of terrorism policies on Irish communities in Britain. It refers to a process of identifying people as a threat and thus resulting in a group of people that is under suspicion from wider society.

organisations may not seem to explicitly CT, it was the aim of Prevent to have a deep network within Muslim communities.

Kundnani's (2009) damning report '*Spooked!'* detailed the implications of Prevents 'community cohesion' funding for local communities. Between 2008 and 2011 Wakefield in West Yorkshire spent its Prevent funding (£90,000) on women's empowerment and cultural events for young people (Kundnani, 2009). Another example is Birmingham, which received the largest amount of Prevent funding in 2008-2011 at £2.4million (Kundnani, 2009). Funding was spent on various projects including Muslim women's forums and youth inclusion work (Kundnani, 2009; The People's Review of Prevent, 2022; O'Toole et al., 2016). The scale of the community project Prevent funding was clear to see as the UK government boasted of engaging 'over 50,000 young Muslims' during the first year of funding (Thomas, 2020, p.14). Kundnani's (2009) report detailed that the Prevent funding allocated to local authorities and organisations often implicitly entailed that the receivers of funding had to gather information for the police. The 'hidden agenda' became evident as it undermined trust and confidentiality (Kundnani, 2009, p.6). Some Muslim youth clubs claimed that they felt pressure to adopt the Prevent strategy, with Prevent officers persistently encouraging them to apply for funding (Qurashi, 2018). Faure Walker (2021) also discussed how youth group workers who had refused to hand over details of young people whom they worked with, had their Prevent funding from the Home Office stopped. Following Kundnani's (2009) report, the Home Office protested that Prevent does not spy on people nor criminalise vulnerable communities. However, O'Toole et al. (2016a) points out that this Home Office statement was undermined by David Omand, a former UK security

and intelligence officer. Omand proclaimed that the government is divided into two: 'those people that go around spying on the population' and those that 'engage' with the population and that it was naïve to suggest that the two do not 'talk to each other' (Thomas, 2012, p.118).

The impact of the overlap between CC projects and Prevent is highlighted by O'Toole et al. (2016a). A Muslim organisation in London that discussed how Prevents' covert aims led to them refusing funding stating that "I won't touch [Prevent funding] with a two-metre bar and no-one will" (O'Toole et al., 2016a, p.172). Similarly, Husband and Alam (2011) highlighted the views of councillors who worked within the Prevent framework. One councillor stated that Prevent was 'quite clearly racist' and another said, 'I could imagine that there's nothing that you can do in social cohesion that can't be perceived as – a front for Prevent' (Husband and Alam, 2011, p.148). These statements demonstrate the intrusive nature of the state's security practices and how CC projects are stained with the negative implications of Prevent. This view is supported by Spalek and Imtoual (2007) who assert that the recipients of Prevent funding were often viewed as being complicit in the state agenda of CT by their own communities. The funding left already deprived communities competing for funds due to placing the policy at the heart of Muslim communities, forming a clear example of racial and religious profiling (Kundnani, 2009). Collectively, the scholars above argue that Prevent phase one was predominantly focused upon CC and projects aimed at young people and women. The above demonstrated how Prevent funding was allocated and expanded over the years to Muslim communities.

Prevent: Phase 2

Introduced from 2011 under the Conservative led coalition Government, Prevent phase 2 made Prevent a statutory responsibility for non-policing organisations, such as education settings, to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism. This second phase came after a government review of Prevent in 2011. Lord Carlile was appointed as the independent reviewer, he stated that he had 'strong support' for Prevent (HM Government, 2011a, p.4). The review broadened the scope of Prevent and laid the foundation for CTSA 2015 (Counter terrorism and Security Act), which ultimately changed the focus from New Labour's CC objectives to a particular focus on CVE (Faure Walker, 2021; HM Government 2015a). The CTSA 2015 Act placed Prevent on a legal footing. The Carlile review also highlighted that Prevent was to target a range of terrorism threats, including right-wing extremism (HM Government, 2015a). This was one of the first instances that right-wing extremism was addressed within the Prevent strategy (Ali, 2020).

Since the introduction of the CTSA 2015, authorities such as education institutions have implemented new policies to show their compliance with Prevent (Qurashi, 2018). It is in accordance with CTSA 2015, which placed a public duty on educational and other public bodies to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism; known as the *Prevent Duty* (McGlynn & McDaid, 2019). The FE & HE sector have been targeted with P/CVE measures. For FE settings (sixth forms &

colleges) to comply with Prevent, they are required to: have policies in place for external speakers and events, have active engagement with other partners (such as the police and regional Prevent co-ordinators), have welfare support, carry out risk assessments, have an action plan, to provide staff training on Prevent, have IT policies in place and to be monitored by OFSTED to inspect its compliance with the policy (Home Office, 2021b). HE settings compliance with the Prevent Duty differs slightly. They must comply with all the above, however there is an addition of HE bodies requiring policies to be in place for student unions and societies, and universities are monitored by The Office for Students (OfS) rather than OFSTED to check their compliance (Home Office, 2021c). If OfS deem a provider to not be demonstrating 'due regard' to their duty, they are then referred to the Department for Education (Zempi & Tripli, 2022). In addition to this, HE bodies also have a commitment to the freedom of speech (Education Reform Act, 1988). From this, the Home Office (2021c, p.1) stated this is why relevant HE bodies 'represent one of our most important arenas for challenging extremist views and ideologies'.

Community cohesion in Prevent phase two?

As mentioned above, within Prevent phase one, much of the focus was upon CC projects (Cook, 2017; Kundnani, 2009; Thomas, 2020). Prevent phase two saw a shift away from CC. However, some projects still existed and received funding under the 'Building a Stronger Britain Together' (BSBT) programme. Only a limited number of programmes persisted in 'Prevent priority' areas, mostly with large Muslim populations (Thomas, 2017). A 2012 FOI request disclosed that these areas received £3 million a year since 2011 (Thomas, 2017). Prevent priority areas (PPA) are defined as 'areas of special concern with extra funding allocated to them' (The

People's Review of Prevent, 2022, p.5). Due to concerns about the Islamophobic nature of PPA's, the government restricted information surrounding the funding and allocation and only disclosed the existence of 44 areas but not why nor how they are deemed a PPA (The People's Review of Prevent, 2022; Thomas 2017). Another FOI request revealed that from 2015-2020 an average of £43 million per year was allocated to the Prevent strategy (The Canary, 2021). The UK government declined to answer which local councils and projects received the funding (The Canary, 2021). A large amount of funding is also given to security think-tanks, such as the Henry Jackson Society and the now obsolete Quilliam Foundation (McNeil-Wilson et al., 2021). These think tanks have been accused of normalising the counter-extremism led community projects, with the use of ill-evidenced work (McNeil-Wilson, et al., 2021).

One of the organisations that received counter-extremism funding, under the BSBT programme, was an online magazine named 'Super Sisters', created by a company named J-Go (Manzoor-Khan, 2022, p.101). The magazine was specifically aimed at young Muslim women as a response to British schoolgirls leaving for Syria in 2015 (Manzoor-Khan, 2022, p.101). J-Go acknowledged that they had accepted Prevent funding and apologised for not being more open about it. Manzoor-Khan (2022) suggests that the programme had the aim of engineering how Muslim women think and perpetuated the idea that all Muslims need consistent surveillance and monitoring. Whilst the UK Government has rejected claims that Prevent serves as a spying tool, it was clear that the strategy did gather intelligence upon Muslim communities through different avenues in Prevent phase two, whether it was through security think-tank research or private companies funded by Prevent (Kundnani,

2009; McNeil-Wilson et al., 2021; Thomas, 2020). This information gathering was further demonstrated by the former Home Secretary, Amber Rudd's comments in 2017, which she proclaimed that: '[Policing] is not where we get the intelligence from. We get intelligence much more from the Prevent strategy' (Press Association, 2017, p.1).

Official Statistics

Outlining the official statistics surrounding Prevent is key to understanding the overrepresentation of Muslims and young people referred to Prevent. I begin by examining Prevent referrals by 'Type of concern'. This includes 'Islamist', 'extreme right-wing' and 'mixed, unstable and unclear' (MUU) concerns. Next, the education sector referrals are also outlined in relation to FE and HE. Finally, gender and Prevent referrals are analysed.

Prevent referrals by 'Type of concern'

Official statistics and FOI requests concerning Prevent demonstrate how Muslims are over-represented within Prevent referrals. The 'type of concern' is related to the information provided by the referrer (Home Office, 2023b). From 2007 until 2011, 67% of referrals were Muslim and between 2012 and 2015 69% of referrals were Muslim (Traquair, 2014, 2016; Qurashi, 2018). 10% of referrals in the 2015/16 were for right-wing extremism, see Figure 2 for a breakdown of the referrals over the years (Home Office, 2017). More recently, from 2020 referrals for 'extreme right-wing' concerns were higher than for 'Islamist' concerns for the third year running

(Home Office, 2023b, p.1). In 2022/23 'Islamist'[9] concern referrals dropped to 11% and 'extreme right-wing' referrals were 19% (Home Office, 2023b). Despite the drop in the number of 'Islamist' concern referrals, the 2021 Census showed that Muslims make up 6.5% of the population in England and Wales, demonstrating the over representation of Muslims in Prevent referrals (ONS, 2022; Qurashi, 2018). In addition to this, it was reported that the British Prime Minister, Rishi Sunak, wished to refocus Prevent on to 'Islamic extremism', something that was repeated with the 2023 Shawcross Review (Home Office, 2023a; Versi, 2022). This was despite the UN asserting that the UK's response to the increasing far-right violent extremist threat, has not yet resulted in any legislative changes (United Nations, 2022). Within this research, I aim to draw attention to how Prevent has and continues to target Muslim communities in the UK.

Recording data on race or religion is not mandatory, despite the concerns of racial and religious discrimination. Many FOI requests surrounding recent Prevent data on religion and ethnicity have been declined by the UK Government (Child Rights International Network, 2022). However, Rights and Security International (2023) found that Prevent case officers classify the ethnicity of the person, rather than being self-defined. Along with this, the FOI data suggests that people who were recorded as 'Asian' and those with 'Islamist' related concerns were dealt with more severely than other ethnic groups or type of concern (Rights and Security International, 2023). Officials viewed those identified as 'Asian' as being a criminal justice matter, rather than a Channel referral, which is a 'non-criminal measure' in which many

---

[9] 'Islamist' is a term used in official policy, it is a term laden with 'unacknowledged assumptions and embedded political-cultural narratives' (Jackson, 2007b, p.395). This thesis uses the term as a reflection of policy not as a promotion of the term itself.

people recorded as 'White' are referred to (Rights and Security International, 2023, p.1).

There was also a notable difference in the way in which categories were defined for Prevent referrals from 2017/18. In this year a new category was introduced, it was labelled as 'Mixed, unstable and unclear ideology' (MUU), this was previously categorised as 'unspecified'. The US Federal Bureau of Investigation director, Christopher Wray, named them a 'salad bar of ideologies', with individuals choosing from certain aspects of different ideologies (Meier, 2023, p.1). This category in 2020/21 accounted for 51% of referrals, however it is unclear how many in this category are Muslim (Home Office, 2021). As of 2021/22 statistics, the MUU ideology category were split into different categories: 'conflicted', 'no specific extremism issue', 'high CT risk but no ideology present', 'vulnerability present but no ideology or CT risk' 'no risk, vulnerability, or ideology Present', 'school massacre', 'incel' and 'unspecified' (Home Office, 2023a). 'Extreme Right Wing', 'Islamist' and 'Other'- which includes other types of 'extremism' including 'left wing extremism' and 'environmental extremism'- make up the 'high level' categories within Prevent referrals (Home Office, 2023a). As shown in Figure 2, the most referrals in the year 2021/22 were those of 'vulnerability present but no ideology or CT risk' at 33%, it rose to 37% in the year 2022/23 (Home Office, 2023b). The Home Office (2023b, p.1) states that this category is used 'retrospectively by case officers once further information gathering has been completed'. This raises the question of why individuals who are deemed not to be a CT risk nor have an ideology present, are referred to a strategy aimed at 'tackling the risk of violence motivated by ideology' (Home Office, 2023a). The issue of Prevent

being described as 'safeguarding' is explored further within the literature review and findings chapters.

	2016/17	2017/18	2018/19	2019/20	2020/21	2021/22
Extreme Right Wing	968	1387	1402	1404	1229	1309
Islamist	3706	3462	1421	1510	1077	1027
Other	725	1160	803	219	107	100
Conflicted	0	0	0	233	323	1020
No specific extremism issue	282	863	1032	232	0	0
High CT risk but no ideology present	0	0	0	70	41	5
Vulnerability present but no ideology or CT risk	0	0	0	1594	1600	2127
No risk, vulnerability or ideology present	0	0	0	676	387	587
School massacre	0	0	79	236	109	154
Incel	0	0	0	0	3	77
Unspecified	412	446	1000	113	39	0

Figure 2 Prevent referrals by type of concern 2016-2022 (Home Office 2023b)

Prevent statistics regarding the Education sector and age

In addition to the over-representation of Muslim referrals to Prevent, another major area of interest for this thesis lies in the role of public institutions, such as the education sector, within official statistics. This is particularly important in relation to this research, as it addresses the high level of young person referrals that derive from the education sector. The case of Shamima Begum, a British schoolgirl who left the UK at age 15 to travel to Syria, brought the role of the education sector and CVE policy to light. This case will be further explored within this literature review and findings chapters. The Prevent Duty contributed to a 75% sharp increase of referrals to Prevent (Thomas, 2020). Prevent referral statistics from the education sector demonstrate that the sector makes a large proportion, and at times the largest number

of referrals to Prevent each year (Home Office, 2020). In the years 2017/18 and 2018/19 the education sector referral rate was 33% and in 2019/20 the police and education sector both referred 31% (Home Office, 2020). The referrals from the education sector increased again in 2022/23 to 39%, the highest number since data was available (Home Office, 2023b). This further demonstrates the necessity to explore how Prevent is perceived in post-16 education.

Data concerning referrals from FE, specifically colleges and sixth forms, was unclear despite FOI requests previously being sent to the Home Office by James (2022). The Home Office cited national security concerns and potential identification (James, 2022). However, in June 2024, FE Week received information regarding FE and Prevent referrals from the years 2018/19 to 2022/23 that was obtained through an FOI request (FE Week, 2024). It showed that from 2018-2023, 7% (734) of education referrals were from the FE sector (FE Week, 2024). FE referrals have been rising since 2018, with 215 referrals being made in 2022/23 (FE Week, 2024). The majority of FE Prevent referrals since 2018 have been for 'extreme right-wing concerns', the second highest were from the 'vulnerability present but no ideology or counterterrorism risk' category (FE Week, 2024, p.1). Regarding HE settings and Prevent referrals, the picture is slightly clearer, as they are recorded by the OfS. 165 university student cases were referred to Prevent in the year 2021-22 (OfS, 2022). This is down from 365 university cases in 2018-19 (OfS, 2021). Most of the cases in 2021-22 were referred for MMU concerns (75), there were 35 cases for those referred with Islamist concerns and 30 cases for those with extreme right-wing concerns (OfS, 2022).

Young people make up the largest number of referrals to Prevent since the Duty was introduced. In 2015/16 56% were aged 20 and under, this rose to 58% in 2018/19 (Home Office, 2017; Home Office, 2019). In 2022/23, those aged 20 and under accounted for 63% of referrals, with 31% of them being aged 14 and under (Home Office, 2023b). The statistics show a consistent referral rate for those aged 20 and under. This age group accounts for the largest proportion of referrals to Prevent and are the most likely group to be discussed at a Channel panel (which will be discussed later in this chapter). Despite the statistics, in 2011 the UK Government stated that: 'We have seen no systematic attempt to recruit or radicalise people in full time education in this country, either in the state or independent sector.' (HM Government, 2011a, p.67)

There have been concerns that too much emphasis has been placed upon public institutions to implement Prevent as there is a lack of evidence that supports the claim that these institutions play any role in the radicalisation process (Dawson & Godec, 2017). Yet, the Prevent strategy still operates in this pre-criminal space that is utilised within schools, colleges, and universities. I aim to further uncover how educators feel about the Prevent strategy that is employed within their classrooms and their obligation to the Prevent Duty. The topic of educators Prevent Duty is analysed within this literature review and findings chapters, with reference to 'safeguarding', Prevent training, and monitoring.

Gender and Prevent statistics

Another topic of interest within this thesis is the official statistics surrounding 'gender' and the referrals to Prevent. The Home Office (2021, p.1) uses the term 'gender' rather than 'sex' when discussing referrals to Prevent. The UK Government state that referrals statistics are 'based upon an individual's own perception of themselves and as such, the gender category with which a person identifies may not match the sex they were assigned at birth' (Home Office, 2021, p.1)[10]. Below are the official statistics that are relevant to this discussion. Although men are more likely to be referred to Prevent (89%), it will be made evident within this thesis that Prevent does have a specific focus upon women (Home Office, 2023b). Males (875 referrals) are also more likely to be referred to Prevent for 'Islamist concerns' than females are (148 referrals) (Home Office, 2023b). From the FE sector 93% of referrals were male in the years 2018-2023 (FE Week, 2024). Schmidt (2022) claims that the lack of women referrals to Prevent could be due to stereotypes surrounding women's innate peacefulness. However, female referrals to Prevent for 'Islamist concerns' (148 referrals) were higher than for females with 'extreme right wing' (79 referrals) (Home Office, 2023b).

The ages for females referred to Prevent consisted mainly of those under the age of 20 (Home Office, 2023b). Most female referrals also came from the education sector (Home Office, 2023b). The way Prevent operates regarding gender became clear particularly when looking at Mirza and Meetoo's (2018, p.236) study, as a

---

[10] Official documents concerning Prevent and gender use the terms 'male' and 'female', this thesis uses these as a reflection of policy terminology. Recent advancements have shown that sex is not a binary, but rather a sliding scale (Brown, 2020). Within this research, the student participants self-identified as Muslim women. For the purposes of this thesis, I will use the term 'gender' rather than sex, due to focusing on the constructions and meanings surrounding gender, not biological categories (Brown, 2020; Butler, 2006; Shaw, 2022).

government policy advisor stated that 'girls…probably are radicalised but are less likely to go on and probably commit'. This is echoed by Auchter (2020, p.108), in which they state that the 'gendered understandings of threat' mean that women are consistently posited as less threatening than men within CVE discourse. To date, there has been little to no research that specifically focuses upon Muslim women students' experiences of Prevent in education in the UK. Therefore, within this research I make contributions to the field surrounding the impact of Prevent on racialised communities, in particular by exploring the feelings and perceptions of young Muslim women in the UK.

Channel

Channel is another aspect of Prevent that is important to highlight here, particularly regarding referrals to the programme. It is a police-coordinated, multiagency programme that evaluates Prevent referrals at risk of radicalisation and directs referrals to other intervention providers, such as further deradicalisation within Channel or health and social care services (Cohen & Tufail, 2017). It was first piloted in 2007 and then widely rolled out in 2012 (HM Government, 2011c). Within the Prevent duty lies referrals to Channel. This de-radicalisation programme within Prevent, uses the 'scientific' UK Extremism Risk Guidance (ERG22+) that lists 22 indicators that supposedly indicate possible signs of extremism. ERG22+ has not proved effective for preventing terrorism, this will be discussed further in chapter 3 (Aked, 2021). Those deemed at risk of extremism or vulnerable undergo 'corrective' programmes under the guidance of 'experts' (Elshimi, 2015, p.120).

Statistics surrounding referrals to Channel in its earlier years were low. In 2006/07, just five referrals were made, this climbed to 748 in 2012/13 (Traquair, 2014). Between 2007-2010, 67% of referrals to Channel were Muslim. Cohen and Tufail (2017) maintain that from 2014-2016, Muslim children (persons under 18) were 44 times more likely to be referred to Channel compared to any other religion (Traquair, 2014). More recently, statistics have been broken down further to 'discussed at a Channel panel' and those who 'received Channel support' or 'adopted as a Channel case'. In 2021/22, of the 6,406 Prevent referrals, 1,486 were discussed at a Channel panel and 804 were adopted as a Channel case (Home Office, 2023b). There is a consistently high number of young people being discussed at Channel panels. Every year since more explicit data became available in 2015/16, over 50% of referrals were made up of those aged 20 and under (Home Office, 2023b; Thomas, 2017). Of those referred to Prevent, a large number require no further action from Channel (judged to not be at risk of radicalisation). From 2018 to 2023, adopted Channel cases from FE sector referrals ranged from 12-22 cases, rising every year (FE Week, 2024). There were 55 Channel cases from universities in the year 2021/22 (Office for Students, 2022). Universities having to impose the Prevent strategy may be affecting the entire student population. Whiting et al. (2021) stated that Prevent could be deemed as unnecessary following this low referral rate from universities.

From comparable statistics since 2015/16, of all individuals referred to Prevent, roughly only 5% were judged to be appropriate for Channel support (The People's Review of Prevent, 2022). As stated in previously, the most alarming statistic is that 95% of those referred to Prevent, do not go on to receive Channel support (Medact,

2020). Medact (2020, p.1) names these as 'false positives'. The false positives, grouped with the education sector referrals to Prevent that were discussed earlier, reveal the true extent that young people in education are securitised. Within this thesis, I will focus upon the impact of Prevent and thus Channel, in FE and HE, due to the sector being overlooked when analysing the strategy. Channel is further discussed within the next chapter, particularly in relation to how it has been labelled as 'voluntary'.

Conclusion

The above has demonstrated how the racialisation of Muslims globally, has led to Muslims securitisation, resulting in racialised pre-emptive strategies, such as Prevent. Literature surrounding pre-emptive profiling and surveillance was explored in relation to how the securitisation of Muslims has been heightened since the WOT (Hussain & Bagguley, 2012; Khan, 2020; Kundnani, 2009; Patel, 2012; Qurashi, 2018). I demonstrated the approaches have led to the criminalisation of non-criminal behaviour and the racialised surveillance of the Muslim population (Khan, 2020). I also discussed how the Prevent strategy has included different 'phases', that entailed problematic CC and funding projects that targeted young Muslims and Muslim women. Official statistics have been highlighted that are relevant to this thesis, namely Islamic extremism, women, and education sector statistics. Lastly, the final component of Prevent, 'Channel' was outlined in reference to the statistics relating to this thesis. The issues that were highlighted above suggest that Prevent has proved to be a controversial strategy with its targeting of Muslim communities. The next

chapter will elaborate on this issue and build upon existing key literature

surrounding Prevent and Muslim women in CT/CVE initiatives.

Chapter 3: Literature Review on Muslim Women within Counterterrorism and Prevent

The previous chapter addressed the policy background of Prevent and how the racialisation of Muslims and the WOT has expanded CT and CVE measures in the UK. This chapter will offer a comprehensive review of existing literature surrounding Muslim women in CVE and Prevent. I will outline how women have been situated in the WOT and within wider CT discourse, with reference to the WPS agenda (Bhattacharyya, 2008; Brown, 2013; Cook, 2017). The Prevent strategy and its associated initiatives aimed at Muslim women will be further built upon from the previous chapter and will be discussed in relation to the wider literature on the topic. Lastly, the Prevent Duty will be analysed in relation to existing research that details its impact upon the education sector.

Women within the War on Terror

Islamophobia became more prominent within the UK, particularly during the 1960's onward, as was discussed within the previous chapter. Now, it is important to highlight existing literature surrounding the WOT and how women have been embedded within the discourse. The events on 11th September 2001, commonly referred to as 9/11, was the defining event for the globalised WOT. The events that followed the attack subsequently created catastrophic impacts for Muslims globally (Kundnani, 2014; Sivanandan, 2008). Keenan (2017, p.190) perceived 9/11 to be a 'boomerang effect' following US involvement in the Middle East- primarily in

Afghanistan, Iran, and Iraq. Days after the attack, the US authorised the use of military force against terrorists. This begun the WOT that would eventually result in an 'open-ended, perpetual, global war', the UK also followed (Kundnani, 2014, p.30).

Discourse surrounding liberation and spreading freedom were promoted by the US and the UK in an attempt to justify military violence in Afghanistan and Iraq (Khalid, 2011; Shepherd, 2006). Scholars have highlighted that one of the predominant discourses that encompassed the WOT was the rhetoric surrounding women's rights in Afghanistan and Iraq (Masters, 2009, p.37; Pearson et al., 2020; Rothermel & Kelly, 2024; Shepherd, 2006). This was perpetuated by Western media and governments, along with some feminist organisations in order to gather public support (Pacwa, 2019; Rich, 2014). This framing of women's victimisation can be considered an operation of power, and one that justifies military intervention (Butler, 2020). Ahmed (1992) also demonstrates that the image of the veiled woman has been consistently used from European colonialism to present day. It symbolised apparent oppression of Muslim women in the attempt to justify Western colonial violence (Connah, 2021). Bhattacharyya (2008) writes that this Western feminist rhetoric was deployed as a military goal to affirm the us-them divide. The military interventions by the UK and the US raised questions about the supposed liberation of women, as Rosen (2006, p.1) noted that it resulted in women becoming 'shut-ins in their own homes'. The numerous accounts of rape and murder of civilian women by US soldiers within the WOT raised further questions of if, and how the West was 'liberating' women (Nayak, 2006). Volpp (2020) observed gendered Orientalism and how Europe often used this as a justification for Western colonisation. The history of

the West's obsession with the veil was evident, as Ahmed (1992) discussed how the discourse surrounding the veil was rooted in European accounts of racist and sexualised tropes of the exotic Orient. It is evident how this Orientalist logic and its gendered undertones continued through the WOT. Khalid (2011, p.27) and El Habbouch (2023) argued that Muslim women were often depicted as 'agentless' or the 'veiled, oppressed Other' in need of salvation, and the West depicted as the saviour and teacher of democracy (Nayak, 2006). The urgency of the West to declare a WOT resulted in a war also 'being played out in Muslim women's bodies' (Rich, 2014, p.4).

What was absent from Western media and official rhetoric was a historical discussion of how the Taliban came to power, and how Western governments had aided this (Hamad, 2020). Western feminist organisations failed to recognise the complex structural violence, such as harsh economic conditions and the impact of British colonialism. Hirschkind and Mahmood (2002, p.340) labelled this 'studied silence' in which organisations and governments failed to recognise the West being complicit in creating the 'miserable conditions' for women in Afghanistan. In a similar vein, Khan (2021, p.1) discussed the 'colonial project of feminism', in which the West ignores the impact of colonisation and instead attempts to justify military action through its 'White saviour complex'. Next, I discuss how Muslim women are embedded within CT/CVE discourse.

Muslim Women in Counterterrorism

In addition to discussing how women have been situated within the WOT, it is necessary now to review the discourse surrounding Muslim women and how they are placed within wider CT strategies in the UK. Satterthwaite and Huckerby (2013) and Brown (2008) provide an explanation as to how Muslim women are often essentialised in CT and CVE strategies. They begin by stating that Muslim women are consistently seen within policy through a maternalistic lens, one that solely relies upon viewing their role in society as mothers and or caregivers. It is the notion that women are viewed as naturally peaceful, as people who can protect and care for their families and communities, and this has led to the essentialisation of Muslim women in the CVE sphere (Brown, 2008).

In 2000, the UNSC adopted the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda which aimed to protect women, prevent violence, and address the participation of women in peace and security governance (Achilleos-Sarll, 2020). WPS efforts have been heavily criticised for 'instrumentalising' women into CVE practices, treating girls as security objects and has been viewed as 'soft-surveillance programming' (Alimahomed-Wilson & Zahzah, 2023, p.242; Aroussi, 2021; Fransen, 2023). In addition to this, Rothermel and Shepherd (2023, p.3) highlighted that women within the WPS agenda and their roles in CT/CVE services are often regarded as human intelligence agents, who are able to participate in 'security practices'. Within the findings chapters of this thesis, the integration and responsibilisation of Muslim women in Prevent is evidenced through the women's counter stories and experiential knowledge.

In 2008 the New Labour Government mirrored this essentialism with the creation of the National Muslim Women's Advisory Group (NMWAG), which consisted of British Muslim women advising the Government on ways to 'empower' Muslim women in Britain (Allen & Guru, 2012, p.1). The NMWAG will be discussed in more detail later. However, it is relevant to consider here that Hazel Blears- the Labour Communities Secretary who chaired the first NMWAG meeting- stated that Muslim women have a 'unique moral authority' to 'challenge the false and perverted ideology spread by extremists and give our young people the skills and knowledge to turn their backs on hate' (HM Government, 2007, p.1). The essentialism of Muslim women is evident here, as the UK Government adopted this strategy that Muslim women and in particular mothers are the best to challenge 'extremism' within their communities, particularly to challenge young people. As a result of viewing Muslim women as 'natural peacemakers' and 'moderate agents', the UK Government has responsibilised Muslim women in countering terrorism within their own homes and communities (Brown, 2008, 2013; Rodrigo Jusué, 2022, p.297). Muslim women are viewed within CVE discourse either as 'woman-as-moderate or woman-as-moderating', meaning that women are consistently seen as moderate forces through 'patriarchal norms', within their communities that are able to fix problems (Auchter, 2020, p.105). Bhattacharyya (2008 p.51) and Cook (2017) further build upon how 'patriarchal norms' seep their way into policy. They state that women are seen as moderate voices or as mothers, stating that mothers are a dominant theme in 'cultures of war' (Bhattacharyya, 2008, p.51). In a similar vein, Åhäll (2012) explicates 'the myth of motherhood' in which 'motherhood' is used throughout representations of women's agency within political violence. Indeed Grewal (2017, p.131) also discussed the idea of 'security moms' that attempt to provide opportunity

to securitise mothers. Within CVE policy discourse, women are viewed as 'natural allies' to the government in countering extremism, along with perceiving women as possessing 'innate maternal abilities to deradicalize young men' (Pearson et al., 2020, p.24). As governments continue to perceive women in this way, it positions women as integral to their counter radicalisation efforts, seemingly shifting their state responsibility onto women (Giscard d'Estaing, 2017). Eggert (2017) criticises the way in which women are utilised as part of countering radicalisation. They highlight that it often places blame upon women and families as 'bearers of extremist culture' rather than seeing extremism and radicalisation as a complex, 'multi-casual phenomenon' (Eggert, 2017, p.1). Together, the scholarship above outlines the patriarchal norms and the essentialism of Muslim women that are embedded within CT/CVE discourse. They are central components of WOT and CT/CVE policy by appealing to mother love and duty from the old trope of a 'woman's social status emerging from reproductive relations' (Bhattacharyya, 2008, p.51). From this, Brown (2020) asserts that women are oft viewed as interacting with the state through their status as either mothers, wives, sisters, or daughters.

Furthermore, not only are Muslim women perceived through a maternalistic lens, but they are also subject to being infantilised and cast as passive (Cook, 2020; Rashid, 2016a; Rothermel, 2020; Spalek, 2012). Muslim women are often infantilised through the secular-Western reinforcement of stereotypes that depict Muslim women as passive, resourceless and 'need saving' (Abu-Lughod, 2013, p.46; Ahmed, 1992). Abu-Lughod (2002, p.788) states:

> [w]hen you save someone, you imply that you are saving her from something. You are also saving her to something. What violences are entailed in this transformation, and what presumptions are being made about the superiority of that to which you are saving her?

Abu-Lughod (2013) further discusses how the rhetoric of Muslim women needing to be 'saved' depends on a reinforced sense of superiority from the oppressor, or as Ahmed (1992) describes it as colonial feminism. As discussed above, much of this discourse surrounding saving Muslim women concerned 'veiling'. However, within CT policy the English language has also been a tool to further stereotype Muslim women. Manzoor-Khan (2022, p.136) suggests that David Cameron- then Conservative British Prime Minister- asserted the view that Muslim women need to 'integrate more' and learn the English language as to not leave them 'susceptible from the extremist message' (The Guardian, 2016, p.1). David Cameron stated that he was not blaming Muslim women, but their 'patriarchal societies' and the 'menfolk' that did not want them to learn English (The Guardian, 2016, p.1). Therefore, reinforcing the view that Muslim women are passive within their own communities. This demonstrates that CT policy and so-called feminist interventions were concerned with integrating Muslim women as well as deterring Muslims from terrorism (Rodrigo Jusué, 2022).

In addition to this reinforcement of Orientalist stereotypes by the UK government, the term 'Femonationalism' must also be discussed (Farris, 2017, p.4). Farris (2017, p.4) coined the term 'Femonationalism' which refers to the 'exploitation of feminist themes by nationalists and neoliberals in anti-Islam campaigns' and the demonisation of Muslim men by certain feminists in the name of 'gender equality'. Femonationalism is a useful concept when discussing how anti-Islam and xenophobic campaigns have co-opted feminist themes. It is evident here that elements of femonationalism can be seen within CT/CVE policy discourse and how

it situates Muslim women within them. Muslim women are perceived through a maternalistic lens, particularly within de-radicalisation policy discourse. This reinforces nationalist rhetoric that solely refers to women not as individuals, but in reference to their social role based on the functions of their bodies or 'bearers of the collective' (Farris, 2017, p.72). Furthermore, the portrayal of Muslim women as 'passive' or as 'victims' also has femonationalist tropes. This is most evident within discourse surrounding the veil and the encouragement to learn English language. For instance, the aforementioned comments made by David Cameron and how the UK Government co-opted these feminist themes of empowering women. However, in reality it was simply a regurgitation of the trope that Muslim women are passive and/or submissive (Harmes, 2011; Manzoor-Khan, 2022). Not only does this femonationalist discourse present itself within nationalist and neoliberal advocates, but feminists also deploy Islamophobic tropes, such as needing to 'emancipate' Muslim women in the name of 'women's rights' (Farris, 2017, p.2). Having discussed the literature surrounding how Muslim women have been included within the WOT and the UK's CT discourse, the next section analyses the existing literature surrounding Prevent, Muslim women and Prevent, and the Prevent Duty.

CONTEST & Prevent

In the previous section, I outlined key literature surrounding how women have been placed within CT/CVE initiatives. Now, I turn to further discuss key literature surrounding the Prevent strategy. Within the policy background chapter, I outlined the creation of Prevent, along with the strategy's official statistics and summarised

the Channel aspect of Prevent. This section will continue this discussion by examining the literature surrounding the concepts that Prevent relies upon, and how Prevent funding and community cohesion has impacted upon Muslim communities (Faure Walker, 2021; Thomas, 2020). Further to this, literature concerning how Muslim women have come to be implicated within Prevent strategy and constructed as the new folk-devil will be reviewed, including examining specific initiatives aimed at Muslim women (Mirza and Meetoo, 2018). The 'Prevent Duty' will be explored in relation to literature that discusses educators 'safeguarding responsibility', ERG22+, WRAP (Workshop to Raise Awareness of Prevent) training and cases of how Muslim students have been impacted by Prevent. Finally, the Channel aspect of Prevent will be explored further. Existing literature will be reviewed surrounding Channel and how young people, and the education sector are impacted by this strand of Prevent.

'Radicalisation' and 'Extremism'

In addition to the critiques of pre-emptive strategies, many scholars highlight the limitations of the very concepts that Prevent itself relies upon; '*radicalisation*' and '*extremism*' (Aked, 2021; Heath-Kelly, 2013; Kundnani, 2012; Sian, 2017). 'Radicalisation' is a highly contested term (Kundnani, 2012). The Prevent strategy labels radicalisation as a linear process 'by which a person comes to support terrorism and forms of extremism leading to terrorism' (Faure Walker, 2021; HM Government, 2011a). Neumann (2008, p.3) maintains that after the September 2001 attacks, officials and experts urgently began to discuss the idea of 'radicalisation' or

as some commentators put it 'what goes on before the bomb goes off'. Much of the discourse surrounding 'radicalisation' was inherently flawed, often only focusing upon the CT policymakers demands rather than objectively studying 'terrorism' (Kundnani, 2012). Kundnani (2012) observed that before 2001, the term was often used to refer to radical politics and usually did not refer to Muslims. Thus, the scholarly focus on 'radicalisation' limited itself solely to the question of Islamic 'extremism' thereafter. Similarly, Faure Walker (2021) states that initially 'radicalisation' was often discussed alongside left-wing British politics. The term then began to be used more in relation to the Iran/Iraq war and then ultimately after 9/11, the term became widely used.

Numerous models of 'radicalisation' exist in the UK, such as the conveyor belt theory. This theory asserts that certain factors such as religious ideologies and economic hardship and connections can 'radicalise' people (Hafez & Mullins, 2015). WRAP training is also based upon this conveyor belt theory (Lockley-Scott, 2016; Baker-Beall et al., 2015). Another model is the 'Prevent pyramid'. The pyramid details different stages of 'radicalisation' from those vulnerable to extremist messages, to those who are active terrorists (Audit Commission, 2008). Moffat and Gerard (2019) discuss how these theories often follow the idea that radicalisation is a linear process, in which a person gradually becomes radicalised. Heath-Kelly (2013), Omand (2010) and Baker-Beall et al. (2015) criticise these linear models, stating that the models do not explain when a person transitions from 'at risk' to 'risky' and when or if a person with extremist views could engage in violent activity. In relation to the critique of these 'radicalisation' models, the UK government's own research recognised that the linear conveyor belt theory is not accurate and that the

relationship between violent and non-violent extremism is not straightforward (Greer & Bell, 2018). Similarly, Kundnani (2012) makes the point that these models are also intrinsically racialised, as they predominantly focus upon Muslims and render Muslims as dangerous. Within the 'radicalisation' frameworks and existing radicalisation literature, they fail to demonstrate 'any causal relationship between theology and violence' (Kundnani, 2012, p.21). Sian (2017) also highlights that the focus of radicalisation models is exclusively upon Muslims. Likening Prevent and its concepts to the positivist criminological thinking of Lombroso, in that apparent scientific frameworks are utilised to draw conclusions about criminality (Sian, 2017). The implications of Prevent relying and being based upon unsound 'scientific' and theoretical knowledge raises questions of its logic and its justification.

Another key concept Prevent relies upon is that of '*extremism'*. Faure Walker (2021) traces the origins of the word 'extremism' in the UK. The word was often referenced in relation to Britain's weakening empire, from India, the Middle East, Africa and Northern Ireland. 'Extremism' had been traditionally used to describe ideology that *causes* violence, ignorant of the term 'non-violent' extremism (Faure Walker, 2021; Kundnani and Hayes, 2018). The UN described non-violent extremism as difficult to define due to issues of the potential policing of thought and opinion, in which innocent individuals would be targeted (United Nations, 2016). More recently, the term 'extremism' has been used in connection with British Muslims (Faure Walker, 2021). In 2009, the UK Government extended Prevent to challenging 'all extremism' in general, not solely 'violent extremism'. The state encouraged challenging 'views which fall short of supporting violence and are within the law, but which reject and

undermine our shared values and jeopardise community cohesion' (Kundnani, 2009, p.20). In addition to this, Faure Walker (2021) discusses how 'extremism' came to be synonymous with violence, with 'radicalisation' and 'extremism' both being conceptualised as violent by state targeting. This conflation of violence and extremism could result in people fearing that they may be perceived as violent simply for having views that the state may consider to be 'extremist' and thus considered at risk or risky (Faure Walker, 2021). In the same vein, Martini et al. (2020) asserted that there remains no conclusive evidence that there is a relationship between extreme ideologies and political violence.

The UK government has been criticised for a lack of clarity surrounding its definition of extremism. The definition was updated in March 2024 (Department for Levelling up, Housing & Communities, 2024). Some have pointed out that the previous definition of extremism is too vague and thus left it open to being challenged in court (Faure Walker, 2021; The People's Review of Prevent, 2022). 'Extremism' was defined in the 2011 Prevent strategy as:

> vocal or active opposition to fundamental British values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs. We also include in our definition of extremism calls for the death of members of our armed forces, whether in this country or overseas (HM Government, 2013, p.1).

Kundnani and Hayes (2018, p.10) described the UK's definition as 'most elaborate yet inconsistent definitions of extremism' that could potentially affect vast sections

of the population. The most recent definition of 'extremism' from the UK government is:

> Extremism is the promotion or advancement of an ideology based on violence, hatred or intolerance, that aims to: 1) negate or destroy the fundamental rights and freedoms of others; or 2) undermine, overturn or replace the UK's system of liberal parliamentary democracy and democratic rights or 3) intentionally create a permissive environment for others to achieve the results in (1) or (2). (Department for Levelling up, Housing & Communities, 2024, p.1).

The People's Review of Prevent (2022) and Kundnani (2009) asserted that the definition of extremism is essentially a concept that attempts to target anyone whose opinions are different from that the state approves. The language of extremism is used by the state to 'delegitimise' opposition to policies, increasingly for movements such as Black Lives Matter and Extinction Rebellion, but specifically targets Muslims disproportionally (The People's Review of Prevent, 2022, p.42). Furthermore, the UN has expressed concern that the UK's definition of extremism is too broad, and that lawful political dissent could be grouped with violent extremism (Child Rights International Network, 2022; United Nations, 2016). Despite the UK government's own research detailing the downfall of linear radicalisation models, the Child Rights International Network (2022) stated that Prevents' focus is still upon non-violent extremism as the strategy polices behaviour and opinions that may be both legal and non-violent. Next, I discuss how Muslim women have been placed into Prevent.

Prevent and Muslim Women

It is now necessary to discuss how Muslim women have been situated within the policy of Prevent. Whilst the Prevent agenda is predominately focused upon young men, the strategy follows the assertion that women build 'resilient communities', provide mainstream voices to challenge ideology, and that Muslim women have the capacity to intervene in the 'radicalisation process' in their families, as discussed in earlier (Home Office, 2021; Huckerby, 2012, p.5). Within the following discussion I will analyse the 'hearts and minds' rhetoric and specific initiatives that focus directly on Muslim women in both phase 1 and 2 of Prevent. These include 'Engaging with Muslim Women' and 'Muslim Women Talk Campaign' in 2005, the National Muslim Women's Advisory Group (NMWAG) (2007) and Prevent Tragedies' (2014). These initiatives made recommendations for Muslim women in Britain. They addressed issues such unemployment and discrimination in the workplace and aimed to encourage Muslim women to 'talk' more in the "Muslim Women Talk Campaign", in relation to community cohesion and national security (Cook, 2017, p.6). On the surface, these initiatives appeared to be constructive. However, in order to engage with Muslim women, the UK Government implemented this through a CVE lens, thus leaving Muslim women feeling securitized (Cook, 2017).

'Hearts and Minds'

The discourse surrounding 'hearts and minds' has been persistent throughout CT legislation and WOT narratives (Allen & Guru, 2010; O'Toole et al., 2016). However, Elliott-Cooper (2021, p.139) explored how the hearts and minds approach

has colonial roots. The 'hearts and minds rhetoric' was used within the dying days of the British Empire, particularly within Kenya and Northern Ireland (Elliott-Cooper, 2021). The British State wished to win over the 'hearts and minds of colonised people' so that they would 'appreciate' British rule (Elliott-Cooper, 2021, p.140). Mass arrest and detention were described by a former British general as necessary to keep the population safe. Elliott-Cooper (p.143) described this rhetoric as a clear construction of the British State linking ethnicity and race to criminal violence, this served as a crucial aspect of policing suspect communities. Dixon (2009) also observed that the 'hearts and minds' approach was a popular British counter-insurgency theory and focused upon how it was used within the Northern Ireland conflict. The hearts and minds campaign was presented as a peacekeeping effort in Northern Ireland by the British Government, however the true coercive nature of the campaign was concealed (Dixon, 2009). Furthermore, Rashid (2024) discussed how the Othering of Muslim women has clear roots within these colonial policies, and that it is also evident within Prevent. Prevent's engagement with Muslim women (discussed below) are a twenty-first century example of gendered Orientalism (Rashid, 2024).

This can also be seen within Prevent initiatives to 'win over hearts and minds' to tackle extremism insisting that 'communities defeating terrorism', as the then New Labour Government and former Met Police Commissioner had stated (Allen & Guru, 2012; Briggs et al., 2006, p.83). Allen and Guru (2012, p.5) highlighted that the state saw Muslim women as mothers, sisters and grandmothers that were needed in order to 'win over hearts and minds' and 'confront bad Muslims', as discussed earlier. Mohanty (2006, p.9) made clear that states see Muslim women in relation to

their nurturing and domestic roles and that this is not a new phenomenon. Women's bodies are often used within imperialist projects and globalistion, along with women's labour to affirm power and domination (Ahmed, 1992). Prevent follows the wider pattern that CVE/CT approaches take in that they focus on women's nurturing roles and assume that women are inherently peaceful and are therefore able to promote peace in their public and private spheres (Asante & Shepherd, 2020; Patel & Westermann, 2018). It becomes clear that policymakers lack the understanding of women's roles beyond acting as 'preventers' of terrorism or as 'vehicles to prevent' radicalisation (Fink et al., 2013, p.1; Patel & Westermann, 2018, p.). The initiatives reduce women to 'the traditional stay-at-home mother, providing moral guidance to and remaining vigilant over the activities of her children' (Gordon & True, 2019, p.74).

The Prevent agenda engaged with Muslim women solely in terms of their roles as daughters, mothers and wives who could play a role in combating 'extremism' within their communities and to have a 'pacifying influence' on those around them- according to the UK Government (Cook, 2020; Eisenstein, 2007; Rashid, 2016b). Brown (2020, p.6) further discussed how CVE approaches, particularly Prevent, have engaged in 'women-washing'. Women-washing refers to state policies being perceived positively or tolerated by the public due to women carrying out the activities, some of these activities will be addressed below. This approach of 'women-washing' can also be linked to the aforementioned 'co-optation' which involves states exploiting feminist themes within their policies. Women-washing is achieved by 'widely-held stereotypes' about women and motherhood (Brown, 2019, p.6). From the 'hearts and minds' colonial roots to the inclusion of the approach

within the Prevent agenda, it becomes evident that *heart and minds* remains a constant initiative by the British state when policing racialised communities.

"Engaging with Muslim Women" and "Muslim Women Talk Campaign"

Further to the hearts and minds approaches adopted by the UK Government, it became clear how the Government was to thereafter situate Muslim women in relation to Prevent. There was a wide range of CVE initiatives that were created within the UK that specifically targeted Muslim women (Ahmed, 2012; Brown, 2020). However, not all the initiatives were directly related to Prevent but below will demonstrate how Muslim women have been continuously perceived by the state through a maternalistic or peacekeeper lens (Satterthwaite & Huckerby, 2013). Indeed, Huckerby (2011) stated that it is not yet clear that CVE efforts that involve women are effective. They discussed how projects that derived from Prevent often did not translate to concrete evidence that demonstrated women's involvement in empowerment projects nor how this helped to tackle radicalisation (Huckerby, 2011).

Initiatives named "Engaging with Muslim Women" and "Muslim Women Talk Campaign" were created. They were community groups launched in 2005 shortly after the 7/7 London bombings. The purpose of the groups was to make recommendations to address the discrimination that Muslim women face in society and in the workplace, deepen Government relationships with Muslim women and address issues such as CC and national security (Cook, 2017). The CC discourse

within these initiatives that specifically focus upon Muslim women can be related to how heavily CC is used in Prevent phase 1 and the 2001 Cantle report. CC serves as a lingering term throughout counterterrorism policy. Cook (2017, p.7) highlighted the main critiques of these working groups, mainly that they occurred under a 'CVE umbrella'. It was discussed earlier that access to funding and organisations engaging with funding were oft viewed as complicit in Prevent. It was argued that Muslim women felt apprehensive about expressing their genuine concerns due to coming under the guise of CT and national security (Brown, 2008; Cook, 2017; Faure Walker, 2021; Manzoor-Khan, 2022).

Mosques have been described as a central component to these initiatives and of 'integrationist agendas' that are able to build values around the 'British way of life' (Joppke, 2004, p.244). Brown (2008) questioned the use of these specific women initiatives within mosques, stating that they acted as a tool to measure integration within Muslim communities. The UK government was acting upon the assumption that women's inclusion and participation in mosques would demonstrate how well integrated the community was to British shared values (Brown, 2008). However, this approach portrays how the British state reiterates the Orientalist logic of women's role in religion and society (Ahmed, 1992; Brown, 2008). In effect, women are identified as a CVE tool that are 'uniquely positioned' to carry out duties for the state (Alimahomed-Wilson & Zahzah, 2023, p.241).

The National Muslim Women's Advisory Group

Despite concerns raised about the existing initiatives aimed at Muslim women, the UK Government persisted with the Prevent agenda. The then Prime Minister, Gordon Brown announced in 2008 that a new group named The National Muslim Women's Advisory Group (NMWAG) would be created to 'empower Muslim women' as part of the Prevent agenda (Allen & Guru, 2012, p.2). The group consisted of nineteen Muslim women who worked within communities under the Prevent agenda, the Government insisted that Muslim women 'had an invaluable role at the heart of their families, communities and wider society' (HM Government, 2007). Hazel Blears, discussed earlier, stated that 'Muslim women had a unique moral authority in their families' demonstrated that not only did the UK Government perceive Muslim women in relation to their nurturing roles but also as a possible tool for CT (Allen & Guru, 2012, p.2). From this, Yuval-Davis (1997) observes how state efforts to recruit women often draw on the perception that women reproduce nations, whether that be biologically, symbolically, or culturally. Particularly drawing upon the 'heteropatriarchal logics' that classify women as the primary keeper of domestic life (Grewal 2017; Basarudin & Shaikh, 2020, p.119). The group was based upon the idea that Muslim women were the silent majority, and activities included CC work in the hope that there would be 'greater support for a silent majority of women' that would ultimately 'help prevent terrorism by leaving them better placed to identify and block extremists radicalising young Muslims' (Cook, 2017; BBC News 2007, p.1).

The rhetoric surrounding Muslim women being portrayed as a mere counterterrorism tool by the state is persistent and frequent throughout NMWAG initiatives (Rashid, 2013). A specific NMWAG activity targeted young Muslim women in education.

The group initiated a role model road show named 'Our Choices' that was enacted across England that involved over 600 students from schools and colleges attending the shows (Cook, 2017). Rashid (2016a) and Cook (2017, p.9) describes how the aim of the roadshow was to encourage young Muslim women to consider career paths that were 'unusual for Muslim women'. However, Rashid (2016b) details how the empowerment of young Muslim women through this roadshow and other NMWAG initiatives, is seen predominantly through CT. Within the initiatives, there was often little to no consideration of the discrimination that young Muslim women may face in education or in their career paths. For example, being stereotyped as passive by teachers or the challenges they may face to enter the labour market (Basit, 1997b; Mirza & Joseph, 2013). There have been numerous controversies surrounding the NMWAG. First, it became evident that most of NMWAG membership consisted of predominately middle-class women who had previously been involved in Government projects- namely Prevent (Cook, 2017). The group was criticised for not being representative of the wider population, as Allen and Guru (2012, p.6) suggested that NMWAG created 'a space in which Muslim women were nurtured to act as the mouthpiece of government by appealing to a secular and a human rights agenda with clear anti-terrorist sentiments'.

As stated earlier, Manzoor-Khan (2022) and Rashid (2016a) explained how the British state often viewed Muslim women as passive and silent within society. This view was upheld within the initiatives carried out by NMWAG. The formation of the group was ignorant of the fact that Black and Asian women have extensive history in the formation of anti-racist and anti-discrimination activities (Elliott-Cooper, 2021; Rashid, 2016a). This thesis does not attempt to provide a detailed insight to the

history of feminist anti-racist organisations within the UK, of which there are man. But I highlight some of the organisations that are relevant to the discussion of Muslim women. For instance, The Southall Black Sisters and the Organisation for Women of Asian and African Descent (Elliot-Cooper, 2021).

More recently, Anitha and Dhaliwal (2019) discuss the implication of Prevent funding on Women's campaign groups, particularly Muslim women's campaign groups. There were concerns that some women's groups were forced to establish specific initiatives aimed at Muslim women or transform their concerns into potential CC issues as they would receive more funding, particularly at a time of cuts to public services (Anitha and Dhaliwal, 2019, p.17; Kundnani, 2009). Further to NMWAG's controversies, Shaista Gohir, a leading member of the group who resigned in 2010 stated that the group served as a 'political fad' and that she had reservations about 'linking Muslim women to the Prevent agenda' (Gohir, 2010, p.1). Ultimately, the group's lifespan coincided with Gohir's resignation letter and the change in Government in 2010. With allegations of conflating social issues with CVE approaches, NMWAG appeared to fail in its mission of 'empowering Muslim women' (Allen & Guru, 2012, p.7; Cook, 2017, p.10).

The 'Prevent Tragedies' Campaign

It is necessary now to discuss the 'Prevent Tragedies' communications campaign launched in 2014. The initiative demonstrated how the UK Government situated young Muslim women into UK security efforts (Andrews, 2020a; Cook, 2017). The budget for Prevent Tragedies was £300,000, the initiative, run by the Met Police and

Counter-Terrorism Policing HQ, aimed to engage women to deter their young

relatives from travelling to Syria and to submit reports to Prevent (Andrews, 2020a;

Redmond & Viney, 2015). The target audience were 'women who were close to

young women', for example daughters, nieces, and cousins (Redmond and Viney,

2015, p.3). Other objectives included 'to empower young people by providing facts

about the situation in Syria' and to provide voices and case studies that will 'resonate

with young people' (Redmond and Viney, 2015, p.3). Communication outputs

included radio adverts, online adverts and leaflets encouraging mothers to talk to

their daughters. Social media outputs were varied within the campaign entailing a

Twitter hashtag '#PreventTragedies', Instagram account '@Preventtragedies', a

YouTube channel, and a Facebook page (Andrews, 2020a). Only the YouTube

channel remains in place, but it is not active. The initiative's particular focus on

young people is evident due to its online presence on numerous social media

platforms; the target audience was young Muslim women (Andrews, 2020a; Cook,

2017). See Figure 3 for a *Prevent Tragedies* leaflet from a school website (Boteler,

2013).
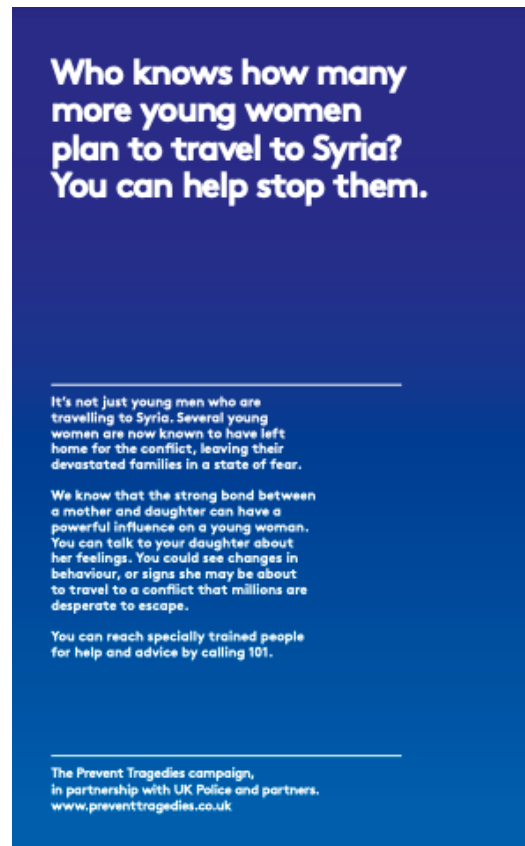
Figure 3 Prevent Tragedies Poster (Boteler,2013)

The initiative was based upon the idea that young Muslim women were 'groomed' to travel to Syria. It was simultaneously presented as a 'safeguarding' and a CT issue- something that will be discussed later in relation to how Prevent operates within the British education system (Andrews, 2020a, p.6). The British government perceived Muslim women within the Prevent Tragedies initiative in relation to them serving as 'counter-terrorist agents' and focused upon women's nurturing roles, this is something that is a constant throughout the Prevent agenda (Rehman, 2014, p.1). The initiative was ongoing until 2017, the Prevent Tragedies website (http://preventtragedies.co.uk/) as of 2024 now displays a blank website (Andrews, 2020a; Cook, 2017).

Prevent Tragedies and Prevent in general appears contradictory when considering the case of Shamima Begum, a 15-year-old London schoolgirl who travelled to Syria in 2015 (Masters & Regilme, 2020). Reports revealed that Begum was trafficked into Syria by a Canadian spy who was ordered to 'gather intelligence' and that the British Government 'failed to be open' about the situation, instead choosing to make Shamima Begum stateless (The Guardian, 2022, p.1). In no documents, leaflets, social media channels or radio adverts do they address how to prevent your child, friend, or niece from being 'radicalised' or as Wishart and Kane (2021, p.1) put it 'trafficked' into a conflict zone by a trained spy who is gathering intelligence.

The Muslim Women's Network labelled Prevent and many of its initiatives named above, as a tool in which Muslim women are expected to 'spy on their families' and fear that Muslim women's political activism is becoming increasingly associated with the Government agenda of counterterrorism (Gohir, 2010, p.6). There have been concerns from Huckerby (2015) and OSCE (2013) that the promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment initiatives should not be used as projects that aid spying on communicates (Zaid, 2020). The initiatives discussed above all had in common that they focused upon Muslim women's empowerment through a CT or CVE lens. As Basarudin and Shaikh (2020, p.120) argue that often these initiatives view women as 'entry points' into Muslim spaces that the state would not normally permeate. Now that I have highlighted the key literature that surrounds how CC funding has operated within Muslim women's spaces and how Muslim women have been situated with Prevent and its associated initiatives. The section that follows will discuss the Prevent Duty in education, 'safeguarding' and the strategies impact upon

Muslim students. What is not known is the impact Prevent has upon Muslim women students- something that this thesis directly addresses.

'The Prevent Duty'

As previously outlined in the policy background chapter, the Prevent Duty placed a public duty on educational and other public bodies to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism; known as the *Prevent Duty* (McGlynn & McDaid, 2019). Finn (2011) stated that the duty demonstrates of how seemingly ordinary citizens are now asked to watch others under the pre-emptive gaze. Public sector organisations now have a duty to report anyone they deem as vulnerable to 'radicalisation' (Qurashi, 2018). James (2022, p.121) and Heath-Kelly (2016a) suggest that public sector workers have essentially been 'responsibilised' and are seen as extended agents of the state, into spotting potential signs of radicalisation for Prevent. O'Donnell (2020, p.147) further demonstrates that teachers are being asked to use their 'gut feeling' when it concerns the possible radicalisation of students. They assert that using this approach to predict future potential terrorists is very difficult, even for experienced practitioners. Therefore, for educators to carry this 'gut feeling' out, it would not be a 'reliable approach' (O'Donnell, 2020, p. 147).

Within the education sector, from primary school through to university, the sector has been told to have 'due regard' to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism (Home Office, 2021, p.1). Education settings have been asked to 'identify children who may be vulnerable to radicalisation and know what to do when they are

identified' (Educate Against Hate, 2021, p.1). Universities (HE) also have this statutory duty placed upon them. However, Spiller et al. (2022) state that the rules regarding how HE educators are expected to engage with or act with the Prevent duty remain unclear. Further to this, the Prevent Duty includes building 'pupils resilience to radicalisation' by implementing and promoting 'fundamental British values' (FBV) which include: 'democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect for and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs' (Educate Against Hate, 2021, p.1). There is no specific requirement for HE institutions to promote FBV within the curriculum (HM Government, 2015b). It is unclear if educational settings will still need to promote FBV, as the UK definition of *extremism* changed as of March 2024. FBV and how they were introduced into schools following the Trojan Horse affair is discussed later in this chapter.

Existing research upon the Prevent Duty has highlighted numerous aspects. First, Busher et al. (2019) found that teachers could be now more accepting of the duty compared to when it was first introduced. This could be due to the Prevent Duty being framed as a safeguarding approach, rather than one of CVE (Scerri, 2024). Despite the arguments of teachers possibly being less hostile towards the policy, Busher et al. (2019, p.616) state that this does not demonstrate 'straight forward policy acceptance'. Furthermore, numerous studies have shown that teachers would favour a more educational response to Prevent, rather than frame it as a securitisation issue (Busher et al., 2017, 2019; Elwick & Jerome, 2019). I reflect upon the possible alternatives to Prevent in detail within chapter 8. Even though Elwick and Jerome (2019) found that students trust their teachers with information regarding

radicalisation, it was evident that teachers often lack this understanding of extremism and radicalisation themselves (Bryan, 2017).

There is existing research upon Prevent and the FE sector (Busher et al., 2017; James, 2020; Lakhani, 2020; Lakhani & James, 2021). Within FE, educators are likely to customise the Prevent Duty to suit them and their learners, however, they are still bound by Ofsted regulations (James, 2020). Busher et al. (2017) also focused upon schools and colleges and found that educators were more comfortable when Prevent was discussed in a safeguarding aspect, and that they felt uneasy teaching FBV. Other research has also found that many educators feel anxious about discussing difficult topics in the classroom and some remain unhappy with the Prevent training that they receive (Busher et al., 2017; Moffat & Gerard, 2019; Pearce et al., 2023; Thomas, 2016). Regarding HE and Prevent, research has found concerns of the masking of Prevent as a safeguarding approach, when in reality, it is one of CT (Heath-Kelly and Strausz, 2019). In addition to this, HE lecturers feel unsure about what is being asked of them regarding the Prevent Duty, particularly concerning Prevent in relation to academic freedom (Higton et al., 2021; Pearce et al., 2023; Spiller et al., 2017; Whiting et al., 2020). Furthermore, HE educators have also noted the ambiguity of the term 'radicalisation' (Pearce et al., 2023; Knudsen, 2018). Indeed, Pearce et al. (2023) found that HE educators are less confident than school educators when it concerns recognising what should and should not be referred to Prevent, and that those in HE were more concerned with issues surrounding free speech values. Steadman et al. (2019) suggested the UK government put forward a more legally binding duty that could enable extreme discussions in the classroom. Overall, as the FE and HE sectors have not been

considered together when researching Prevent, this thesis examines how both FE and HE students and educators perceive their duty to Prevent in post-16 education, and their differences of experiences. As stated previously, young people have been the largest referrals to Prevent since the Duty was introduced and are more likely to be discussed at a Channel panel (Home Office, 2023b). Therefore, the gap of FE & HE being considered together is significant, as this thesis considers young people and how they have been impacted and targeted by Prevent within education.

The Trojan Horse Affair and Fundamental British Values

As mentioned previously, FBV play a major role within the Prevent Duty due to the requirement to promote the values. When discussing FBV it is crucial to mention the 'Trojan Horse affair', which involved a claimed plot to 'Islamicise' schools in 2014 Birmingham, England; the affair was widely covered in the media and Government discussion (Holmwood & O'Toole, 2017, p.7). An anonymous letter was sent to Birmingham City Council that detailed a supposed plot to promote strict Islamist values in schools in Birmingham, some of these schools named in the letter were highly successful schools that were rated as outstanding by Ofsted (Crawford, 2017; Holmwood & O'Toole, 2017). The letter and documents surrounding it are widely regarded as a hoax and malicious Islamophobic forgery (Richardson, 2015, p.37). Nonetheless, Holmwood and O'Toole (2017) make clear that the Trojan Horse affair was regarded as legitimate by the unquestioning British media and the Government. More recently, a 2022 New York Times podcast demonstrated, that Michael Gove, the then education secretary, was aware that the letter was bogus (Fernandez, 2024; The New York Times, 2022). Whilst the education system had long been a vehicle

for the promotion of nationalist agendas through the curriculum, the Trojan Horse affair was able to merge with existing nationalist discourses; it was the beginning of embedding counterterrorism within schools in Britain (Miah, 2017; James, 2022; Revell & Bryan, 2018). Richardson (2015) and Fernandez (2024, p.2) argue that the Trojan Horse affair was a gift for these pre-existing Islamophobic agendas, a key event in the history of Prevent and one that perpetuated the idea that Muslims 'should be inspected and monitored'. Crawford (2017, p.198) asserted that the British Government thereafter rolled out 'securitised requirements' that altered the policy framework within education. Similarly, Richardson and Bolloten (2015) told of how Michael Gove, in his speech about the Trojan Horse affair, claimed that schools are now required to actively promote FBV, and this would be reinforced through Ofsted inspections. Gove has persistently portrayed Islam and the West as having an 'inherently problematic' relationship, with Faure Walker (2021) asserting that Gove published a book named '*Celsius 7/7: How the West's Policy of Appeasement has Provoked Yet more Fundamentalist Terror- and what has to be done now'*.

Critics have also debated whether the use of the term FBV is appropriate within education. Indeed, in James (2022, p.130) study, one student noted that the overt 'British' posters were "a bit weird and patronising". The very optics of Prevent, in the form of posters, display boards and leaflets within education settings appear to disturb students within their own education settings (James, 2022). Richardson and Bolloten (2015, p.1) and Lowe (2017, p.921) maintained that FBV is an ambiguous concept that is 'subjective', fluid and currently plays an 'insidious role' in education. FBV have been described as racially coded, constructed for racialised minorities and

serve to construct and present 'White' British values as superior and some have questioned what is so inherently British about 'democracy' and 'rule of law'? (Crawford, 2017, p.199). Smith (2016) highlight that FBV has also been labelled as Britain's imperialistic presumption of superiority and said to be a process in decivilizing Muslim identities (Meer & Modood, 2009). Michael Gove, in 2010 stated that schools should celebrate British history and that 'too much history teaching is informed by post-colonial guilt' (Haydn, 2014). Similar ideas have also been shared by former Labour prime ministers Tony Blair and Gordon Brown (Haydn, 2014). In the same vein, Hodkinson (2020, p.35) asserted that this 'muscular liberalist' approach, enacted by David Cameron would simply serve as a form of cultural programming that results in the creation of the 'Other'. The next section discusses how educators are expected to spot signs of 'radicalisation' within students from the ERG22+ framework, and the rhetoric of safeguarding and Prevent.

ERG22+ framework and 'Safeguarding'

As discussed earlier, the concepts of radicalisation and extremism that Prevent heavily relies upon have been widely debated and regarded as ambiguous (O'Donnell, 2016a; Faure Walker, 2021). This is further demonstrated by the official advice provided to teachers from the UK Government. 'Educate Against Hate' (2021, p.1) detailed how to spot traits of radicalisation in children and young people; these included statements such as 'changing friends or appearance', 'being secretive', 'spending a lot of time online' and 'distancing themselves from old friends'. These statements derive from the ERG22+ assessment tool, which details

22 indicators of possible extremism (see Figure 4) it is split up into three sections;

engagement, intent factors, and capability factors (HM Government, 2011b).

Younis (2022, p.42) has described ERG as an 'example of the racist, permeable

membrane' that has been perpetuated by pre-crime notions. McGlynn and McDaid

(2019) highlight that the ERG22+ framework has been called into question as the

UK Government has declined to publish the evidence behind the framework. In

addition to this, the science behind ERG22+ is described to be deeply secretive and

seeks to treat any person as a suspect including legitimate political activism (Sabir,

2022). An FOI request found that one of the reasons for the government classifying

ERG22+ was to prevent 'production of a competing product on the market',

revealing a profit motive for the surveillance technology (Mirza, 2016, p.3). Notably,

the UK made £5billion selling security services in 2018 (Manzoor-Khan, 2022). The

profitability of state surveillance on Muslim communities is clear when analysing

ERG22+, with Manzoor-Khan in Hoyle (2022) noting how through the WOT,

surveillance tools through private companies have increased. ERG22+ has been

potentially sold as a product globally, even though it has not been scrutinised nor

peer reviewed. Younis (2022, p.43) provides a useful description of pre-crime as an

industry that is 'primarily profit-driven'. The Royal College of Psychiatrists (2016)

stated that public policy should not be based upon data that has not been scrutinised

nor peer-reviewed, and has called for it to be published in full. It has also pointed out

that no such tool exists nor has been developed that can reliably identify people who

have been radicalised or are at risk of radicalisation (Royal College of Psychiatrists,

2016).

Engagement	Intent	Capability
1. Need to redress injustice 2. Need to defend against threats 3. Identity, meaning & belonging 4. Need for status 5. Excitement, comradeship & adventure 6. Need to dominate others 7. Susceptibility to indoctrination 8. Political, moral motivation 9. Opportunistic involvement 10. Family and/or friends support extremism 11. Transitional periods 12. Group influence and control 13. Mental health Issues	14. Over-identification with group, cause 15. Us & them thinking 16. Dehumanisation of the enemy 17. Attitudes that justify offending 18. Harmful means to an end 19. Harmful end objectives	20. Personal knowledge, skills, competencies 21. Access to networks, funding, equipment 22. Criminal history

Figure 4 ERG22+ Factors (Ministry of Justice, 2019)

From the ERG22+, Lockley-Scott (2016) observed that Muslim pupils are now seen as a 'figure of securitization' for teachers and peers, and that some Muslim pupils feel that they are unable to discuss certain topics out of fear that they could be referred to Prevent. The Department for Education states that the intention of Prevent is to promote classroom debate and there is some evidence that supports that. For instance, Busher et al. (2017) found that some staff in schools built upon existing safeguarding strategies to promote the Prevent duty, with debate clubs being set up for students. Safeguarding is widely regarded as 'care or support for the vulnerable', or to 'safeguard the best interests of the child' (Acik, et al., 2018, p.470; O'Donnell, 2020, p.146). However, it is unclear what children should be safeguarded from when it concerns radicalisation, unlike in cases of physical or sexual abuse of children (Acik et al., 2018). As stated by Martin (2019, p.134), Prevent has become

'implicated within this wider safeguarding regime'. Wright (2024) also found that Prevent policymakers are keen to label Prevent as safeguarding and those referred should be seen as potential victims, rather than suspects. Furthermore, Qurashi (2017) discussed how initially Prevent was debated as a safeguarding issue, particularly within universities. However, more recently it is now the dominant view that Prevent is regarded as safeguarding by educational settings.

Another perspective had been fostered by The Child Right's International Network (2022) and Ali (2020). They detail how the framing of Prevent as a safeguarding tool is dangerous and infringes on children's human rights and allows for the 'unseeing of racism' within the strategy (Ali, 2020, p.589; The Child Right's International Network, 2022). Prevent, it is argued, does not have the child's best interests at heart, so ultimately should not be considered a safeguarding strategy. It has national security as its highest interest, unnecessarily bringing children into contact with the police (Child Right's International Network, 2022; Lundie, 2019). By positioning Prevent as a safeguarding policy, Acik et al. (2018) argues that it has enabled the wider societal thinking that it then must be in the best interests of the child (Davies, 2016). However, Sabir (2022) identified that the use of the term 'safeguarding' masks the true nature of Prevent, it seeks to receive the publics approval to reduce the chances of resistance to Prevent by using such terms. Having discussed the ERG22+ framework and whether Prevent should be considered as safeguarding, below will highlight the Prevent training that educators undergo which supposedly provide the tools for educators to spot radicalisation in their students.

WRAP Training

WRAP (Workshop to Raise Awareness of Prevent) training proves to be another controversial aspect of Prevent. Gulland (2017) draws our attention to Prevent training that organisations and institutions receive. They found that training consisted of leaflets and quizzes and are often carried out by private companies with 'dubious quality' (Gulland, 2017). With Moffat and Gerard (2019) reporting that education staff undergo 'WRAP' training that is usually implemented by external facilitators. Staff largely understood it to be an extended part of their safeguarding duties in schools and colleges (Moffat & Gerard, 2019). WRAP consists of a training workshop that is organised around a video which includes group exercises (Acik et al., 2018; Blackwood et al., 2012; Santry, 2016). In one video, a school principal states that '...we need to look at the hearts and minds of those concerned...' in relation to a person that staff would refer to Prevent; note the 'hearts and minds' discourse being repeated (Blackwood et al., 2012, p.229). Blackwood et al. (2012, p.234) believes that some aspects of WRAP training, such as the portrayal of identity in the workshops and thus alienisation of Muslims, places an 'ever-widening circle of security' to participate in the 'intrusive' gazing of those they deem 'vulnerable'. These e-learning packages and hour-long videos form part of the minimal WRAP training given to public sector workers, which seemingly qualify staff to detect and report radicalisation (Heath-Kelly & Strausz, 2019; Santry, 2016). Further to this, Amnesty International (2023) highlighted instances of Greenpeace, Extinction Rebellion and the Palestine Solidarity Campaign being included in Prevent training slides. The training has also described anti-capitalism and anti-fracking as forms of

extremism (Amnesty International, 2023). This has resulted in some teachers being reluctant to discuss climate change in the classroom after experiencing this training (Amnesty International, 2023).

Spiller at al. (2018) found that staff at some universities and colleges had reluctance to undergo Prevent training. They cited that lecturers felt as though they were asked to work as law-enforcers and were concerned about freedom of expression (Spiller et al., 2018; HM Government, 2011a). A minority of teachers in Moffat and Gerard's (2019) study said that they had a positive experience with WRAP training. This view is supported by Lakhani's (2020, p.665) study in which one participant confessed their lack of confidence with the Prevent duty; "…I think I would be a liar if I said I was really confident with all this". Pearce et al. (2023) also found that the uptake of Prevent training amongst university staff was low and those who did undergo training found it unhelpful. Ward (2017, p.1) asserts that discrimination and prejudice are bound to occur if untrained individuals are constantly referring 'suspicious' individuals, which could lead to inappropriate referrals to Prevent (see Figure 1 for the Prevent process). Below highlights how Muslim students have been specifically impacted by Prevent and the consequences of this inadequate training.

Prevent and Muslim students experiences

In addition to the masking of Prevent as a safeguarding approach, Faure Walker (2021) further discusses how Muslim school students thought that Prevent shut down

classroom debate. Muslim students said that they avoided authentic exchanges, thus

changing their behaviour in school out of fear of a Prevent referral (Faure Walker,

2021). For instance, a student told of how Prevent had discouraged them from

seeking support from teachers concerning a friend that he was worried about, out of

fear that it would be escalated to the police and undermine his own efforts to help his

friend (Faure Walker, 2021). Other students also discussed how they avoided

becoming involved in theological conversations in education out of fear of a Prevent

referral (Faure Walker, 2021). Faure Walker (2021) makes clear how Prevent denies

Muslim students' opportunity to debate, which is crucial in the moderation of views.

Similarly, Saeed and Johnson (2016) found that UK Muslim university students

regularly self-censored their opinions, ultimately undermining the very objective of

the Prevent duty. They noted how Muslim students suffered from Prevent operation

within universities in numerous ways: 1) Muslim students' study under 'mistrust and

suspicion', 2) Muslim students' study with 'limited degrees of freedom', and 3)

Muslim students feel 'under siege' from CT policy in universities (Saeed & Johnson,

2016, p.42-48). Guest et al. (2020) further suggest that self-censoring exists in UK

higher education in both staff and students, claiming that they self-censor to avoid

suspicion or conflict. They concluded that Prevent discourages free speech within

universities, with Muslim students feeling obliged to self-censor, particularly when it

came to discussing Islam (Guest et al., 2020). University staff also linked Prevent to

a restriction of 'freedom of expression' and that students should be able to discuss

issues without fear of a Prevent referral (Guest et al., 2020). Breen-Smyth (2013,

p.237) discusses how this 'trend of quietism' amongst Muslims derives from the fear

of being perceived as dangerous and ultimately securitised. Essentially this

'quietism' derives from Muslims not wanting to be seen as 'dangerous'. (Breen-Smyth, 2013, p.237). Therefore, Muslim students often avoid being openly critical of foreign policy and security issues (Breen-Smyth, 2013). However, as will be discussed within chapter 5, there are vocal political Muslim student groups in the UK, for instance pro-Palestine student groups. The trend of 'quietism' in students does not allow for open discussions and debates in education, resulting in views and opinions not being freely challenged by others (Faure Walker, 2021; Saeed & Johnson, 2016). As noted by a UN special rapporteur in 2016, 'Prevent could end up promoting extremism, rather than countering it' (United Nations, 2016, p.1). Further alienating individuals through inappropriate Prevent referrals could result in making the individual withdraw from society (Open Society Justice Initiative, 2016). Ultimately rendering Prevent counterproductive through stifling debates and opinions being driven further underground (Open Society Justice Initiative, 2016).

Prevent Watch (2021) is an organisation that supports people impacted by the Prevent duty. Some of their cases included a Muslim girl being visited by counterterrorism officials for wearing a hijab at school, students being reported to Prevent for their university essays and Muslim school children being asked to spy on each other. An example of a student being securitised under Prevent is that of Mohammed Umar Farooq, a university student studying terrorism who was questioned for reading literature that was widely available at universities (Allen, 2017; Sabir, 2022). Farooq was questioned by staff at his university about his opinions on homosexuality and the Islamic state, the university eventually apologised for the distress caused (Allen, 2017). Further to this, Kyriacou et al. (2017) highlighted how the Prevent strategy operates within universities, with free

speech issues and vetting speakers being some of the main elements. They found that British Muslim university students often viewed Prevent as a specific tool that focuses upon Muslims and that it encourages suspicion around Muslim students. Similarly, Zempi and Tripli (2022) maintained that Muslim university students in British universities viewed Prevent as hampering freedom of speech and made some Muslim students feel as though they had to hide their Muslim identity in fear that they would be labelled as extremist.

In the view of university lecturers, Spiller et al. (2017) concluded that lecturers often felt that they were ill equipped to enact the Prevent duty. Particularly surrounding what are radical behaviour identifiers and expressed dismay that as lecturers they were expected to add security expectations to their daily activities (Spiller et al., 2017). Allen (2017) asserts that educators who are 'trained' in spotting the elusive 'traits' of radicalisation, often result in personal prejudices and perceptions being the main contributor for referrals to Prevent. It has been argued that these cases demonstrate the securitisation of Muslim students for everyday behaviour, resulting in inappropriate and damaging referrals to Prevent (Cohen & Tufail, 2017). Lakhani (2020, p.666) and Saeed and Johnson (2016) describe this as the 'better safe than sorry' approach that has been embedded into education practices. This is particularly the case within universities, in which educators wish to protect vulnerable individuals whilst also oneself from possible repercussions (Lakhani, 2020; Saeed and Johnson, 2016). Prevent in effect, can be seen as normalising the suspicion around everyday behaviour in schools and wider society in racialised bodies, thus promoting the perceived risk of terrorism rather than reducing it (Faure Walker, 2021). Those securitised are perceived as a 'potential future risk to be managed' and

Muslim students are made to 'self-regulate' (Akel, 2021; Nabi, 2021, p.112; Pettinger, 2020, p.12).

The UK government has stated that Prevent operates on consent and that the Prevent process is described as voluntary, as no criminal offence has occurred (HM Government, 2015a). The issue of consent within Prevent becomes obvious when discussing young people referred to the strategy. The People's Review of Prevent (2022) make clear that by describing Prevent as voluntary, it is often used as a coercive tactic in order to interview children without parental consent. There have been numerous accounts of young people impacted by this, they have been collected by The People's Review of Prevent (2022). An 8-year-old child was questioned during lunchtime at school by counterterrorism officers without consent nor knowledge from his parents. One parent detailed how as she would not sign a consent form for her children to be questioned and officials told her they would escalate the issue with social services. And another of a secondary school student who declined to consent to Prevent, and his family believe he was then put on a child protection plan because of this (The People's Review of Prevent, 2022). The retention of a person's data who is implicated within Prevent is also held and shared on criminal databases, even if they are dismissed from Prevent (The People's Review of Prevent, 2022). A lawyer involved in a case surrounding a child's Prevent record, highlighted that the police data retention policy fails to distinguish between criminal offences and Prevents' non-criminal nature referrals (The People's Review of Prevent, 2022). In 2019 the Metropolitan police also refused to guarantee that a child's data on Prevent would not appear on a future DBS check (Child Rights International Network, 2022). The Shawcross review recognised that the referral

data being gathered and stored could pose potential harm, and recommended that 'no further action' cases be removed after three years rather than six (Home Office, 2023a). However, Prevent Watch (2023b) states that this demonstrates Shawcross' lack of knowledge surrounding Prevent, as cases are not deleted after six years, rather they are reviewed with an unknown criterion. These cases illustrate the securitisation, the Othering of Muslim pupils and the ambiguous framework that staff rely upon, it ultimately leads to young people's future being potentially harmed as they are deposited on criminal databases (Faure Walker, 2021).

Muslim Women Students

Having discussed literature which shows how Muslim students have been impacted by Prevent in the British education system, it is now important to consider how Muslim women are perceived in the education system and how state security interventions could impact Muslim women specifically within education. To begin with, the case of Shamima Begum will be discussed in relation to how it put Muslim women in education in the spotlight. Mirza and Meetoo (2018, p.228) stated that the case was often accompanied by Islamophobic discourses creating a new 'folk devil'. Commentary often surrounded young Muslim women being 'groomed' through social media and Muslim women were constructed as the 'oppressed other', something that is a constant throughout discourse that surrounds Muslim women (Mirza, 2015; Mirza & Meetoo, 2018, p.228). Furthermore, Jackson (2024, p.2) discussed how CVE discourse often accompanied ideas about 'specific forms of

idealised Muslim femininity' that is shaped by White feminism. Fernandez (2024) argued that following Begum's case, there was an enhancement in CVE and surveillance strategies, notably placing the Prevent Duty on statutory footing.

Globally there have been numerous studies that focus upon Muslim women students more general experiences of education (Basit, 1997; Khosrojerdi, 2015; Proude & Inge, 2004; Taylor & Soni, 2017). Proude and Inge (2004) found that hijab-wearing Muslim women students in Australia felt alienated from certain aspects of university life, particularly the nightlife and drinking culture. This is echoed by Khosrojerdi's (2015) study, in which they detailed how Muslim women students experience Canadian universities. They noted that the participants felt marginalised within HE settings and that they felt the effects of negative stereotypes surrounding the hijab from staff and other students. In relation to the British education system, further findings are similar. Basit (1997a, p.425) showed how Muslim schoolgirls are stereotyped by teachers as 'lacking freedom'. Similarly, Taylor and Soni (2017) addressed how British Muslim women university students also felt alienated, due to suspicion from staff and peers concerning security. Several students reported incidents of the stopping and searching of Islamic society students, and the double booking of university rooms so that certain events could not occur (Taylor & Soni, 2017). What is not yet clear is Prevent's specific impact upon Muslim women students in the UK, something that I seek to address within this thesis. Below I discuss how Channel has also impacted upon Muslim students.

Is Channel 'voluntary'?

So far, this chapter has discussed Prevent in relation to Muslim women and Muslim students and the Prevent Duty's impact upon the education sector, now I will highlight how the Channel aspect of Prevent also serves to stigmatise Muslim students. Elshimi (2015) discussed how the operation of Channel within Prevent is flawed, with deradicalisation techniques usually sold as a rehabilitative model in which someone can become 'better'. However, under Prevent, Channel operates as 'prevention is better than cure' (Elshimi, 2015, p.111). This insinuates that cured could mean an individual is reversed to a previous state of mind, but also preventing one's thoughts or actions; one is reversal and one is pre-emptive (Elshimi, 2015). Another important point is that as Prevent is a pre-emptive strategy, those who have not committed a crime can be deemed as extremist or radicalised, meaning that the deradicalisation programme is counselling those who have not yet planned any crime (Heath-Kelly, 2013).

The process of Channel consists of the most 'at risk' being offered one-to-one interventions with a Channel mentor. Mentors are those who meet and discuss with Prevent referrals deemed risky for 6-12 months (Pettinger, 2020, p.974). The mentors are often recruited informally, particularly in the case of established community leaders (Pettinger, 2020). The Channel process is described as voluntary, however there have been numerous concerns that some have been pressured or harassed to join the Channel programme (The People's Review of Prevent, 2022). Younis (2020) makes clear that if an individual does not comply with Channel, they are told that it may warrant further police investigation. Further to this, some

Channel mentors have admitted that often referrals pose no risk to others (Younis, 2020; Pettinger, 2020). This raises questions of why young people in particular, are subject to the process. The Channel programme functions despite there being 'little empirical evidence' that underpins the intervention work carried out in the UK, admitted by the Home Office (2011a, p.61). In 2019 it was reported that an unpublished document from the Behavioural Insights Team (BIT) detailed the failures of deradicalisation programmes in schools. They found only 2 from the 33 programmes were effective (The Times, 2019). Former security minister, Ben Wallace, asserted that the BIT document analysed a small amount of Prevent work and did not consider the 'harder end of Channel' (The Times, 2019, p.1). Despite the comments from the UK government and its continual support for Prevent and Channel, Petrie (2015, p.1) has described Channel and its interventions as a 'rag-bag of quasi-therapeutic interventions', that have been backed up by little to no research with minimal regard to a young person's wellbeing. Young people are also more likely to undergo Channel intervention, as will be discussed below.

There is minimal research into Channel predominately due to the lack of clarity concerning Channel data from the UK Government, and it closely protects its practitioners and practices. Pettinger (2020) researched Channel mentors, they detailed how the majority of Channel cases are young or fairly young. Another mentor stated that they did not want to create problems for referrals that were not there when originally referred (Pettinger, 2020). A Channel mentor also proclaimed their own hostility to Prevent, a strategy they are supposed to be promoting and working within: "We know Prevent's shit, we know it's highly problematic, but it's not gonna go away. And even if you got rid of it, it would still come back in another

form." (Pettinger, 2020, p.12). The acknowledgment that Channel case referrals could possibly be worsened by mentors that may have received no training nor expertise in the area of CT and had distrust of Prevent themselves, was made evident by Pettinger (2020).

Furthermore, The People's Review of Prevent (2022) point out that it is becoming increasingly difficult to demonstrate how many Muslims are referred to Prevent due to no data being recorded on religion or ethnicity. However, the claim that Muslims are still being disproportionately referred, can be looked at through the category of 'Islamist extremism' in which accounted for 16% of Prevent referrals in 2021/22- the general Muslim population in England and Wales is 6.5% (ONS, 2022). This was evident in Figure 2. As discussed previously in Prevent phase two, right-wing extremism was being addressed by Prevent. According to the Home Office (2023c) 'extreme right-wing' referrals to Prevent and Channel have increased significantly over the last five years. Figure 5 shows how Channel referrals have changed over time by type of concern (Home Office, 2021).
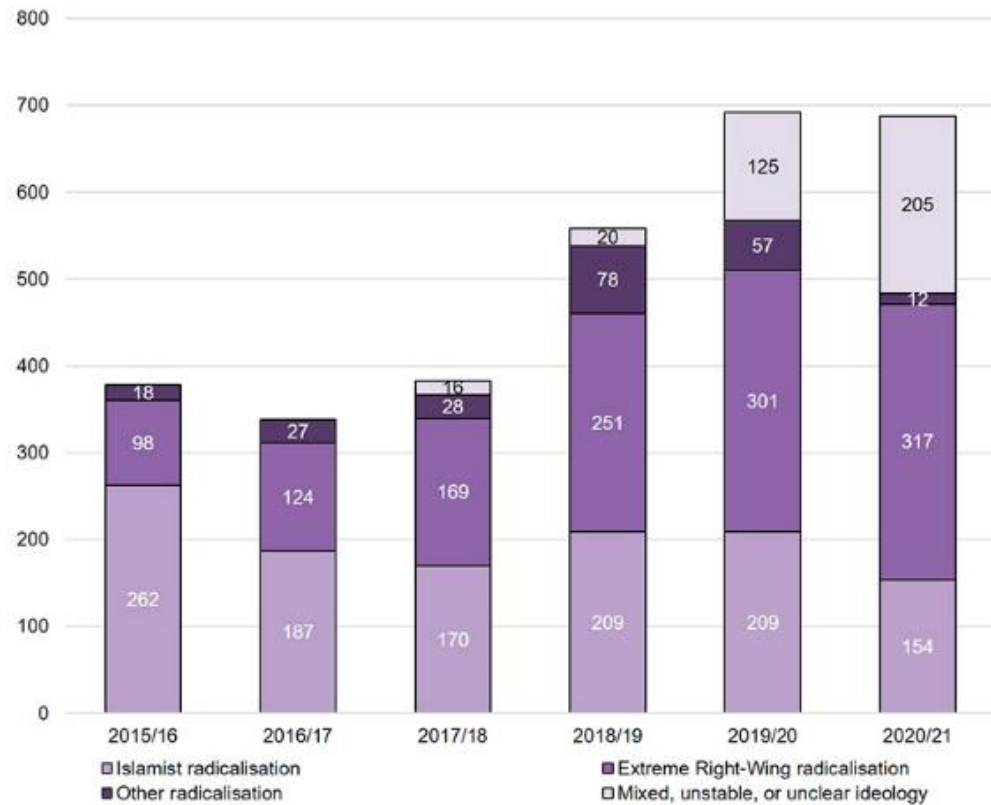
Figure 5 Channel Referrals by type of concern (Home Office, 2021)

This has led to some suggesting that the UK government may now be beginning to take the threat of right-wing extremism seriously[11] (Lakhani and James, 2021). Despite this, Ali (2020, p.580) demonstrates that Prevent serves as a racialisation tool in which Muslims are presented as a 'collective threat', whereas White supremacists are perceived as 'lone wolves'. The RUSI (2024) think-tank also suggests that far-right extremism is not treated as seriously as Islamist extremism and is often not labelled as terrorism. Similarly, The People's Review of Prevent (2022) make clear that far-right extremism is seen as an individual problem, whereas

---

[11] At the time of writing, there have also been increased 'race riots' in the UK that have promoted Islamophobic and xenophobic rhetoric and have been linked to the far-right (Olusoga, 2024, p.1).

Islamist extremism is perceived as a community problem for Muslims, particularly surrounding 'integration' debates and FBV.

Integration and FBV are rarely discussed in relation to White British communities. Lakhani and James (2021) revealed how some teachers in Sussex did not consider some far-right ideas conveyed by their pupils as a concern for Prevent. Rather that the far-right opinions were considered as normal or as 'casual racism' that 'did not necessarily meet a threshold for a Channel referral'- as stated by one teacher (Lakhani & James, 2021, p.82). Despite this hesitance for some teachers not to refer extreme right-wing concerns, there has also been some concerning child Prevent referral cases with regards to extreme right-wing referrals (The People's Review of Prevent, 2022). Lakhani (2020, p.666) and The People's review of Prevent (2022) assert that extreme right-wing concerns are often viewed differently and may not be taken as seriously by teachers, whereas Islamic concerns are referred to Prevent under the 'better safe than sorry approach'. Furthermore, the UN (2018, p.1) reported that simply committing to target a 'more diverse' range of ideological extremism 'will not cure the fundamental ills'. This demonstrates that despite attention now being paid to the far-right by Prevent, Prevent remains flawed.

Conclusion

The above literature has demonstrated how the specific gendered focus of the WOT was embedded globally (Bhattacharyya, 2008; Nayak, 2006). The existing literature

asserted how the global WOT has resulted in a 'war being played out in Muslim women's bodies', particularly with reference to the veil and 'saving Muslim women' in Afghanistan and Iraq (Khalid, 2011; Rich, 2014, p.4). In addition to the WOT, the literature indicated how Muslim women have been situated within the wider CT and de-radicalisation sphere. I discussed literature surrounding how Muslim women have been essentialised within CT policy, and how a maternalistic view is often taken by states along with a discussion of how Femonationalism was evident within British CT policies (Bhattacharyya, 2008; Cook, 2019; Farris, 2017; Rashid, 2016a; Spalek, 2012). The literature combined signified that Muslim women have been responsibilised by the British State in countering terrorism within their communities (Manzoor-Khan, 2022; Rodrigo Jusué, 2022).

The creation of the pre-emptive approach Prevent in 2003 under CONTEST was also reviewed. Within the review it was made clear how the strategy targets all Muslims in general and was discredited by concerned citizens and academics alike (Cohen & Tufail, 2017; Kundnani, 2009; Qurashi, 2018; Faure Walker, 2021; Sian, 2015). The analysis further demonstrated that the concepts of extremism and radicalisation that the UK government rely upon are heavily flawed (Aked, 2021; Faure Walker, 2021; Heath-Kelly, 2013; Kundnani, 2012; Sian, 2017; United Nations, 2016). The literature surrounding the UK radicalisation models highlighted that the models are not accurate and that the relationship between violent and non-violent extremism is complicated (Greer & Bell, 2018; Kundnani, 2012; Sian 2017). It was stressed that the potential implications of Prevent being based upon dubious 'scientific' and theoretical knowledge raises questions of the strategy's very logic and its justification.

The literature also argued how Muslim women and young people have been situated within Prevent, and how the strategy followed the assertion that Muslim women were viewed as 'natural peacemakers' who 'have the capacity to intervene' within the radicalisation process (Huckerby, 2012, p.5; Rodrigo Jusué, 2022, p.297). Various initiatives under the counterterrorism guise were discussed, in particular, *Prevent Tragedies* and how the projects were carried out under a CVE umbrella (Cook, 2017). Furthermore, it became evident in Prevent phase 2 that the education sector was heavily focused upon in relation to the Prevent Duty. The existing literature suggested that teachers had become a part of policing in which they had to watch others, essentially being responsibilised into extended agents of the state due to having to spot signs of radicalisation (Finn, 2011; Heath-Kelly, 2016a; James, 2022). In order to spot these signs, the ERG22+ framework is used. However, this was also criticised with Sabir (2022), McGlynn and McDaid (2019) highlighting that the framework is secretive and there is no published or peer-reviewed evidence behind it. WRAP training for staff was also called into question, with Moffat and Gerard (2019) reporting that it was carried out by private firms and Blackwood et al., (2012) found it often consisted of hour-long videos that left staff with a lack of confidence surrounding the Prevent duty (Lakhani, 2020).

In addition to this, cases of Muslim students being referred to Prevent or feeling securitised within the British education system were analysed, with Faure Walker (2021) finding that Muslim students avoid authentic exchanges in classrooms. Along with, Zempi and Tripli (2022) asserting that some Muslim university students feel as though they have to hide their Muslim identity in fear that they would be labelled as

extremist. The gendered aspect of Prevent then became clear when discussing how Muslim women in education have become demonised and constructed as the 'oppressed other' (Mirza, 2015; Mirza & Meetoo, 2018, p.228). Numerous studies were analysed that focused upon Muslim women students and their experiences of university, the majority found that Muslim women students feel isolated from aspects of university life and often felt judged by peers and staff (Basit, 1997a; Khosrojerdi, 2015; Proude & Inge, 2004; Taylor & Soni, 2017).

Despite the literature outlined above, the UK government continues with the Prevent strategy (The People's Review of Prevent, 2022). This literature review contributes to the existing knowledge of Prevent by providing a detailed analysis of how Muslim women have been situated in CT/CVE policy. Within this thesis, I will expand the above knowledge and literature surrounding Prevent by providing original, empirical data concerning how Muslim women have been impacted by Prevent in the post-16 British education sector.

Chapter 4: Methodology & Theoretical Framework

In the previous chapter, I examined the existing literature surrounding how Muslim women have been placed within the CT sphere and how the Prevent strategy relies upon framing Muslim women as a tool in deradicalisation. It was established that young Muslim women go largely ignored in relation to how CT policy affects them. In this thesis I sought to answer the following questions: 1) How has Prevent impacted upon Muslim women's experience in post-16 education? 2) To what extent is this a 'gendered' impact? and 3) How do educators perceive Prevent and their duty to it within education?

In this chapter I discuss the methodology that I used to develop answers to my research questions above. Consisting of two sections, I begin this chapter by examining the theoretical framework consisting of the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the study. To aid this discussion, an interdisciplinary approach was utilised. I combined insights from other disciplines such as Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS), Critical Race Theory (CRT). I discuss how Critical Race Feminism (CRF) was the overall intersectional theoretical approach that was applied to empirical data collected on Prevent and Muslim women. Lastly, I demonstrate why this framework assisted the understanding of the gendered impact of Prevent upon young Muslim women students.

The second section of this chapter then discusses the research design. I examine my data collection methods, which included focus groups and one-to-one interviews, along with the setting and sampling process of gaining participants. Furthermore, I explore the data analysis of this thesis, which was thematic analysis using NVivo software. Lastly, I reflect upon the ethical considerations of this research, along with the possible limitations and my own positionality and reflexivity.

Theoretical Framework

Following the literature review which demonstrated the need to capture how Muslim women have been situated within Prevent, it is also important to understand how theory can inform why and how my data was collected for this research. This thesis engaged with a trio of theories to devise the theoretical framework to strengthen this understanding (see Figure 6). In this section, I explain how and why the thesis engaged with Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS) and Critical Race Theory (CRT) before moving on to discuss how Critical Race Feminism (CRF) overall guided this research.
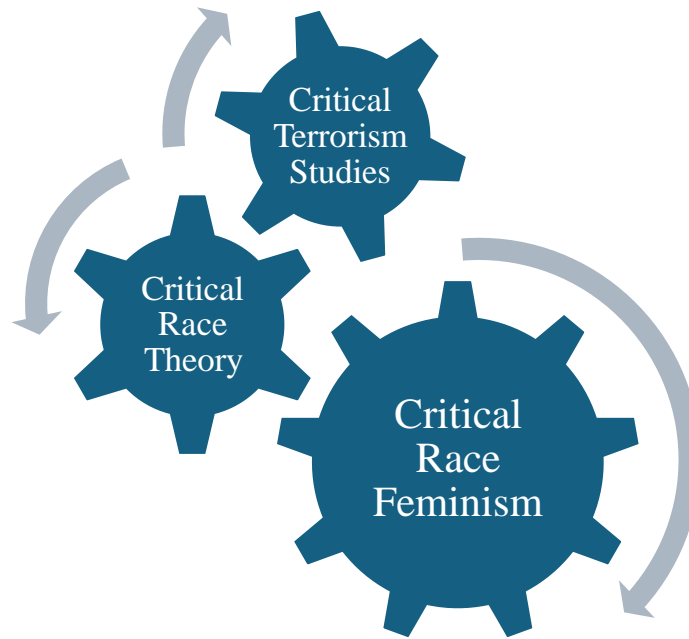
Figure 6 Trio of theories

Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS)

CTS and CRF are rarely used together in research. Up to this point, no other research

has considered both theories/approaches together. Below I detail how I utilised CTS

to help further inform my wider theoretical framework of CRF. Ontologically, CTS

often includes critical perspectives from international relations, and the approach's

underlying position is that 'terrorism is a linguistic and political label that is applied

through discursive processes and practice to certain kinds of violent actors and their

political violence' (da Silva & Martini, 2023, p.1). Epistemologically, CTS zones in

on the idea that knowledge is constructed of 'social and discursive processes' and

therefore, inherently connected to power (Foucault, 1980; da Silva & Martini, 2023,

p.2). CTS is characterised by core ontological, epistemological, and methodological

and ethical commitments (Jackson, 2007). These include aspects such as: the need to

explicitly challenge 'state-centric' perspectives of terrorism, the acknowledgment of

the ontological downfalls of the 'terrorism category', to question wider power structures, to be critically reflexive in research and to emancipate those oppressed by counterterrorism policy (da Silva & Martini, 2021; Gunning, 2007; Jackson, 2007a, p.10).

Throughout this thesis I borrow elements of the ontological and epistemological standpoints of CTS scholarship, I highlight these below. This aided the discussion surrounding how and why Prevent exists in the UK and why it is essential that Prevent, and the strategy's future is debated. The need to analyse how the concept of 'terrorism' has been socially constructed and how it is often 'state centric', is something that CTS also engages with (Jackson, 2007; Stohl, 2008; Stampnitzky, 2013, p.7). 'State centric' is defined as security of the state rather than that of humans, 'on the assumption that the former implies the latter', resulting in security being perceived in 'law-and-order' terms (Gunning, 2007, p.371). This social construction and state-centric view of terrorism are aspects that this thesis explored in relation to the racialisation of the Muslim population along with the following securitisation, and thus the creation of Prevent (this was analysed within chapters 1 and 2). CTS considers the implications of the traditional or 'orthodox' terrorism studies. This viewpoint discusses how terrorism experts from the 'traditional' field are dominant, particularly within the production of expert and terrorism discourse, thus legitimising state power (Jackson, 2012). In addition to this, CTS engages with questioning wider power structures. Therefore, in this thesis, I adopted this component when utilising CRF to uncover the Islamophobia and the gendered impact within the Prevent strategy.

Furthermore, CTS's ontological and epistemological commitments are based largely around being committed to the 'broad notion of emancipation' (Booth, 2007; da Silva & Martini, 2023; Smyth et al., 2008, p.2). Some question the use of the term 'emancipation' in CTS, asking questions such as, who is being emancipated and what emancipation could look like in CTS (McDonald, 2007; Heath-Kelly, 2010). To emancipate those who are oppressed by CT policy then academics must recognise oppressed groups (Smyth et al., 2008). However, the question of whether this recognition of oppressed groups is possible without reinforcing said oppression within research is raised by Faure Walker (2019). For instance, the gendered racial trope of emancipating Muslim women from their religion is a common theme in Orientalist descriptions (Karaman & Christian, 2020). Potential emancipation of participants can also unwittingly portray the researcher as having 'moral powers' that can 'transform the lives of research subjects' (Giri, 2022, p.14). Despite this, McDonald (2007, p.257) argue that emancipation can also be considered a 'process of freeing up'. This could be freeing up space to write, think and speak about what terrorism means and how it could be ultimately studied. From this, CTS scholarship should produce 'methodologically rigorous knowledge' to inform social change or action (Lindahl, 2020, p.42). For the purposes of this thesis, I use the emancipatory aspect of CTS to uncover the experiences of Muslim women in relation to the Prevent strategy. Below I discuss how CRT and CRF can aid CTS, ultimately demonstrating how this trio of theories can address Prevent's impact upon Muslim women in post-16 education.

Critical Race Theory (CRT)

As stated previously, one of the main objectives of CTS is to challenge orthodoxies surrounding terrorism, and so an analysis of race and how Islam has been racialised is crucial to doing so. Qureshi (2020) and Khan (2021) observe that whilst CTS focuses upon the meanings of terrorism and how CT policy can be critiqued, it can often overlook terrorism as a lived reality. Ultimately, CTS could fail to consider the 'human experiences' of terror due to the lack of engagement with race (Qureshi, 2020, p.497). Within this thesis, I believe that this is where CRT and ultimately, CRF, can aid CTS due to its focus upon racialisation.

CRT has been utilised as a theoretical framework to study race, racism, and power, predominantly in the US (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). More recently, the theory has been used within the field of education in the UK (Chakrabarty, et al., 2012; Gillborn, 2006). Other studies have also applied CRT more broadly in the UK context (Crawford 2019; Doharty 2019; Gillborn et al. 2012; Joseph-Salisbury 2021; Thomas 2012). Within this research, CRT is used alongside CRF, as the theoretical perspective derives from CRT. CRT insists that race is the key organising principle in society and is obtained through the system of inequality maintained by endemic racism that is intrinsically linked to power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Whiteness is considered the 'human norm' in the system that widely enables racism, thus racialised people are othered to maintain White privilege (Mills, 1997). This 'White privilege' can be defined as 'the privileging of White interests above those of people of colour across social, economic, and political fields' (Bhopal, 2023, p.112). White privilege in the UK manifests itself through structural and institutional racism. This privilege in the UK is evident through ethnic minority groups being more likely to earn less, live in poorer housing and receive harsher punishment in the criminal

justice system and in education (Bhopal, 2023; Gillborn, et al., 2021; Henehan & Rose, 2018; IRR 2020; Lammy, 2017).

Racialisation is a key component to CRT; this was defined in chapter 2. CRT asserts that White bodies are constructed as more 'valuable' and 'civilised', whereas racialised bodies are constructed as 'dangerous' and 'irrational' (Ali, 2020; Martini, 2023; Shilliam, 2016). Garner and Selod (2014, p.13) further discuss how Islam has become racialised and that a 'religion cannot be raced' logic limits our understandings of 'race'. They examine how racialisation is the process, which includes aspects such as the production of representations of Muslims, and Islamophobia is one aspect of the outcome of the process (Garner & Selod, 2014). Similarly, Búzás and Meier (2023, p.691) put forward that this racialisation can also be seen through 'media coverage, elite cues and everyday encounters'. Indeed, the WOT (discussed in chapter 2) and the following policies have reinforced the racialisation of Islam and the Muslim population. CRT places race at the forefront of its framework thus examining race and its connection to power structures. The theory of CRT recognises that it is the liberal/capitalist structures that reinforce Whiteness and White privilege (Younis, 2022). This White privilege produces 'White ignorance', which is the silencing or ignoring of the challenging of White supremacy (Mills, 2007). Of course, CRT has also faced criticism. The theory has mostly been applied to a US context and criticised for its lack of engagement with social class in the UK (Cole, 2017). However, Gillborn et al. (2012) has engaged with both CRT and class in their UK work in the education sphere. My research also briefly engages with social class in relation to the Muslim women that did mention

class within their counter stories, this is discussed in greater detail in the section below.

Within my research, I aimed to use CTS, CRT and CRF as a framework for uncovering how Prevent operates as a racialised system. I followed the assertion that terrorism is a racialised phenomenon and colonial structures of White supremacy are connected to terrorism, therefore CRT can help expand CTS outside of its self-limiting box (Khan, 2021). Next, I discuss CRF and how it operated as a methodology within this thesis.

Critical Race Feminism (CRF)

Overall, this research utilised CRF, which derives from CRT, as the theoretical framework. CRF directly addresses issues of intersectionality; by referring to the examination of how different categories such as race, class, and gender overlap or intersect with one another (Ansari & Patel, 2024; Crenshaw, 1989). Wing (2014) asserts that CRF emerged at the end of the twentieth century to address the concerns of racialised women. CRF can be traced from the work of legal scholars that wished to focus upon the forms of discrimination that racialised women face (Crenshaw, 1991; Espinoza, 1997; Harris, 1990). Crenshaw (1991) asserted that CRT was not adequately addressing issues relating to women due to a lack of focus on intersectionality and gender, therefore CRF was formed. However more recently, 'intersectionality' has been criticised as a 'buzzword with no clear meaning' or as being gentrified (Davis, 2008, p.67; Pennant, 2020, p.36). Others such as Tomlinson (2013) suggest that intersectionality needs to be understood in relation to racial hierarchies and how it could become colonised within academia by others. The

erasure of CRT and CRF from intersectionality was also highlighted by Crenshaw (Columbia Law School, 2017). My research maintains the term intersectionality within the theoretical framework of CRF. I also reflect upon my positionality later in this chapter.

There has been some work within the field of CRF and security, this thesis adds to this (Henry, 2021; Lewis, 2003). Other work that has fostered CRF and elements of CRT (as they have an intrinsic relationship) as a theoretical approach varies from the field of education, youth studies, and family research (Cole, 2024; Jones, 2024; Redwine Johnson, 2024; Whittington, 2024). Furthermore, Antunes (2017) uncovered how Muslim women students in the US are impacted by Islamophobia whilst utilising CRF. Their research concluded that CRF offered the most nuanced and straightforward framework for researching racialised women students (Antunes, 2017). In this thesis, I suggest that using CRF helps to highlight how Prevent has operated as a racial project (discussed in chapters 2 and 3), and how it serves to further racialise Muslim women.

There are three major elements to CRF (Hua, 2003, p.2): 1) it analyses the 'interconnection of race/racism with gender and other oppressions' 2) it urges for the conceptions of 'social difference and multiplicity within feminism' and 3) it proposes a unique intersectional feminist epistemology. Evans-Winters and Esposito (2010, p.20) also suggest that CRF has the ability to focus upon 'women of colour's experiences, thus perspectives' and is able to demonstrate how they 'are different from the experiences of men of colour and those of White women'. In addition to this, Hua (2003) makes clear that CRF can introduce a more challenging and open

epistemological space for those who engage in critical race analysis, including both racialised and non-racialised researchers.

As discussed later in this chapter within the profile of participants, the women paid attention to issues relating to their intersecting identities such as their social class, gender and their religiosity. When considering the way in which class can interact with other identities, such as gender, race or religion, a complex picture is revealed. For example, Muslim women are subject to 'gender penalties', 'religious' penalties' and 'ethnic penalties' when it concerns pay and employment (European Network Against Racism, 2016, p.7). 50% of Muslims in Britain are also considered to have grown up, and live in poverty (Manchester Muslim Student Fund, 2022). Within this research, social class was mentioned by some of the women in relation to their educational journeys and experiences.

It is hoped that the trio of theories used in this thesis will compliment and expand each other. For instance, employing CRF adds the dimension of intersectional feminism to the social construction of race from CRT, and the emancipatory politics borrowed from CTS. CRF is therefore rooted within anti-racist and feminist critical work, and it can aid the analysis of race, gender, and other identities of racialised women (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Lewis, 1998; Wing, 2014). Consequently, within this research I assert that CRF can help demonstrate the layers of discrimination that Muslim women face, and that racialisation is only one of the lines of inequality (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Below, I demonstrate how CRF is the most useful lens for analysing and critiquing Prevent's impact on Muslim women students in post-16

education, with reference to the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of this thesis.

Counter-storytelling

Most work upon Prevent in education has not focused upon Muslim women, as discussed in previous chapters. To understand how Muslim women students perceive and experience Prevent, focus group and interviews were used to uncover participants counter stories. A widely used CRF method is counter storytelling and is a fundamental aspect of CRT (Bei & Knowler, 2023). Counter storytelling can be defined as 'writing that aims to cast doubt on the validity of accepted premises or myths, especially ones held by the majority' (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017, p.171). The counter-story telling technique is a tool that exposes, analyses and challenges majoritarian stories in which privilege the experiences of one group. It has a specific focus upon the 'counter' aspect of racialised people's stories, and the stories are also able to expose majority narratives, unlike other methods such as a narrative approach. Compared to oral histories, which place people's experiences in a historical context, counter storytelling presents stories and experiences that specifically cast doubt upon official or majority narratives (Janesick, 2020). Counter-storytelling can take the form of personal stories or narratives, in which portray individuals' specific experiences of racism and sexism. James and Taylor (2022) concluded that counter stories were critical in understanding marginalised students voices and experiences. Scholars within the CRT sphere 'draw epistemological meaning' from the storytelling of racialised people (Bei & Knowler, 2023, p.233; Bell, 1987). Therefore, I used focus groups and interviews with young Muslim

women and educators within this counter storytelling framework. By doing so, I was able to capture the women's stories that cast doubt on official narratives surrounding Prevent, usually disseminated by the UK government. As I used CRF, the counter stories that were told by the Muslim women are central to the thesis. Furthermore, Antunes (2017) stated that CRF allows for the research's central concerns to be the women's counter stories. Solórzano and Yosso (2002) state that there are two aspects to counter-stories: 1) theoretical sensitivity and 2) cultural intuition. Theoretical sensitivity refers to the ability to give meaning to the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The cultural intuition extends to assert that racialised people in research are 'holders and creators of knowledge' (Bernal, 2002, p.105). This is reflected on later in the chapter when discussing my positionality as a non-racialised, non-religious researcher. The idea that racialised people are the creators of knowledge is important as this study comes from the perspective that Muslims are a racialised group (discussed in chapters 2 and 3) and therefore the Muslim women are central to this thesis as they share their stories. Of course, like any method, storytelling has faced criticism. Litowitz (1997, p.521) suggested that counter storytelling in CRT should not be thought of as 'inherently liberating' and accused the method as playing 'upon emotion'. However, in my thesis, I utilise CRF and counter storytelling as a way of casting doubt upon official narratives often distributed by the government upon Prevent. The merits of counter storytelling in this way enabled significant and rich data from all participants. I also argue that storytelling should evoke emotion as the stories are personal contributions from lived experiences. My research was not to be apolitical nor objective (objectivity is discussed later in this chapter). Much like Hanisch (1970), I agree that 'the personal is political'.

Ontological and Epistemological Framework

Employing CRF as the theoretical framework is shaped by applying a social constructivist ontological and epistemological position outlined below. The ontological starting point was to understand lived experiences of Muslim women and educators. In this research, I wished to challenge the dominance of Eurocentric epistemologies (discussed below), for example traditional security/terrorism studies. Therefore, this social constructivist ontology and epistemology standpoint that this thesis utilises, assumes that realities are 'shaped by interactions of privilege and oppression' (Lincoln et al., 2011, p.102). Social constructivism asserts that knowledge and meaning are constructed through social norms and should be placed in historical contexts (Giordana & Klausen, 2024). Applying social constructivism to this thesis provides a detailed lens to examine the subjective experiences of reality for the women and educators (Levers, 2013). Hylton (2012, p.23) discusses how CRT interpretivist and social constructivist ontological positions can aid the researcher to 'remain conscious' of the social processes that operate in research. Further to this ontological position that this thesis adopts, CRF employs a social constructivist epistemological framework that informed the methodology. Critical race gendered epistemologies, such as CRF, recognise that racialised women are 'holders and creators of knowledge', and thus social constructivist (Bernal, 2002, p.107). Much of the existing Eurocentric epistemologies, for example liberal, White feminism, rely upon a 'narrow foundation of knowledge that is based on the social, historical, and cultural experiences of (White people)' (Bernal, 2002, p.107). Due to the purposes of this research and when considering young Muslim women's lived experiences in post-16 education, it is important to consider the women's racial and gendered identities as they are inseparable entities (Ladson-Billings, 2009).

Therefore, this thesis used social constructivism as the ontological and epistemological framework, that is closely aligned to CRF when placing Muslim women at the centre of the research and uncovering their accounts of the Prevent strategy in education.

Together, the merits of employing CTS, CRT and CRF are evident in exploring the impact of the Prevent strategy on young Muslim women's and educators' experiences in post-16 education. Each of the theories engage with emancipation in their framework, hence the reasoning for capturing all three within this thesis to challenge the traditional view of 'terrorism', 'radicalisation' and 'extremism'. CRF was chosen as the overarching theoretical framework due to its focus upon intersectionality and emancipation, as it details race, religion, gender, and other categories. Furthermore, through foregrounding the counter stories of young Muslim women students, I highlight their lived experiences of occupying space within the education system at the same time as the racialised Prevent strategy.

Methodological framework

Following a discussion of the ontological and epistemological positioning of this thesis, the methodology will be analysed below. Eurocentric epistemologies, along with the concept of experiential knowledge will be defined and analysed in relation to the elements of critical race methodologies.

Eurocentric Epistemologies and Experiential Knowledge

Solórzano and Yosso (2002) highlight that a range of critical race methodologies[12] should be used to understand the experiences of racialised people, to build critical race scholarship. As a definition, 'a critical race methodology offers space to conduct and present research grounded in the experiences and knowledge' of racialised people (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p.23). It is an approach that combines CRT and feminism thus providing an intersectional approach to the analysis. I suggest that CRF and CRT are a highly compatible theoretical framework, as critical race methodology uses interdisciplinary knowledge, particularly from women's studies and sociology (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

The majority of CRT and CRF research employs qualitative research. However, hooks (1992) noted some downfalls of doing so. hooks (1992, p.367) considers how historically, the 'White male' researched the 'primitive ways' of the 'other'. Qualitative research often stems from the impulse to understand the other (Vidich & Lyman, 2003). To progress with qualitative research, researchers must develop new epistemologies and methodologies with an anti-racist agenda for a critical analysis relating to power, race, and gender. This was achieved by utilising CRF (hooks, 1992; Huber, 2008). Solórzano and Yosso (2002, p.25) assert that there are five elements that form critical race methodology when researching within education:

    i.   'The intercentricity of race and racism with other forms of subordination'.

---

[12] 'Methodology' concerns an approach that underpins and therefore guides the research (Blaxter et al., 2010).

The intercentricity of race and racism refers to the premise that race and racism are the central factors in the experience of racialised people (Bell, 1992). Other forms of subordination are reference to the layers of racial subordination. This can be alongside class, gender, sexuality, and religion (Crenshaw, 1989). The CRF framework that this thesis uses is grounded in intersectionality and the experiences and voices of young Muslim women in education and can aid this critical race methodology. CRF centres the voices of women, as will this thesis.

ii.   'The challenge to dominant ideology'.

Like CTS, challenging dominant narratives and ideology is a central component of critical race methodology. CRF challenges 'White privilege' whilst rejecting objectivity and exposing the privileges of dominant groups (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002, p.25). Within this research, I use this methodology particularly when rejecting the notion of 'neutrality' or 'objectivity' within research, discussed later in this chapter. I also challenge dominant ideology when analysing how far-right extremism is dealt with and viewed differently within Prevent, compared to Islamist extremism (discussed within the findings chapters).

iii.   The commitment to social justice.

Matsuda (1991) details that CRT works towards the elimination of racism, poverty, and sexism to empower racialised people. The element of the commitment to social justice can help this research, as it recognises that there are multiple layers of discrimination that young Muslim women may face within education.

iv.   The centrality of experiential knowledge.

CRT appreciates that the knowledge of racialised people is appropriate and critical to understand racial subordination (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002). Experiential knowledge draws on the lived experiences of racialised people. However, it is often disregarded by Eurocentric epistemologies due to 'challenging the experiences of White people as normative' (Crawford, 2017, p.198). On the other hand, critical race methodologies view experiential knowledge as a necessity and asset to the research (Espino, 2012). I utilise experiential knowledge due to analysing the women's counter stories.

v.   The transdisciplinary perspective.

Critical race methodology acknowledges that a transdisciplinary or interdisciplinary approach with historical and contemporary context is needed to analyse race and racism (Delgado, 1998). Within this research, I combine feminist studies, international relations and sociology to better understand how Muslims became a racialised group and the impact of 'Prevent' on Muslim women. Within the findings chapters of 5, 6, 7 and 8, I present and directly quote the relevant counter stories under sub-headings.

I use CRF as the methodology with the goal of using focus groups and interviews with young Muslim women and educators' to access their experiences of Prevent within HE and FE. This study sought to understand the subjective meanings that young Muslim women and educators use within their counter stories concerning Prevent. With the critical race gendered epistemology, counter storytelling methods

and the experiential knowledge of women, it enabled the women's and educators' experiences to come to the forefront of the research.

Research Design

In this section I review the data collection methods used. I will begin by giving an overview of the methods that were used and how they aided the research question. The settings and sampling techniques will be explored in relation to why they were the most suitable. Thematic data analysis will be discussed, as will the implications of using the NVivo qualitative analysis software programme within this approach. Ethical considerations will be reviewed in relation to anonymity, confidentiality and how concerns were raised within the research. Finally, the study's limitations will be examined along with my own positionality.

I used an approach consisting of both inductive and deductive templates. The data-driven inductive outlook focused upon allowing the themes to emerge directly from the data collected. This is made evident when thematically analysing using the NVivo software to code data and decide themes. The deductive approach complimented the research question by allowing the main tenets of CRF to be at the centre. Proudfoot (2022, p. 2) asserts that this hybrid approach helps ensure that the voices of participants are sufficiently valued, whilst 'allowing for a more theory-led analysis'.

The fieldwork began in January 2023 and ended in January 2024. It entailed:

- five online focus groups with 20 Muslim women.

- five semi-structured, one-to-one, online interviews with select focus group participants.

- six semi-structured, one-to-one, online interviews with six educators.

The focus groups and interviews allowed for the participants counter stories to become apparent. By facilitating the counter stories within the focus groups and interviews through the informal questioning of experiences, this method contributed to a wider understanding of those who are oft ignored or silenced (Martinez, 2014). When counter stories became apparent in the focus groups and interviews with Muslim women, it helped expose injustices and recognised 'systems of oppression' (Olszewski, 2022, p.1). Below details how I recruited the participants for this research.

Sample and Setting of Student and Educator participants

Convenience sampling was utilised to gain both student and educator participants (Clark, 2017). This non-probability sampling technique involves a group that is easily accessible to the researcher, for example, university students. Recruitment was predominantly through recruitment posters being placed in educational buildings, social media callouts and the researchers' and supervision teams' professional network connections with education settings. I was able to gather a sample of students and educators, across England and Wales, due to advertising the study as an 'online focus group' or 'online interview'. Qureshi (2017) detailed how their access

to participants was made easier due to their position within a community. It was hoped that my position as a qualified teacher, which was communicated via the participant information sheet (Appendix B), would help provide a degree of trust and professionalism, to both the students' and educators'.

Focus Group sampling of students

To take part in the focus groups, the students had to self-identify as Muslim women. An educational email address was required, this was to verify their student status. The participants were also asked for their educational setting region/location on their signed consent forms. The students' educational settings were in either England or Wales, as Prevent operates differently within Scotland and does not apply to Northern Ireland. The age range of the young Muslim women who participated within the focus groups were 16-25 years old. This enabled the research to involve both FE and HE settings, such as sixth forms, colleges, and universities (undergraduate and master's level). By including both FE and HE, I was able to capture the lived realities of young Muslim women in education from the point of leaving school and entering educational spaces with blurred responsibilities of the Prevent Duty. The focus group recruitment occurred predominantly through recruitment posters and social media callouts. The student recruitment posters can be seen in Appendix C. I initially began the fieldwork wishing to communicate my research to sixth forms, colleges, and universities, so that they could act as gatekeepers. However, as I will outline in the limitations section below, I encountered difficulties with the FE sector, as some declined to take part. Therefore, Muslim women who attended an FE setting, were targeted via general social media callouts. This was due to not having physical access to FE settings. The online

platforms that were used included: Twitter/X, Facebook, TikTok and Reddit. Muslim women who attended HE settings were approached via posters that were placed in university buildings and social media callouts, outlined above. It became clear that recruitment proved more successful when directly targeting the students, rather than attempting to go through proposed gatekeepers (their educational setting).

For the focus groups, participants who were students were entered into a random raffle to win an Amazon voucher. One voucher was available per focus group. For the last focus group, to drive recruitment, student participants were given an Amazon voucher each. The vouchers were a gesture of thanks, as I wished for the participants to be compensated for their time (Goodman et al., 2004). Vouchers were also used as a financial incentive to participate within the research, as students are notoriously difficult to recruit (Gelinas et al., 2018; Warnock et al., 2022). The payment of participants is discussed further in the limitations section below.

Student one-to-one, follow-up interview sampling

The selection for sampling participants for one-to-one interviews was based upon topics and subjects that were raised by the students within the focus groups. Two women interviewed were FE students, and three were HE students. I analysed the transcripts shortly after the focus group. This was done initially to choose participants based upon topics and discussions that arose within the focus groups. Some participants were chosen due to their pre-existing knowledge of Prevent that was made apparent in the focus groups. Others were chosen due to stories that they shared in their focus groups concerning their experience in education as a Muslim

woman. The participants were given an Amazon voucher if they attended the one-to-one interview for the reasons outlined above. The design of the follow-up interviews are discussed later.

Educator one-to-one interview sampling

The sampling technique for educators, at both FE and HE level, was convenience sampling. The Prevent policy operates within more spaces within the English and Welsh education system as there is no requirement for education institutions in Scotland to teach FBV. Hence focusing upon England and Wales for educator recruitment. Recruitment was aided by social media callouts, in particular on Twitter/X, Facebook groups and through the research teams existing professional contacts. Due to the interviews being online and being advertised online via social media, it allowed access to a larger sample of participants in England and Wales. However, I only wished to gain a small number of educator participants compared to the student participants, due to having an exploratory approach to answer RQ3 (this is expanded on further in this chapter below). The educators had to specify whether they worked in either, FE or HE and specify the region of their educational workplace on their signed consent form (see Appendix D).

Profile of Muslim Women student participants

Here I provide a summary of the 20 Muslim women student participants (see Figure 7 for a detailed breakdown of the participants). The participants ranged in age from 16 to 25 years of age and attended either an FE or HE setting in England or Wales. All the participants self-identified as Muslim women. I did not intend to gather data

concerning the participants race or ethnicity, nor if they wore the hijab or not. I made this decision as I was already wary of gathering data upon participants in relation to Prevent, regarding the exception to anonymity and confidentiality (see the discussion of this within the limitation section below). McCall (2005) also noted that by utilising intersectionality, one can often focus too much on various identities. Although this thesis uses intersectionality as a key term that encompasses aspects such as ethnicity and race, I did not want to collect any more data than what was needed to gather counter stories regarding Prevent. Therefore, I gave the choice for the women to comment upon the matter themselves (nine women commented upon their race or ethnicity) within the focus groups and/or interviews. Nine of the women also noted that they had heard of the Prevent strategy or knew what it was. Faure Walker (2019) found that his students were aware of Prevent and were negatively impacted by it. Whereas Lockley-Scott (2020) argued that most of her student participants did not know what Prevent was. What I aimed to uncover was the wider consequences of Prevent and how it impacts Muslim women students within post-16 education. Although many of the women did not have prior knowledge of Prevent, some went on to discuss incidents that were either Prevent in action or the ramifications of Prevent, this is further discussed in chapter 6.

Pseudonyms have been used for all research participants to protect their privacy and ensure anonymity and other references that may be identifiable. Locations have also been altered or avoided. The pseudonyms that were used were appropriate to the participant's religious background, particularly in relation to the students. From a CRF perspective, using names that are within the cultural context is important due to considering participant's counter-narrative perspective. Hence the reasoning of

applying pseudonyms with a greater thought behind them (Lahman et al., 2015).

After completing a focus group or interview, a pseudonym would be assigned. The

participants real names would be removed from all research materials, except for the

pseudonym key, which was kept on a secure datastore, as with all the collected data.

The table below displays the student participant information, those in bold also

participated in a follow-up, one-to-one interview.

"Name"	Age:	FE or HE student:	Location of education setting:	Reference to race or ethnicity:	Wore a headscarf:	Knowledge of Prevent:
Naila	22	HE	East Midlands	NA	NA	Yes
Safa	20	HE	East Midlands	"I'm someone who's you know, I've got Brown skin and I don't speak with a Asian accent"	Yes	No
Laila	**17**	**FE**	**Greater Manchester**	**"So, Brown on the outside, White on the inside of my values."**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Amina	20	HE	Greater London	NA	Yes	No
Zahra	16	FE	Greater London	NA	NA	No
Sabeen	16	FE	Greater Manchester	NA	NA	Yes
Nadia	**24**	**HE**	**East Midlands**	**"I'm from an ethnic minority background"**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Malika	22	HE	East Midlands	NA	NA	No
Tahirah	19	HE	West Yorkshire	NA	No	Yes
Indah	**18**	**HE**	**East Midlands**	**NA**	**Yes**	**No**
Sameera	**20**	**FE**	**Greater London**	**"I can make these jokes about my Black identity"**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Ameera	19	HE	East Midlands	NA	Yes	No

Zainab	16	FE	South Yorkshire	"I'm a Bengali Muslim"	Yes	Yes
Rahima	22	HE	West Midlands	NA	Yes	No
Iqra	21	HE	East Midlands	"I'm Black aswell"	Yes	Yes
Aiza	22	HE	East Midlands	NA	NA	No
Faridah	25	HE	East Midlands	NA	NA	No
Eda	23	HE	East Midlands	NA	NA	No
Yasmin	24	HE	East Midlands	NA	NA	No
Shereen	20	HE	East Midlands	NA	NA	Yes

Figure 7 Profile of Muslim women student participants

Profile of Educator participants

In addition to the focus groups and follow-up interviews with students, this research carried out six semi-structured, one-to-one, online interviews with educators that teach within FE and HE settings in England and Wales. A significantly smaller number of educators were recruited compared to students. I took an exploratory approach to uncovering educators perceived duty to Prevent in post-16 education. This was due to educator's counter stories not being the central component to this thesis, and much literature also focusing upon Prevent and teachers and/or lecturers. However, the educators' stories were insightful in revealing their perceptions regarding their duty to Prevent. The six educator participants self-identified as educators that worked in either an FE or HE setting. Again, I was reluctant to gather more personal participant data than needed due to the sensitive nature of the research regarding Prevent. Therefore, I did not ask the educators' age, gender, ethnicity, or subject taught. However, most commented upon their subjects taught freely within the interview. Pseudonyms have been used for all research participants to protect their privacy and ensure anonymity.

"Name"	FE or HE setting:	Region of setting:	Subject taught:
Carl	HE	North West	NA
Lewis	FE	South East	Politics & Sociology
Laura	FE	South West	Sociology
Sophia	FE	East Midlands	Sociology
Jason	FE	East of England	Sociology
Tim	HE	South West	NA

Figure 8 Profile of Educator participants

Online Focus Groups with students

To reiterate, the online focus groups consisted of 20 young Muslim women aged 16-25 that were currently students in either sixth form, college or university in England. Initially, I wished to focus solely on certain 'Prevent priority' locations such as East Midlands, West and South Yorkshire. However, this was not entirely possible as I will outline later in the chapter.

Focus groups were employed to encourage group discussion and to acquire a perspective around certain topics regarding: Prevent, Prevent in education and Islamophobia in Britain. As discussed earlier, the counter storytelling is a crucial aspect to CRF methodology. Focus groups allowed this counter storytelling technique to come to the forefront. Counter storytelling allowed the study to conduct research that is grounded within the knowledge and experiences of young Muslim women. The topic schedule followed issues such as: knowledge of Prevent,

'Fundamental British Values', classroom debate, past experiences as a Muslim woman within education concerning peer relations and teacher-student relations, Islamophobia in education, confidence in the classroom and wider Islamophobia in Britain (see Appendix E). Focus groups allowed for themes to emerge and to be discussed reflexively. This method was 'open and connectable' for participants (Deleuze & Guattari 2013, p.12). Within the focus groups, the interaction that occurred enabled women to share their own experiences, whilst also allowing for each participant to build on the opinions and feelings of others in the group (Liamputtong, 2007). Focus groups reinforce the realisation that participants experiences are legitimate and perhaps not simply individual, as they are shared by others (Pini, 2002). It was important for this research, given the sensitive nature of certain subjects, to enable the creation of a space where participants feel they can share opinions collectively and individually (Ivanoff & Hultberg 2006; Winterbotham & Pearson, 2016). As this research is concerned with young Muslim women's experiences and thoughts upon Prevent, utilising the focus groups enabled sensitive topics to be discussed in an appropriate and safe environment with other women. This is reflected upon later in this chapter within the positionality section.

Synchronous, online focus groups were used rather than in-person focus groups due to initial issues regarding using FE & HE as gatekeepers to the potential participants-discussed later in this chapter. Utilising online focus groups helped overcome some challenges. For instance, online focus groups allowed for more convenient times for participants. All the focus groups occurred in the evening. Stewart and Shamdasani (2017) acknowledged that online focus groups also provide greater anonymity. This is something that I also found to be true, as it was not necessary for participants to

have their webcams[13] on due to only the transcripts being analysed. The majority of the participants did not have their webcams on. I believe this choice added greater anonymity for participants. However, this anonymity could also be a disadvantage of online focus groups. For example, the participants may not be who they represent themselves to be (Stewart & Shamdasani, 2017). This was minimised within this study as I required students to verify their student email addresses and therefore student status. Furthermore, the anonymity may have been reduced if members of the focus group shared information outside of the group. However, I did not ask members of the group to share their location (unless they disclosed this themselves in their re-telling of experiences), nor surname, in the hope that this would aid the participants greater anonymity so that they felt comfortable sharing their lived experiences. Others have suggested that a lack of face-to-face communication could reduce the spontaneity of a focus group and reduce group intimacy (Rainie et al. 2014). However, this is often reflected in the characteristics of participants and/or the platform used for online focus groups. Microsoft Teams was the chosen platform to carry out the focus groups as it proved the most accessible for students, educators' and me to use. The COVID-19 pandemic also saw a rise in the use of online tools to carry out qualitative research. Therefore, the range of programmes and software also grew (Boland et al., 2022).

Semi-structured interview techniques were employed. Structured questions were used (see Appendix F) in which I and the participants built upon further as the focus group progressed (Winterbotham & Pearson, 2016). This allowed for participants to

---

[13] I kept my webcam on throughout the focus group as it helped with introducing myself and with non-verbal cues, so that participants could see that I was listening.

lead some aspects of the discussion and to converse with other participants, highlighting issues that were important to them. Each focus group began with the same question of: "*What is your understanding of the counterterrorism strategy 'Prevent' and how do you feel about it?*". The participants' answers to this question helped inform how the rest of the focus group discussion was to be directed into subsequent discussion. For example, if participants were or weren't aware of Prevent, the discussion would be steered differently. Each focus group ended with the same question of: "*What is the most important issue/topic to you, that we have discussed today?*". This ending invited participants to sum up their feelings and thought regarding the subjects that arose during the discussion.

The focus groups consisted of a maximum of six participants in each group, with both a mix of FE and HE students. I decided to have a smaller number of participants, than in traditional in-person focus groups, due to them being online. Moore et al. (2015) discuss how having fewer participants in online focus groups can create more opportunities for participants to voice their opinions. Furthermore, having too many participants in an online environment could result in overlapping discussion, making it difficult to moderate (Fox et al., 2007). The focus groups that I held ranged from two to six participants. This was due to the issue of some participants not attending the focus group and last-minute rearrangements from the participants. As recommended by Rabiee (2004), researchers should aim to over-recruit to resolve this issue of non-attendance. From this, I aimed to recruit five participants for each focus group where possible. The focus groups were 90 minutes maximum. This was to ensure participants do not become fatigued, whilst also ensuring sufficient time for discussion. Allowing for sufficient time in the focus

groups for discussion was important as the women's counter stories had to become

evident. As there was an informal focus group schedule (see Appendix F), there was

flexibility concerning the flow of the focus group. For instance, more time was spent

upon questions when multiple participants fed back to one another about their

experiences.

One-to-one, follow-up interviews with students

Along with focus groups and the counter stories that derived from them, I wished to

delve deeper into some of the participants' stories. Therefore, I invited select

participants to a one-to-one interview, so that I could gain additional insights to their

counter stories that they discussed within their focus group. From this, five online,

semi-structured, one-to-one, follow-up interviews were employed with select

participants from the focus groups sometime after they took place. The baseline for

the selection of the one-to-one interviews were the topics and subjects that derived

from the focus groups and other thoughts and opinions. Approximately one week

after the focus group had taken place, the chosen participant was emailed inviting

them to an online, one-to-one interview at a date convenient for them.

The one-to-one interviews were used after the focus groups had taken place to gather

additional insight from select participants from the focus groups as individuals,

rather than in a group setting. Like the focus groups, participants were given a choice

of having their webcam on, allowing for greater anonymity. Again, the majority of

participants chose to have their webcams off, however, I kept my webcam on

throughout the interview mainly for non-verbal cues. I did not notice any differences

regarding the responses from those who had webcams on and those who did not. Semi-structured, one-to-one interviews allowed for flexibility concerning topics and questions that were raised (see Appendix G). Actively listening to participants during the interview and modifying the questions enabled me to raise topics that were not initially considered (O'Reilly & Dogra, 2017). Topics that were discussed concerned their comments during the focus group. For example, asking the participants for their thoughts and feelings following a story or experience that they shared within the focus group. The ease of online interviews was for both the researcher and participant, particularly due to time and geographical constraints. There is growing support for the use of online interviewing, and it has been argued that 'the quality of responses' that are obtained through online interviewing is 'much the same as responses produced by more traditional methods' (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014, p.606). Again, Microsoft Teams was the chosen software due to it also being used for focus groups, and for its familiarity amongst students. Next, I discuss the interviews with educators in post-16 education.

Interviews with Educators'

One-to-one interviews were carried out with the six educator participants. There is also no specific requirement for HE institutions to promote FBV within their curriculum. However, it was useful to uncover to what extent university lecturers implement the Prevent strategy. These one-to-one, semi-structured interviews were carried out online via the Microsoft Teams platform. This was due to the ease for the researcher and participants, particularly concerning time and geographical constraints. As educators have other time-consuming responsibilities, utilising the online interviews allowed for more flexibility for participants who may have

otherwise declined a face-to-face interview. For instance, one participant was interviewed whilst on the school run. Again, for greater anonymity, the participants could choose to have their webcam on or off. Compared to the student participants who mostly chose not to have their webcams on, all the educator participants chose to have their webcams on in their 1-1 interview. However, I did not notice any major difference regarding the quality of responses concerning having webcams on or off. A minor difference was being able to notice non-verbal cues of the participants. For example, when the participants had their webcam on, it was more noticeable if they had finished answering the question or if they wished to talk more, this was made clear with hand gestures and facial movements. The interviews were carried out after two focus groups with students had taken place. This was planned due to potential topics and discussions arising from the students that would also be useful to discuss with educators. Topics that were discussed in the interviews consisted of: educators' knowledge of Prevent, interpretation of the Prevent duty, the implementation of Prevent in practice, Prevent training, classroom debate, their own beliefs around the Prevent policy and confidence around the Prevent duty (see Appendix H).

Data Analysis

The method chosen for data analysis was thematic analysis and the NVivo software programme was employed in this process. The Microsoft Teams software that was used for the focus groups and interviews allowed for automatic transcription which was then downloaded after the focus group/interview. The process of checking, correcting, and anonymising the automatic Microsoft Teams transcription was carried out immediately after the focus groups and interviews had occurred. The

automatic transcription proved far more efficient than recording and transcribing the focus groups/interviews myself. The anonymised transcriptions were then uploaded to the NVivo software to code and thematically analyse.

There has been debate concerning whether thematic analysis can be considered a lone method, whilst others describe it as a foundational method for qualitative data analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Ryan & Bernard, 2000). Thematic analysis consists of searching for or generating themes that capture a phenomenon which are then explained or discussed (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This is applicable to this study as the aim is to identify the implications of Prevent for young Muslim women in education. Emerging themes from the counter stories were then identified from the dataset using thematic analysis. The use of a CRF perspective within the thematic analysis was useful in establishing the participants meanings within their own experiences.

Braun and Clarke (2006) discuss how the researcher must decide what constitutes as a theme. Researchers can be flexible and use their own judgement when contemplating themes. This research adopted the approach that a theme would be considered if it appeared relevant to the research questions and aims. A theme is defined as 'a pattern that captures something significant or interesting about the data and/or research question' (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017, p.3356). Semantic or latent themes can be used to guide how the themes are developed once identified. A semantic theme consists of meanings at an explicit level and 'the analyst is not looking for anything beyond what a participant has said or what has been written' (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.13). Latent themes explore semantic meanings to aid explanation of participants wider meanings and 'examine the underlying ideas'

(Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.13). Therefore, by seeking to understand meanings that participants give to their social reality, this study will utilise both semantic and latent coding for themes. For instance, a semantic code within the data was 'diversity of location', and a latent code was 'self-censoring'. There are deductive and inductive elements in analysing the data within this study, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Braun and Clarke (2006) make clear that a sole inductive approach cannot be adhered to due to researchers' existing epistemological position. An inductive approach refers to themes being strongly linked to the data, and do not make a deliberate attempt to fit into a pre-existing theoretical frame (Patton, 2002). A deductive approach specifically uses the theoretical framework when thematically analysing. As this research uses CRF methodology as the theoretical framework, a deductive approach was used alongside the inductive approach to position the empirical data within a CRF framework.

Braun and Clarke (2006) outline a six-step framework (see Figure 9) to aid researchers utilising thematic analysis. The first step is familiarising self with data. This involved transcribing the data and noting initial ideas from reading the data. Following this, initial codes were generated. Key ideas were drawn out from the data which may relate to the research questions. Once codes were sorted, they were put into potential themes, which were then refined and reviewed in relation to the research questions.

Step 1: Familiarising self with data	Step 4: Review themes

Step 2: Generate initial codes	Step 5: Define and name themes
Step 3: Search for themes	Step 6: Analysis write-up

Figure 9 Braun & Clarke's (2006) six step framework

NVivo software was chosen to analyse the data due to the lengthy transcripts that were gathered from the focus groups and interviews. Utilising NVivo proved to be time-saving and efficient. The experiences of Muslim women in education were complex, thus the coding process aimed to capture the many dimensions. The study's research questions aimed to uncover the impact of Prevent on Muslim women's and educator's experiences in post-16 education, and whether this is a gendered impact. The coding process was reflected and organised around these questions. I identified data-driven and theory-driven codes from the data. These often intersected. For example, the theory-driven codes of the 'generalisation of Muslim women' and the 'marginalisation of racialised people' overlapped with the data-driven codes found in the empirical data, such as 'their appearance as Muslim women' or 'stereotypes surrounding the oppression of Muslim women'. Through this coding strategy, I was able to create a list of codes on NVivo. See Figures 10 and 11 for the NVivo coding process, including how many times codes were referred to within the data. The most referred to code was 'Appearance as a Muslim woman' with 49 references throughout the student focus groups and student one-to-one interviews. Despite some codes being referred to more than others, the themes were decided based upon their relevance to the research questions.

Name		Files	Refe... ∨
○ Appearance as a Muslim...		8	49
› ○ Feelings of uncomfort		8	42
○ Assumptions- Stereotype...		8	33
○ Generalisation of Muslims...		6	33
○ Difference in treatment of...		6	27
○ Teachers-staff in education		6	27
○ Responsibility of Muslim...		6	26
› ○ British Values		6	24
○ Government rhetoric		7	23
› ○ Self-censoring		6	22
○ Homogenisation of Musli...		8	21
○ 'British'		6	20
○ 'Monitoring'		4	18
○ Diversity of Location		5	18
○ Prevent impact and vigilan...		4	14
○ Shamima Begum		4	13
○ Fearful of Prevent- uneasi...		3	12
○ Targeting Muslim Commu...		5	12
› ○ Confidence		6	9
○ Media Representations		5	9
○ Reluctance to report to Pr...		3	9

○ 'Essentialist' thinking	4	8	
○ Andrew Tate- incel culture	3	8	
○ 'Spying'	3	7	
○ Palestine	2	7	
○ Prevent atmosphere (not...	4	7	
○ University difference	4	7	
○ 'Culture'	3	6	
○ Generational Differences	4	6	
○ Marginalised	5	6	
○ 'Safeguarding'	1	5	
○ Different Experiences	2	5	
○ Internet influence	4	5	
○ No support-awareness of...	1	5	
○ Overcompensate	4	5	
○ Prevent is counter-produc...	2	5	
○ Sisterhood Muslim Women	3	5	
○ 9 11 & other terrorr attacks	4	4	
○ Mental Health	2	4	
○ Prevent = Muslims (associ...	3	4	
○ 'right-wing'	1	3	
○ Alternative to Prevent	2	3	

○ Justifying	2	3
○ Spotting signs of radicalis...	2	3
○ Ariana Grande- Manchester	2	2
○ Prevent Duty in practice	1	2
○ Prevent Training inadeqaute	1	2
○ Prevent=police	2	2
○ Charlie Hebdo	1	1
○ Students should be more i...	1	1

Figure 10 NVivo codes from Muslim women students

Prevent Training inadeqaute	6	41	'British'	2	3	
Prevent is counter-produc...	3	19	Lack of welbeing support...	1	3	
British Values	6	18	Little focus on women & g...	2	3	
Prevent Duty in practice	6	17	Shamima Begum	1	3	
'Safeguarding'	5	15	University difference	1	3	
Reluctance to report to Pr...	2	14	'Monitoring'	1	2	
Self-censoring	4	13	Feelings of uncomfort	2	2	>
Shawcross Review	3	13	Government rhetoric	1	2	
'Best Practice' teaching	3	12	Media Representations	2	2	
Andrew Tate- incel culture	3	12	Mental Health	1	2	
Legal Duty to Prevent	4	10	Prevent = Muslims (associ...	1	2	
Alternative to Prevent	2	9	Prevent atmosphere (not...	1	2	
No Avenue for help with e...	1	9	Teachers-staff in education	2	2	
Diversity of Location	3	7	Appearance as a Muslim...	1	1	
Prevent impact and vigilan...	4	7	Brexit	1	1	
Distraction from actual te...	3	5	Difference in treatment of...	1	1	
Existing research on Prev...	3	5	Internet influence	1	1	>
Fearful of Prevent- uneasi...	3	5	Prevent=police	1	1	
Spotting signs of radicalis...	4	5	Students should be more i...	1	1	
'right-wing'	1	4				
'Spying'	1	4				

Figure 11 NVivo codes from educators

The next stage was the creation of themes. Within this stage, re-reading the NVivo codes was essential in identifying wider themes or potential themes. As Ishak and Bakar (2012) note, NVivo simply aids the thematic analysis process, acting as an organisation tool. The software does not replace the thinking process or 'wisdom' of the researcher and 'how they interpret the world' (Ishak and Bakar, 2012, p.102). The codes that were deemed most relevant to the research questions were then broken down into themes. By focusing upon themes, it allowed for the participants counter stories to be considered in relation to the research questions more explicitly. The themes found within the data from Muslim women students were:

- Self-censoring

- The Responsiblisation of Muslim Women

- Gendered Islamophobia

The themes found within the educator data were:

- Prevent is counterproductive

- Is Prevent 'safeguarding'?

- Prevent Training is inadequate

- Alternatives to Prevent?

The order that the themes are discussed within the next few chapters are organised in a way to the relevance to the research questions. I believed that 'self-censoring' was highly relevant within the data, and I argue that it had the largest impact on the women's educational experiences. Sub-themes are included within these themes, they are detailed more within chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8. Many of the sub-themes were initial codes which can be seen above. As discussed earlier, Braun and Clarke (2006) discuss how researchers can be flexible when considering what constitutes a theme. In this case, themes derived from the importance and relevance to the research questions. Having discussed the methods chosen for data analysis, the following section of this chapter considers the ethics surrounding this study.

Ethical Considerations

This section discusses the ethical considerations that occurred when researching how Muslim women and educators experienced the Prevent duty in post-16 education. Below analyses my experience of gaining ethical approval, informed consent, anonymity, and confidentiality and how each were addressed.

Gaining ethical approval

The process of obtaining ethical approval began in March 2022 and the first ethics application was approved in June 2022. I followed Nottingham Trent University's ethical guidelines, along with those of the British Sociological Association. My initial ethics application needed to be revised following comments on whether the research involved the use of sensitive or restricted materials, and if it was an investigation into extremism or radicalisation. The application was amended to clarify that the research was not accessing sensitive nor restricted materials, nor was it an investigation into extremism or radicalisation. I stated that I am investigating people's views about a CT policy and focusing upon the policy aspects of Prevent. I had to further amend my ethics application in late September 2022, as I wished to change the focus group format from in-person to online, due to the gatekeeper issues (which I outline below), and due to changing the location target areas from the 'Prevent priority' areas (which I outline in the limitations section within this chapter) to England and Wales. This amendment accompanied adjusted recruitment posters and participant information and consent forms. The final ethics application was approved in November 2022, seen in Appendix I.

Informed Consent

All research participants were emailed an online copy of a participant information sheet (see Appendices B, K, L, M, N, O). It included the following: the project's purpose, what happens if they take part, how I will protect their anonymity and confidentiality, the exception to anonymity and confidentiality (which I discuss in the limitation section below), the possible advantages, and disadvantages of taking

part and what happens to the results. All participants were also asked to sign an

online consent form (see Appendices D, P, Q, R, S) The form included aspects such

as: their right to withdraw, that their data will be anonymised and the exception to

anonymity. As some participants were under 18 years of age, these participants also

needed parental/guardian consent. To participate, the parent/guardian needed to sign

an online consent form and were also given an information sheet. As some

participants were 16-17 years old and were of an age in which they can understand

the study, they were also given emailed an information and consent sheet to sign, see

Appendix B and J.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

In relation to anonymity and confidentiality, all the information collected during the

research was kept strictly confidential. Anonymity was protected as real names were

not used but participants were given a pseudonym. This meant that participants were

not able to be identified in any ensuing reports or publications. Furthermore, if any

other identifying information arose during the focus group or interview, for example

a location, this was altered to the region of the location rather than the specific

location. By doing this, I maintained the anonymity and confidentiality of the

participants. There was one exception to confidentiality, which was due to the fact of

participants potentially disclosing information that relates to criminal activity. The

participants were made aware of this within the participant information sheet and on

the consent forms. This 'exception to confidentiality' is discussed in the limitations

section below in further detail.

Reflections & Limitations:

This section analyses the limitations of this study, along with my reflections as the researcher. It will discuss generalisability, the payment of participants, the notion of 'sensitive research' and how researching Islamophobia and other sensitive topics regarding Prevent was dealt with. The exception to confidentiality will be analysed in relation to the ethics guidelines, as will the payment of participants. I will focus further upon the role of educators within this study, and why I did not use post-16 education establishments as gatekeepers, and how this affected the sampling experience including possible 'research fatigue' or cautiousness to participate. Finally, I reflect on the change of location from 'Prevent priority areas' to England and Wales.

Generalisability

Time frame restrictions and limited resources means that this study was based overall on 20 Muslim women participants and six educator participants. Patton (2002, p.246) identifies that the researcher must make their own judgement about sample size, to have a 'reasonable coverage of the phenomenon'. The data provided an in-depth insight into how young Muslim women have been impacted by Prevent, how the policy interfered with their educational experience and how educators perceived their Prevent Duty. I believe that whilst the sample size is not large and no claims can be made regarding the representativeness nor generalisability of the findings, it provided an opportunity to further delve into participants opinions and experiences. Utilising the theoretical framework of CRF allowed for this smaller

sample size to further explore participants counter-stories in greater detail (Evans-winters & Esposito, 2010). CRF encourages deep exploration of racialised women's experiences, hence this thesis utilising both focus group and follow-up interviews.

Sensitive Research

Wellings et al. (2000, p.256) discuss the notion of 'sensitive research' and define it as requiring 'disclosure of behaviours or attitudes which would normally be kept private and personal, which might result in offence or lead to social censure or disapproval, and/or which might cause the respondent discomfort to express'. Before conducting the focus groups with students, it was crucial to consider the fact that some participants may feel upset or worried about topics that would arise. Liamputtong (2007, p.32) and Lee-Treweek and Linkogle (2000) highlight that researchers need to protect their research participants and to be 'ethically responsible' when researching sensitive topics. I had to ensure that when conducting research upon racialised women, that they did not leave with painful experiences by participating in this study. Prior to the focus groups occurring, the participants read the participant information sheet. This included a list of topics that would arise within the focus groups. This was to ensure that participants could anticipate the types of questions that they may be asked. I also emailed a support sheet to both student and educator participants detailing organisations that they can contact if they do feel distressed, such as Muslim Youth, Muslim Women's Network, and The Education Support Helpline. All these organisations offered helplines either via a webchat or phone call. I also ensured that participants were aware that they could leave the focus group/interview at any time, stop the focus group/interview or that

they could decline any questions that they were not comfortable with. As the focus

groups and interviews were held online, the participants could choose where they felt

comfortable to talk in their own personal space. Despite my concerns about

discussing sensitive topics, I fortunately found that the participants appeared happy

to share their own stories regarding their own experiences in education and

articulating their views of counterterrorism in the UK.

Sensitive researchers must also pay close attention to confidentiality (Liamputtong,

2007). Focus groups may not seem like the favourable method to use to ensure

confidentiality. However, Wellings et al. (2000) assert that using focus groups to

research sensitive topics can help provide further insights into the participants

thoughts and feelings. Having a group dynamic enabled participants to agree or

disagree with other members, creating a 'milieu in which social relations are forged'

(Wellings et al., 2000, p.265). The focus group participants could withdraw

themselves and their data any time up until the focus group takes place. At the end of

the one-to-one interviews, the participants were reminded that they could contact me

to remove their data up to two weeks after the date of the interview. This was made

clear in the information sheet and consent form.

The payment of participants

As outlined earlier in this chapter, the participants in this study were 'paid' with

Amazon vouchers. I wished to do this as a financial incentive to participate and to

reimburse the participants for their time and burden upon taking part in the research.

As Warnock et al. (2022) makes clear, the payment of participants is necessary

particularly due to the high cost of living and the lack of spare time. However, after a comment that I received on a Reddit recruitment post (see Figure 12), I reflected upon the payment of participants with vouchers versus cash. The positives of paying participants in cash is that it is a proper reimbursement of their time taken out of possible work or study, to share their stories with me (Mackay, 2022). Others such as Njue et al. (2015) claim that paying participants in cash can be inappropriate and can risk harm to participants in some situations. For instance, if participants are vulnerable. However, this fails to see participants as autonomous people who have the right to decide what they do with cash payments (Schonfeld, 2003).
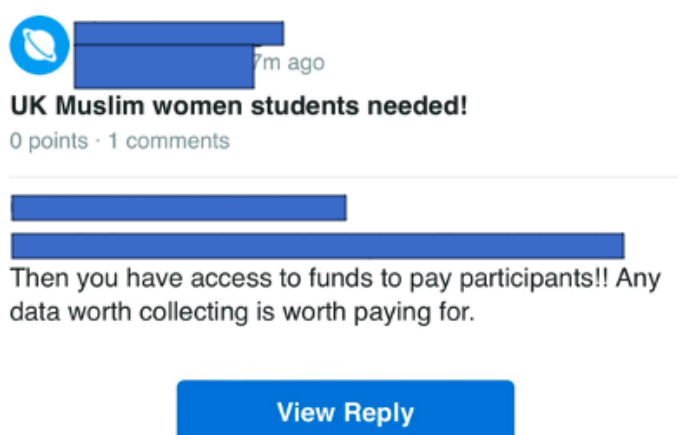
Figure 12 Reddit recruitment post reply

As a result of this reflection, I continued to pay participants with Amazon vouchers, this was mainly due to ethical restraints and the time-consuming process of adjusting ethics applications during the fieldwork. Only some of the focus group participants received a randomly allocated Amazon voucher and the educator participants were not given vouchers. This was mainly due to a limited amount of funds available to me as a PhD researcher. Warnock et al. (2022) also pay attention to the lack of

funding that is available to PhD or early career scholars who are undertaking fieldwork. In short, the payment of participants can often undermine the researcher's ability to pay participants.

The 'exception to confidentiality and anonymity'

Within the participant information sheets and consent forms there was a section detailing the exception to confidentiality and anonymity. This was due to Nottingham Trent's Ethics requirements and its 'safeguarding children policy' under the 'risk of disclosure of criminal offences, harm or potential harm'. The requirements stated that this was particularly relevant for those aged under 18. I informed participants via the information sheet and consent form that if they 'disclosed details of previously unreported or intended criminal activity and I can identify them or an alleged victim, then I would have an obligation to report it to the relevant authorities'. I accepted the need for rigorous ethics guidelines, particularly as it is a controversial issue and includes 16-18-year-olds. Like Kyriacou et al. (2017), I was hesitant to include this exception to confidentiality and anonymity within the forms due to potential participants being discouraged by the explicit legal obligations of the researcher. Researching CT policy posed its own challenges. Many students have been unnecessarily referred to the Prevent strategy for what they have said or how they have acted within education, so I was wary of including this exception (Cohen and Tufail, 2017; Prevent Watch, 2021). Abbas (2019) also discusses how they removed the clause of breaching confidentiality in the case of criminal disclosures due to the potential criminalisation of their participants. I was unsure of how many potential participants may have ignored or declined to take part

in this study due to this reason. Upon reflection, perhaps discussing the possible removal of the exception to confidentiality and anonymity with the ethics committee would have proved helpful.

The Role of Educators'

Interviewing educators within this research took an exploratory approach. This was mainly due to existing literature already focusing upon the topic of educators' perceptions of Prevent (Bryan, 2017; Moffat & Gerard, 2019; Spiller et al., 2017; Steadman et al., 2019). Also, educator's counter stories were not the central component to this thesis. However, I do recognise this is a shortfall of this research due to the small sample size that was gathered and therefore results not being generalisable. Nonetheless, in combination with the above existing literature, I do believe conclusions can be made from this thesis' data. The educator participants were mainly from a Social Sciences background. This was not intentional, but rather a result of my recruitment. Most of the social media callouts were in Facebook groups for Sociology or Politics teachers. It would have proved interesting to speak to those outside of social sciences, with subject teachers who do not engage with political subjects as much. Again, this could be a limitation of this study due to the lack of diversity in the educator's subject backgrounds. However, their knowledge can also be deemed as a positive as all of the educator participants had pre-existing knowledge of Prevent, and many had political stances upon Prevent due to their subject background.

Upon reflection, the interview schedules (Appendix H) that I devised for the post-16 educators should have been further revised following the student focus groups. As stated above, the educator interviews occurred after some of the student focus groups and interviews had taken place. I believe that they should have been revised due to the lack of focus upon Muslim women students within the educator interview schedules. It would have proved interesting to gather the thoughts upon how educators perceive Muslim women students in relation to Prevent. Only one educator (Lewis, FE educator) commented upon women in Prevent: "*When I was working Prevent before, umm girls were not in view at all, it was boys that were the main focus*". I argue in chapter 6 that the Muslim women students believed that educators monitor them as sites of suspicion but can also encourage surveillance practices through them too. Upon reflection, I should have asked the educator participants questions surrounding this topic of responsibilisation of Muslim women.

Gatekeepers: Research fatigue or cautiousness?

When beginning my data collection in September 2022 it became clear that participant recruitment was becoming a critical issue for in-person focus groups. Particularly as it concerned using post-16 establishments as gatekeepers to access their student population. Emails were sent to sixth forms, colleges and university student unions asking if they would be able distribute and display recruitment posters within their settings and provide a room on their campus, so that I could carry out the focus groups. The setting was asked to sign an online 'permission to conduct study' form. I found that getting access to these establishments difficult, as some declined to participate within the study and most had no response. It can be

hypothesised that this could have been due to numerous reasons: educational settings simply being too busy, 'research fatigue' and an overall cautiousness to participate in a study which focuses upon a controversial and sensitive topic.

As stated earlier in this chapter, the FE sector in has suffered with underfunding issues, resulting in a lack of resources (Kirkup, 2021). From this, the low response rate from FE may have been impacted by this lack of resources and thus the lack of time to engage with this research. 'Research fatigue' may have been another reason as to why post-16 setting did not want to participate. It refers to individuals and groups becoming 'tired of engaging with research' and therefore being reluctant to engage with further research (Clark, 2008, p.955). Furthermore, I believe that the cautiousness to participate in a study which focuses upon a controversial and sensitive topic was the biggest factor in recruitment issues. The Prevent duty, in which post-16 education settings have a statutory responsibility to, may have been viewed as a controversial topic for them to engage with. Lakhani & James (2021) also found this to be an issue when recruiting teachers in secondary schools and colleges. Therefore, I developed a new recruitment strategy comprising of removing FE and HE settings as gatekeepers and moving the focus groups to online.

'Prevent Priority' areas

The geographical locations used for recruiting participants were also altered. I changed the location target areas from the 'Prevent priority' areas (discussed within chapter 2), to more generally as England and Wales. See Figure 13 for a list of the Prevent priority locations, in which I originally wanted to target participants solely

from some of these areas, including East Midlands, West and South Yorkshire. I

altered the geographical locations due to initial issues regarding recruitment and

wished to make it easier for participants to acknowledge that they could partake in

the research. I initially advertised my research as 'are you at college/sixth

form/university in East Midlands, West or South Yorkshire?'. This was replaced

with 'are you at college/sixth form/university in England and Wales?' (see Appendix

C). However, despite altering the target locations from Prevent Priority locations to

England and Wales, some participants did attend FE or HE in certain Prevent

Priority locations (discussed above).

Barking and Dagenham	Kirklees
Barnet	Lambeth
Birmingham	Lancashire, Blackburn with Darwen &
Bradford	Blackpool
Brent	Leeds
Brighton and Hove	Leicester
Buckinghamshire	Lewisham
Calderdale	Liverpool
Camden	Luton
Cardiff	Manchester
Coventry	Newcastle
Croydon	Newham
Derby	Redbridge
Ealing	Salford, Bolton & Bury
Enfield	Sandwell
Greenwich	Sheffield
Hackney	Slough
Haringey	Southwark
Hammersmith & Fulham &	Stoke-on-Trent
Kensington & Chelsea	Tower Hamlets
Hounslow	Walsall
Islington	Waltham Forest
Kent and Medway	Westminster

Figure 13 Prevent Priority Locations (The People's Review of Prevent, 2022)

Positionality

Firstly, whilst I believe that it is important to discuss positionality and reflexivity

statements, it is also crucial to recognise how they can be deemed as the researcher

assuaging their guilt of having a privileged position or an outsider status (Gani and Khan, 2024). The below section reflects upon this. Epistemologically, there is the question of whether a non-racialised, non-religious woman can 'know' or understand a racialised Muslim woman's perspective. This brings my position as the researcher into place (Giri, 2022). It is particularly important to reflect on my positionality researching this topic. Next, I discuss my reflexivity, my self-positioning within the research, the subject of objectivity in CRT, and the 'epistemology of ignorance'.

Reflexivity- a series of confessional acts or critical positionality?

To critically self-reflect upon my positionality, I am self-reflexive about my privilege and power and its potential limitations and dilemmas as the researcher. It is argued that by being reflexive better knowledge is produced as a result of being transparent about researcher positionality (Giri, 2022). Some have critiqued reflexivity, stating that it commonly serves as an academic fad that fails to address the issue and that is should not be used as a 'get out of jail free card' (Patai, 1991; Hagen et al., 2023, p.15). Gani and Khan (2024, p.7) also draw attention to positionality statements offering a 'redemption of guilt' for the researcher. Others point out that critical self-reflexivity and understanding researchers' limitations in fieldwork is crucial (Enloe, 2016; Giri, 2022). Although this reflection, which may consist of 'a series of confessional acts' may not be 'the cure to inequality inherent in fieldwork', it can help guide the researcher as we struggle and work through limitations (Giri, 2022, p.12). In addition to this, it is important to state that simply recognising or listing issues with my positionality is not sufficient (Gani & Khan, 2024). Rather, I wished to engage in critical positionality and reflexivity throughout

the thesis. This is not to suggest that I can un-do my privilege, but rather I hope to demonstrate how I sought to address them. Le Bourdon (2022) discusses how it can often be appropriate to conclude that a researchers' privilege can prevent producing a complete picture of participants experiences. To engage with critical reflexivity, I asked questions such as: how does my positionality impact my research? What did I alter due to my positionality? How am I considering various power differentials? How am I addressing my privilege that may show up in my work? (Ali, 2006; Le Bourdon, 2022; Ramazanoglu & Holland 2002; Rumsby & Eggert, 2023). These questions are all discussed below. It is of utmost importance that this research has increased reflexivity over my subjectivity throughout, the need to critically reflect is crucial.

Self-positioning

Recognising my 'outsider' status, as being a non-racialised, non-religious woman, is important, as some participants generally trust outsiders less, making it difficult to collect valid data (Andrews, 2020; Bucerius, 2013). Spalek (2005, p.412) identifies that the researcher being White may involve 'existing in a structurally located position of oppressor' and this is an aspect that is rarely acknowledged within fieldwork. Other feminist scholars agree that women can understand other women (Jayaratne & Stewart, 1990). The feminist standpoint theory (the epistemology of insiderness) point out that this view overlooks other differences women may have, for example, race or class (Jayaratne & Stewart, 1990). Situated knowledge could be more useful than standpoint theory due to it considering researcher locationality. For

example, generational, national and researcher positionality including race, gender, or class (Giri, 2022).

Researchers should acknowledge who they are in relation to their locationality and positionality, therefore affecting our production of knowledge. Spalek (2005) highlights that White feminists often assume that there is no power difference between themselves and racialised women. Emotion management is what Spalek (2005) refers to when discussing how the researcher can critically reflect upon their positionality, acknowledging the fact that researchers may overlook some issues within interviews with participants. Achilleos-Sarll (2020, p.1650) further explicates how a White researchers gaze may not be 'neutral or objective'. My 'gaze' as a non-racialised researcher may influence the meanings that I give and interpretations that I make as the researcher. However, all researchers, racialised or non-racialised may not be neutral nor objective. Agyeman (2008, p.81) also asks similar questions, such as how she could hope to represent people when the only aspect they have in common in is gender, and how credible she could be when she has not experienced and will never experience their 'life worlds'. These are questions I also reflected upon throughout my research. The aforementioned 'sensitive research' also includes the researcher becoming sensitised to challenges that may arise. This includes addressing my role within the research, including engaging with 'critical questioning' of my role as the researcher (Agyeman, 2008, p.82).

In terms of what I altered in terms of my positionality, I attempted to negotiate my 'outsider' position, as a non-racialised, non-religious woman. Berlingozzi (2022, p.663) suggests that to do this, the researcher must pay attention to 'context-

sensitivity'. For example, topics that may cause distress and how this can aid the negotiation of your outsider position. To do this, rather than mentioning certain subjects or words, I would let participants direct the interview. More generally I would ask 'how do you feel Islamophobia is dealt with in sixth form, college, or university?'. This invoked participants to feel comfortable sharing their own stories as a Muslim woman in education. The women themselves used sensitive and emotional phrases such as "*I didn't want them to touch me*" and *"I've just sort of accepted that no matter what I do, no matter what I wear, no matter how I change it, I'm still a Muslim woman"*. Bearing the issue of me being considered an 'outsider', my approach was to enable 'open' and 'honest' discussions with participants, and to be committed to accurately representing their counter stories (Chua, 2018, p.146). From the stories that were shared with me, I wished to amplify the women's concerns and experiences within education without reproducing victimising discourses, something that is common in governance/White feminism (Shepherd, 2022). This governance feminism which is a type of 'White feminism', is complicit in reproducing the racialised, Orientalist trope, discussed above, of 'insecure brown women' that need 'protection' (Shepherd, 2022, p.731). This was something that I was extremely wary of, as I, a White, non-racialised researcher, was keen to avoid these victimising discourses.

As a non-racialised, non-religious woman carrying out this research, I assumed that I was classed as an 'outsider'. Embracing who I was as an 'outsider' came with benefits, for example some interviewees correctly assumed I knew little about being a racialised woman (Chua, 2018). As a result of this assumption, some explained their points in more detail. For example, one woman told of how her friends called

her a 'coconut' in the classroom. The participant then proceeded to define 'coconut' to me, without me asking: *"brown on the outside, White on the inside"*. My 'outsider' positioning could have aided the exploration of participants explanations and stories, offering valuable insights into their experiences as young Muslim women in post-16 education. Hua (2003, p.2) makes clear that not all who research the 'interconnections of race, class and gender' are 'women of colour', and that CRF offers and allows feminism to move beyond the 'black/White' binary by including all and opening the space up to all to research the topic.

However, I do recognise that being an 'outsider' had clear limitations. Song and Parker (1995) note that when both parties (the researcher and the participant) share their experience of racism, it can establish a sense of trust. It was clear that I was not able to do this as a non-racialised woman, having not experienced racism. To address the different power differentials, it was hoped that as a woman who is of similar age to some of the participants, that they would not see me as an 'authority' figure. Rather it was hoped they would see me someone who they felt they could talk to and use jargon that we would both understand. Before the focus groups began recording, I created conversation, often about Netflix shows or films. This was to create a sense of ease amongst participants and build rapport so that they could feel comfortable talking in the online environment with others and me (Rumsby & Eggert, 2023). Furthermore, my 'outsider' positioning may have prevented participants from discussing certain topics, perhaps assuming that I may not understand. My position as a non-racialised woman further highlighted that I do not have unique insights into Muslim women's experiences (Mirza, 1997).

I was also aware of my positioning regarding researching Prevent, as a non-racialised, non-religious woman. I firmly believe my positioning entailed privileges, particularly as I was researching a sensitive and controversial topic which was Prevent. As a non-racialised and non-religious woman, I did not fear potentially being referred to Prevent myself whilst researching it. Whether this was in the form of taking certain books out of the library or searching for certain topics on the internet. I did not believe I had a cloud of suspicion over me (a non-racialised researcher), whereas perhaps a racialised researcher would. This did occur to Sabir (2022), after he was wrongly arrested on suspicion of downloading terrorist content whilst he was researching at university. Eggert (2023) suggests that those who are Muslim and who research terrorism, often have a mental and emotional burden. Those such as Younis (2020) and Sabir (2022) who research counterterrorism and are Muslim, have faced difficulties and suspicion due to their Islamic faith.

Maintaining criticality when researching Prevent, whilst also having to 'perform' the strategy (for example, in my lecturing role) had its own challenges. During my fieldwork, I was approached by some and asked if I wanted to help 'guide' a university Prevent package or engage in a Prevent steering group. I had the privilege to decline this, without fear of consequences or suspicion. I only ponder if a racialised person did the same, would they be perceived differently? Qureshi (2020, p.497) asserts that as researchers, we need to 'reconsider our relationship to policymaking and policymakers', when ultimately, they may exclude the lived realities of racialised people who are most at risk of these counterterrorism policies, meaning engagement is futile (Bazian, 2016; Jackson, 2016; Qurashi, 2017). Also, Eggert et al. (2023, p.3) discuss the implications of saying 'no' in research, this

refusal can be seen as a way of confronting 'racial hierarchies of knowledge production'- which is also an aspect of CRF methodology. Much like Nordstrom (1997, p.29) asserted that research is a complicated process and "like Ezensberger, I don't even see eye to eye with myself". Therefore, considering my self-positioning within this research and recognising my 'outsider' status, was crucial in the critical self-reflexivity process.

Objectivity?

As this research followed CRT methodologies, this raised the subject of objectivity or neutrality. CRT methodologies reject this very notion, claiming it reinforces apolitical stances and Eurocentric beliefs (Hylton, 2012). Particularly when working within the critical field of social science, many researchers have chosen to reject objectivity as achievable. Instead, taking the approach that researchers should 'inherit embodied knowledge' (Heidegger, 1962; Isakjee & Allen, 2013, p.754). Much like what Zuberi and Bonilla-silva (2008, p.7) state, 'data do not tell us a story. We use data to craft a story that comports with our understanding of the world'. My research fostered this approach that aligns with CRT methodology as I did not have the aim to be objective within the research. The quality of this thesis lies with capturing the lived realities of Prevent for some Muslim women in detail, with the use of their counter stories. Griffin and Khalid (2022, p.561) suggest that as researchers in gendered analysis, we should 'reject the possibility of knowledge (including our own) ever being value neutral or objective'. Being critical of mainstream methodologies and having the view that we are all unconsciously

influenced by our values and experiences, are main tenets of CRT methodology (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). CRT methodologies can often encourage researchers to have a more central positioning in their research thus enabling a more inclusive approach whilst also being reflexive.

'Epistemology of ignorance'

Working within a CRF framework that places the voices of racialised people at the heart of the research, enabled me to help develop the perspective of multiple consciousness (Matsuda, 1989). Hearing the educational experiences of young Muslim women and paying particular attention to Prevent, enabled the counter story to prevail as the dominant narrative rather than a White narrative (Long, 2018). The epistemology of ignorance can be defined as 'ignorance as the absence or neglecting of information and a failure to understand information' (Smithson, 2015, p.385). I had the aim of reducing the White epistemology of ignorance, in which marginalises knowledge or experiences, thus enabling racial oppression (Martinez, 2020). Note 'reduced' and not 'eradicated', since my presence as a non-racialised researcher could have impacted upon participants answers (Mills, 2007, p.16; Spalek, 2005).

Conclusion

This chapter sought to provide an in-depth discussion of the methodological framework that this thesis engages with. CTS is largely embedded within the

security discourse of this research, however, to fully engage with the racialisation of the Muslim population, CRT was needed. It became clear that CRF could further and overall guide this research, with the aim of identifying the intersectionality framework and counter stories that are embedded within the methodology.

The methodological framework provided an understanding of the ontologically and epistemologically positioning of this thesis. Furthermore, the Eurocentric epistemologies were discussed along with the concept of experiential knowledge. The elements of critical race methodologies were outlined and analysed in relation to how this research was guided by them. Following this, the research design was explored. The use of online focus groups and one-to-one interviews were analysed to uncover the strengths and limitations of using these methods.

Considering how ethical issues were to be addressed was vital to this research. First, I explored the ethical approval process and how this was altered and gained. An in-depth discussion followed, concerning how gaining informed consent was approached and how the participants of this study were assured anonymity and confidentiality. I felt it was crucial to analyse and reflect upon my decision when carrying out the fieldwork, hence the reflections, limitations, and positionality section of the chapter. I discussed the exception to anonymity and confidentiality, and how I felt negatively towards having to include this in the research. I also reflected upon my positionality as a non-racialised, non-religious woman and researching CT/CVE policy became apparent and my feelings surrounding this. The following chapters evidence the findings and discussion from the focus groups and

interviews with Muslim women and educators to aid the answering of the research

questions.

Chapter 5: Self-censoring, Palestine & Surveillance

This chapter details the first theme that was within the empirical data from the Muslim women students. I directly address research questions 1) "How has Prevent impacted upon Muslim women's experience in post-16 education?" and 2) "To what extent is this a 'gendered' impact?". Within the following chapters, I order the discussion of the themes in relation to their relevance to the research questions 1 and 2. This chapter concentrates upon the theme of 'self-censoring' due to it being a foundational concept within this thesis. I was able to use this foundational concept of 'self-censoring', as it was heavily involved with other research in this field. This aided the further uncovering of the gendered impact of Prevent using empirical data. Within this theme, it became evident that self-censoring was highly relevant to this research and was repeatedly discussed by the Muslim women within the participants counter stories in relation to Prevent and/or monitoring in post-16 education. The re-occurrence of the theme of 'self-censoring' suggested the importance of it to the participants. The sub-themes included within self-censoring are 'Palestine', 'uneasiness surrounding Prevent', 'surveillance' and, 'staff and lack of support'. I suggest that due to the fear of a Prevent referral and further suspicion being placed upon them, the Muslim women regularly self-censor in post-16 education.

As discussed within chapter 4, the participants included 20 Muslim women post-16 students who participated in an online focus group and five of those women also participated in a one-to-one, online interview. The focus groups and interviews enabled the women's counter stories to develop. The participants stories offered their

view of how Prevent can be observed within post-16 education and how they experience the strategy within their educational journey. The counter stories were initially introduced within the focus groups and each story that was shared appeared to resonate with peers within the group. Their stories spoke to issues such as gendered Islamophobia, stereotypes, discrimination, and social interaction. Although the counter stories were apparent within the focus groups, these were further explored when I selected individuals to offer additional insight to their stories in one-to-one interviews. As stated previously within the chapter 4, the women's counter stories do not offer an exhaustive account of the participants experiences of Prevent, but rather they highlight the everyday experiences and life of some Muslim women in post-16 education. Therefore, no claims are made about the generalisability of Muslim women's experiences of Prevent.

Self-censoring

In the following section, I examine how Prevent was perceived by Muslim women in post-16 education, and ultimately, how Prevent has led to the self-censoring of the women within this study. To begin with, 'self-censoring' is sometimes referred to within other research as 'a chilling effect on the freedom of expression' and has resulted in staff and students avoiding certain topics, out of fear of suspicion or potential conflict (Amnesty International, 2023, p.19; Guest et al, 2020). As explored in within chapters 2 and 3, Muslim students have oft been subject to increased suspicion and treated as a potential risk. Within this research, the empirical data suggests that this self-censoring affects not only freedom of speech, but also how

Muslim women express their identity within education. This was demonstrated below in Laila's quote:

> I would wear my headscarf very loosely just because the weather was warmer, but as it's gone cold, I started wrapping it a bit more tightly and like covering my face a little bit more purely because I don't wanna freeze. And I feel like I've had to justify that decision to everyone I've met who's pointed out, just to make sure they're not getting the wrong idea.
> – Laila, FE student, focus group 1.

Within Laila's story, she highlighted that her self-censoring goes as far as feeling the need to justify her slight change of dress. I argue that Laila had connected the pre-existing security suspicions that Brown and Saeed (2015) previously highlighted that surrounded Muslim women students being considered a security threat in terms of their dress, with her being a possible target for a Prevent referral. It made Laila feel *"helpless"* in relation to how others perceived her in relation to how she dressed, leaving her having to defend her clothing style. The wearing of the hijab invited suspicion for Laila, and she feared of others "*getting the wrong idea"*. For example, if she was at risk of radicalisation or not. The gendered impact of Prevent was particularly evident here, as Laila made direct reference to her outward identity as a Muslim woman and her needing to justify her wearing a headscarf. Although not all participants within this study stated that they wore the hijab, they continuously highlighted that the stereotypes relating to their identity or dress have affected their experience in education. This is further examined in chapter 7 in relation to the theme of 'gendered Islamophobia'.

Further to the self-censoring of dress and identity, the women in this study indicated

that they often self-censored in relation to what they said when in a classroom

setting, or when there is a teacher or lecturer present. In other words, an authority

figure that could potentially report them to Prevent. Indah and Laila described their

experience with teachers. They discussed how teachers either made negative

comments or were wary that their teacher was monitoring them, resulting in their

reluctance to express true feelings:

> Like how could I correct this like history teacher? Cause I was
> one of the few Muslim students and I just felt like even if I did
> voice my opinion to even my fellow Muslim students, they
> would be like to me, "it's not that deep", like they would just
> somewhat be passive.
> - Indah, HE student, focus group 3.

> Sometimes I find myself saying things in classrooms that are,
> like, watered down, a little bit of a watered down version of
> what I actually believe, because I don't want to, like, make the
> teacher like their tick boxes start pinging, if you know what I
> mean. So, I have to water down my version of events or my
> beliefs a little bit…So that that's what I mean by the teachers,
> [their] eyes are on you like, they're constantly reading…
> - Laila, FE student, one-to-one interview.

These extracts suggested that the Muslim women students are hyperaware of what

they can and cannot say, particularly in relation to Islam. In Indah's case, she

described how she could not correct a teacher who had made *"degrading"*

comments about Islam. This feeling of not being able to correct or fully express her

feelings derived from fear of drawing negative attention to herself and that her belief

that her peers or other Muslim students would have been passive to the teachers'

comments. Indah feared that her peers would have simply told her *"it's not that*

deep", meaning it is not that serious. Therefore, she assumed she would not have

peer support if she did voice her opinion. Saeed and Johnson (2016) make clear that

the reduction of safe spaces in which discussions about religion can occur may be

due to students fearing suspicion or being labelled as at risk of radicalisation. It was

clear that Indah felt isolated when wishing to further discuss her religion or correct

an authority figure, as she did not want to invite suspicion upon herself. Indah said

that she *"felt very alone and like talking about religion and stuff."* and did not

correct her teacher, I argue that this is evidence of self-censoring as she prevents

herself from revealing her true feelings out of fear of being deemed radical by her

teachers or peers. Whilst these may not be considered a gendered impact of Prevent,

the students told of how they self-censored as Muslim women within the classroom.

Laila also felt uncomfortable discussing her religion within her educational setting.

Further to Indah's comment surrounding how she could not correct her teacher, Laila

was also hyperaware that her teacher may be monitoring her. In CRF terms, Laila's

counter story centres her experience in relation to self-censoring which would

normally remain untold. Therefore, her story acts as a 'tool for exposing' and

challenging the wider governmental discourse upon Prevent (Solorzano and Yosso,

2002, p.32). Laila demonstrates that from this fear of monitoring and thus suspicion

and a potential Prevent referral, she tones down her opinions and offers a diluted

version of her thoughts when in the classroom. In her extract, Laila made a further

remark concerning teachers *"ticking their boxes"*, in reference to teachers having

certain criteria for spotting signs of radicalisation that we had previously discussed together in the focus group.

Whilst the above quotes do not demonstrate an absolute direct reference to Prevent and the women's self-censoring, I argue that Prevent has encouraged teacher monitoring of Muslim students, and that the students are aware of this. Lockley-Scott (2020) argued that most students in their study did not know what Prevent was, and self-censored out of predicting how others may view them, rather than as a direct result of Prevent. Within this thesis, I argue that some of the students were aware of what Prevent was (discussed in chapter 4), and that those who did, had negative perceptions of the strategy and it's monitoring. Within the Shawcross independent review into Prevent, it was stated that 'academic research found that some Muslim students feel they must self-censor their discussions and alter their behaviours to avoid becoming the object of suspicion, due to what I judge to be largely false perceptions around Prevent statutory requirements in universities' (Home Office, 2023a, p.134). However, some women in this study, both HE and FE students, often referred to self-censoring despite having no or minimal knowledge of Prevent, but they were still aware of teachers monitoring them. This was highlighted in Ameera's counter story discussed in chapter 7, in which she had little knowledge of Prevent, but nonetheless experienced an upsetting situation relating to Prevent.

The feeling of being monitored and thus self-censoring continued within the Muslim women's stories. Below, Sameera and Laila further illustrated that they fear if they do not self-censor, then teachers could flag their comments or behaviour.

When we do debate, we're very much frightened... I just sort of keep quiet. I just and try and leave like cause, internally it just makes me feel uncomfortable and it makes me feel really bad by myself.
 - Sameera, FE student, focus group 3.

A few of my Asian friends in sociology, whenever we bring up something to do with religion, these two girls will always like jump in and be like, well, Muslims think this and the Qur'an, it says this. And sometimes I feel scared for them. Like, I've talked to them as well. I was like, maybe you should tone it down a little bit as wrong as that sounds like they should talk about whatever they want. And no one should be able to stop them. But myself, I'm scared for them that the teacher might pick up on that and, like, penalize them for that even though. I know they wouldn't, but it's just something inside me that's like maybe they should tone it down a little bit so the teacher doesn't like, flag it or something. So yeah, it's just being a bit more careful about what you're doing, justifying everything that you're saying… but it's just that that fear of being monitored that keeps me like…that keeps me quiet because again… So, I usually keep quiet and I'm like to my friends as well, you guys need to tone it down a little bit sometimes in class.
– Laila, FE student, focus group 1.

It is the acknowledgement that the Muslim women students had that they are aware of the potential of teachers to monitor and *'flag'* any comments or behaviour they deem unacceptable, that has resulted in them being fearful of expressing their views or debate comfortably in the classroom. The securitisation of education through Prevent has led the Muslim women in this study to be reluctant to engage in debates, to reduce the chance of them being flagged as suspicious and ultimately reduce the risk of being referred to Prevent. In Laila's case, not only did she self-censor her own opinions, but she also transferred this self-censoring to her peers when telling

her girl friends that they should *"tone it down"*, particularly when discussing religion. This illustrated that she was aware that teachers are looking for certain 'signs of radicalisation'. From this, Laila recommended simply keeping quiet, therefore self-censoring. I also argue that this demonstrates that Laila's classmates do not exercise restraint when discussing certain topics, but Laila does. Therefore, this highlights the diversity of experiences regarding self-censoring, and how Laila made this decision to transfer her advice on self-censoring to others. This surveillance gaze of Prevent has furthered suspicion surrounding Muslim students, and they are fearful of expressing their activism and political agency under the system of social control (Qurashi, 2018; Zempi & Tripli, 2022). This 'Foucauldian style of self-governance' which was referenced in chapter 2, is evident in the students comments above. The fear of Prevent has resulted in self-governance within the everchanging boundaries of what is acceptable or unacceptable for Muslim political agency (Coppock and McGovern, 2014; Heath-Kelly, 2013).

Sub-theme: Palestine

The sub-theme of 'Palestine' will be discussed in relation to the wider theme of 'self-censoring'. It is important to note that the context of some of the below extracts were during the months of October and December 2023. Notably after the 2023 Hamas attack on Israel and the following of what Schotten (2024, p.1) described as the '2023-24 Gaza Nakba', committed by Israel. As this thesis worked within the body of CTS, it was important to situate the issue within its historical, colonial

context and how the violence predates the events occurring at the time of writing.[14]

The events that have unfolded within Palestine have renewed fresh concern about free speech concerning Palestine within the UK's education sector (Prevent Watch, 2023a). Students have previously been targeted by Prevent for instances such as wearing symbols or badges displaying the Palestinian flag, pro-Palestinian activism, and organising events in support of Palestine (Amnesty International, 2023; Fernandez & Tufail, 2023; Fernandez & Younis, 2021; The People's Review of Prevent, 2022). It is important to note here that Hamas are a proscribed organisation by the UK under The Terrorism Act of 2000 (Home Office, 2023e). However, Hamas should not be conflated with the support for Palestinian people (Elhaj, 2023). Below are extracts from some of the women that detail how Palestine has been referenced to or discussed in their educational setting:

> I think my teacher was trying to touch on the whole like situation that's happening right now with like, in like Palestine and stuff, like because obviously this media like has kind of twisted the whole situation. It's like I just didn't agree with anything he was saying and obviously I wasn't trying to argue or anything… And I didn't want to get into it. So, I kind of just, I literally just left like, that was my reaction to it.
> - Iqra, HE student, focus group 4.

> I remember being in college once with my friend and we had this class and we were just talking to each other, and again, it was about Palestine. Again, there was some sort of attack from the occupation power, from Israel to Palestine. We were just discussing it. And I

---

[14] In March 2024, the UN special rapporteur said there are 'reasonable grounds to believe that Israel is committing genocide against the Palestinians in Gaza' (United Nations, 2024, p.1). I write knowing that the genocide is ongoing. An in-depth discussion regarding Israel and Palestine is outside the scope of this thesis, therefore, readers are directed to Aitlhadj et al. (2024), Pappe (2006), Said (1979) and Schotten (2024).

remember we were discussing it and her being so scared. And she was like, no, don't discuss it right now. Somebody might hear us, like the teacher might hear us or some of the students might hear us, don't discuss it now. And I was like, very surprised at her behaviour. So, I think, she was not feeling safe at all, even though we were just, she was just expressing [her opinions], even in her expression, and she was very scared. And it was, it was absolutely normal to say such things and we were just discussing it. And she was just feeling so scared of the teacher. And I think that says a lot.

- Rahima, HE student, focus group 4.

Here, Iqra and Rahima both referred to their teachers when discussing Palestine. For Iqra, it was the frustration of feeling unable to challenge her teachers' position on Palestine that resulted in her physically leaving the classroom. And for Rahima, she detailed an instance of how she was discussing Palestine with her girl friend, that resulted in her friend becoming fearful of the teacher hearing their conversation. Within these extracts it is possible to see how the Muslim women have self-censored, particularly in relation to Palestine. Therefore, to avoid becoming a site of suspicion and a possible Prevent referral, the Muslim women discourage themselves from being vocal about Palestine when in the classroom. Similarly, a National Union for Students (2018) survey found that 1 in 10 Muslim students were fearful of discussing topics, such as Palestine, due to the presence of Prevent. Furthermore, the Child Rights International Network (2022, p.19) argued that this self-censoring is having a 'chilling effect on freedom of expression' in young people and that this is leading to a targeting of political activism concerning Palestine. Regarding teachers, Palestine and Prevent, OFSTED previously cautioned that there is 'a lack of appropriate training within Prevent' concerning how staff can deal with issues such as Palestine (Home Office, 2023a, p.100). To add to the confusion regarding how

teachers should discuss such issues, Palestine Solidarity Campaign, Greenpeace, and Extinction Rebellion logos were displayed on Prevent training slides, they were later retracted (Amnesty International, 2023). Therefore, it is clear how Iqra was left frustrated at her teacher's comments, and how Rahima and her friend felt unsure on the extent that they could discuss Palestine when their teacher was present. This demonstrated the awareness of Muslim women students of how their teachers have been trained to spot signs of 'radicalisation', leading to self-censoring. In CRF terms, the women's experiential knowledge of Palestine in the classroom centres their experiences when it has often been an overlooked issue. Iqra and Rahima demonstrated that they were aware of the censoring that occurs surrounding Palestine in education, particularly in terms of them being racialised women and feeling fear or unease when they wish to discuss Palestine.

Not only were Muslim women self-censoring simply due to the presence of their teachers, but some participants also commented that in their White majority educational settings, they feel fearful of being labelled as extreme when discussing Palestine or being further marginalised by their peers:

> And, in terms of like debates in the classroom, it's like allowed to openly talk about the LGBTQ community and put rainbow flags out everywhere and wear a rainbow coat, etcetera. But if we decide to wear a Palestinian scarf or put a Palestinian flag up? It's causing disruption and I don't see the fairness and equality.
> - Zainab, FE student, focus group 4.

> You have to be standing … on your tip toes whenever you're talking about the situation because you don't want to say the wrong thing. Or

you're already being slapped with like, you know, anti-Semite, you know, kind of labels and stuff like that… I feel like due to the fact that I was in predominantly, you know, White British, like high schools and like stuff like that, I feel like there was very much a mockery when it came to these kind of debates.

- Ameera, HE student, focus group 4.

Both Zainab and Ameera referred to being in a White majority educational setting and they mentioned this in relation to discussing issues such as Palestine. Through the lens of CRF, Zainab and Ameera recognise the racism within education in the form of unfair treatment towards Muslims. As Chadderton (2013, p.44) stated that 'the education system is understood as shaped by White supremacy, which defines roles, identities, interaction and policy [and often] minority ethnic identities are defined as 'other' against a White norm.' For Ameera her intersectional identity as a woman who is young and a Muslim demonstrated that she recognised she was a racialised minority in White majority schools, therefore felt unsure about discussing certain topics in that environment. The students either said the issue of Palestine was seen as a joke or *"mockery"* or viewed as too controversial to discuss. As stated above, students have been referred to Prevent for wearing Palestinian badges. Zainab also stated that the wearing of *"a Palestinian scarf"* or displaying the Palestinian flag could lead to her educational setting labelling it as 'disruptive'. Therefore, Prevent has created an air of suspicion regarding students who support Palestine. The strategy has furthered the uncertainty of what can be 'legitimately discussed' or even displayed regarding Palestine (United Nations, 2016, p.1). However, it is also important to note that some students do not fear the repercussions of vocally supporting Palestine, as we have seen with recent encampments within UK universities (Adams & Abdul, 2024). Yet, it is important to note that many students

who do partake in the encampments or protest chose to do so anonymously, out of fear of disciplinary action (Parker et al., 2024).

All the above extracts regarding how the Muslim women have self-censored when it concerned Palestine can be further seen as reducing Muslim women's political agency. Often any speech or action which is deemed radical by Prevent, is seen as a reason to monitor the student under a counterterrorism guise, rather than viewing it as political agency (Brown, 2008; Coppock & McGovern, 2014; Thomas, 2016). Overall, it was evident that Prevent persists in its agenda to criminalise Palestinian support and activism, with the Muslim women participants noting feelings of fear, frustration and upset that they have to self-censor when it concerns Palestine.

Sub-theme: Uneasiness surrounding Prevent

The analysis also suggested that the uneasiness that was felt by the Muslim women within this study towards Prevent, has resulted in them self-censoring. Below I discuss how Nadia and Laila's stories related to a fear of Prevent, whether it concerned how Muslim communities in general have been impacted or the vigilance of individuals:

> I think it's kind of made it even bigger and it's added to the challenge of learning about me as a person and then what I represent and what I give to the world as well. So, it has, it [Prevent] has impacted in that sense by adding another burden almost.
> – Nadia, HE student, one-to-one interview.

I tend to stay quiet even if the debate or is about something that like some that I'm interested in. So, for example, if it's about Islam or stuff like that and we've had debates about like life after death or if we think like the death penalty should like exist and when religion is brought into that debate. I feel like I keep quiet because I don't know what to say, I can't put across my beliefs without seeming that I'm completely out of like, out of line… So, I have to like tone down my religion a little bit. I have to become a little what my friends call a coconut. So, brown on the outside, White on the inside [because] of my values, I have to switch them around a little bit and pick and choose my battles sometimes.

- Laila, FE student, focus group 1.

Within Nadia's quote, she detailed how Prevent has specifically impacted upon her sense of self. She noted that Prevent has added another *"burden"* to her life as a Muslim woman, she mentions this in relation to how she presents herself. For example, her dress, and what she *"gives to the world"*. I argue that this is an example of the gendered impact of Prevent, as Nadia often felt afraid to present her Islamic identity outwardly within her educational setting. However, this could also be in relation to what she feels comfortable discussing with others regarding her religion. Nadia insinuated that she does not give her full self to the world out of fear of being securitised. Of course, Prevent is part of a wider sphere of securitisation of Muslims. However, Lockley-Scott (2020) put forward that Muslim pupils have now become a site of suspicion and a figure of security concern that may become radicalised. This is evidenced within my study as the Muslim women suggest that they do not discuss their religion with teachers out of fear of being monitored.

On the other hand, Laila stated how Prevent and it's monitoring has impacted her sense of comfort in discussing her religion openly in the classroom. She suggested that she felt that she had to be vigilant when debating aspects of her religion within her lessons, even if it something that interests her. Laila *"toning down"* her religiosity indicated that she was aware of the limits to what her teachers and peers deemed to be acceptable. She did not want to bring further suspicion on herself as a Muslim woman. This is suggested when she said her friends jokingly called her a *"coconut".* With this reference, she demonstrates that "*brown on the outside"* is in reference to her being a racialised Muslim and *"White on the inside"* meaning that she portrays White values. From this, Laila was fully aware of her toning down her own comments regarding Islam. This was further evidence of Laila self-censoring and self-regulating. From a CRF perspective, Laila recognised that her racialised identity as a Muslim woman made her more wary of what she could say in a classroom. As Evans-Winters and Esposito (2010, p.20) stated that CRF's focus on racialised women's experiences help demonstrate how their experiences differ from White women. For Laila, she acknowledged that the joke from her friends implied that she had adopted White values in classroom spaces. I also argue here that from CRF and the perspective of 'multiple consciousness', Laila explained the "coconut" term to me (a White woman) and therefore, it was her story that was at the centre, rather than my presumed (White) understanding of the term (Matsuda, 1989). Therefore, as the Muslim women students within this study felt unable to fully express their true opinions and comments, it has resulted in Prevent shutting down debate, silencing students, and the closure of safe spaces for students to discuss topics.

Sub-theme: Surveillance

Further to the self-censoring of students that resulted from being vigilant and increasingly aware of the monitoring that takes place. Other students also discussed how the association of terrorism, Muslim communities, women, and wider surveillance made them feel uncomfortable in the classroom. From this finding of the Muslim women feeling uncomfortable around their peers and teachers when discussing topics surrounding terrorism, I argue that this 'self-regulating' and self-policing out of fear of being surveilled further, has impacted upon Muslim women in education (Pearson et al., 2020, p.145).

> Terrorism and associating it with Muslim women. And that's how it's made me feel. It's made me feel a bit small and a bit, uh, kind of like…singled out a little bit sometimes.
> - Tahirah, HE student, focus group 2.

> But when it came to the Muslim community, they [the government] were "oh, yeah, they're like that". They already had the stereotype and they really accepted us as people that will never belong. And that's what the hardest part is. And that's why we always have to stay vigilant.
> - Nadia, HE student, one-to-one interview.

> Umm, so the examples that they [teachers] bring up of people being radicalized are like young Muslim women or young Muslim boys. And then you feel like the eyes of the teacher on you as a Muslim woman in the classroom. And then you feel really uncomfortable… I don't think I'm gonna get radicalised in the next few years, but the

eyes of the teacher and the classroom are always on you, when that like topic is being discussed.

- Laila, FE student, focus group 1.

Especially when you see when terrorist attacks have been [in the] news. I'm always like, it's like almost like an inside feeling like always to us, ok, that life or just going to school [or] just going outside, it's gonna change for a bit you know. It does feel like ohh…everyone is looking at me and I don't know. In the beginning I thought maybe just like I just feeling that I was… But when I talk to them, my peers and stuff like... It's like the same feeling that we still get that, OK, like you want to watch us like, you know like, you know, just watch out.

- Sameera, FE student, focus group 3

In the above extracts the women detailed how outside factors, for example media and government rhetoric, have impacted upon their educational experience. The women's comments pointed to the fact that they were aware of the monitoring and surveillance within their educational setting, as they note having to stay vigilant or feeling as though the teachers' eyes are on you. I argue that this monitoring and surveillance has been encouraged by Prevent within education. Phrases that stand out within these extracts are *"singled out", "will never belong", "everyone is looking at me"* and *"really uncomfortable"*. Examined through the lens of CRF, these phrases provide insights into how the Muslim women experience post-16 education under the watch of Prevent. The women are highly aware of their racialised status in education, noting feelings of surveillance being placed upon them and therefore self-regulating (Antunes, 2017; Pearson et al., 2020). The gendered impact of Prevent was evident here, as it has added to the stereotypes surrounding Muslim women and

radicalisation in education. I suggest that these feelings of surveillance are in relation to how Muslim women feel when topics such as terrorism, radicalisation or extremism arise within the classroom. These feelings of surveillance combined with self-censoring within debates in education has resulted in the Muslim women being fearful and uneasy when difficult topics arise

Sub-theme: Staff & Lack of support

Another issue noted by the Muslim women students within this research was a lack of support from their educational settings and negative encounters with staff. I argue that due to this lack of support, the students feel that it is more difficult to express their true feelings or opinions to staff in their educational settings. This is because they fear negative consequences, such as bringing suspicion upon themselves, or a potential Prevent referral. Some students noted how they self-censored in relation to Islamophobic incidents that they or their peers have experienced in their educational settings:

> even though I've not been like, I've not been targeted, but I think some of my friends who have been, and they don't even bother to tell it to the teachers because I feel like in some schools, even the teachers are very discriminative against these Muslim students, and they don't take it seriously at all. So… I'm sure there have been many cases that the students haven't reported it.
> - Rahima, HE student, focus group 3.

> I felt like I was being silenced. Um, I, I just felt like no one would take me seriously and um, yeah, just felt very invalidated.

- Indah, HE student, one-to-one interview.

Rahima and Indah both discussed how they felt unsupported by their educational setting due to their Muslim identity, resulting in self-censorship. Therefore, this demonstrates a perceived lack of help for the Muslim women students. For Rahima, she noted how some teachers discriminate against Muslim students so, for her, it was unsurprising that some students choose not to report Islamophobic incidents to staff. Also, as Rahima referred to "schools", she may have been recalling a past experience before FE or HE. Despite these educational settings being outside the scope of this thesis, I argue that the implications of what she said are carried through her educational journey. For example, Rahima's distrust of staff to report Islamophobia. It is also important to point out here that Rahima and the other students that may refer to 'school', may also be referring to their FE setting, in which sixth forms are also found. Ghani and Nagdee (2019) discussed how Muslim women were less likely to report Islamophobic incidents in HE settings, with concern that some would not report it at all. Also, students with an awareness of Prevent were more likely to report it to an Islamic society than a member of staff and had less trust within their educational setting to appropriately deal with allegations of Islamophobia (NUS, 2018). As Indah stated that she felt "*silenced*" and *"invalidated"* when she wished to express her feelings and correct a teacher on her faith, but she felt unable to do so and self-censored. I argue that if Prevent is stopping Muslim women students from coming forward and reporting incidents, then not only does it make them self-censor, but it also diminishes trust between students and staff.

Furthermore, within this research, I found that the Muslim women often noted being cautious around non-Muslim teachers and staff. Many noted some teachers' biases and preconceptions of Muslims:

> But it really depends on the teacher themselves, like they need to learn how to take this [signs of radicalisation] into the context.
> - Malika, HE student, focus group 2.

> Different teachers will see different things and then they'll want to report it, or they'll identify it different ways.
> - Sabeen, FE student, focus group 2.

> Some teachers could have a bias towards certain students…
> - Nadia, HE student, focus group 2.

> Students that are Muslim, that are Asian, that are, you know, maybe from lower income backgrounds or something like that and then pick on them and look for the signs in them more. [More than] maybe someone who's got a higher income family or a two-parent household or someone who you know doesn't dress modestly or something like that because of the preconceptions that they have in their own head.
> - Safa, HE student, focus group 1.

As we discussed the signs of radicalisation from the Prevent Duty in the focus groups, many of the women stated how it was important to take the 'signs' into context. For example, Malika and Sabeen both suggested that depending on the teacher, they would observe things differently. This suggests that the students could alter their behaviour depending on the teacher in their presence. The women's response indicated that they consistently negotiate what they can and cannot say in education, out of fear of being monitored by staff who may carry biases. Again, this

is evidence of self-censoring when around figures of authority that have the potential to report them to Prevent. This research echoes Lockley-Scott's (2016) findings concerning how safe spaces to debate are not always experienced by students and that teachers found it difficult to provide these safe spaces. For others, like Nadia and Safa, they specifically referred to teacher bias. They noted how some teachers treat Muslim students differently. Bowlby and Lloyd-Evans (2012, p.48) also suggested that young Muslims believe that some teachers may hold stereotypes of Muslim women students, such as being 'submissive' or 'uninterested in work'.

The Muslim women in this research discussed how teachers look for the signs of radicalisation more in Muslim students than non-Muslim students. The People's Review of Prevent (2022) also discuss this difference in the suspicion of Muslim students versus non-Muslim students. This indicates that the women are aware of the monitoring that they receive as racialised students. Tahirah, below, also referred to this bias that could be carried by educators in relation to her dress as a Muslim woman:

> Because I've always wanted to wear the hijab and I think if I, if I, you know, got up the courage to be able to wear it, would my university lecturer look at me differently? What do you think? Maybe she's being radicalised?
> - Tahirah, HE student, focus group 2.

Tahirah recognised that her teacher could have suspicions against her if she began to wear the hijab. She noted her reluctance to wear it out of fear that her lecturer would think she is being 'radicalised'. This is evidence of self-censoring, as Tahirah questioned whether it would be acceptable for her to wear a hijab in her university

setting or if it would be questioned by staff. Tahirah's intersectional identity is highlighted here as a young Muslim woman who has chosen not to wear the hijab, but asks herself if she did, would this bring suspicion and further monitoring upon herself. Similarly, Bakali (2022, p.210) discussed a case of a Muslim woman who had begun to wear the hijab in education and was asked questions about Islam that related to Orientalist tropes about Islam and Muslim women. This evidenced the racialisation that they experienced in relation to their 'Muslimness'. Additionally, Brown and Saeed (2015) also analysed cases of Muslim women who wore the hijab in university and found that the women often felt fearful that they would be perceived as at risk of radicalisation. From a reluctance to wear the hijab due to Orientalist stereotypes or difficulties to express how they truly feel, the Muslim women in this study self-censor due to their opinions about teachers and staff securitising them.

Below, Laila and Sameera further discussed how teachers may carry preconceptions of Muslim students and Muslim women. Because of this, they fear that what they say may result in them being further monitored.

> I have to be very careful with the wording. Otherwise, I feel like teachers might be concerned or like, might pull up like a red flag for a Muslim thing. So, I have to be very like, I have to be very careful with the things that I say in college. But also with the teachers, rather than like friends and stuff, because it's like a formal setting. So, the things that you say are always being monitored and everything. So, I just have to be very careful.
> - Laila, FE student, focus group 1.

> For like any students who are Muslim, like it's a lose-lose situation because you could be doing, could be doing anything. But if a teacher really had this perception of you in your head, what can you really do to change it? … obviously teachers are human beings. They can make mistakes. But I think the problem then becomes if you made a mistake. OK fair. If you apologize. [But] you've ruined that person's life in a sense, because as people all as you all know, radicalisation is not, it's not some[thing] small. If the teacher still does suspect that, that's gonna go to safeguarding and that sometimes then the council can get involved. And so, I think that will sort of go in your file.
> - Sameera, FE student, focus group 3.

Laila suggested that she felt that she had to be *"careful"* with what she said surrounding teachers. She noted that she only does this in the presence of teachers and not peers. Her awareness of the monitoring through Prevent demonstrates that not only was Laila aware of the potential consequences of the monitoring, but also that she felt uncomfortable when wanting to express her opinions around staff and teachers. Sameera went further and discussed the direct consequences of being referred to Prevent, such as the council becoming involved. Therefore, I argue that Sameera is aware of the Prevent referral process occurring in her educational setting. She suggested that a Muslim student could be doing benign, normal things and this may be monitored by staff who have biases. She further questioned what a student should do in that situation if they are incorrectly referred to Prevent. The People's Review of Prevent (2022) noted that a student's records will still be kept even if a Prevent referral is not officially made. The point that Sameera made was that consequence of being under suspicion can harm a young person. She said, *"you've ruined that person's life in a sense"*. Not only do students have an 'unofficial' record kept of a potential Prevent referral at their setting, but this could follow them

throughout their life. Indeed, there have been cases where young people are placed on criminal databases even though no crime has occurred (The People's Review of Prevent, 2022; Prevent Watch, 2021).

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has analysed the theme of 'self-censoring' found in the empirical data from the Muslim women students and thus, how they have experienced or perceived the Prevent strategy. This theme of 'self-censoring' was analysed as this was a foundational concept to the thesis, and I argued it had impacted them the most in their educational experiences. I analysed how the Muslim women within this study have resulted in self-censoring due to the environment that Prevent has created in post-16 education. Whether the self-censoring concerned sharing with girl friends to self-censor, or to issues relating to Palestine, it was clear that the cycle of self-censoring in the classroom continues. This not only renders Prevent counter-productive (this is analysed in greater depth in chapter 8), as students are not expressing their true feelings. But also, that Prevent limits free speech for students within the education sector. I argued that the Muslim women feel the gendered, racialised presence of Prevent within education, and this was predominately through the perpetuating of stereotypes of Muslim women, and the monitoring and fearfulness of a potential Prevent referral for themselves as Muslim students. It was evident that the cycle of self-censoring for Muslim women students was present, particularly as some transferred this self-censoring and encouraged it for others.

Within this chapter, the value of CRF as a theoretical framework was evident as the theory informed and added conceptual insights. For instance, it enabled critical understanding of the women's counter stories and why their stories are so valuable yet have been overlooked in research. Or, how 'multiple consciousness' was important to consider with my role as a non-racialised researcher. Prevent is also demonstrated as a 'project' within this chapter as one that upholds the Orientalist assumptions of Muslim women, and how politically sensitive issues within education are shut down serving as evidence for Prevent's ideological project of upholding a 'colonial logic' (Khan, 2021, p.499). I argue that overall, this has limited free speech for Muslim women students. The next chapter offers an analysis of the theme 'the responsibilisation of Muslim women' and how this has impacted their experiences with post-16 education.

Chapter 6: The Responsibilisation of Muslim Women

The second theme found was 'the responsibilisation of Muslim women'. The previous chapter analysed the foundational concept of 'self-censoring', and I argued that it had impacted on most of the women's educational experiences. In this chapter I analyse the responsibilisation of Muslim women, and discuss how Prevent has placed the responsibility of looking for signs of radicalisation upon young Muslim women. Within this thesis, I believed the responsibilisation of Muslim women was also a highly relevant theme, as I found it to be another important issue that affected the women's educational journeys, after self-censoring (discussed in chapter 5). I discuss this theme in relation to its specific focus on how Muslim women feel about Prevent. The sub-themes included within this theme are: 'spying and self-snitching', 'the case of Shamima Begum', 'the gendering of responsibilisation', and 'reporting to Prevent?'.

The 'Responsiblisation' of Muslim women

The theme of the 'responsiblisation' of Muslim women captured what participants had to say about how Muslim women are perceived and used within the Prevent strategy. It is important to describe what is meant by 'responsiblise'. Coined by Thomas (2017, p.305), the term describes how the promoting of policy is framed in a way to entice 'active citizenship' from its population. Within Prevent, responsibility has been placed upon Muslim communities and in particular, Muslim women, to be

the 'frontline vigilant watchers' in their communities (Brown, 2010; McGhee, 2010, p.33; Thomas, 2017). Kundnani (2009) also noted that Muslim women perceived the early Prevent workshops as encouraging them to look out for signs of radicalisation within their family. Holland and Higham-James (2024) highlighted that teachers have also been responsibilised into Prevent, what I argue is that the responsibilisation has also been extended to young Muslim women in post-16 education. Below analyses comments from Indah, Tahirah, and Sameera as they all discussed how and why Muslim women have been asked to look out for signs of radicalisation within their communities:

> Again, I feel like they specifically targeted women because they're subservient, that's supposed to be caring for the family....
> - Indah, HE student, focus group 3.

> I think anyone can play a vital role in, like, tackling extremism and radicalization rather than specifically just Muslim women. And it makes me think, why is it specifically Muslim women? Is it because it's like, assumed that Muslims are again stereotypically classed as terrorists.
> - Tahirah, HE student, focus group 2.

> Well, cause it makes their [the government's] job easier innit if they're not doing it and they put it on somebody else, it's like... That's not my job…when you sort of put the responsibility on Muslim women… let's be so serious, these extremist groups, they're, they're very much, they're huge, they're these are huge organisations... But these groups are way too big for five ordinary sisters down the road to do that makes it to, to sort of figure out.
> - Sameera, FE student, one-to-one interview.

Through the lens of CRF, the experiential knowledge of Indah, Tahirah, and Sameera provide detailed accounts of how they perceive Muslim women to be specifically targeted and used within the Prevent strategy. The women were able to demonstrate their experiential knowledge through the ways in which they experience Prevent as racialised women (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002). For Indah, she discussed why she thought that Muslim women were being asked by the government to look out for radicalisation within their community. For instance, she said that Muslim women are often stereotyped as *"subservient"* and consistently seen as caregivers. This is similar to what Brown (2013) argued in relation to the maternalistic logic that is oft applied to Muslim women when discussing their capacity to prevent radicalisation. Further to this, Tahirah, and Sameera also both discussed how Muslim women have been included within CVE efforts. Tahirah touched upon how the stereotype of Muslims being terrorists could be part of the reason why Muslim women have been placed in the Prevent strategy. Sameera stated that targeting and using Muslim women within Prevent makes the Government's job *"easier"*. The UK government rely upon and encourage everyday citizens to combat terrorism and watch others (Finn, 2011).

Sameera also stated that the scale of global terrorism is far too large of a problem for it to be tackled by Muslim women alone, adding that the issue is *"very much above individuals"* and that it is not Muslim women's job solely to look out for radicalisation. This is similar to Eggert's (2017) argument that radicalisation should be seen as a complex phenomenon. The significance of experiential knowledge through CRF is that it is able to capture such insights of racialised Muslim women that have previously been overlooked in relation to Prevent and education. By

employing CRF alongside the commitments of CTS, for example, questioning the wider power structures of CT and CVE (highlighted in chapters 2 and 3), I was able to identify how young Muslim women perceive themselves to be responsibilised within this CVE sphere (da Silva & Martini, 2021). Therefore, I argue that the women within this study are used within Prevent as a tool within CVE, thus responsibilising them.

Other participants discussed their experiences in relation to why Muslim women were being specifically targeted by the government:

> Why is the government literally after Muslim women? And why is the responsibility of a strong community just on the shoulders of Muslim women? Why is it not a broader responsibility of everyone within that Community and society to help people avoid radicalism and extremism?
> - Nadia, HE student, focus group 3 .

> why are they [the government] so obsessed with us? It's who is in the community. It isn't just Muslim women on their own.
> - Sabeen, FE student, focus group 2.

> … saying Muslim women, like, specifically doesn't really make sense in any way, because first of all, why is the responsibility [on us]? Why can't anybody else do this?
> - Naila, HE student, focus group 1.

Within these extracts, the Muslim women felt that it was unfair for the gendered responsibility of watching others in their community to be placed upon them. For Nadia, she felt frustration that the government were targeting Muslim women within

Prevent. She pointed to the fact that it should be a whole community effort to combat extremism, not solely Muslim women. Indeed, the early stages of Prevent were aimed at creating community projects. However, most were in locations with a high Muslim population, and many projects were targeted towards Muslim women and young people (Kundnani, 2009; Thomas, 2020). For Sabeen and Nadia, they both questioned why nobody else could be tasked with watching others. Indeed, this demonstrates the gendered impact of Prevent in that the students noted feelings of frustration concerning governmental targeting of Muslim women in regards to CT.

Below highlights why some women felt that the government tasked them with watching others and why they are targeted within Prevent:

> I've never personally had to like spot terrorism in that way and but yeah, I I think that the Muslim sisterhood is strong, and it can help to build communities. But I think just associating it with radicalism and extremism, I think, is a bit, bit naive.
> - Amina, HE student, focus group 2.

> I just feel like as women we have more pressure on us to, like, be observant of our surroundings and, you know, look out for people and you know what the family's doing.
> - Zahra, FE student, focus group 2.

Within the above quotes it is clear that the Muslim women felt that they were targeted by the UK government due to their perceived and stereotyped 'submissiveness'. Zahra stated that she felt that women had to be more observant within their communities, due to outside pressure. Interestingly, although Amina suggested that she had never been specifically asked to look out for radicalisation,

she said that the UK government connecting the Muslim sisterhood to radicalisation, or the fact that they could stop terrorism, was *"naïve"*. Likewise, the expectation of Muslim women having to watch their family and friends is reflected in the work of Lister (2023). A former UK minister within Lister's (2023, p.137) study stated that Muslim women's 'duty as mums or sisters' was paramount within Prevent, as they discussed an initiative to educate Muslim women with up-to-date information regarding radicalisation on the internet. Therefore, I suggest that the duality of Muslim women being expected to spot signs of radicalisation within their communities versus their roles as mothers, sisters, aunties, proves contradictory for the Muslim women. For example, on one hand the women agree that Muslim sisterhood is strong and important, however they believe that being asked to spot signs within their family or friends portrays Muslim women as submissive or as observant tools.

Iqra and Zainab also both questioned why it is specifically Muslim women being targeted and not women in general:

> Because you know, women build communities or whatever, but you can say all women, not just Muslim women.
> -   Iqra, HE student, focus group 4.

> I feel that [it's] very unfair compared to how the UK Government treat other women, because it's not just Muslim women that need to play this vital role, it's nearly all women.
> -   Zainab, FE student, focus group 4.

They both noted how it is not *"just Muslim women's"* job to tackle radicalisation and how all women should be included within the CVE efforts. Whilst some of the participants agreed that women should be placed within countering radicalisation practices, they criticised the racialised targeting of Muslim women within CVE. This idea that Muslim women are targeted, and other women are not, is seen within The People's Review of Prevent (2022). They suggested that often Islamist extremism is viewed as a community problem, one that encourages thinking around the idea that Islamic extremism is associated with 'problematic individuals' from 'problematic communities' (The People's review of Prevent, 2022, p.30). On the other hand, right-wing extremism is associated with 'problematic individuals that are detached from their communities' (The People's review of Prevent, 2022, p.30). From this, Prevent does not place other communities, such as the White British community, within the realm of watching others to spot signs of radicalisation. This further indicates that Prevent addresses Islamist extremism as a community problem, one that concerns integration, and uses Muslim women as a tool in its CVE efforts (Lakhani and James, 2021). Whereas White British communities, namely White British women, are rarely specifically targeted by Prevent to report on signs of radicalisation within their families or friends. Furthermore, by utilising CRF, it becomes evident that the Prevent strategy is a heavily racialised one. The lack of focus upon non-racialised communities through Prevent became obvious when Islamist extremism is treated as a community problem that can be tackled through the community. Whereas right-wing extremism, usually attached to non-racialised people, is dealt with at an individual basis, demonstrating elements of White privilege (Bhopal, 2023; The People's Review of Prevent, 2022). Therefore, as per the line of questioning of "why me?" by the Muslim women within this study, I

argued how the young Muslim women see and respond to this responsibilisation placed upon them by Prevent.

Sub-theme: 'Spying' and 'Self-snitching'

The Muslim women within this research further indicated that this responsiblisation has also led to them questioning whether the UK government expect them to 'spy' upon their own friends, family members and their wider community.

> … to fool them, to kind of say like Muslim women should practically be a spy in in the family, or even in the mosque is kind of crazy. Because how are they gonna ask for most of the women's help then also say they must integrate into English society?
> - Indah, HE student, focus group 3.

Indah stated that the UK government asking Muslim women to *"spy"* for them in relation to possible radicalisation is counterproductive. The UK government on one hand, ask Muslim women for *"help"* regarding this, but then also assert that they need to integrate more into society. I believe Indah was referencing David Cameron's comments here regarding Muslim women needing to learn the English language to 'integrate', as we discussed Cameron's comments previously within the focus groups (Manzoor-Khan, 2022, p.136). Expressions of 'spying' are echoed by Abbas (2016, p.10) as they discussed the responsiblisation within Prevent being able to create a culture of 'internal surveillance practice', that involved responsibilising families to report on others. For Abbas (2016), Prevent has adopted a culture of spying and encouraged informing within Muslim communities. My research

suggests that the young Muslim women were aware of the responsibilisation within their communities, and from this, they felt untrustworthiness and frustration towards the UK government.

Sameera suggested that the spying was also in relation to her educational setting. For example, teachers asking for information:

> … spying, it's just like to clarify, it's not a single teacher telling us, hey, you spied on this person, it's very much so subtle. And sometimes teachers can pull you to the side and you were like "ohh, you know, this sort of person, they've been a sort of down quite recently. Do you know what's going on with them?" Like it's still like sort of like prying information out.
> - Sameera, FE student, one-to-one interview.

> It's like a thing of, you know, like snitching, like self-snitching or if you sort of, you sort of hear somebody say something, which again, even though we couldn't know they haven't said anything wrong. But to offer, to like go to teachers [or] authorities that could sort of flag or something… and say, "hey, I think this this person says and you know, keep an eye on them". But… it does put [it on] us. I don't know it, it doesn't really put you in a really comfortable situation.
> - Sameera, FE student, focus group 3.

The extracts above demonstrate how not only did the young Muslim women feel that their teachers/lecturers/educational staff were monitoring them, and therefore feel that the staff regard them as a site of suspicion. I also argue that the educators look to Muslim women students as extended agents of surveillance, acting on their behalf. Therefore, the educational staff subcontract their own Prevent duty responsibility out to the Muslim women students. For Sameera, she described how a teacher could

discuss their concerns for other students with them if they noticed their behaviour had changed. Whilst Sameera recognised that this may simply be a teacher concerned for another student, she also described it as "*prying information out*", as staff attempted to gather information upon her friends. Sameera also discussed the idea of *"self-snitching".* I believe what she meant by this was reporting anything suspicious regarding her friends to staff in her educational setting, but also that this "*snitching*" could impact her individually, as she is encouraged to pass on information. She noted how it made her feel uncomfortable being tasked with watching or monitoring others. It is also important to note here that Sameera deems her teaching asking her about a classmate as extremism related, rather than one of potential mental health. I argue that this is because of Sameera's experiences of Prevent in education, so her assumptions of linking it to extremism/radicalisation are a result of her wider experiences. This responsibilisation that has been placed upon the Muslim women impacts their experience within education as they are expected to watch and report on others behaviour.

Ameera recalled a story of how she was specifically asked by staff in her educational setting to *"keep an eye"* on her own siblings:

> I feel like me personally, I have been asked to spot if anybody's acting unusually. I was asked about my brother's during the time when things were going wrong, like in the UK, and they were just like, oh, just keep an eye on him. If you see them acting weirdly, if they're on their phone a bit too much, if they're watching certain types of videos, just let us know. And I feel like that's ridic. That's ridiculous, ridiculous. You should never be asking someone a question like that because you wouldn't go to someone else and ask the same question for me to be keeping an extra eye on my siblings.

Within the extract, she told of how she felt uncomfortable surrounding being responsibilised into monitoring her own brothers. I argue that although some students within this study did not know what Prevent was (as discussed in chapter 4), some still detailed instances in which they have experienced Prevent or at least experienced the ramifications of Prevent. I further suggest that what Ameera experienced was similar to the ideas behind the '*Prevent Tragedies'* campaign (which was discussed in chapter 2) as women, specifically young women were responsibilised into looking out for signs of radicalisation within their families and friends (Andrews, 2020a). Ameera also said she was asked to do this at a *"time when things were going wrong"* in the UK, this was reference to an increase in Islamist terror attacks that occurred in the UK. Ameera also claimed that staff *"wouldn't go to someone else"* and ask the same, I believe that she was suggesting that non-Muslim students would not be asked by staff to watch their own family or friends. Therefore, it was clear that Ameera was tasked with the responsibility, as a young Muslim woman, of spotting signs of radicalisation within her loved ones during this period of heightened awareness of radicalisation within the UK.

Indah and Sameera noted how this encouragement of 'spying' from Prevent is *"degrading"* and linked it to free speech issues:

> You know, I would feel awful because, you know, these are my family. These are the people that, you know, this is this community [that] has my back. So, I think for the government to ask me to turn my back on them is kinda, is kinda atrocious… I feel like they don't protect them [Muslims] as well. So, I think, just using like Muslim

women and like myself, just as like tools is like, very degrading and immoral.

- Indah, HE student, one-to-one interview.

And when she was mentioning, like, you know, spying, spying on… it reminded me of something that in my history, our content and if I'm correct, it's, it's sort of in China, the government sort of wants to use the young people to sort of, you know, spy on their parents. If they were sort of, you know, giving any sort of capitalist ideas and which I think if you sort of see how history that it didn't turn out good. So yeah, I thought the language that's been used is quite similar.

- Sameera, FE student, focus group 3.

For Indah, she referred to Prevent expecting and responsibilising her to watch her community as *"turning her back on them"*. I argue that she was suggesting that the responsibilisation was something that she feels uncomfortable about, particularly as Indah noted that the UK government fails to protect Muslims. Therefore, Prevent expecting Muslim women to go against their community and report them to institutions that they do not trust, nor feel supported by, has proved to be contradictory for Prevent as the strategy relies upon information from the public. Indah specifically used the term *"tool"* in reference to herself and other Muslim women. She discussed how Muslim women are utilised within Prevent to report on their own communities despite the lack of support that the government gives them. For Sameera, the notion of 'spying' related to free speech issues. She noted how the language used within the Prevent strategy reminded her of what she had learnt about China within her history lesson, as she discussed how young people are asked to spy on their own families. Overall, this responsibilisation of Muslim women in relation to 'spying' and Prevent, can be linked to Auchter's (2020) statement of women

being seen by governments as moderate forces within their communities and can therefore fix problems within them.

Sub-theme: The case of Shamima Begum

The extracts analysed below led to another sub-theme found within the 'responsibilisation' of Muslim women in education. Within the focus groups and interviews, the topic of Shamima Begum was mentioned frequently. Many participants viewed the case of Shamima Begum as a turning point for the targeting of Muslim women in education. From this came the responsibilisation, through the staff questioning of if they (the Muslim women students) would do the same as Begum, or through increased conversations surrounding Begum. The case of Shamima Begum was discussed previously within chapter 2. To briefly summarise, Shamima was a 15-year-old schoolgirl who had left the UK in 2015 with two friends to travel to Syria to join ISIS (Masters & Regilme, 2020). As a result of this, her UK citizenship was revoked as she was a presumed potential security threat (Rothermel & Shepherd, 2023). Her case is now discussed within Prevent training sessions. However, Prevent and the UK government fail to discuss how she may have been trafficked into Syria (Younis, 2022; Wishart and Kane, 2021). Within my research, the Muslim women suggested that it put the spotlight onto them more, particularly within education:

> …when I was in secondary school, because when I was there, I don't know if you guys remember the whole Shamima Begum kind of thing that happened and that was closely associated with terrorism. I

actually went to school in a similar area to her. So, obviously like, alarm bells were going on. And I feel like within those kind of 3-4 years, the association with Islam and terrorism became very poignant. And particularly in the area that I grew up in [with an] Asian Muslim female population. Counted, we didn't have any direct kind of counterterrorism strategies put on us per se, but I think the conversations that were happening at the time just as a result of like that incident and it being so close to home.

- Amina, HE student, focus group 2.

I think after, obviously Shamima Begum, there, there has become more of a focus on Muslim women because there was a, a really a clear contrast between, first it was Muslim men [that] they were focusing on and them being radicalised. And then when Shamima Begum did what she did and then [it] became actually Muslim women, also part of that and they can also be radicalised… It did raise a lot of questions regarding like, you know, ohh girls like her are probably doing the same thing"… I actually got asked whether I would do the same. And it just, it just like really, really, like I was just shocked by it.

- Nadia, HE student, one-to-one interview.

I think you know, especially with Shamima Begum like she was targeted. So, I think a lot of schools are worried that a lot of other the Muslim students would follow the same path as like Shamima Begum… So I think that's why they're a bit more worried about, about Muslim girls in schools…

- Indah, HE student, one-to-one interview.

Amina, Nadia, and Indah all discussed how Shamima Begum travelling to Syria raised alarm bells for staff in education concerning Muslim women and radicalisation. I argue that staff simultaneously responsibilised Muslim women

students into surveillance practices, but also had increased surveillance put upon them from the Begum case. For Amina, she noted how her educational setting was in close proximity to Shamima's, and how this resulted in a heightened awareness of young Muslim women in her area. Although Amina stated that she did not feel any direct CT strategies that were placed upon her, she did mention how discussions surrounding young Muslim women in education and possible radicalisation were increasing. Therefore, the increased awareness surrounding young Muslim women and possible radicalisation that derived from the Begum case had resulted in further responsibilisation of Muslim women.

Nadia noted how the shift from a focus upon Muslim men and radicalisation then turned to Muslim women after Shamima and her friends left the UK. She also told me of how she was personally asked if she would do the same as Shamima Begum. This questioning left Nadia feeling frustrated and upset that Muslim women are essentialised. Shamima Begum was often viewed as a threat to security, rather than a victim of online grooming, exploitation, and trauma (Masters & Regilme, 2020). Within this study, the Muslim women perceived discussions surrounding Shamima to be of 'lessons should be learnt', being more aware of young Muslim women in CVE and increasing conversation about spotting possible signs of radicalisation within their community. The responsibility placed upon Muslim women after the Begum case manifested itself in the questioning of the women in education. Indeed, the case of Shamima Begum further reiterated the Prevent stance that Muslim women should be seen simultaneously as a threat but also at risk.

Sub-theme: The gendering of responsibilisation

The gendering of responsibilisation is made clear below. I analyse how the Muslim women within this research felt that Prevent had placed responsibility on Muslim communities to be more vigilant and a result of this, pressure to monitor their community. Below, within Nadia's story, she discussed how she felt more regulations and outside pressure upon her community:

<u>*Nadia's Story:*</u>

> having mosques be regulated all of a sudden, having a lot more pressure on the Muslim community to sort of be very vigilant and aware of what they're doing and where they're going because, you know, one little step, or like trip up could cause, God knows what. Your kids could be taken away from you or you could, you know, potentially be suspended from university. Saying the wrong thing at the wrong time [that] we're talking about that's politically sensitive. So, I think because of that, it's always been like, although I don't even want to know it [Prevent], it's become something that I have had, like I've had to know it, because of everything that surrounded it and it almost did feel like it's always been targeted towards Muslims, although that's not what the strategy suggests… I went through some of these things [signs of radicalisation] and again, that's because my parents were getting divorced and I was like as a child, I was like confused and I was really sad all the time. So, it's again, I'm just trying to think like, would I have got like, you know [referred]? Like it just makes me think because this doesn't mean you're going to do something radical… Umm, but for me it's a bit difficult to fully see how a teacher could, it's almost like a tick box. Like OK, they've got this, this, and this, they're definitely being radicalised then.
> - Nadia, HE student, focus group 2.

Nadia told me of how the increased monitoring of her community, particularly in mosques, resulted in her being more vigilant in terms of what she says or does, even within the presence of her own community. Again, I suggest that Muslim women's political agency is limited by Prevent due to the increase in monitoring. Nadia stated that she is wary of discussing *"politically sensitive"* topics due to Prevent and the encouraged vigilance that comes from the strategy. She feared the consequences of Prevent, as she discussed potentially being suspended from university. Indeed, students from a UK university have been suspended for taking part in a rally in support of the people of Gaza, Palestine. The university later said that students were suspended for breaking venue protocols (Holl-Allen, 2023). Nadia also acknowledged that she was aware of Prevent, due to the claims of the targeting of Muslims within Prevent. Therefore, Nadia stated that even though she did not wish to know what Prevent is, unfortunately, she has had to become aware of the strategy and how it operates, out of fear for her and her community, resulting in her responsibilisation.

Nadia also highlighted how Prevent has impacted upon Muslim communities more generally. She noted how the strategy made the community more *"vigilant and aware"*, citing that mosques had increasing regulations put upon them, and how the self-censoring could be out of fear of having children taken out of their parents or guardians care, or be suspended from their educational setting. Nadia's concerns were legitimate, as past Prevent initiatives have often focused upon mosque reform, resulting in Muslim women's participation within mosques being observed under a CT guise (Allen & Guru, 2012; Cook, 2017). Further to Nadia's point, The People's

Review of Prevent (2022) highlighted that social services may become involved with a child Prevent referral (those aged under 18), even if it does not meet the Channel threshold. This means that 'the threat of intervention' from social services may put pressure on some into engaging with Prevent, despite Channel being labelled as voluntary (The People's Review of Prevent, 2022, p.85). Equally, there are concerns that social services are now being blurred with the Prevent duty (The Child Rights International Network, 2022). Open Rights Group (2024) presented a case that detailed how a student was followed around by his previous school Prevent referral and how it still impacted him at his sixth form. This case demonstrated students being penalised from their educational setting due to Prevent. This is further discussed in chapter 6 when an educator detailed how a student that was referred to Prevent did not return to their setting afterwards. Once again, the political agency of Muslim communities is brought under question or limited, as Nadia stated that making "*politically sensitive*" comments may result in the above. She also referred to the 'signs' of radicalisation that educators are trained to look out for, these were discussed in chapter 2. Nadia observed that she experienced some of these herself when her parents separated, and wondered whether she would have been referred or under suspicion when she was younger. In addition to this, there has been an increasing number of children being referred to Prevent, with The People's Review of Prevent (2022) affirming that on average there are 6 children per school day referred to Prevent in 2021-2022. Nadia made this link of young people being increasingly referred to Prevent, and her concerns about counterterrorism strategies impacting upon Muslim communities. Therefore, Nadia's story highlighted how her uneasiness surrounding Prevent and counterterrorism strategies in general had impacted how she presented herself, particularly as she stated *"saying the wrong*

thing at the wrong time". I argue that Nadia was aware of the monitoring that derives from Prevent and suggested that she and her community self-censor from this responsibilisation.

Laila and Safa also discussed how Prevent is targeted towards Muslims or how the strategy has essentialised Muslim women:

> But sometimes you can tell that specific bits of like the Prevent strategy that we're being told are like targeted towards like Muslims, because some of the examples that they use in the context that they use, it's like very targeted sometimes.
> - Laila, FE student, focus group 1.

> I think it goes back to how, you know, Muslim women are, you know, portrayed in the media, and mostly talked about in the sense of being quiet and being oppressed. And, you know, not being as forward thinking and things like that.
> - Safa, HE student, focus group 1.

For Laila, she told of how the examples that her educational setting used when discussing Prevent were almost always in reference to Muslims and Islamist terrorism. Prevent has oft positioned Muslim communities as vulnerable to radicalisation, particularly Muslim men (Pearson, 2023). However, as the shift from communities onto individuals occurred in the later phases of Prevent, the strategy's view of Muslim women has remained 'static' (Andrews, 2020b, p.6). Prevent has continuously viewed women as having a particular influence upon their communities in terms of combatting radicalisation. Safa also referenced this, but she further discussed the media rhetoric surrounding stereotypes of Muslim women being

"oppressed". Therefore, the pervasive stereotypes of Muslim women that are evident within the global media and government rhetoric, may continue to justify the expansion and continuation of the responsibilisation of Muslim women through the Prevent strategy.

Sub-theme: Reporting to Prevent?

In consideration of how the Muslim women perceived Prevent in relation to possibly reporting others, they noted how they would be reluctant to report and that being expected to do this task responsibilised them. Safa and Laila discussed how reporting their friend or family to Prevent would be their *"last resort"*:

> how much like evidence that [I] kind of had about it, if it was just a smallest little hunch, I would try and approach them myself, with maybe someone who, like if it's my friend, maybe their mum, their dad, their sister. If it was a family member, like, if it were my younger sister or my brother, me and my mum would go in, approach them, stuff like that. But I feel like going to the government or like reporting someone is such a massive step. I feel like that would be like my last resort if it was something like this is completely out of my control. There is no other way to solve this or sort this. Then I would do that, that would be, would be [my] 100% last resort.
> - Safa, HE student, focus group 1.

> I think the reporting someone to the authorities is like the last step that you would take when you feel like it's out of your hands. And I would first of all try and solve the problem with myself or with like other family members. I think that reporting someone as and as close to you as a friend or a family member, I think that's a big step.

- Laila, FE student, focus group 1.

For Safa, she suggested that before going through official avenues to report to Prevent, she would first try to discuss her concerns with the individual. As she described reporting to Prevent as a *"massive step"*, I argue that Safa was hesitant due to her untrustworthiness of the UK government, particularly when it regards Muslim communities. I believe that she feared for a reported individual and the consequences that a referral may have for that person. For Laila, she also discussed how she, like Safa, would attempt to talk to the individual first, before reporting someone. She also suggested that reporting someone that was close to her, for example a family member or friend, would be very difficult for her and would only do so if she felt that the situation was out of her hands. This finding of Muslim women being reluctant to report to Prevent due to fear of the consequences for themselves and the person referred, along with damaging relationships with those that they do and deeming the government as untrustworthy, differs from the findings of CREST Advisory (2020). They found that two thirds of British Muslims would refer someone they knew to Prevent if they had concerns, and that this would be out of care or concern (CREST Advisory, 2020). My research found that the Muslim women are reluctant to report to Prevent due to these very reasons, of care or concern for their loved ones. They feared what the possible consequences could be for them and that they would only report to Prevent as a last resort.

Indah and Naila also discussed the possible consequences upon individuals that may be reported to Prevent:

I personally wouldn't feel comfortable because. I don't know. I just feel like, like Sameera mentioned a lot earlier. Like it just ends up ruining them, ends up ruining them like their reputation and stuff. Like, I just feel like it causes more harm than good, personally….it just instead isolates them.

- Indah, HE student, focus group 3.

You have to be really certain and it's, it's better that you talk to the person first. Then you first assess the situation, because actually really quickly just going and reporting someone it could cause a lot of big problems… You also think obviously you also think what would happen [when] you report this person? What would happen to your family? What would happen to yourself? What like? Who knows? Like we don't have that kind of information, do we?

- Naila, HE student, focus group 1.

Indah stated that reporting a person to Prevent could *"ruin their reputation"* and *"isolate"* an individual. Naila also noted that she feared the consequences of reporting someone to Prevent and the lack of information surrounding what happens to you, and your family if you do make a report. Indeed, Amnesty International (2023) found that a person who is referred to Prevent can experience life-changing impacts, these can include mental health changes, a loss of trust within the state and concerns surrounding data protection. I believe that the women within this study, had experienced a loss of trust with the state, particularly when it concerned the protection of Muslim communities nationally and internationally. The isolation of a Prevent referral that Indah suggests, has occurred. For example, Mac an Ghaill and Haywood (2017) argued that the Prevent duty is more likely to isolate students due to becoming more distrustful of teachers. Furthermore, a case highlighted by Prevent Watch (2017) revealed how a Muslim girl was questioned under Prevent for wearing

a hijab in education. The incident resulted in her having to receive counselling due to the ordeal. I therefore argue that the gendered responsibilisation of Muslim women that derives from the Prevent strategy, has resulted in the Muslim women losing trust within state institutions, feeling as though they are expected to spy upon their loved ones and has resulted in the erosion of Muslim women's political agency.

Conclusion

The second central theme found that 'the responsibilisation of Muslim women' through the Prevent strategy has resulted in the Muslim women's political agency being reduced due to the fear and untrustworthiness of Prevent, and the atmosphere it has created in education. In addition to this, I have addressed how the Prevent strategy perpetuates the maternalistic logic of Muslim women, and therefore responsibilised them into countering radicalisation within their homes and communities, this demonstrates the racialised and gendered impact of Prevent. I suggested that the responsibilisation was often through the avenue of staff sub-contracting their Prevent Duty out to their Muslim women students. This was crucial to recognise as it demonstrated that not only do educators monitor Muslim women students as sites of suspicion, but also encourage and transfer this monitoring to the Muslim women students to 'watch' others.

In this chapter, the CRF framework was able to illustrate how the experiential knowledge from the young Muslim women was crucial in understanding their counter stories and perspectives on how they have been placed and used within the Prevent strategy. This was important when understanding the gendered impact of

Prevent (RQ2). Again, this illustrates how this thesis posits Prevent as a project, one that utilises Muslim women as a tool within CVE that perpetuates the Orientalist logic of how women are to be seen as at risk, yet risky themselves. The next chapter offers an analysis upon the theme found from Muslim women students of 'Gendered Islamophobia', I argue that Prevent has encouraged and furthered this form of Islamophobia in post-16 education.

Chapter 7: Gendered Islamophobia & the Visible Other

In the previous chapters I focused upon two of the three central themes found within the counter stories from Muslim women in post-16 education concerning their experiences with Prevent. This chapter directly addresses the final theme of 'gendered islamophobia' amongst the students, and the research questions 1 and 2. I discuss how Muslim women students experience the effects of Prevent within post-16 education. Whilst I argued that self-censoring and the responsibilisation of Muslim women can be observed as direct consequences of Prevent, within this third theme of 'gendered Islamophobia', I suggest that the Prevent strategy has encouraged this form of Islamophobia. The sub-themes that were informed by gendered Islamophobia included: 'the visible other', 'the difference in the treatment of non-racialised students', and 'the homogenisation of Muslim women and essentialist thinking'.

Gendered Islamophobia

In the following section, I analyse how Prevent has encouraged gendered Islamophobia towards Muslim women students. Firstly, it is important to define what I mean by 'gendered islamophobia'. Zine (2006, p.240) defines gendered islamophobia as 'ethno-religious and racialised discrimination levelled at Muslim women that proceed from historically contextualized negative stereotypes that inform individual and systemic forms of oppression'. I utilised this definition as a framework to uncover how Muslim women experienced Prevent. The theme of

gendered Islamophobia arose frequently within the women's counter stories. I argue

that gendered Islamophobia relates to Prevent as the strategy has incorporated

stereotypical gendered approaches. Whether that be women's empowerment

initiatives or further monitoring to advance the 'political legitimacy' of Prevent

(Alimahomed-Wilson & Zahzah, 2023, p.240). To demonstrate this, Nadia, Safa, and

Sameera discussed how counterterrorism rhetoric and the 'empowerment' initiatives

that surround Muslim women often stereotype them as oppressed and cite the lack of

support for Muslim women outside of the CT sphere:

> …associating Muslim women with extremism reinforces the idea that
> there is something more sinister than them. Maybe just not having
> access to resources. I remember when this [David Cameron's
> comments] happened, there was like a, a really big social media
> campaign in response where Muslim women, I think it was a hashtag
> like '#thisMuslimwomancan' and you've [already] got your doctors
> and your nurses, and you've got women who make up the NHS and
> they make up the schooling systems. There's so many incredible
> Muslim women out there. But I do, I do accept the fact that that
> English language is essential and, and Muslim women should have
> more access to it. But to affiliate it with extremism, again reinforcing
> that idea of 'there's got to be something there'.
> - Nadia, HE student, focus group 2.

> I think people think [that] Muslim women… she's just probably just
> come to the country. She probably doesn't think for herself, doesn't do
> anything for herself, doesn't speak English. [She's] probably just been
> like a housewife and stayed in a home all her life and doesn't know
> how to do anything, when that is so far from the truth. Because once
> again, it's such a generic term. And everyone, every Muslim woman
> is different and so many people have different experiences, so they're
> not all gonna be like that, [it] is so ridiculous.

- Safa, HE student, focus group 1.

…if you see us as submissive and stuff and you think we have these second classes in our households and this is your belief. What are you doing to change that? Because if you inherently believe this is wrong… are you going out to help these women?
- Sameera, FE student, one-to-one interview.

Nadia discussed how David Cameron's comments regarding Muslim women needing to learn the English language as to not leave them susceptible to extremism (discussed in chapter 5), was something that frustrated her, particularly in relation to its connection to possible extremism (Manzoor-Khan, 2022, p.136). Often migrant Muslim women are seen as a vehicle for the English language as they socialise their children (Yuval Davis, 1997). It is evident that Muslim women are constructed within the Prevent strategy as people who will spot and disrupt possible radicalisation within their communities. Simultaneously, the women are also seen as a possible weak spot themselves regarding improper socialisation of their children. Much like Bassel and Khan (2021, p.586) stated that UK migrant Muslim women are 'presented as victims of social isolation' and are encouraged to learn English to improve their and their children's socialisation. I argue that Nadia's frustration could stem from the government's association of Muslim women to radicalisation and from the lack of recognition that is afforded to Muslim women within the UK. Indeed, Bhui et al. (2024) argued that migrants not born in the UK and from poorer backgrounds, yet had strong community links, were less likely to be radicalised than those from more affluent backgrounds. Nadia also referenced how learning the English language is useful, and that the availability and opportunities of learning English should be increased. This is reflected in Monaghan's (2016) work, as they

point out that there has been a 50% reduction in funding for ESOL (English for speakers of other languages) lessons.

Likewise, Safa and Sameera also discussed the stereotypes linked to Muslim women and how this generalisation of Muslim women has led to the government persisting with calls for Muslim women to learn the English language. Sameera specifically noted that the UK government does not help Muslim women as much as they could. She noted that if the government do stereotype and perceive Muslim women to be "*submissive*" or as *"second class"* citizens in their own households, then what is the government doing to change this? Under Prevent, Muslim women are consistently seen as peacebuilders within their own communities, and the initiatives aimed at Muslim women that derive from Prevent are under a CVE guise, rather than one of equality (Cook, 2017). Therefore, I argue that the UK government push their agenda of responsibilising Muslim women through Prevent and has led to this gendered form of Islamophobia through the generalisation of Muslim women.

The assumptions surrounding Muslim women, either by through official rhetoric, policy, wider society, or the media, often associate Muslim women and Islam with terrorism. Ameera and Nadia both mentioned how this Orientalist association made it more difficult to be a Muslim woman:

> I don't like how the word terrorist is always, always just associated [with] Islam, because it just causes problems with people. And then the propaganda around it as well, just makes life as being a Muslim woman, like representing religion just harder, because people will have perceptions of you, and they'll have like anger towards you.
> - Ameera, HE student, focus group 4.

I think that as a Muslim woman, you're categorized into 2 you know, either you're that innocent or oppressed lady, or … you've got a voice and you're, you're kind of dangerous. And I think, terrorism… I hate that I have to prove myself constantly. It really angers me that I have to be like the minute like somebody mentions terrorism… like you're automatically, like you have to be a spokesperson [and] justify like "oh, no, no, no, like we're not like that, oh my God"… So, like I'm fed up with justifying myself when I've done nothing wrong and it's like you're, you're guilty before your innocent.

- Nadia, HE student, focus group 2.

And as a Muslim woman growing up in the West, being poor, being born here, but then kind of not knowing where I belong. Umm and kind of battling with that journey of belonging as well as growing up to then realize that, you know, it's just not an internal struggle, it's actually a struggle that's external as well. Because just by simply being a Muslim woman, you're already either stereotyped or seen in a certain light… Sometimes you do have to go the extra mile almost to prove that, you know, I'm not a threat. I'm, you know, I'm OK, I'm one of you.

- Nadia, HE student, one-to-one interview.

Both Ameera and Nadia paid attention to the fact that as Muslim women, they are viewed as either associated with terrorism or dangerous and oppressed. For Ameera, she noted how she felt anger from wider society that perceived her as a threat. She stated that these false perceptions made her life as a visible Muslim woman more difficult. Therefore, I argue that Prevent has a role to play in pushing the agenda of Muslim women being seen as simultaneously at risk yet, risky. This is also echoed by Heath-Kelly (2013, p.397) as they found that this securitisation of Muslim communities based on what they *may* do, has led to this 'risky' label being attached

214

to them. I further argue that this label of risky is specifically allocated to Muslim women through the Prevent agenda. However, with the caveat of Muslim women also being seen as responsible to tackle this riskiness within their communities.

Likewise, for Nadia, she expressed that she was aware of this duality of being perceived as innocent/oppressed and dangerous. From this, she acknowledged that this perceived notion of risky/at risk has been ascribed to Muslim women. I argue that this ascription also derives from Prevent, as the strategy perpetuates the Orientalist stereotypes surrounding Muslim women. Nadia also discussed how she felt *"fed up"* from having to be a *"spokesperson"* regarding associations of terrorism and Islam. She noted having to *"go the extra mile"* on her journey of being a visible, young, British Muslim woman from a poorer background. Nadia stated that this was both an internal and external struggle for her. In CRF terms, Nadia noted her intersecting identity of being a Muslim woman and paid reference to her social class. Nadia demonstrated how it is not simply being a Muslim in the secular West that made her struggle with her identity, but also that being a young woman and being from a poorer background compounded this for her (Wing, 2014). Indeed, other studies have argued that young Muslim women are often seen as the in-between generation, one that combines multiculturalism and the traditions that the women inherit from their parents (Haw, 2010; McKenna & Francis, 2019; Perry, 2014). I argue that Prevent has impacted upon this in-between generation by perpetuating the stereotypes of 'submissive' or 'oppressed' Muslim women, leading to gendered Islamophobia. Not only has Prevent furthered this gendered Islamophobia, but the strategy has also encouraged this thinking, particularly in terms of the responsibilisation of Muslim women discussed in the previous chapter.

Gendered Islamophobia was mentioned by Indah and Sameera in relation to the Muslim women's peers. They both noted how gendered Islamophobia was directed towards them by their peers in education. I argue that Prevent has aided and encouraged the gendered Islamophobia that has been experienced by the participants in post-16 education:

> …but I remember like being called a terrorist when I did wear the hijab and … obviously like, people are kids, so they don't understand how massive the impact is. But like, it's crazy though, because I see the same people and they don't realise the effects that calling me a terrorist had on me and you know, it just makes me sad that they can just live life with this privilege.
> - Indah, HE student, focus group 3.

> Everyone is looking at me and I don't know. In the beginning I thought maybe just like I just feeling that I was… But when I talk to them, my peers and stuff like, will come like assembly and I just look at my friends. It's like the same feeling that we still get that, OK. Like, like you want to watch us like, you know like. Like you know, just watch out.
> -   Sameera, FE student, focus group 3.

Indah and Sameera both discussed the feeling of uncomfortableness surrounding how their peers treated them within education. For Indah, she spoke of encountering stereotypes of Muslim women wearing the hijab, and how the effects of this stereotype made her feel "sad". She noted the lack of consequences for the peers who do hold these Islamophobic views. Indeed, Mirza (2015) discussed how teachers also had these preconceptions of Muslim women students wearing the veil,

and how they often linked this to agency or restricted choice. I further argue that the racialised discourse that is emitted from the Prevent strategy may have furthered this thinking of the stereotypical 'oppressed' Muslim woman and that this is channelled through both peers, and teachers.

Of course, the racialisation and thus, gendered Islamophobia, from the Prevent strategy does not exist in a vacuum, and many other factors such as the heavily racialised public rhetoric concerning Muslim women must also be considered. However, from this, it is important to recognise that Prevent does also have a role to play in this gendered Islamophobia. For Sameera, she also experienced this Islamophobic gaze within education. However, Sameera linked gendered Islamophobia to the feeling of being monitored within education. She noted that her and her Muslim girl friends noticed teachers looking at them, as if, as Sameera said, they need to "*watch"* them. I argue that Prevent has enabled and legitimised this suspicion towards young Muslim women, particularly in terms of their dress, this can also be linked to the monitoring discussed in the previous chapter.

Sub-theme: The 'Visible Other'

Whilst some participants noted their experiences of gendered Islamophobia within education more generally, others specifically mentioned how wearing the hijab and their appearance as a visible Muslim woman had affected their experience in post-16 education. As discussed in chapter 4, I did not gather data concerning how many of the participants wore a headscarf. Most (11) of the women chose to comment on if they wore a headscarf or not in the focus groups and interviews. 10 commented that

they did wear a headscarf, and one stated that they did not. Below, the women discussed how the 'change in appearance' sign of radicalisation is problematic:

> I feel like the obviously coming from Muslim students 'cause if you see, let's say for example, a girl who never really used to wear a headscarf wearing headscarf suddenly, like chilling with more hijabi friends, they're going to be thinking, "oh, OK, what's going on here?". They won't be thinking about the like, let's say, for example, like a boy who might not have religion or something like that. Imagine him cutting his hair down, turning into an emo. They're not going to be like, "oh, yeah, he's being radicalised". It's for a specific image and they know that I feel like me personally.
> - Ameera, HE student, focus group 4.

> Like just because someone changes their appearance. I've changed, I changed my appearance everyday practically. I have, like, you know, I'll change my nails. I'll change what scarf I wear, what shoes or wear this style, I wear, I put a fake piercing on. I do all sorts. That's just because I'm bored. You know, I mean that is because I'm bored. If someone converts to… your religion, that just means they, you know, they found something that they enjoy and they relate to. But I can guarantee that if someone, if me, a Muslim converted to Christianity [or] Buddhism, that is not gonna be looked upon…
> - Safa, HE student, focus group 1.

> For example, changing your appearance. The first thing someone's gonna think of it like a head scarf or wearing, like, covering your face or changing, converting to a new religion. Even if it doesn't specifically say Islam, I feel like everyone would be thinking that.
> - Laila, FE student, focus group 1.

As discussed in the previous chapter, a 'change in appearance' is noted as one of the signs of radicalisation within Prevent (Educate Against Hate, 2023, p.1). For Ameera, Laila, and Safa, we discussed how this sign of radicalisation proved to be controversial for them, as Muslim women. Ameera and Safa pointed out the difference in how they are treated with suspicion. Whereas others, for example as Ameera said, a boy changing his appearance to be an *"emo"*, would not be treated with suspicion, even though it is still somewhat a change in appearance. Safa detailed how she constantly changed her appearance, and she did not recognise this as a sign of radicalisation. Rather, Safa saw it as a way to express herself and her Muslim identity. Indeed, Bullock and Jafri (2000) found that most Muslim women also choose to follow the Islamic dress code as a way of demonstrating their faith or as an anti-racist statement. Safa also noted that if she was to convert to Christianity or Buddhism, she believed that this would not be seen as a sign of radicalisation by her teachers. However, she discussed how it would be deemed as suspicious if she converted to Islam. I argue that the signs of radicalisation associated with Prevent are heavily racialised and criminalise Muslim identity. This is echoed by Auchter (2020) as they describe how the signs of radicalisation are vaguely defined, resulting in 'persistent stereotypical stigmatisations' (Pawlowski, 2023, p.319). Therefore, the Muslim women believe that they are associated with radicalisation from simply wearing a headscarf within education. Although some women noted that they did not change their appearance despite Prevent's association of 'a change in appearance' with possible radicalisation. I argue that the women felt as though this association furthers the gendered Islamophobia that is directed towards them.

For Sameera, her story told of how she specifically connected Prevent and wider counter terrorism discourse, to the way that she presents herself within education:

Sameera's Story:

> Do you think Prevent has impacted your sense of identity as Muslim women at all?
> - Researcher
>
> It's [Prevent] definitely changed the way I also present myself when I'm outside and that could be like for like and numerous reasons. Like especially when I…I went to sixth form, so I moved when I little, I was, I was at school [where there was] like lots of lots of lots of women who wear headscarf and that was sort of representative. So, I was completely fine there, but when I went to sixth form school and there's like you know, I become the minority that I am. I definitely sort of changed out of the way I sort of like the clothes I was wearing, like it's making sure like, for some of my headscarf was as Western as it could be…like how you make your show my headscarf tied it back like a, like a bandana… it was just a thing of me wanted to make myself look less like a target. But again, I do wear a headscarf. … I buy like a long dress [that] covers me, so it's again it was just trying to sort of trying to take myself out of that narrative. But I think no, it's just I think maybe I'm just maturing or I'm starting to have…like normal, maybe more confidence for myself, but like I just I, I think I've just sort of accepted that no matter what I do, no matter what I wear, no matter how I change it, I'm still [a] Muslim woman, and I'm still gonna face these days no matter what…
> - Sameera, FE student, focus group 3.

This quotation suggests that Sameera was aware of the pre-existing, Orientalist narratives that surround Muslim women's dress. Sameera spoke to the fact that when

she was in a multicultural educational setting, she felt comfortable expressing her Muslim identity. However, when she attended her FE setting, she noted how she became a minority. Therefore, as she became aware of her *"minority"* status, she began to wear her clothing in a more *"Western"* style. I argue that Sameera feels the need to Westernise her clothing due to the presence and monitoring deriving from Prevent, and the gendered Islamophobia that may be directed towards her from both peers and staff. Keddie (2018) also highlighted that young Muslim women often feel judged and under surveillance from wearing their headscarves. I believe this is why so many of the women that participated in this research, spoke to this issue.

Below, Iqra and Zainab, also detailed how peers and teachers became suspicious of them as they wore a headscarf:

> I recently started wearing hijab and it's like I just saw everyone, like people around me like, why are you doing that, like what's going on? And you could tell it wasn't coming from a place of like, oh, like, well done. It was more from a place like, what's going on there, like, what's happening? Like, why are you why all of a sudden becoming, like, better in your religion and stuff like that?
> - Iqra, HE student, focus group 4.

> The second you would hear the word terrorist, all the light skinned tone people in the room would look directly at you because you're the one with the with the headscarf on and so on.
> - Zainab, FE student, focus group 4.

Both participants discussed how wearing a headscarf in education had resulted in negative attention being drawn to themselves. For Iqra, she was aware that when she

began to wear her hijab, she received questions such as "*what's happening?*".

Implying that Iqra may have been struggling or that something was '*wrong*'. It is

evident that those asking her these questions and Iqra herself, was aware of the

suspicion that comes with wearing the hijab. This was also clear in Bakali's (2022)

study, in which a Muslim woman student was questioned repeatedly with

Islamophobic questions, following her decision to begin wearing the hijab in

education. Zainab also noted how when there was discussion concerning terrorism,

or as she specifically noted the Arab Israeli war, she felt anxiety and social pressures

from being Othered (Bakali, 2022). The racialisation that comes from wearing the

headscarf in education is specific to visible Muslim women, it evokes the

stereotypical assumptions surrounding the oppressed Muslim woman (Karaman &

Christian, 2020; Selod & Embrick, 2013). I echo this and further argue that the

Muslim women in this study experience this specific form of racialisation from

gendered Islamophobia. This gendered Islamophobia combines their intersectional

identity, for example, their gender, faith, and ethnic backgrounds, and the Oriental

assumptions about their dress.

Nadia and Safa further spoke of how wearing the hijab brought negative comments

and stereotypes for them:

> People often underestimate me because of they see the headscarf, or
> they see that, you know, I'm from an ethnic minority background
> and... I guess, I think people categorize you into two kind of groups,
> either you're that oppressed Muslim girl that doesn't have a voice or
> you're radicalized and you need to be restrained.
> - Nadia, HE student, focus group 2.

I feel like because of stereotypes and things like that, me as a Muslim woman and I wear my hijab and I've worn it since, you know, I was like 11/12 years old and that's 100% always been my choice. But I think people, when they first look at me, they might assume that, oh, maybe she's oppressed. Maybe you know she's been forced to put this on. Maybe she doesn't wanna wear it… it literally could not be further from the truth…

- Safa, HE student, focus group 1.

As some of the Muslim women within this study discussed wearing the hijab, this made them more easily notifiable as Muslim. Wearing the hijab often evoked negative, colonialist stereotypes of Muslim women from others. For Nadia, she told of how when people identify her as a visible Muslim woman, she felt that others often stereotype her as either oppressed or needing to be *"restrained"*. Safa also referenced how the hijbophobia that followed her detailed how she, like Nadia, may be *"oppressed"*, or that she may be *"forced"* to wear the hijab. I argue that Prevent has furthered this type of thinking. The strategy assumes that Muslim women are simultaneously at risk of radicalisation and, risky themselves (Heath-Kelly, 2013). Furthermore, I assert that Prevent has encouraged the hijabophobia[15], that is directed towards Muslim women (Zine, 2006). A 'change in appearance' as a possible sign of radicalisation is heavily racialised and an aspect of Prevent that the Muslim women in this study see as further placing suspicion upon them. This indicates that Prevent places Muslim women's dress as suspicious in itself.

---

[15] Hijabophobia refers to the racialised, Islamophobic rhetoric that is directed towards Muslim women wearing Islamic dress (Zine, 2006).

Further to this sub-theme detailing instances of Muslim women's dress and gendered Islamophobia, I also argue that the Muslim women students feel that FBV target them as Muslim women and contributes to the women being deemed the 'visible other'. As explored within chapter 2, FBV are heavily involved within the Prevent strategy. It was made clear within the focus groups and interviews with the Muslim women that they feel FBV are a negative aspect of education and are reluctant to engage with the values. FBV have previously been described as 'clearly rooted in Prevent', facilitating 'fears of Islamic radicalism' and viewed as an assimilation project for the Muslim other into White Britain (Breen & Meer, 2019, p.600; Richardson & Bolloten, 2015). For some of my participants, they noted that the optics of FBV either made them feel like they were not 'British'. Therefore, I argue that this is linked to Muslim women being deemed the 'visible other' within the classroom.

> It was kind of like, this is what British people are, and if you don't fall in line with this, then you're not British… It just felt a bit weird a bit and a bit odd really, [it] was the most bizarre thing to me, and we had the loads of lessons on it and loads of like, and kind of boards and billboards…
> - Tahirah, HE student, focus group 2.

I argue that Tahirah was suggesting that she is hesitant of criticising FBV in her setting. Particularly as she stated that *"if you don't fall all line with this, then you're not British"*, implying that FBV anyone who may fall outside of the scope of the supposed British values, is not deemed to be British. Furthermore, Breen and Meer (2019) warned that if Muslims misalign with these values, they are cast as at risk of extremism. I argue that if FBV go undebated and uncriticised, and are also portrayed

as compulsory, it entails that students must abide and agree with them, or risk suspicion. Furthermore, I suggest that if FBV are questioned by Muslim students, this is oft accompanied by suspicion under a particular CVE guise. For Muslim women, this suspicion could be furthered, particularly if they wore the headscarf, as this came with the perceived risk of radicalisation, as mentioned previously. It could also be argued that Tahirah's extract demonstrates how FBV are carried out in FE settings and below, as they are required to follow the Prevent Duty which included promoting and implementing FBV (Educate Against Hate, 2021). It is important to note here that none of the Muslim women mentioned FBV in relation to university. It was mostly discussed in reference to school, sixth form or college (FE settings or below). It could be argued that this is due to universities not being required to promote FBV within their curriculum (HM Government, 2015b). Other participants within this research noted how their 'Britishness' as a Muslim woman was questioned when the topic of FBV arose in classrooms:

> I think since primary school, even so now, in sixth form, not as much primary, but like British values were suddenly everywhere… I went to a very much multicultural primary school, secondary school and currently sixth form school and the British values were taught to us to be like "yeah, guys, we're British, we're all British", you know, "we're all in it together", but really, it doesn't really feel like that.
> - Sameera, FE student, focus group 3.

> The second British values came up, it was instantly like eyes on the two headscarf women in the room, like as if we don't know what British values mean. Like am I British? Am I not British? I was born here, thank you. Like, I am British!
> - Zainab, FE student, focus group 4.

The thing is for me, although I'm British, I would say that people me, the way I look, isn't British. So, although I would be taught these, let's just say I wouldn't feel like I could relate to them directly simply because I don't look stereotypically, what a British person would look like.

- Nadia, HE student, focus group 2.

It's like they have to overexpose us to this idea so that we know what, like [what] British people are, as if I, if I don't know what [it] is to be British!

- Laila, FE student, focus group 1.

Basically, I think they're trying to say like you know, now you're here, this is how you have to act sort of even though most of us, most of us are British, but we just don't look it. So yeah, it's not targeting the people that look British. It's the people that don't.

- Iqra, HE student, focus group 4.

The above extracts demonstrate how the Muslim women within this research recognise that when FBV are discussed, particularly in relation to tolerance, they feel increasingly monitored and judged. I argue that the Muslim women were made to feel like the visible other in education, as FBV are another site for suspicion for them. The women felt the 'British' label is often not assigned to them. Similarly, Habib (2018) suggested that FBV has placed Muslims under constant surveillance, resulting in pressure to show conformity or acceptance to FBV. This research demonstrates that not only do Muslim women feel increasingly aware of this surveillance through the FBV discourse and are thus monitored, but they also feel excluded from discussions concerning FBV. As Sameera noted she felt that they are

not *"all in it together"*. Zainab and Nadia both discussed how they feel they had to justify or prove their 'Britishness'. "*I was born here*" was Zainab's statement in reaction to her peers looking at her and another woman who wore a headscarf in the classroom. Her statement suggested that her peers questioned her, due to her being a visible Muslim woman.

Nadia also mentioned how she believed the way she looked "*isn't British*" and how this attracted suspicion surrounding her when FBV were discussed in the classroom. Nadia also noted how her experience of being a visible Muslim woman disproves that "*tolerance of different faith and beliefs*" should be considered a 'British' value. She and others in her community had not experienced this tolerance from wider society or in the educational system. The women also asked what is so specifically 'British' about FBV? This line of argument is furthered as Laila stated that she believed FBV to be specifically for racialised communities, as she suggested that most White people have not been exposed to FBV as much as she had. From Laila's statement, it was clear that FBV have been constructed for racialised people in order to present White 'British' values as superior and aims to assimilate the Muslim other (Richardson & Bolloten, 2015). Therefore, I argue that FBV add another surveillance site to invite suspicion and marginalisation upon the women in education, resulting in the women being deemed the 'visible other'.

Sub-theme: Difference in treatment of non-racialised students

Many of the Muslim women discussed how the difference of treatment between them and non-racialised students was evident within their educational setting. This usually concerned issues surrounding being monitored in relation to CVE concerns. There was a general sense amongst the women that they were often treated more harshly or with more suspicion than other students, due to them being Muslim women. Through a CRF lens, it was clear to see how Whiteness was functioning within the women's educational settings. For instance, the Muslim women are deemed 'Others' in their majority White settings in relation to the Islamophobia that they experience, in particular gendered Islamophobia (Mills, 1997). Several of the Muslim women students spoke to this issue:

> …my friends thought it would be funny to Google like ISIS and all of that into my computer. And I found it funny, but yeah, so they did. And then the next day, the guidance counsellor or like, you know, that type of teacher that looks out for people, she liked targeted me among other hijabi friends, like why we were Googling terrorism, why and like in a weird kind of accused [way] as well. But I feel like, I know that like a couple other kids in my class, they were all White boys like, not not Muslim at all. And they Googled it as a joke, but it was fine for them. Like they didn't get a talk or anything.
> - Indah, HE student, focus group 3.

> How you're behaving in class… I feel like it's a bit closely monitored. More than what? Perhaps someone who sits next to me, who isn't a Muslim woman is saying or doing. I have to be very wary of what I say.
> - Laila, FE student, one-to-one interview.

During the focus group, Indah described how she had an encounter with a safeguarding member of staff that led her to question if she has been stereotyped and suspicioned, due to her being a Muslim woman. She noted how her and her hijabi friends were targeted and questioned by staff in their educational setting. However, the *"White boys"* in her class, who were also searching the internet for similar topics, were not. Because of this, it led Indah to ponder if the only reason her and her Muslim friends were spoken to was because they were seen as vulnerable to radicalisation, and the White boys in her class were not. Indeed, Brown (2020, p.124) discussed how Muslim girls are viewed by policymakers and the media as more 'easily seduced' by online activities. It was evident that the staff member who was alerted to the Muslim women's searches online, could have been under this impression and viewed the Muslim women students as more vulnerable than the White boys. A case from The People's Review of Prevent (2022) also demonstrated this difference of treatment of racialised students. They highlighted how a young Muslim boy and his family had been questioned by police because of his comments that were later found out to be from the game Fortnite. The boy's parents stated that he would not have been questioned if he was a White, non-Muslim boy (The People's Review of Prevent, 2022). Of course, this is not to say that incidents of searching possible terrorist content online should not be further investigated. Rather that there should be a clear distinction of whether the young people are simply testing boundaries, than to securitise and place suspicion upon Muslim students at first instance. Ali (2020) further stated that Prevent should be seen as having racialised borders, due to constructing Muslim bodies as risky, and the ignorance of the threat from right-wing extremism demonstrates this. It appears non-racialised

students are afforded this luxury of being cast as testing boundaries or being inquisitive, rather than being suspicioned through a CVE lens.

Laila also made a clear distinction between herself, a Muslim woman, and those in her class who do not identify as a Muslim woman. She made this distinction as she suggested that she is more monitored by her teachers due to her being a Muslim woman. Laila therefore alters her behaviour and self-censors accordingly. Muslim women are often constructed as the exotic, veiled 'other', whilst simultaneously being deemed dangerous and/or threatening (Perry, 2014). This binary surrounding Muslim women is clear within the participants stories and how they have been subject to Prevent, in particular through the secular-Western lens of being viewed as oppressed and a security threat (Connah, 2021; Mirza & Meetoo, 2018). This difference in treatment of non-Muslim students and surveillance was also true in Ameera's story, which is detailed below.

Ameera's Story:

> I actually encountered one of the most extreme ends of the stick. So, I must have been in secondary school, and I must have made like an outlandish comment about how I was going to set fire to the school. Obviously, that would be a normal comment to like any other student to make, but because I was wearing a scarf (headscarf), and this was like kind of post when there was a lot of terrorists like activity going on in the UK. I remember, the police actually got called in to my school and had a sit-down conversation with me about counterterrorism. So, they were trying to ask me, like, have you got plans to go abroad? Have you got plans to, you know, to be going joining places, like they were asking me very extreme questions. And

the fact I was like 14 at the time, 13, I didn't understand why what I'd said was such a big deal. So, then I came to the realisation that because I wear a scarf on my head, because I wear my headscarf and it does show that I'm part of religion, it does give some people, like a rhetoric about me, even though they don't know me as a person, especially when stuff is going on in the world. Then it'll be more like more frightening to wear at the end of the day… I was only like, year eight. I was kind of shocked, but I was also kind of amused 'cause I was like, what is all this for 'cause it's something that you don't expect. You don't expect to be sitting in an RE [lesson] and then getting pulled out and then having a sit down with two officers and telling you, like, this is a warning, you know, like to say, stuff like that again. Even though a girl who's sitting next to you with, like, a blonde ponytail could say the same thing, and the teacher [would] probably scoff and act like she didn't hear anything. So, it's like, obviously it was amusing. By the same time, it was very scary in the sense that I had, I was being confronted by police over the most innocent joke to me.

- Ameera, HE student, focus group 4.

Ameera's story highlighted how her *"innocent joke"* ultimately led to her being questioned by the police. Despite Ameera's story recalling an experience outside of an FE or HE setting, I argue that the implications of her story have continued to impact her. For example, Ameera's story was in reply to being asked how CT rhetoric or strategies have impacted upon Ameera's everyday life as a Muslim woman. Despite Ameera herself recognising that it was an *"outlandish comment"*, she did not expect to be spoken to by police. I argue that she was suspicioned in this way due to her being a Muslim woman.

It was clear in her story how the teacher's decision to flag Ameera's comment was a result of the stereotype that links Muslim women to potential security threats (Rashid, 2016a). Here, Ameera was attempting to call out the mistaken link between her wearing a headscarf and being a visibly Muslim woman and her perceived risk to radicalisation.

As a result of Ameera being questioned by police, she noted the possible difference of treatment by her teachers between her and a non-racialised student. She stated, *"a girl with a blonde ponytail"*. I argue here that Ameera proposed that the teacher would have regarded similar comments made by a non-racialised student as not concerning and would have been passive to their comments. Whereas Ameera, a visible Muslim woman, was flagged due to her comments and judged based upon her being a possible physical threat (Lockley-Scott, 2020). Ameera's recollection of her Prevent-like incident is much like Indah's story of being flagged for searching certain terms on the internet. In both women's stories, they pay reference to the difference of treatment of non-racialised students. For Indah, this was what happened, as the White boys in her class did not receive any judgement. And for Ameera, it was the perceived notion of her teacher being passive to a non-racialised student's comments. Therefore, the Muslim women in this study believe that non-racialised students are afforded more leniency when it concerns 'jokes' or researching content within the classroom.

Ameera's comments led to her being spoken to by police in school and having *"very extreme questions"* put to her about her possible intentions to travel abroad.

Travelling abroad is something that Ameera never previously commented on nor joked about. However, this line of questioning by the police was similar to that seen within the 'Prevent Tragedies' 2014 initiative (discussed in chapter 3). The initiative concerned young Muslim women travelling from the UK to Syria (Andrews, 2020a). Ameera illustrated the association of her innocent joke and her being perceived to be threatening or at risk by her teacher. Ameera had little knowledge of Prevent. However, she experienced an encounter with Prevent-type questioning that suggested that she was under the suspicion of possible radicalisation, and that she may have potential plans to travel abroad due to her comment and her being a visible Muslim woman. The reality of Ameera not having much knowledge surrounding Prevent, yet still experienced the strategy, harbours the question of why she was not notified that the police were speaking to her for possible CT issues. Furthermore, as Ameera stated that she was 13-14 years old at the time of the police questioning her, it was unclear if she had an appropriate adult with her in accordance with PACE 1984 (Home Office, 1985). It was highlighted in a case deriving from The People's Review of Prevent (2022, p.69) that interviews under Prevent are not utilised for a criminal offence and 'therefore not governed by PACE'. The pre-existing evidence and Ameera's case suggest that those under 18 can be questioned by police without an adult present. This contributes to the wider questioning of how Prevent is often labelled as safeguarding (this is further analysed in chapter 8), when the safeguards that are usually afforded to children are not present (The People's Review of Prevent, 2022). Ameera's story is very similar to one recently reported by Prevent Watch (2024), in which a parent detailed how their child was referred to Prevent for a similar comment. Within Ameera's case, she also noted how this was not an isolated incident, and unfortunately the repercussions of being flagged on the system

once, followed her throughout her time at her educational setting. She told of being removed from her class at a later date to explain again why she had searched certain terms surrounding radicalisation and Islamophobia. This finding of Muslim women facing repercussions in relation to what they research in education is similar to what Guest et al. (2020) found. They stated that students are discouraged from researching Islam, particularly when it concerns terrorism (Guest et al., 2020). Therefore, as stated above, the space for freely and safely researching and debating religion is being limited, particularly for Muslim students (Saeed and Johnson, 2016). I argue that Ameera's story demonstrates the racialisation that she experienced as a Muslim woman within education, validated by the Prevent strategy.

Laila's story below highlighted the pervasiveness of Prevent within education. Laila recounted how she was researching for her project on Islamophobia and how this was flagged by her educational setting.

Laila's Story:

> I did [a project] last year on the, coincidentally it was on Islamophobia. And obviously when you start researching for that, there is something, some rabbit holes that you go into and I got flagged up a few times where the system and I…I was little bit, I was a bit like it, felt so surreal to me. I was like, I'm not searching anything wrong. It was to do with like radicalisation and how to change perceptions. But nothing I was searching necessarily was bad, but I had to like I had to plead my case to the ICT and be like, look, I'm doing my [project]... Please stop plugging me up in your system…I feel singled out, especially last year, like constantly having to leave the classroom to explain why I'd searched a certain term on Google. It makes you feel a bit like an outsider. Like I keep having to

234

leave to explain this, to explain that everyone's just like everyone's really confused as well, and you keep having to explain yourself. It's just a very awkward and embarrassing situation, I think.

– Laila, FE student, one-to-one interview.

Laila expressed how she felt embarrassed and singled out by the situation that led to her having to justify why and what she was searching. Laila also said: "*as a Muslim woman, sometimes I feel like maybe that's just for me, just for my purpose*", in relation to her educational setting's IT department being alerted to certain searches. I argue that this statement was in reference to other students not being treated the same. A non-racialised student who may have been researching similar things may have been flagged on the system, but not followed up or questioned. As seen within other participants stories, the feeling of being treated differently due to being a visible Muslim woman was often discussed alongside how their teachers react to their comments and/or actions that the Muslim women do not deem to be worthy of their suspicion. Spiller et al. (2017) noted that the dubiousness of Prevent training has led to lecturers being unsure of when a line is crossed, particularly in terms of the unclear definition of extremism. Prevent WRAP training is analysed in relation to the educator participants within this study in chapter 8. Therefore, this uncertain training support from Prevent that is delivered to staff has resulted in untrained individuals monitoring students.

Furthermore, some of the women also discussed how rhetoric surrounding radicalisation and terrorism in the classroom often made them, as Muslim women, feel uncomfortable:

> …if a teacher saw a hijab young Muslim girl, right, and they saw these traits, [it's] kind of messed up that they think radicalisation. Because if they were to see a White boy doing the same type of thing while most of the [teachers] they'll think like depression and that. And it's just kind of unfair to not get that same treatment to Muslim girls or Muslim boys.
> - Indah, HE student, focus group 3.

> And then the teacher herself she like pointed out, between the difference between… this brown boy would obviously more likely be radicalised than this White boy.
> - Safa, HE student, focus group 1.

Indah and Safa both referenced how teachers within their educational setting discussed radicalisation or terrorism in association with Islam or Muslims. For Indah, she noted how the possible signs of radicalisation that we previously discussed together in the focus group, would bring further suspicion upon Muslim students in education. She made the comparison of a *"White boy"* displaying similar behaviour may be deemed as a 'sign' of radicalisation, but that they could be regarded as mental health issues rather than a CVE issue. For Safa, it was the frustration at the connection between a *"brown boy"* and radicalisation in comparison to a *"White boy"*. The People's Review of Prevent (2022) also paid attention to these issues. They found that those associated with right-wing extremism are often identified as having mental health issues, compared to those with Islamist concerns, that are regarded as riskier and more political (The People's Review of Prevent, 2022). Those referred to Prevent with right-wing extremism concerns are more likely to be young males (Home Office, 2023b). Ethnicity is not recorded in Prevent referrals despite criticism for not doing so, this was discussed within chapter

2 (Child Rights International Network, 2022). Therefore, I argue that gendered Islamophobia, that is perpetuated by Prevent, has furthered the association between Muslim women students and possible radicalisation.

Sub-theme: Homogenisation of Muslim Women & Essentialist thinking

I argue that the homogenisation of Muslim women is another avenue of gendered Islamophobia that has occurred through the Prevent strategy. It has particularly materialised through the restriction of political agency and expression for Muslim women in educational spaces (Ayotte & Husain 2005). It became clear that some of the Muslim women students believed that they were targeted by the Prevent strategy due to their perceived submissiveness:

> I think the way this was worded was so like arrogant in the sense of like 'Muslim women'. That is such a broad term to use because honestly, woman, you know, the other two girls on this call are Muslim women and we speak perfect English.
> - Safa, HE student, focus group 1.

> I think it's because women are generally seen as more like submissive and like, you know, approachable. So, I think if they think ohh if we can have these Muslim women integrate sooner or later, the man will follow on because, you know, that's people's mothers, that's people's wives. So… they think that if women were to integrate more or be more influential in general.
> - Indah, HE student, one-to-one interview.

As Safa noted, she was unhappy with how the government use the term 'Muslim women', as though they are a homogenous group that have the same identities. She discussed this in reference to David Cameron's comments concerning Muslim women needing to learn the English language, as discussed in chapter 3. In CVE efforts, like Prevent, there is a tendency to treat Muslim women as a category that is homogenous. Often policy ignores the intricacies in Muslim women's lives, from their age to their ethnicity, or their social class (Selod & Embrick, 2013).

For Indah, she noted how as a Muslim woman, she is often a target for essentialist thinking. I argue this essentialism is aimed at Muslim women through Prevent by the denial of the intersecting identities of the women. Prevent has helped create the image of the Muslim women as one who is maternal, and peace keeps within their families and communities. This has resulted in this gendered, racialised role in Prevent as mothers or caregivers, a group who are innately peaceful and maternal (Satterthwaite & Huckerby, 2013). Other research also refers to the state assuming that women's roles are purely maternal to promote peacefulness and argue that this 'motherwork' that is carried out in homes and communities, is the priority for governments that reinforce this 'maternalistic logic' that can be seen within Prevent (Gentry, 2009; Satterthwaite & Huckerby, 2013, p.41). Therefore, CVE strategies, such as Prevent, have reinforced gendered essentialisms by assuming that men are more inherently violent, and that women are able to prevent male violence through peacefulness and community work (White, 2022). I argue that gendered Islamophobia has permeated through the Prevent strategy, with the use of these gendered essentialisms surrounding Muslim women.

Varied experiences of FE students and HE students

Above, I analysed how the final theme of 'gendered Islamophobia' from the young

Muslim women was highly relevant to the topic of Prevent in post-16 education.

Within this section, I analyse insights regarding how the empirical data collected can

be discussed in relation to the varying experiences between the groups (FE students

and HE students) that were interviewed. First, is how the different students perceive

FBV, with many FE students discussing the optics of FBV. And secondly, I detail

the women's diversity of location, and how some of the HE students felt more

comfortable at multicultural universities.

FBV in FE and HE

A difference found between FE students and HE students was that of how the

Muslim women experience and encounter FBV. As discussed in chapter 7, it was

mostly FE Muslim women students who noted the disturbing optics of FBV within

their educational settings. This was either in the form of posters or display boards

that detailed FBV, found in corridors and classrooms. Indeed, other studies have also

found that the optics of FBV occur in these kinds of settings in similar ways (James,

2022; Moncrieffe & Moncrieffe, 2019; Richardson and Bolloten, 2015). When some

of the HE students discussed FBV, it was mostly in relation to how they *had*

perceived the values in FE or below, for example in school. I argued that this could

be due to FBV being a requirement for FE settings and below, as FBV are not

required to be promoted or taught in HE (HM Government, 2015b). I therefore found

that the HE Muslim women students in this study rarely experience FBV within universities. This also relates to the sub-theme of 'staff and lack of support' discussed in chapter 5. HE students in this study had fewer negative experiences as Muslim women in university compared to lower levels of education, the exclusion of FBV in HE could be part of this reason why.

Diversity of Location

The Muslim women students in this study also spoke to the fact that they feel more comfortable and more supported when their educational setting is diverse and multicultural, most noted this in relation to HE. Within this section, I analyse more empirical data directly relating to the diversity of location as this has not yet been discussed in this thesis. For Safa, she noted how being from a working-class background and being a Muslim girl. From this, she felt 'watched' in a White-majority lower-level educational setting:

> I was like [one of] five Asian people there and I'd come from a different school. And, you know, I was like, on free school meals and things like that… you could definitely feel when people like, you know, you'd walk into the classroom, I'd be one of the only girls. And I'd be the only Muslim girl.
> - Safa, HE student, focus group 1.

And then when I got to secondary [school], it was majority White students. So like, I felt like I couldn't be understood properly…

- Indah, HE student, focus group 3.

In a predominantly White sixth form, it is controversial, but in your own household or at a protest, it's an open discussion…considering Israel.

- Zainab, FE student, focus croup 4.

CRF is key in examining this interplay of racialisation and social class within Safa's educational experiences as a Muslim woman. For instance, class should not be identified alone in Safa's quote, without also paying attention to her being a racialised Muslim woman. Safa discussed how being on free school meals, insinuating her working-class background, and her being a minority within her new educational setting, made her feel *"watched"* by her peers and staff. I suggest that for Safa, her being one of the only Muslim women in her educational setting made her feel isolated and thus a lack of community. Safa further shared with me that her secondary school was *"way more diverse"* and thus did not feel as *"watched"*. However, she also noted that she still felt watched by teachers due to her being a visible Muslim woman. Indah shared these sentiments, she noted how when she attended a White majority school, she lacked confidence in being a visible Muslim woman, with feelings of being misunderstood. Much like Brown and Saeed's (2015) study which found that Muslim women identities are often restricted in education by the security discourses that follow them. Some of the FE Muslim women students

concerns surrounded teacher stereotypes and feeling unsupported in their educational settings. Whilst other HE Muslim women students noted how they felt that university did support them as Muslim students, and had fewer negative experiences in university compared to secondary school and college:

Ameera's story:

> Personally, I feel like throughout primary school, secondary school and college, anything to do with the Islamophobia was taken as a joke. I thought like anything that's ever said or said in retaliation is always just a joke, like I've had some of the most racist things that people can even imagine said to me. I've had people pull off my scarf. I've had people call me, you know, Jihadi John, like I've had all sides of the spectrum and I feel like, schools never take Islamophobia seriously, because I feel like institutions are already built to favour some students over others. And obviously me specifically, when I went to a White British school, it was not really a thing where I felt like I was in a space where I was protected or supported in any way... And I feel like now at university… I feel like they do have a lot of support systems out there for anything like this. I don't think they'll take it as lightly as you know, my college, my high school as well, and my primary school. Even like I feel like as a university, an institution, it will take a lot more seriously than, you know, high school.
> - Ameera, HE student, focus group 4.

Ameera recounted how she experienced serious Islamophobic incidents within school, including people forcibly removing her headscarf and being called a terrorist. She noted how she attended a majority White British school, because of this she said Islamophobia was not taken seriously and it was clear that the schools favoured

White students. Her feelings on being unprotected and unsupported by her school suggested that she was uncomfortable with showing her Muslim identity, and was aware of the racialisation that came with being a visible Muslim woman (Winter et al., 2021). She discussed how now she is at university she feels that they would take Islamophobic incidents more seriously.

> I didn't feel support previously [at school], but now I do believe I am getting a lot more support than I did before.
> - Ameera, HE student, focus group 4.

This could suggest that if the Muslim women feel more supported in their educational environment, which in this study, is more likely to be at university, then the women are more likely to express themselves and their Muslim identity more comfortably. Many noted they felt more supported due to university being more diverse. I argue that the Muslim women in this study feel that the diversity of their educational setting is important in their development as young Muslim women in education and increases their confidence particularly when it comes to issues of Islamophobia. I therefore suggest that the Prevent strategy encourages the securitisation of Muslim women students and that this could be more prevalent in majority-White educational settings, as the women spoke to the fact that they feel less monitored when they are not the minority.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the analysis of the final theme of 'gendered Islamophobia' and uncovered the feelings of the Muslim women in relation to how educational staff and peers treat them. I argued that the Muslim women students have been suspicioned by both staff and peers within educational spaces. I stated that it is important to recognise that this gendered Islamophobia does not exist in a vacuum and that many other factors such as the media and public rhetoric play a role in this also. However, I found that Prevent has furthered and encouraged the suspicion and monitoring aimed at Muslim women in educational settings. This therefore contributed to the gendered Islamophobia that is enabled through Prevent, this furthering of suspicion also demonstrated the gendered and racialised impact of Prevent. I also detailed the varied experiences of the FE women students and the HE women students. I argued that the differences between the two groups predominately concerned FBV and how they were experienced slightly differently between the two groups of students. A commonality between both sets of students was the issue of the diversity of location, which mattered greatly to both FE and HE students.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 have situated the three key themes relating to Muslim women amidst the literature, to explore possible ways that the Muslim women's perceptions can be interpreted and to demonstrate how Prevent operates as a gendered, racial project. Within the next chapter, I analyse the empirical data from the post-16 educators within this study, with themes including: 'Prevent is counterproductive', 'is Prevent safeguarding?' and 'Prevent Training is inadequate'.

Chapter 8: "It's almost a bit like your MI5": Educators' experiences and perceptions of the Prevent Duty

This empirical data chapter analyses post-16 educators' stories and experiences surrounding their Prevent Duty. The third research question of this thesis is 'how post-16 educators perceive their duty to Prevent within education', is analysed within this chapter. The purpose of interviewing educators alongside speaking to Muslim women students in focus groups and interviews was to address the gap in knowledge and understanding of how Prevent operates specifically within the UK's post-16 education sector, and how it affects both staff and students. The sector combined appears to have been largely ignored by policy makers in relation to Prevent, particularly when it concerns both staff and student opinion together. Again, this thesis focuses upon both FE and HE has they are both named within the government Prevent reviews as areas for improvement, and that they are rarely considered together. By considering the two together, I demonstrate how Prevent has impacted upon not only the Muslim women that are aged between 16-25, but of the educators that teach this demographic too. Considering the existing research in the area of Prevent in education (Bryan, 2017; Busher et al., 2019; Guest et al., 2020; Moffat and Gerard, 2019), this study captures the most recent trends of Prevent. It is one of few to provide an opportunity for FE and HE educators alike, to reveal their thoughts surrounding the Prevent Duty. From the thematic analysis, the key themes that were most prominent within the data were:

1. Prevent is counterproductive

2. Is Prevent safeguarding?

3. Prevent Training is inadequate

4. Alternatives to Prevent?

Within these themes are sub-themes that elaborate on the educators' thoughts towards the Prevent Duty in post-16 education. Towards the end of this chapter, the diversity of experiences are focused upon concerning the FE and HE educators, and that of the students and educators.

Prevent is Counterproductive

In the following section, I examine how the 'Prevent Duty' is perceived by the educators' within this study, and ultimately how Prevent is deemed counterproductive through the shutting down of debate within classrooms. Firstly, it is important to outline here what is meant by 'counterproductive'. As noted in chapter 3, the UN stated that Prevent may be 'promoting extremism rather than countering it' due to stigmatising and alienating 'segments of the population', therefore Prevent is counterproductive as it is not preventing extremism, but could be promoting it (United Nations, 2016, p.1). From my interviews with educator participants, Prevent was perceived to be counterproductive. This finding highlighted the negative perceptions surrounding the Prevent Duty. I found that the educators believed that the Prevent Duty negatively impacted upon debates and discussions within the classroom. I suggest that Prevent could be counterproductive as the strategy relies upon educators referring students on the basis of possible

radicalisation. If a student does not engage with debate out of fear of being referred to Prevent- how can Prevent pick up on these cases? Most of the educators within this research further indicated that they hold critical views of their Prevent Duty. The policy remains controversial amongst educators, reflecting other research within this area (Bryan, 2017; James, 2022; Moffat & Gerard, 2019; Spiller et al., 2017). Views or beliefs that educators hold about how Prevent can be considered counterproductive have been sorted into different sub-themes that were also identified in the literature and analysed below: 1) 'British' or 'universal' values?, concerning the Fundamental British Values (FBV) aspect of Prevent and, 2) the reluctance of educators to make referrals to Prevent (Faure Walker, 2021; The People's Review of Prevent, 2022; Sabir, 2023).

It was evident through the data obtained within this study that the educators considered Prevent to be counter-productive through the silencing of debate within post-16 education, and how ideas cannot be challenged freely therefore driving opinions further underground. This finding coincided with studies that also suggest the counterproductivity within Prevent. These include Faure Walker (2021), Open Society Justice Initiative (2016) and Saeed & Johnson (2016). The negative feelings towards Prevent in relation to the strategy being counterproductive, were highlighted by Carl and Jason. They recalled that:

> I have been informed by students on that it [Prevent], that it makes them think twice specifically as students from religious minorities… feeling uncomfortable because they feel like they're surveilled as a, as a minority, and I haven't had that much information and kind of in indirect ways so people

haven't come to me and say, well, in such and such an instance this… I think it's more of an atmosphere.

– Carl, HE educator

…It is often used to try and limit what kind of issues can be discussed in the classroom and as an A-level politics teacher that concerns me. You know, I think we should be encouraging our students to critique and to ask critical questions.

– Jason, FE educator

Within Carl's quote, he expressed that he was aware that students from religious minority backgrounds feel more wary about mentioning or discussing certain issues due to fears about possibly being surveilled by staff, therefore creating an "*atmosphere*". He implied that due to this "*atmosphere*", the students from religious minority backgrounds were aware that they could be reported to Prevent for what they say or do, and that this has resulted in students self-censoring their behaviour. Such an atmosphere of surveillance could suggest that students disengage from debates or discussions around sensitive topics. This finding from Carl suggesting that there was an atmosphere of surveillance, is consistent with that of Zempi and Tripli's (2023) study. They found that university students self-censor their beliefs and opinions (Zempi & Tripli, 2023). Carl further reflected on this atmosphere that he believes Prevent has created: "*I would really like to support my students in not being terrorists. I guess, but I don't, I don't see that the Prevent duty does that*". Carl stated that "*It's [Prevent] not really doing what's intended*". He felt as though Prevent was not preventing terrorism, rather the strategy was creating an "*atmosphere*" where students are "*feeling uncomfortable*". This finding from Carl suggesting the silencing of students is consistent with Faure Walker's (2021)

findings. Faure Walker (2021, p.10) described how Prevent shuts down classroom debates rather than promoting debate, resulting in silencing and denying students the opportunity to debate which can be 'vital to the moderation' of views. Breen-Smyth (2013) and Saeed and Johnson's (2016) finding of 'quietism' amongst students and students being securitised are echoed within Jason's statement also. Therefore, Prevent being deemed counterproductive is highlighted in Carl's story as he suggested students self-censoring and thus, the moderation of views does not occur.

Within Jason's comment, he recognised that there is an ongoing debate about whether Prevent is considered safeguarding or whether the policy "*prevents discussions*" (see later in the chapter for the theme on safeguarding). He expressed that he believes in the latter, that Prevent is used to "*limit*" certain issues within the classroom. Guest et al. (2020) also argue that Prevent discourages free speech in education and that both students and staff self-censor to avoid suspicion and difficult conversations. The views expressed by Carl and Jason are in line with the findings from Guest et al. (2020) study, they suggest that Prevent serves to silence and self-censor both staff and students, so that difficult or sensitive topics are not discussed. It is evident how this can be considered as Prevent being deemed counterproductive, as the silencing of debate within classrooms can drive opinions further underground, rather than challenged openly. Jason also asserted that we should be allowing students to ask critical questions and critique each other's opinions. Jason told me: "*I think it's important that those who have different points of view on things like immigration, feel that they can actually express those views without being completely shut down*". This quotation suggests that Jason believed that the moderation of views on immigration is vital in challenging possibly problematic

opinions, without students being fearful of being reported to Prevent or being "*shut down*" by staff or others in the classroom. This idea of allowing students to openly debate, was similarly found by The Open Justice Society's (2016) report. The report detailed how it is necessary for students to have the opportunity to debate within education to moderate views and avoid alienation of students (The Open Justice Society, 2016). It was also clear that the educator participants believed that students are continuously and constantly viewed under a suspicious lens within the classroom, rather than creating an environment in which students feel comfortable to discuss issues (Heath-Kelly & Strausz 2019; Rodrigo Jusué 2022).

Furthermore, Jason also criticised the Department for Education's (2022) guidance on 'political impartiality':

> I think alongside with the political impartiality in schools. I feel that we're quite limited in in what we can discuss sometimes in the classroom, especially when there's big issues like racism, climate change… like policies like, you know, around immigration at the moment. You know, it feels that where were discouraged from criticising the government on these issues…I have to implement Prevent in the classroom, but because of, you know, the DfE guidance on political impartiality in the classroom, I can't talk about or I can't openly criticise the government for using dehumanising language around immigrants, you know, that's the bind. I think a lot of teachers are in. So, on the one hand, yeah, we're encouraged to report students if they talk about swarms of immigrants crossing the channel and none of my students say that by the way, but I can't criticise government ministers

saying the exact same thing you know on Twitter or, you know, after leaving no.10, Downing Street and so on.

– Jason, FE educator

Here, Jason discussed how Prevent appears to hold educators to a higher standard than that of the government. He believed that he would be expected to report similar rhetoric, like the government's, to Prevent if it was expressed from his own students. Also, due to the political impartiality guidance, Jason felt as though he could not heavily criticise the UK government for using "dehumanising language". Therefore, I suggest that there are also reservations here from Jason about what political impartiality actually is, particularly as it comes from government guidance. It was clear that Jason does not think highly of the political impartiality guidance, as he questions whether it prevents him or his students from discussing topics, particularly surrounding immigration. Jason discussed how the requirement to be politically impartial is a factor in the silencing of debate within classrooms. It was interesting to observe how educators perceive their duty to Prevent in relation to the new political impartiality guidance that was released by the Department for Education (2022). Although the Prevent Duty is a legal requirement that educational settings must abide by, the 'political impartiality' is simply guidance that is reinforced by other legal duties; including the Prevent Duty, Equality Act 2010 and the Human Rights Act 1998 (Department for Education, 2022). As a result of the political impartiality guidance, teachers did not have to alter their teaching from this official guidance. However, the National Education Union highlighted that there was 'no need' for the guidance as it confusing and could mean that teachers are 'less likely to engage with political issues' (Schools Week, 2022, p.1). It is important to note that the political impartiality guidance was only directed towards 'all schools, including academies

and independent schools' and that 'it does not cover early years settings, 16 to 19 academies, further education colleges or universities' (Department for Education, 2022, p.1). Although the guidance did not officially apply to Jason, as he did not work in a school, he nonetheless felt that it impacted upon his teaching by attempting to limit what educators can discuss within classrooms. This is particularly important as it underlined how lines can be blurred amongst 1) the Prevent Duty, 2) other official guidance, and 3) what they ultimately mean for post-16 educators.

This silencing of debate was also found within Laura's, Tim's, and Jason's quotes below. Within the discussion, I highlight how some educators have differing levels of confidence in terms of discussing certain topics in the classroom:

> It's the Islamic side that I really struggle with, largely because I'm not Islamic and I don't fully understand their culture…And so, I'm being a White, like nonreligious, possibly slightly Christian if anything person, then I don't really know how to deal with that… As I said, that's the training that we had was remind students what British values are and that those [that] aren't appropriate, shut the conversation down. Maybe if required, remove the student, and have a conversation with them and then check the well-being of all the learners in your room to make sure that they haven't been upset by that student's comments or remarks. But I don't, I don't necessarily agree that's the right way of dealing with it. And so, but to be honest, it's a bit like they [other staff] didn't really know either.
> - Laura, FE educator

> It's not uncommon sometimes to hear opinions from students. Um, that may be critical of immigration, and I mean, I've had

to challenge like in the past week comments, for example, but I feel comfortable doing that. I don't think necessarily somebody expressing those views that they've heard from a parent, for example, means they're at high risk of radicalization. Um, you know, I feel confident of being able to challenge that and to have a discussion, not to, you know, admonish them in front of the class.

- Jason, FE educator

I think I'm relatively good at my job in terms of creating an environment in which students feel comfortable to talk about those issues. But I can't say that when we talk about those issues, you know, is there a chilling effect in terms of how students perceive their own freedom of speech to speak in that environment? Um, yeah. I think in terms of higher education in universities, I think it's, again it for me as an educator would be less of an issue. I don't know how that plays out for the students, how they perceive it, I know it's much more of an issue [for students].

- Tim, HE educator

Laura told of how she felt unequipped and uncomfortable teaching about Islam out of fear that she could get something wrong, and this also derived from a lack of efficient advice from her workplace. She expressed discomfort in discussing Islam. This suggests Laura had self-censored, particularly when teaching about religion as she did not want to upset or offend students or in turn result in students expressing opinions to her that she found difficult to deal with in terms of a possible Prevent referral. Moffat and Gerard (2019) argued that teachers within their study often avoided discussing or debating certain topics, due to limiting the chances of students potentially expressing views that they would then have to report through Prevent

(Ramsay, 2017). This could also be down to the lack of support available to staff surrounding advice on how to deal with certain topics. The statement from Laura reflected the difficulties she faces in terms of the inadequate Prevent training she received (which will be discussed later), but also that staff were told to "*shut the conversation down*" to prevent the student continuing to discuss an opinion that may or may not be "*appropriate*". Laura also asserted that she does not agree with stopping a student from discussing what they wish nor removing them from the classroom. However, she suggested there is difficulty in knowing what the "*right way to deal*" with a student that may voice controversial opinions, and this was shared amongst staff in her setting. In CRF terms, we can view these *"shut down"* comments through a racialised lens. For instance, Laura was discussing her story within a White, non-religious context, therefore anything that falls outside of this scope is considered to be abnormal. It is evident here that Prevent's racialised boundaries seep into the educators thoughts, resulting in White privilege in action (Bhopal, 2023).

Laura's statement is similar to Jason's "*shut down*" comment discussed earlier; this requires further dissection. Both educators indicated that they are reluctant to prevent or remove students and/or comments that may be deemed controversial in the classroom. These comments also demonstrated that there is a lack of clear guidance given to staff across different educational settings. For example, Laura was specifically told to "*shut the conversation down*". On the other hand, Jason and Tim told me that they felt confident and comfortable in challenging opinions and managing discussions. However, it was not clear if they also received guidance from their setting on possible controversial comments from students. Tim noted that he

understood that Prevent had more of an impact on students' freedom of speech, than that of educators, like himself. It could be suggested that as Tim is a HE educator, he does not feel as legally bound to Prevent as Laura and Jason do, as they are both FE educators. Therefore, this could have impacted upon his own confidence levels when discussing sensitive topics in his classroom. Carl also told me that he felt confident discussing certain topics in university also, however he too shared that Prevent "*makes students think twice"* before speaking in the classroom. Therefore, the silencing of debate could be seen to be lesser in university settings as the educators feel less bound to the Prevent Duty. However, the HE educators in this study still expressed concern for their students' freedom of speech within university.

O'Donnell (2020) provides an account of how educators should deal with debates or comments that are deemed controversial. A crucial role of an educator is that when difficult topics arise, the educator is able 'take it off the table temporarily', or to 'flag' a student's comment that can be addressed at a later point out of 'professional judgement' (O'Donnell, 2020, p.145). Both Jason and Tim expressed that they are confident in being able to challenge students' comments, thus using professional judgement. Whereas Laura feels as though the Prevent training that she received stops staff from using professional judgement and rather her setting suggested that staff should shut down a student and then also remind them of "*British values"*. O'Donnell (2020, p.146) observes that using 'professional judgement' allows for educators to challenge or explore certain statements made in the classroom. This difference in dealing with possible Prevent 'issues', reflects what Sjøen and Jore (2019, p.277) state as they suggest that "there are differences in approaches, most likely due to variations in confidence and experience among educators".

Sub-theme: 'British' or 'Universal' Values?

Laura's above quote also touched upon "*British values*", which are an aspect of the Prevent Duty. These fundamental British values (FBV) were discussed within chapter 3. Bolloten and Richardson (2015) and Crawford (2017) both highlight the negative impact that these 'British values' can have upon students. For example, constructing British White values as superior or constructing difference within Britain. It is particularly relevant to mention CRF here, as within FBV there are racialised undertones implemented within them, often favouring White British people. Within this research, the post-16 educators either indicated that 'British values' were vague, a negative aspect of their teaching life, or were simply ignored. When we discussed British values in education, the FE educators within this research noted that they were critical of FBV:

> They [OFSTED] were asking around about British values and, and it's reading off a script we expect from you to be teaching, but it doesn't really say, you know, what do they actually mean? … one of those things that isn't very easy, to just sort of reel off. Umm so I find it. I find it slightly unhelpful.
> – Lewis, FE educator

> I had an OFSTED style inspection. And they asked my students, my sociology students, have you ever been taught British values? And they're like, no, never discussed it… we talked so much [about] British values in terms of students would know that it is about equality and fairness and

kindness, and you know all those kinds of things, but they wouldn't know to call them British values… They wouldn't know that they're termed British values.

- Laura, FE educator

I don't give much currency to British values. I have to try and evidence on implementing them.

- Jason, FE educator

I think anything that you'll be made to shoehorn into your lesson that doesn't fit naturally doesn't feel right for me… I've been teaching now for nearly ten years, and I still don't think I'm really clear on how to embed them in my lessons.

- Sophia, FE educator

Lewis and Laura both discussed FBV in relation to OFSTED. Within Lewis's quote, he suggested that FBV were vague and unhelpful. The OFSTED (2015) Common Inspection Framework states that there are 'several things you can do to increase your students' resilience to extremist narratives' and that these include 'promoting the fundamental British values'. Lewis's comments indicated that OFSTED provided a "*script*" of information to teachers concerning how to teach and engage students with FBV. He told of how British values are not "*easy*" to teach and he uses the example of "*the rule of law*" to demonstrate the limitations of British value discourse. Lewis asks why OFSTED do not ask if students know how the political system works, implying that this would be more productive than implementing British values, which he finds "*unhelpful*" and vague. See also Hodkinson (2020, p.35), as they suggest that British values serve to force out the Subaltern Other and suggests they are a form of cultural programming. Within Laura's quote, like Lewis, she mentions 'OFSTED' in relation to implementing British values and her unease at

labelling them British. Most of the participants within this study indicated that they felt uncomfortable about British values, particularly surrounding the term 'British'. Laura indicates that the term 'British' values is often confusing for students. Her students did not know what 'British values' were when asked because Laura never explicitly called them 'British values' within her lessons, as she was uncomfortable with that term. Again here, we see that Laura self-censors even when it concerns the very notion of 'British values'. Laura complies with the requirement to implement FBV in FE educational settings. However, makes a conscious decision not to label them 'British', but rather to integrate similar values more naturally into her lessons.

Sophia and Jason, both FE educators, also share Lewis's and Laura's view surrounding how British values are "*unhelpful*". The FE educators within this study argued that British values interrupt their teaching because of having to implement, or as Sophia said "*shoehorn*" them into lessons. They view them as unnatural and are critical of FBV, but the educators also see FBV as an aspect that they are required to implement, as they are observed by OFSTED in relation to their Prevent Duty. See also Brooke (2023, p.6) and Lowe (2017, p.921) who insist British values are 'purely subjective' and that the values have nothing 'inherently British' about them. The finding here of the uncomfortableness surrounding British values agrees with Bryan's (2017, p.221) findings of British values being described by educators within their study as 'plastic' and 'lacking nuance'. Within my study, it is suggested that FE educators in particular feel the need to implement FBV in terms of their legal obligation, but they do not necessarily agree with them as they deem them to be vague, unhelpful, or as a task that they feel required to carry out and implement.

Tim and Carl, both HE educators, similarly had negative views towards FBV. However, they also suggested that they do not engage with them within the HE settings, as they are not required to do so under Prevent (HM Government, 2015b). Carl mentioned that his only contact with FBV were in early learning or in a school setting.

> You know you're talking about universal values. You're talking about universal approaches to human rights, so trying to say that, you know, Prevent is a way of helping to ensure that [British] values…are protected and it's just that it's rubbish, isn't it? At the end of the day, um. It's just another element of the narrative that's invoked to sort of justify legitimise the continued use of Prevent.
> - Tim, HE educator

> My main contact with British values is in like early years education or school education… it's so broadly and blandly defined and then strictly required…
> - Carl, HE educator

In Tim's account, he thinks that 'British values' are utilised to "*legitimise*" Prevent. He suggests that implementing British values into education serves to encourage wider public support of the use of Prevent within education. For example, teaching young people about values such as 'respect' and 'individual liberty' should be thought of as positive. However, under the guise of 'British values' it serves as a more sinister project. Jason touches on this below:

> …but they're [British values] interpreted in a certain way as well. I think it is all about promoting national unity. And you

know, it is about celebrating Britain's past. And that is a
bloody colonial past as well. And that's something our
students would be aware of… But again, you know, if you
look at them, if you really scrutinise the values and then look
at you know what the government is doing and saying today
you will see you know. That they're not consistently following
British values.

- Jason, FE educator

Whilst Jason recognises that the government aim to implement British values to
promote *"national unity",* he also asserts that Britain's colonial past is oft forgotten
about or ignored in the context of British values. Indeed, Sharma and Nijjar (2023)
state that British values never directly reference race. However, FBV are 'overtly
nationalistic' and this serves to enforce British values into the routine everyday life
of Muslim communities (Sharma and Nijjar, 2023, p.13).

Ultimately, British values can relate to the theme of Prevent being
'counterproductive' due to British values being perceived negatively by all the
educators within the study. Mainly because of the hostile connotations that British
values carry, particularly concerning race. This suggests that both FE and HE
educators within this study were highly critical of 'Fundamental British Values' and
hesitant to implement them within their classrooms. However, in the case of the FE
educators who understood FBV to be monitored by OFSTED and thus their settings
compliance to the Prevent Duty, they often had limited opportunities to oppose
implementing FBV within their lessons. This finding was also consistent with
Busher et al. (2019, p.451), as they stated that once the Prevent Duty was enacted,
the educators that were required to conform had 'limited opportunities for dissent'.

Therefore, this sub-theme suggested that FBV are used as a political tool in which some educators are bound to 'promote'. I found that educators do not accept FBV, and are reluctant to engage with them. However, they are aware that they must implement them into their lessons. This hesitancy surrounding FBV could potentially result in hostility and further self-censoring of student and staff opinion in fear of being out of line with 'British values'.

Sub-theme: Reluctance to refer to Prevent

The reluctance to refer students to Prevent was another sub-theme found within educators' accounts under the wider theme of 'Prevent being counterproductive'. This was also discussed in relation to the Muslim women students in chapter 6. This study suggests that educators are often reluctant to report students to Prevent, thus not making Prevent referrals. Other research has also focused upon the referral process from the education sector (Cohen & Tufail, 2017; Lakhani, 2020; Pettinger, 2020; Rights and Security International, 2023; Saeed & Johnson, 2016; Scerri, 2024). This was discussed within the chapter 2 and 3, particularly in relation to Muslim students being over referred to Prevent. Evidence from my study further supports such findings. However, within this research, the educators were aware of a 'culture of over referrals' and were therefore increasingly hesitant to report students through Prevent (Rights Watch UK, 2016, p.5). When I asked the educators how they felt carrying out the Prevent Duty, they told me:

> I would prefer to train teachers to manage those discussions
> and to try and challenge pupils on them to try and understand

where these views come from, why they hold them…I
wouldn't go through Prevent…

- Jason, FE educator

It feels more like I'm doing it for the benefit of the police and
wider society like catching criminals before they become
criminal. It feels more like that than I'm doing this to support
my student…I feel like it's like reporting [them] to the
police…it's almost a bit like your MI5. And I'm dobbing in
one of my students to you, you know, that's kind of how it
feels.

- Laura, FE educator

It's not really about whether I agree with it [Prevent] or not,
but the extent to which I think it doesn't work. If I was in that
situation, I would feel torn because the I really strongly think
that empirical evidence is that the Prevent Duty, it's not what
helps, but it's also required.

- Carl, HE educator

I think they're very clear in that Prevent is the only type of
training, in the same way that FGM [female genital
mutilation] is talked about, that we have a legal responsibility
to report it.

- Sophia, FE educator

Within the above statements, it is evident that the educators feel hesitant to report to

Prevent. Jason and Laura do not believe that a Prevent referral would help a student,

whilst Carl and Sophia struggle with feeling "*torn*" between knowing they have a

statutory responsibility to the Prevent duty but also fundamentally disagreeing with

Prevent and knowing that it could negatively impact a student's life. Jason suggests

that he is hesitant to report a student to Prevent and that he would rather have an

open discussion with the student. David Omand, the architect of Prevent, had suggested that the Prevent Duty should not have been statutory, as it encouraged teachers to report rather than dealing with the issue 'pragmatically' (O'Donnell, 2020). In Jason's comment, it was clear that he would rather deal with a student's problematic remarks 'pragmatically', rather than seeing his duty to Prevent as compulsory as he chooses not to report to Prevent. Like Jason, Laura also demonstrated her reluctance to engage with Prevent on the basis that the implications of referring a student to Prevent may not sufficiently protect or help them. Much like Fernandez' (2024, p.12) findings, in that teachers often feel uncomfortable referring students to Prevent, with one claiming that 'they [students] will be on the radar for years to come'. The educator's comments demonstrate that Prevent is counterproductive through the reluctance to report due to being critical of the strategy. Therefore, if the strategy is seen as unfavourable by the educators, Prevent is not promoting its supposed aim of preventing those from becoming radicalised, instead, the educators find it an unhelpful tool.

It was suggested that some of the educators within the study felt as though they were part of an educational security apparatus, in which they felt as though they are required to report on suspicious behaviour. This is similar to the idea that teachers have now become responsibilised into extended agents of the state in order to recognise possible 'radicalisation' warning signs (Finn, 2011; Heath-Kelley, 2016a; James, 2022; Whiting et al., 2024). Carl's response indicates that not only does he think that Prevent *"doesn't work"* due to there being strong *"empirical evidence"* that suggests Prevent is unhelpful, but he also acknowledged that he felt that he has no choice in resisting Prevent if he did have concerns about a student. So, whilst the

reluctance to report to Prevent is evident within Carl's statement as he stated his unease surrounding Prevent, he was also aware of the statutory nature of the Prevent Duty: *"I mean it's a duty and it's legal, so I'm bound to it"*. Sophia also told me of how she believed that they, as educators, have a "*legal duty*" to Prevent. There is research that have found similar conclusions that although educators are critical of the Prevent Duty, it is accepted by them on the basis that they believe it to be compulsory (Busher et al., 2019; da Silva et al. 2021). In that sense, it could be argued that there is an increasing movement towards shutting down criticism and dissent towards the Prevent Duty, as it is framed as either '*required*' or as a '*legal duty*'. Busher et al. (2019, p.440) make the point that this may not 'reflect reluctant policy accommodation' or even 'straightforward policy acceptance', but that it is a combination of the Prevent's 'narration, enactment and adaption'.

Laura's story:

Laura, told me a detailed story of how she was reluctant to report a student to Prevent that had shared concerning comments to Laura about women and homosexuality:

> So, I've got this lovely kid [student]. As I was saying, but he's got some really difficult ideas about women, and he thinks they should always be in the home… How do I deal with that in the classroom?... I feel I would never report them through Prevent because I feel like…actually, by reporting them through Prevent, I'm saying what you are saying now is wrong and we need to shut that conversation down. And that actually just drives things further into problem territory.
> - Laura, FE educator

It is evident that Laura felt as though she was not well equipped to deal with difficult conversations within the classroom, as she asked how she could deal with this issue, particularly surrounding misogyny. In addition to this, she indicated that she is also reluctant to refer to Prevent. Laura recognised that Prevent is counterproductive. For example, Laura stated that reporting the student to Prevent could deepen the problem by driving "*things further into problem territory",* thus further problematising the student. She suggested that allowing students to voice their opinions and to debate rather than shutting students down, it would be more productive in helping the students. As discussed earlier, Prevent referrals can often make a student withdraw from society and result in further alienation (Open Society Justice Initiative, 2016). Laura told me that she did not know what to do with the student, whilst simultaneously not wanting to refer them to Prevent. Instead, she emailed the regional Prevent team for advice:

> Nobody quite knew what to do about it. So, at this point I then I actually emailed the Prevent team and said, look, this is the situation…Would you come in and talk to our college because it's different if someone comes in from outside rather than like me standing up who they see every day going "So today we're going to talk about Prevent". It just doesn't. It just doesn't feel right. And but anyway, they never responded. So, I've no idea what their thoughts were on it either.
> - Laura, FE educator

Within this story, Laura described how the regional Prevent team did not give a *"single reply"* to her request for help concerning a student. Despite Laura not wanting to report the student to Prevent, she still wished to gain advice from the regional Prevent team. She also indicated that having a local Prevent team visit her

setting to discuss potential problems with students would have been more beneficial than her simply talking about Prevent to her students. However, Prevent training appears to be more commonplace for educators (WRAP training), as this a requirement to fulfil their Prevent Duty, than for workshops to be delivered to students concerning Prevent (Moffat & Gerard, 2019). I asked Laura how she felt concerning this situation, she told me *"I just found it useless to be fair"*. Laura's hesitancy to report to Prevent could be perhaps better explained by one of her previous experiences of a student being referred to Prevent in her setting, and the student then not returning to their educational setting afterwards:

> With my last student…when he was reported to Prevent uh, it wasn't a nice experience and he never returned to school after.
> - Laura, FE educator

Laura's response indicates that Prevent can be deemed counterproductive as the student that was referred to Prevent did not enter her educational setting again, and she was unaware of what happened to the student thereafter. This demonstrated how the alienation process of a Prevent referral takes place: a student expresses an opinion, staff pick up on this and report to Prevent, the student is contacted by Prevent and withdraws themselves and is therefore alienated from education and/or society (Faure Walker, 2021; Open Society Justice Initiative, 2016). This alienation process also results in the self-censorship of students discussed earlier. Students are aware of Prevent operating in education, therefore they self-censor their opinions out of fear of a Prevent referral (as discussed in the previous chapter).

A HE educator, Tim, also detailed the difficulty in possibly intervening if they have concerns about a student and the implications of referring a student to Prevent:

> …what might be the impact of intervening say in a young person's life and saying to them, we're worried that you're going to become a terrorist? When maybe they're just exploring the boundaries of political debate and issues that border into areas of extremism.
> - Tim, HE educator

Within Tim's statement, he indicated that he was reluctant to report to Prevent as a student may simply be *"exploring"* their own opinions and societal boundaries surrounding issues that may border into *"extremism"*. The notion of 'extremism' was discussed in chapter 3. Within Prevent there is a particular focus on 'non-violent extremism'. Many have critiqued this term as difficult to define and having the potential to affect lawful political dissent (Child Rights International Network, 2022; Faure Walker, 2021; Kundnani and Hayes, 2018; United Nations, 2016). Tim recognised that there are blurred lines in what the Government define as 'extremism' and what educators perceive to be students simply *"exploring the boundaries of political debate"*. The requirements of Prevent remain blurred, as Tim recognises a young person exploring politics, whereas in the past, referrals to Prevent have concerned comments taken out of context or misunderstood (Prevent Watch, 2021). This could result in the hesitancy to engage with a Prevent referral following debates within the classroom. This sentiment is somewhat similar to what Kundnani (2009, p.6) discussed in relation to Prevent aiming to 'depoliticising young people'. This depoliticization results in Prevent being counterproductive as it 'strengthens the hands of those who say democracy is pointless' (Kundnani, 2009, p.6). Tim also

considered the impact of a Prevent referral in a young person's life. He suggests that reporting on a student that may or may not become 'radicalised' due to the opinions that they hold, could potentially harm them. This can be linked to the alienation process of Prevent referrals discussed above (Open justice Society, 2016).

As stated by The People's Review of Prevent (2023), a student referral can often begin with a distressing experience of being questioned by a teacher, or by the police, to decide whether there should be a Prevent referral or not. This is similar to the experience that a student within this study, Ameera, a HE student, described above when questioned by the police in school (this was analysed in chapter 7). Furthermore, the referral process can leave lasting effects on the individual, such as social exclusion, even when they are not deemed to be at risk of radicalisation (Abbas et al., 2021). Controversies surrounding Prevent data collection and retention also poses issues, as discussed in chapters 2 and 3 (Child Rights International Network, 2022; Rights and Security International, 2023). It is therefore unsurprising that the educators stated their reservations about potentially referring a student to Prevent with likely negative implications. In relation to the main theme of 'Prevent is counterproductive', it can be argued that Prevent is not achieving what it aims to do if educators are not willing or are reluctant to report to Prevent.

At this point, the question posed at the beginning of the chapter of 'how post-16 educators perceive their duty to Prevent within education?', can be addressed. This section has sought to uncover educators' feelings towards their Prevent Duty. The above theme of 'Prevent is counterproductive' was separated into sub-themes, that included, 'British' or 'universal' values? and 'the reluctance to refer to Prevent'.

Within the analysis of how staff are self-censoring, particularly when FBV are concerned, it demonstrated how opinions could be driven further underground. The hesitancy of staff to report to Prevent could also suggest that Prevent is failing in its aim of requiring educators to make these initial referrals.

Is Prevent 'safeguarding'?

An important theme that arose from the interviews that I held with educators was that of 'is Prevent safeguarding?'. Existing research in this area often concludes that educational settings have the dominant view that Prevent is regarded as part of their 'safeguarding' regime, and that settings rely on existing safeguarding strategies to promote Prevent (Ali, 2020; Busher et al., 2017; Martin, 2019; Thomas, 2016; Whiting et al., 2024; Qurashi, 2017). In addition to these findings, labelling Prevent as a part of educators safeguarding duties has been criticised as 'masking the true nature of Prevent' and not having a young persons' best interests at heart (Child Right's International Network, 2022; Lundie, 2019; Sabir, 2022). Below analyses the comments made by Sophia and Lewis when we discussed Prevent as safeguarding:

> I view it in the same way that I view safeguarding.
> - Sophia, FE educator

> Researcher: And in terms of it [Prevent] being described as safeguarding… how do you feel about that?

> Lewis: I suppose yes, yes, if it if this is if is this… And it is a safeguarding duty. I accept it. I accept that. That's probably as it should be.
>
> - Lewis, FE educator

Sophia and Lewis were the educators within this study that suggested they uncritically accepted the Prevent Duty as part of their safeguarding duties. This is similar to what Busher et al. (2019, p.454) found, in that once a social issue is framed as a 'safeguarding issue', it is 'broadly accepted' by educators 'whatever the national scale'. Framing Prevent as a safeguarding approach could make it more palatable for educators (Whiting et al., 2024). The safeguarding of children and young people is often understood as an aspect in the educational sphere that is deemed 'desirable' and 'politically neutral' (Spiller et al., 2022, p.123). It was evident that Sophia and Lewis also foster this neutral perspective. O'Donnell (2020) further discussed how this adoption of 'safeguarding' rhetoric by Governments is now heavily involved within the realm of P/CVE. The UK government stated that educational settings can safeguard children from extremist views 'in the same ways that they help to safeguard children from drugs, gang violence or alcohol' (HM Government, 2011, p.69). This view is something that the educator, Lewis, also touches on. He told me that:

> Violent extremism seems to be better seen or understood as just one of, a number of, rabbit holes that um, teenagers, particularly teenage boys, can fall down, and that actually understanding it in the same way as drug and substance or the substance misuse, gangs of violence, that kind of thing.
>
> - Lewis, FE educator

Lewis' indicated that he understood violent extremism in the same terms of young people being drawn to drugs or gangs. This language of safeguarding is an interesting one. On one hand there are educators who accept the Prevent Duty as part of their wider safeguarding responsibilities. On the other hand, there is the question of what safeguarding from 'radicalisation' looks like. For instance, the Joint Committee on Human Rights (2016, p.5) highlighted that there is 'no consensus or shared definition of what children would be safeguarded from in the case of so-called radicalisation', in comparison to issues such as sexual or physical abuse (O'Donnell, 2020).

Compared to Sophia and Lewis, the other educators within the study were more critical of Prevent being deemed as 'safeguarding'. When I asked the educators on how they felt regarding Prevent being seen as part of his safeguarding duties, they responded:

> I'm not sure it's entirely consistent with safeguarding. For example, like for example, if I think [if] a student…criticises British foreign policy and yet there has been referrals and you know, with regard to Prevent about people criticising foreign policy that then get investigated and you get like a whole range of professionals asking that student to come in and trying to justify what they said like. Um, I don't see that as effective safeguarding.
> - Jason, FE educator

> And I think what Prevent does is it puts the onus entirely on teachers as like as you say, another safeguarding requirement,

but in line with kind of like telling social services about somebody because the repercussions of Prevent could be quite severe. And it sort of tends to take students entirely out of the picture. [It] places the onus on teachers as the police force…

- Laura, FE educator

Universities have a requirement around safeguarding, but that only extends as far as professional and support staff. It shouldn't actually impact upon academics. OK, so academics are covered under, in higher education at university level, we're covered under academic freedom, so we should be able to talk about and discuss these issues without Prevent ever touching us… And it is it's framed through that that point of safeguarding.

- Tim, HE educator

As Jason and Laura suggest that Prevent is not consistent with safeguarding, this can be linked back to the idea of how there is no clear consensus on what safeguarding a young person from radicalisation is (Joint Committee on Human Rights, 2016). Jason essentially asks why students who may be critical of the Government may result in them being *"investigated"* through a CT lens. This line of questioning indicated that Jason did not see Prevent in the safeguarding sphere as it is not what 'safeguarding' is intended to do. This is particularly relevant to consider as this data paralleled wider findings concerning the purpose of safeguarding. Laura further suggests that Prevent operates within the education system treating educators as a police force. She also recognised the severe consequences of a Prevent referral, which were highlighted in chapters 5 and 6. 'Safeguarding' is highlighted in other research as protecting 'individuals from harm, rather than protecting society from harmful individuals' (Brooke, 2023, p.5; Coppock and McGovern, 2014). It is

suggested that Prevent in fact, does the opposite (Heath-Kelly & Strausz, 2018; Qurashi, 2017).

Further to this, Tim firmly believed that Prevent should not impact upon educators within university due to the role of Prevent primarily being formed by "*professional and support staff*". Tim suggested that Prevent should never intervene with academics due to 'academic freedom'- which is a legal right in the UK- he also acknowledges that Prevent is framed through safeguarding (Education Reform Act, 1988). Also, note how Tim said "*we should be able to talk about and discuss*" issues without the fear of the Prevent Duty, the word "should" suggested that Tim was also aware that unfortunately Prevent does impact upon what educators say, and the topics that they discuss. I believe that Tim's comments were in reference to the Duty applying 'to institutions rather than to individual staff' (Amnesty International, 2023). In relation to this issue of how HE educators participate with their Prevent Duty, Spiller et al. (2022) found that the rules surrounding how HE educators, like Tim, are expected to engage with the Prevent Duty are unclear. Prelec et al. (2022) also observed that more than two thirds of the UK social science academics surveyed felt that academic freedom was under threat in universities. Therefore, it can be argued that whilst some educators felt that Prevent should be considered safeguarding, just as safeguarding young people from drugs or violence occurs, others considered that Prevent is not an effective safeguarding tool. As they cited possible drastic consequences for the student. Therefore, Prevent was described as not having the students' best interests at heart and that the strategy was implicated with academic freedom, which may be failing.

Prevent Training is inadequate

Below highlights how the participants within this study stated that the Prevent training they received from their educational workplace was inadequate. Despite some research findings that suggests Prevent training was received positively by staff (Busher et al., 2019), my finding of Prevent training being seen to be inadequate is in keeping with the majority of other research in this area (Acik & Deakin, 2017; Blackwood et al., 2012; Gulland, 2017; Heath-Kelly & Strausz, 2019; Lakhani, 2020; Scerri, 2024; Spiller at al., 2018). However here, I give an updated view on specifically how some post-16 educators feel towards their Prevent training. The educators detailed that the training was inadequate in several ways: 1) it was an unhelpful tick-box exercise, 2) it occurred predominately online, and 3) Prevent training did not aid them in spotting possible signs of radicalisation in their students. Tim, Carl, and Laura detailed how the training that they received resembled a tick-box format:

> For universities, it's kind of like this, this tick-box exercise of 'are we compliant with it'? So, in my university, I think we do a 45-minute training programme, an online training programme that staff take… So, it becomes an issue of compliance rather than, you know, is this thing actually effectively working, does it, does it allow us to stop people from being drawn into terrorism? It's more about ticking a box and saying 'okay, yeah, we've done this'. And how that plays out in my university is we roll out training on Prevent to all professional and support staff, but also to academics as well,

and I think that's potentially over compliance in terms of the university.

- Tim, HE educator

It doesn't actually help you to implement anything. [It] doesn't help you to understand it, and it's like a tick boxing, tick-box exercise. That's how it comes across… It feels wholly uncritical.

- Carl, HE educator

You know, I just found it [Prevent training] useless to be fair it sort of… It didn't help with anything apart from to say we've talked about Prevent training in a capacity. Therefore, we've ticked that box, and they say thank you.

- Laura, FE educator

The educators understanding of the training that they received was overall negative. Their referencing to the *"tick-box exercise"*, was used by them to demonstrate that the Prevent training was overall simple and unhelpful. Indeed, Tim stated that the training was to *"check compliance",* this could have been in relation to the Prevent Duty requiring that FE and HE provide sufficient training to appropriate staff members (Home Office, 2023d). Tim and Laura also hint that this "*compliance"* or ensuring that they have *"ticked that box"*, relates to Prevent being a statutory duty. This statutory duty can create an atmosphere of being unable to question the training that they receive, and that the educators feel they must endure the training in relation to their safeguarding duties (Moffat & Gerard, 2019; Open Society Justice Initiative, 2016). Tim further suggested that universities should be questioning if Prevent *"works",* and not have unquestioning obedience with the Duty, or as Tim put it *"over compliance".* Again, the level of compliance in HE regarding how educators

are expected to engage or act alongside the Prevent Duty remains unclear (Spiller et al., 2022).

Carl further suggested that there is little room for questioning or criticising Prevent training, as he describes it as *"wholly uncritical"* and having *"no opportunity to think"*. It was a simple exercise that was completed quickly. Carl and Laura both suggested that the training does not *"help"* them with anything that Prevent involves nor how to implement it, this included not being prepared to spot possible signs of radicalisation. This finding suggested that the Prevent training that is provided to educators within this study does not ensure that they fully understand their Duty, nor do they feel it helps prepare them to implement it within their classrooms. It is simply another training exercise that they must do required by their institution to *"tick"* a box.

The Prevent training being inadequate theme continued as all the educators that I interviewed detailed that the training was an online exercise. Sophia was the only educator within this research to note that her training combined online training with external speakers delivering training. The other educators expressed their uncomfortableness around their online training:

> [It was] generic kind of, online training… I just thought it was very simplistic.
> - Jason, HE educator.
>
> We had to do the online Government Prevent training which…to be honest, I mean any online training's crap anyway, isn't it? … you're told [that] everyone must do this by

October and you've got no time to do it. And so, you literally press the 'click through' button, it's scrolling through as fast as you can make it. You're setting all your videos to like speed 1-2x, so you can get through them faster. And then you answer the quiz at the end. Job done.

- Laura, FE educator

It just asks you to fill in 10 questions, having watched a 5-minute video or whatever happens. And then if you get any of them wrong, that's fine. You just go back and click the other one on the multiple choice is like this, just completely…Yeah, uncritical application… My professional opinion is that the training is BS [bullshit]. And because it's delivered in the same way that… so I used to have manual jobs and when I did manual labour… you have a cup of tea and you and it washes over you and the Prevent Duty training is like that. It's like a video, and it doesn't mean anything.

-   Carl, HE educator

This finding of Prevent online training being perceived to be unhelpful or *"generic"*, is like that of Moffat and Gerard's (2019) research. They suggested that the 'superficial nature' of the online training did not help teachers feel well equipped to fulfil the Prevent Duty (Moffat & Gerard, 2019, p.204). The online training was described by Carl as being similar to a manual labour job's health and safety videos. This suggested that the Prevent training was merely surface level as it included quizzes, videos, and questions. The educators above stated that they sped the video up, so that it could be completed faster as they have little time to do this training along with their regular teaching duties. Simply re-doing the training questions that they get incorrect was an aspect the educators touched upon, and thus completing the

Prevent training seemingly qualifies them to spot possible signs of radicalisation (Heath-Kelly & Strausz, 2019).

In addition to the simplistic online training, the educators in this study also expressed doubt on whether the Prevent training prepared them to spot possible signs of radicalisation within their students:

> I think it's difficult because teenagers are…they're trying on different like identities and so…. it's not necessarily easy to spot. And I think… the signs being, oh, they're becoming more withdrawn or they're hanging out with a different group of people or they're, you know, discussing or their writing in their work or discussing sort of more, I don't know… violent thoughts that contradict British values. And but then a lot of students sort of do that, because lots of students are angry and they're angry because maybe they are Muslim and living in poverty, and they're angry at the lack of education they've had because of COVID. And they're angry because they're 17/18 years old and they're just angry! So how I kind of feel like as an educator, my job is to support my young people. And to help them navigate this transition into adulthood, and it's not to stop them exploring different viewpoints, but it's to assist them in understanding bias and umm appropriateness and things like that. And I kind of feel like Prevent doesn't do that.
>   - Laura, FE educator

> I do [feel confident looking for signs of radicalisation] but not because of any of the training or really any of the documentation.
>   - Carl, HE educator

> I don't think the training has enabled me to spot the signs of radicalisation.
>
> - Jason, FE educator

> OK, so the idea of Prevent is that you're going to intervene in somebody's life to stop them from becoming a terrorist. But there's a sort of a logical fallacy at the heart of that in the sense of how can you ever be certain that person's gonna go on and become a terrorist, right? What point do you intervene?
>
> - Tim, HE educator

A frequently discussed issue was that of knowing at what point to intervene with a student. It was clear that the educators in this study did not wish to report a student unnecessarily, and they were aware of the negative impact that it could have on the student. Laura touches on the socio-economic status of students and supporting their transition into adulthood and notes that Prevent does not allow for the exploration of *"different viewpoints"*, she suggested that Prevent hinders her students' development because of this. In relation to exploring different viewpoints, the UK is a party of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in which asserts that young people are in a 'state of transition', and this should not be an indicator to a long-term commitment to any cause (Amnesty International, 2023, p.38). Rather than focusing of the wellbeing of students, Prevent training focuses on spotting the dubious signs of radicalisation (McGlynn and McDaid, 2019).

Carl and Jason both expressed that they prefer to use common sense than to rely on Prevent training. This may be a consequence of the quality of the Prevent training that was provided, for example, the online training. On the other hand, it could also be due to them fundamentally disagreeing with Prevent and that they only engage

with it as it is a statutory duty. A study that shared this insight is that of Kaleem (2022), as they state that Prevent is shrouded in reluctant compliance on safeguarding grounds. This finding is not to highlight that Prevent training could or should be improved, as the Shawcross (2023) review previously recommended. But rather that the basis of Prevent training is deeply flawed. I also discuss this within chapter 4 in the context of being asked to partake in the improvement of a university Prevent package.

Furthermore, Lewis, told me of how he felt so uncomfortable with the Prevent training he received, that he complained about the link of mental health and extremism:

> And I responded to that quite vehemently about how dreadful that training was, absolutely dreadful... it was very generic.. But I think there was one thing particularly where I got very, very angry. It was when it said that, umm, anyone diagnosed with autism is much more likely to be radicalised… And I make complaints about this, but of course it didn't go anywhere.
> - Lewis, FE educator

There is a high number of referrals of neurodiverse, autistic, young people to Prevent and this has 'fallen into the lap of counterterrorism professionals' (MedAct, 2020; The Guardian, 2021, p.1). This linkage of radicalisation/extremism with autistic individuals was highlighted by Prevent coordinators (Intelligence and Security Committee of Parliament, 2022). However, the UK's updated counterterrorism strategy has asserted that there is 'limited evidence to support a direct causal link

between mental ill-health or neurodivergence and an individual's terrorist threat or susceptibility to radicalisation' (Home Office, 2023d, p.1). It was clear that Lewis did not agree with the use of autism in his Prevent training and complained to his setting. However, there was no resolution to his complaint.

Ultimately, the educators within this study highlighted that they feel uncomfortable with the Prevent training that is provided to them on the basis that is an unhelpful, mundane, online, mandatory exercise that does not support staff nor students. This has resulted in an obedience to the Prevent Duty as it is labelled as part of their safeguarding duties and viewed as a statutory duty, resulting in unqualified 'agents' of Prevent.

Alternatives to Prevent?

Another theme found within the data from the six educators consisted of 'alternatives to Prevent'. For instance, if Prevent did not exist or if the educators felt that Prevent was not adequate, what would they prefer to see implemented within their educational settings? As discussed within the literature review, calls for Prevent to be scrapped have been made by numerous academics and organisations (Aked, 2021; Amnesty International, 2023; Open Rights Group, 2024; Rights and Security International, 2024; The People's Review of Prevent, 2022). However, some also point to replacing the duty with other strategies. For example, Steadman et al. (2019) highlight that the Prevent Duty should prioritise giving educators freedom to challenge students, rather than to report them. And whilst Amnesty International (2023) believe that the Prevent Duty should be abolished, they also state that in the

meantime, the Duty could be improved in a number of ways. Such as enabling the challenging of Prevent referrals and referral data removals. Below, Laura reflected upon the need for Prevent:

> I think students are massively lacking kind of well-being support… And so I sort of feel like actually, well, if well-being were better and mental health support were better for teenagers and students, then you wouldn't need Prevent anyway because it [would] be picked up in a different path.
> - Laura, FE educator

Laura touched upon the subject of existing safeguarding practices that may already prevent students from being vulnerable to 'radicalisation'. Her response suggests that Prevent aims to "*support students and guide their development",* but that this is clouded by Prevent's overbearing focus on religion. She indicates that existing safeguarding practices, such as improving mental health support for students and social integration in education, would pick up possible issues without the need for a focus on 'radicalisation' or 'extremism'. I was unaware if Laura also knew that Prevent operates in the health sector within mental health settings. This is highlighted by Younis and Jadhav (2020) as they discuss how Prevent has resulted in inappropriate referrals to Prevent from the health sector, and this is often through institutional racism. Therefore, it can be observed here that Laura suggests that a 'politically neutral' mental health safeguarding practice would be more efficient at tackling radicalisation than the racialised policy of Prevent (Spiller et al., 2022, p.1123). Laura also mentioned how Prevent does not put students at the centre of its care. She indicated that Prevent is observed and centred as a policing structure rather than one of 'safeguarding'. As Laura noted, the repercussions of Prevent can be

"*quite severe*". I believe this was in reference to one of her previous students that was referred to Prevent, not returning to college after. It is suggested that Prevent should not be framed as safeguarding as it can have dire consequences for a young person, therefore not having a child's best interests at heart- as noted by Child Right's International Network (2022).

Similar to Laura, Jason also referenced other factors at play that could be harming young people's development. For Laura, it was mental health, and for Jason, he discussed the impact of austerity on young people.

> It's gonna take like, um… a multifaceted approach… Again, like if we look at the profile of people who are being radicalised, they are, you know, people from disadvantaged groups, you know, marginalised, um, you know, feel really… alienated…You know, the impact of austerity. Um, you know, the closure of youth centres. And the dismissal of youth workers, the restrictions as well on what we're able to talk about in schools and colleges as well… I'm not sure like what could replace Prevent to be honest. But I think Prevent, it needs to go, I think, but I'm not sure what to replace [it] with.
> - Jason, FE educator

Jason noted that Prevent "*needs to go*", whilst also recognising the difficulty of knowing what to replace the Duty with. He referenced a "multifaceted" approach, this could suggest that Jason recognised the need to encompass all aspects of a young person's life. For example, their mental health, their physical health, and their economic background to tackle radicalisation in young people. Jason's point also links to CRF, as he discussed social class in terms of austerity on disadvantaged groups. He acknowledged that differing identities and how they intersect, such as

social class or race, can make a young person feel "*alienated*" and perhaps more susceptible to radicalisation. This intersectional view on how to tackle radicalisation is briefly highlighted in the independent Shawcross review. Within the review it was made evident that Prevent does fund projects that tackle social problems, such as drug issues and unemployment (Home Office, 2023a). However, as discussed in the literature review, these projects are implemented under a CVE guise, rather than one of care and protection of the individual (Cook, 2017). Overall, it could be summarised that some of the educators in this study believed that Prevent was ill equipped to deal with young people and radicalisation in education. The strategy often restricted young people rather than approaching the issue as one of safeguarding and care for the student.

Diversity of experiences: Experiences of FE & HE educators

Above has analysed the educator data concerning how they perceive their duty to Prevent. Within this section, I move on to discuss the diversity of experiences between the FE and HE educators and that of the Muslim women students and the educators in this study. Within chapter 7, the diversity of experiences between FE and HE students were focused upon. The sections below detail how FBV have been utilised and perceived by both FE and HE educators in their workplace. I also discuss how freedom of speech is perceived in relation to how HE staff fear for their students' freedom. Later, I turn to the diversity of experiences between the Muslim women students and the educators that detail training issues and a reluctance to report to Prevent.

FBV in the different sectors

A major difference found between FE and HE educators was that of how they utilise FBV within their educational settings. Many studies have touched upon the issue of FBV and how they are perceived in education, what my research focused upon was how post-16 educators, together, viewed FBV (Bolloten and Richardson, 2015; Brooke, 2023; Bryan, 2017; Busher et al., 2017; Crawford; 2017; Hodkinson, 2020; Lowe, 2017). As discussed earlier in this chapter, the FE educators noted how they were required to implement FBV within their lessons. Whilst HE educators discussed how they do not engage with FBV within their settings. For FE educators, such as Laura and Jason, they regarded FBV to be unhelpful and something that interrupted their teaching. Laura went further and made a conscious decision not to label FBV as 'British'. For HE educators, they noted how they did not implement FBV because they were not required to do so. However, they do critique FBV. This suggests that the FE educators disliked having to implement FBV, but were aware of the compulsory nature of it under the Prevent Duty. Nonetheless, both educators were alike in having negative perceptions of FBV. The educators within this research perceived FBV negatively, and therefore were hesitant to include them within their lessons. The difference being that FE were more likely to have to include them due to OFSTED requirements, whereas HE educators were not bound by this requirement.

Freedom of speech within post-16 education?

Another difference that became evident within the educator data was that of HE educators feeling that they are less legally bound to the Prevent Duty compared to FE educators. For example, the HE educators both noted that they felt comfortable discussing sensitive topics within university but were aware that students may feel the Prevent Duty's restriction upon freedom of speech more than HE staff. This is compared to the FE educators within my study, who noted their own discomfort or a lack of confidence when discussing certain issues within their classrooms. Similarly, Moffat and Gerard (2019) and Ramsay (2017) found that teachers within their studies also felt limited in what they could discuss in the classroom due to the possibility of a student expressing views that may be worthy of a Prevent referral. I argued that this difference could be down to the FE educators being more legally bound to the Prevent Duty, particularly in terms of the extent to what they can discuss, in combination with that of their students. Whereas the HE educators fear more for their students' freedom of speech, than that of themselves. Therefore, this has impacted upon confidence levels when carrying out the Prevent Duty by both FE and HE educators, with slight differences regarding a fear for their freedom of speech as educators, and a shared commonality in a fear for their students' freedom of speech.

Diversity of experiences: Muslim Women Students & Educators

Whilst the above discussed the varied experiences of FE and HE educator participants, here, I offer similarities found between the Muslim women students and post-16 educators. Within the stories explored, certain similarities between the

student data and the educator data were evident during the data analysis stage. This section will aid the discussion of how Prevent is perceived in post-16 education overall, as I compare both sets of participant data.

WRAP Training issues

Firstly, a major similarity became clear when Prevent training was discussed. Within the Muslim women student data, many of the women made clear that they felt unsure about the extent to what they could discuss in the classroom and how staff may place suspicion upon them because of this. As discussed in chapter 5, the students have self-censored out of fear of a Prevent referral based upon what may be deemed as a potential 'flag' to staff. I argued that this could be due to the inadequacy of the Prevent WRAP training that educators receive, that has led to untrained staff reporting on signs of 'radicalisation' within their students. These inadequacies have also been highlighted within other studies, what my research demonstrates is that this worry about Prevent training is also shared by Muslim women students (Busher et al., 2017; Moffat & Gerard, 2019; Pearce et al., 2023; Spiller et al., 2017; Thomas, 2016; Whiting et al., 2020). In this chapter, the educators also noted their feelings towards Prevent training. The educators detailed how the training that they received did not help them spot possible signs of radicalisation within their students, and that most of the time they resorted to using their common sense rather than the information that they received from WRAP training. Further to this, the educators also noted that the training either occurred predominately online or was a simple tick-box exercise that could be repeated if wrong. From this, I argue that both the Muslim women students and the educators feel distrust towards the Prevent strategy

due to the lack of quality in the Prevent training that staff receive. For the students, they felt unsure on how staff perceive the possible signs of radicalisation, and whether this meant that they could be further monitored if they did display any behaviour that an educator would deem as suspicious. Likewise, for the educators, they also felt this uneasiness regarding the signs of radicalisation. They discussed how WRAP training left them unprepared to carry out the Prevent Duty and how it did not support or protect them, nor their students.

FBV concerns

In addition to the similarity of concerns regarding Prevent training, FBV were discussed as a negative aspect of post-16 education by both Muslim women students and the educators in my study. In chapter 7, the Muslim women students indicated that they felt FBV made them feel uncomfortable when they are discussed or 'seen', in the form of posters or display boards in education. Many of the students told of how FBV were considered to be compulsory in the sense that if they did not appear to be affirming FBV or agreeing with them, this could be accompanied by a fear of suspicion. As discussed in chapter 7, the students mostly discussed FBV in relation to FE or below, it was not mentioned in relation to university (HE). Below, Laila noted how her teachers also appeared to be *"fed up"* of implementing FBV:

> And I think even like the teachers are a bit like, they know that we're fed up of doing this. And we're all like, it's pretty meaningless during this, but it's like they're like, it's we have to do it. It's like it's in the curriculum. You have to do it at sort of like a formality that you have to complete.
> - Laila, FE student, focus group 1.

I argue here that FBV are not only deemed as an aspect of the Muslim women's educational journey that made them uncomfortable, but also as a compulsory activity. As James (2022, p.130) found that often, teachers felt that they had minimal time to spend debating or discussing FBV without it being considered 'tokenistic'. Likewise, the post-16 educators on this study also felt that FBV was unhelpful to their teaching duties. They noted that it often feels unnatural to try to implement them into their lessons, with one participant stating that the use and promotion of FBV attempts to legitimise the Prevent Duty. Some educators also commented upon how specifically labelling them 'British' is unhelpful in their multicultural educational settings. Other research has also shown how FBV construct White British values as superior, therefore making divides within classrooms (Bolloten and Richardson, 2015; Crawford, 2017). What my research demonstrated is that not only are educators uncomfortable promoting and utilising FBV, but that Muslim women students also feel that FBV serve to 'other' anyone who does not fit the FBV stereotype, which is mainly White British.

Consequences of a Prevent referral and reluctance to report

Another similarity found between the Muslim women students and post-16 educators was that of feeling worried for students being penalised in education due to Prevent. For the Muslim women students, some noted how they would be fearful of reporting an individual to Prevent. Whether that be a referral for a family, friend, or stranger, due to the unknown of what would happen to that individual and, what would happen to themselves. It was Nadia, a HE student, who noted that social services

could become involved or that you could receive punishment from your educational setting if you get a Prevent referral. Cases were highlighted from the Open Rights Group (2024) and The People's Review of Prevent (2022), that demonstrated young people being harmed by a Prevent referral, whether directly or indirectly. Similarly, for the post-16 educators, some noted fear relating to what would happen to a student that they may refer to Prevent. It was Laura, an FE educator, who told her story of how a previous student that was referred to Prevent never returned to her educational setting, she described the process as being an unpleasant experience. The educators discussed how they were reluctant to report to Prevent due to the impact on the student's life. Similarly, Ameera, a HE student, was questioned by police in relation to her comments that she considered to be a joke. Ameera described the Prevent encounter as shocking, with questioning that suggested that she may be travelling to another country- something she did not joke about nor allude to. Therefore, I argue that this similarity of both educators and Muslim women students being concerned about the possible consequences of a Prevent referral demonstrates the Prevent strategy's counter productiveness. For example, if both groups deem referring someone to Prevent as concerning and fear the consequences of doing so, then it renders Prevent unusable.

Self-censoring intricacies

Concerns surrounding self-censoring were highlight by both the educators and the Muslim women students. I discussed in Chapter 5 how the Muslim women students fear Prevent referrals and the consequences of this, therefore they self-censor. This self-censoring affected their freedom of speech and expression, with stories detailing

the self-censoring of their dress, being fearful of discussing Palestine, and/or their religion. This finding of self-censoring is not a new phenomenon; indeed, many studies have found that students self-censor in the UK (Guest et al., 2020; Saeed and Johnson, 2016; The People's Review of Prevent, 2022; Qurashi, 2018; Zempi & Tripli, 2022). However, my research demonstrates that Muslim women students specifically self-censor in certain ways. For example, Laila, an FE student, noted how she had to justify why she wore her headscarf differently as the seasons changed. From this, she felt she had to self-censor the way that she dressed so that she would not be questioned in education. Furthermore, the alienation that Muslim women students feel in relation to what they can and cannot discuss was also discussed by the educators. The post-16 educators noted that the Prevent Duty has created an atmosphere that encourages suspicion and monitoring of students. They were aware that Prevent limited what students and themselves can discuss or debate in classrooms. As a result of this, my study found that both Muslim women students and educators are aware of the atmosphere that the Prevent Duty has created and therefore, limits the issues that they discuss in education.

Conclusion

This chapter presented an analysis of the four major themes found within the interviews with six post-16 educators in England and Wales. The following themes and sub-themes informed the research questions:

- Prevent is counterproductive

  - 'British' or 'universal' values?

- The reluctance of educators to make referrals to Prevent

- Is Prevent safeguarding?

- Prevent Training is inadequate

- Alternatives to Prevent?

By examining these themes, an updated insight has been provided into how post-16 educators perceive their duty to Prevent within education. All the key themes combined, point to Prevent being labelled as a negative aspect of educators' teaching duties. These findings are important as they add to existing literature highlighted above that also critique Prevent. This research also provides an updated view on how specifically sixth form, college and university educators perceive the Prevent Duty.

Having analysed the educators' perceptions of Prevent, I then offered a discussion that detailed the diversity of experiences between the FE and HE educators and that of the Muslim women students' and the educators. The differences found between the FE and HE educators were how both sets of educators utilise and implement FBV within their settings, and how the educators freedom of speech was impacted upon, depending on if they taught within FE or HE. When considering the varied experiences of the students, and the educators, the predominant arguments were that both were critical of the Prevent training that staff may or had received. Along with how FBV are perceived negatively within post-16 education. The next chapter will offer some conclusions regarding this thesis. I revisit the theoretical framework in relation to the findings, highlight my contribution to the field and the limitations of this study, whilst discussing directions for future research.

Chapter 9: Conclusions

This thesis addressed the impact of the Prevent strategy upon Muslim women in post-16 education. I interviewed 20 Muslim women who were FE students (five) or HE (15) students in England. Of the 20 Muslim women, I interviewed all of them in focus groups, and five of them in follow-up one to one interviews. In addition, to capture perspectives on Prevent from educators working in either FE or HE, I conducted one to one semi-structured interviews with 6 individuals. The rationale for the study was to close the gap of previously overlooked experiences of young Muslim women in relation to the Prevent strategy. I have been successful in capturing how *some* Muslim women students and post-16 educators in England have experienced and encountered Prevent. In previous chapters, I analysed the empirical data from the Muslim women students and the post-16 educators who participated within this study. I found key themes that related to the students' experiences of Prevent in FE and HE. Within this concluding chapter, I give an overview of the thesis' chapters and discuss the original contributions of this research. I move on to revisit the research questions of the project, and how they relate to the key findings. I then reflect upon utilising Critical Race Feminism as a choice for the theoretical framework, and the limitations of this study. Finally, I discuss the recommendations from this thesis and how future research could inform the field.

Thesis overview

Within the introduction, policy background and literature review chapters, I gave an overall picture of the Prevent strategy and its impact upon post-16 education. I

outlined how up until this point, no literature existing upon the issue of Prevent's impact upon Muslim women students. Within the policy background, I discussed how the racialisation of Muslims is not a new phenomenon, and that it led to the creation of policies, such as Prevent. From the beginning of this thesis, I believed that it was important to outline how Prevent was created to specifically prevent violent Muslim extremism (O'Toole, 2016; Kundnani, 2014; Qurashi, 2018). The chapter discussed how Prevent is considered to be a heavily racialised strategy, and one that has already been discredited by many academics, unions, and human rights groups. The literature review illustrated an overview of the key studies relating to this thesis. Key literature regarding how women have come to be included with the WOT and wider CT policies were analysed. For instance, Masters (2009) and Pearson et al. (2020) examined how the predominant discourses surrounding the WOT was women's rights. Furthermore, Abu-Lughod (2013) and Ahmed (1992) made clear how specifically Muslim women have been infantilised within CT policy through the secular-Western reinforcement of stereotypes. This literature contributed to the examination of how this thesis views Prevent as operating as a gendered, racial project, particularly through the aforementioned stereotypes. The chapter discussed how young Muslim women have been neglected in discussion surrounding CT/CVE policy. I argued that Andrews (2020), Cook (2017) and Rashid (2016), and had previously examined how Muslim women are situated within Prevent, but what this thesis sought to uncover was how young, Muslim women have experienced Prevent. I also made clear how studies detailing an overall picture of post-16 educators' views, in combination, were limited and therefore what this thesis would also discuss in an exploratory way.

Within the methodology chapter, I centred the use of Critical Race Feminism as an ontology and epistemology that could be utilised in relation to the intersectional experiences of the young Muslim women in this study. I positioned my contribution between different fields which included Critical Race Feminism, Critical Race Theory and Critical Terrorism Studies. CRF is inherently intertwined with CRT, as the theory derives from it. However, my addition of also utilising emancipatory elements of CTS helped the thesis not be a simple policy improvement recommendation, but rather one that highlights the racist background behind the policy and one that calls for its removal. I further illustrated how the intersectional identities of the participants in this study fit well with the theoretical framework of CRF. Some of the women noted their ethnicity, culture, their dress, or their pre-existing knowledge of Prevent. From this, I highlighted how I did not gather additional information to store from the women I spoke to, due to concerns about Prevent being a controversial topic. Within the methodology chapter, I also highlighted my researcher reflections and the thesis' limitations. This included how the study may not be generalisable due to a small sample size. I believe that using CRF as the theoretical framework allowed for a smaller number of participants, as I wished to delve deeper into their counter stories, rather than have a large number of them (Evans-winters & Esposito, 2010). I also discussed the '*exception to anonymity and confidentiality*' clause that had to be included on the participant information sheets (see Appendix B, K, L, M). I was wary of including this as I did not want to deter potential participants, as students have been unnecessarily referred to Prevent in the past for their comments or actions (Cohen & Tufail, 2017). My positionality as a non-racialised, non-religious woman, was also heavily reflected upon. This section was not to suggest that I can un-do my privileges, but rather demonstrated how I

sought to address them. Overall, the methodology chapter recognised the strengths, limitations and challenges in my research on Prevent in post-16 education.

Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8 addressed the thematic analysis and the key themes found from the data concerning the Muslim women students and post-16 educators. The key themes were self-censoring, the responsibilisation of Muslim women, gendered Islamophobia, Prevent is counterproductive, is Prevent safeguarding?, Prevent training is inadequate and Alternatives to Prevent? The themes are reflected later in this conclusion chapter in relation to my key findings.

The Gendered impact of Prevent

The empirical significance of this research was demonstrated by the original data that illustrated Muslim women student's views and experiences of the Prevent strategy in post-16 education. As stated within chapter 1, there is extensive research upon racialised communities and how they have been affected by CT polices (Allen & Guru, 2012; Bhattacharyya, 2008; Crenshaw, 1989; Kundnani, 2009; Satterthwaite and Huckerby, 2013). However, no attention has been paid to the impact of the CT policy Prevent upon young Muslim women. Therefore, I identified a gap in the literature surrounding the gendered impact of Prevent, specifically in post-16 education.

The findings from this study demonstrated a contribution to knowledge in following ways. First, at the time of writing, this is the only empirical research that details the perceptions of Prevent from Muslim women students. All prior studies focus upon

Muslim students in general, in schools, college and universities, and their opinions of Prevent (Busher et al., 2019; Coppock and McGovern, 2014; Guest et al., 2020; Kyriacou et al., 2017; McGlynn and McDaid, 2019; Moffat and Gerard, 2019; Spiller et al., 2017; Zempi & Tripli, 2022). My empirical contribution considers this gap of a lack of gendered focus and Prevent's impact upon young Muslim women students.

For some of the Muslim women students, they were aware of Prevent and commented upon its targeting of Muslim communities. Similarly, Faure Walker (2019) found that his students were aware of Prevent and how they were affected by the strategy. However, most of the students in my research stated that they did not have knowledge of Prevent. Much like Lockley-Scott's (2020) study, in which they found pupils have a lack of awareness of Prevent. Although it was the case that most of the participants in this thesis did not have knowledge of Prevent, some women still described Prevent-like incidents that they had experienced (as discussed in chapters 5 and 6). The women said that they felt fearful of discussing certain topics, such as their religion or issues relating to Palestine, so self-censored from this. This finding demonstrated that the self-censoring of Muslim women students resulted either from a fear of a Prevent referral, for either themselves or peers, or a risk further suspicion being placed upon them. The continuation of the gendered and racialised impact of Prevent was also discussed within the sub-theme of surveillance. I argued that although the students may not know what Prevent is, the strategy can be felt through the fear of Prevent or the constant monitoring of their speech and/or behaviour.

I also advance academic understandings of the responsibilisation from CT/CVE policy (Abbas, 2016; Brown, 2010; Thomas, 2017), by demonstrating how Prevent has specific gendered responsibilising tactics. Whether that was in the form of teachers' asking the Muslim women students to look out for signs of radicalisation within their own siblings, or the UK government essentialising Muslim women as submissive yet risky (discussed in chapter 6). The reinforcement of the idea that Prevent serves as a gendered, racialised project is continued from chapter 5 to chapter 6, specifically when discussing the women's uneasiness surrounding Prevent, and how Prevent responsibilised them as young Muslim women students. My research highlights that Prevent has perpetuated the maternalistic logic of Muslim women (Brown, 2013), and this has resulted in the responsibilisation of young Muslim women in post-16 education into countering radicalisation within their own families, friends and communities. Within chapter 7, I built upon existing discussions of gendered Islamophobia (McKenna & Francis, 2019; Easat-Daas & Zempi, 2024; Zine, 2006). This topic of gendered Islamophobia is under-researched in relation to Prevent, hence my focus upon it. I explored this discussion in a new way, demonstrating how the Prevent strategy has contributed and encouraged this form of Islamophobia amongst Muslim women students. Most participants referenced how their Islamic dress often bought negative attention to them, either from teachers or peers. As discussed, Mirza (2015) detailed how teachers often had preconceptions of veiled Muslim students, with teachers linking it to agency or restricted choice. Therefore, I argued that Prevent operates as a racialised strategy, often encouraging this type of Islamophobic thinking, aimed towards Muslim women. Above demonstrated how this thesis has offered multiple discussions that

make clear the gendered impact of the Prevent strategy for Muslim women in post-16 education.

Prevent's impact on post-16 education

This thesis also offered an updated exploratory view of Prevent experiences from post-16 educators. Whilst other studies have focused upon on schools, FE and HE sectors separately (Bamber et al., 2018; Bryan, 2017; Busher et al., 2019; Guest et al., 2020; Lockley-Scott, 2016; Moffat and Gerard, 2019; Panjwani, 2016; Revell and Bryan, 2016), few had engaged with FE and HE together. I offer an empirical contribution in this educational sphere, as I interviewed both FE and HE educators to make up the post-16 educational sector. This thesis therefore gives an exploratory view of *some* educator's perspectives of Prevent from the post-16 sector in England, along with their similarities and differences (note '*some*' as this was a small sample size- discussed in chapter 4). This was important, particularly as the Shawcross review had implications for both the FE and HE sector. I also contributed to the field by offering an updated view from *some* educators on the Prevent Duty post-Shawcross (Home Office, 2023a) review that was published as I was writing this thesis

I found that the educators that I spoke to were mostly critical of their Prevent Duty. They noted feelings of frustration at the training provided to them. I argue that this thesis is not a call to improve the Prevent training, but rather to highlight the inadequacy of it. Therefore, this thesis concludes that the basis of Prevent training is deeply flawed. I assert that the training relies upon basic training videos or unhelpful

tick-box exercises, that seemingly qualify staff to report signs of radicalisation within their students. This finding was in keeping with other research in the area of Prevent training (Acik & Deakin, 2017; Blackwood et al., 2012; Gulland, 2017; Heath-Kelly & Strausz, 2019; Lakhani, 2020; Spiller at al., 2018). Other educators told of their worry surrounding the limiting of debate within classrooms. I conclude that the educators in this research believed that Prevent negatively impacted upon debates in the classroom. I further argued that this made Prevent counterproductive, by driving potentially problematic views further underground as they go unchallenged in education. The ever-growing debate surrounding Prevent and it being deemed as safeguarding was also analysed (Ali, 2020; Busher et al., 2017; Martin, 2019; Thomas, 2016; Qurashi, 2017). The few educators that I interviewed were critical of Prevent being deemed as part of their safeguarding duties. I suggested that the educators believed Prevent to be an ineffective safeguarding tool, as they noted the potential consequences of a Prevent referral for a student. Some of the educators in this thesis also questioned Prevent's usefulness (or lack thereof) and the potential alternatives to Prevent. They referenced mental health and tackling austerity as some measures that could aid young people, outside of the CVE guise that is Prevent.

As stated in previous chapters, my sample size was relatively small. However, my findings were similar to the studies mentioned above, particularly in terms of educators being critical of Prevent. My thesis differs slightly, and therefore offers an original contribution, as I combined a small number of both FE and HE educators to uncover varying experiences between the two educator groups. The differences between the FE and HE educators included FBV being utilised differently in the

settings. I suggested that FE educators were critical of FBV but were aware of the compulsory nature of implementing the values, whereas the HE educators in this study chose not to engage with FBV. This demonstrated the compulsory nature of Prevent in FE, yet disapproval amongst both the FE and HE sector. Another difference that was found detailed a fear for the restriction of freedom of speech either for themselves or their students. I found that the FE educators feared for themselves and their students regarding issues surrounding freedom of speech, whereas the HE educators were concerned predominately for their student's freedom in voicing opinions, not for themselves. I argued that this could have been due to HE educators not being as legally bound to Prevent as FE educators are. Overall, empirical contributions were made that demonstrate how the Prevent Duty is perceived by some post-16 educators.

I believe that an academic thesis is not sufficient to capture the true lived reality of Prevent for many Muslim women and post-16 educators in the UK. This is mainly due to the fact that this was a small-scale qualitative study, based upon a limited sample size, this thesis is not representative of all Muslim women, nor all post-16 educators. Instead, the value in this thesis is that I sought to build a picture regarding how *some* Muslim women students and post-16 educators in the sector felt towards the Prevent strategy. My thesis contributed to the under-researched topic of Muslim women students and Prevent. I also call for more research into the area of Muslim women and CVE policy. This is discussed later in the chapter.

Answering the research questions

This thesis has examined how Muslim women students in the post-16 education sector experience and view the Prevent strategy, along with that of educators that work within the post-16 education sector. My objective in undertaking this study was to provide an intersectional analysis with the use of CRF, to uncover how Muslim women are impacted by Prevent in HE and FE. Below, I revisit my research questions in greater detail in relation to the key findings that were evident within the data.

RQ1. How has Prevent impacted upon Muslim women's experience in post-16 education?

The women within this study noted feelings of frustration, a reluctance to express their true feelings and awareness of monitoring that occurs in post-16 education. This was analysed in chapters 5, 6 and 7 in relation to the key themes that I found within the focus group and interview data. The theme of 'self-censoring' (discussed in chapter 5) was mentioned amongst the Muslim women students. The chapter detailed how Prevent's presence in post-16 education was notable through the suspicion placed upon the Muslim women, or through the monitoring that occurs in educational spaces in relation to racialised students. The sub-themes also discussed within the wider theme of 'self-censoring' were: 'Palestine', 'uneasiness surrounding Prevent', 'media and government rhetoric', 'the optics of British values' and, 'staff and lack of support'. I argued that the strategy's presence has led to the Muslim women students holding back their true feelings or expressions out of fear of a potential Prevent referral, either for themselves or their Muslim peers. Notably, the

limitation of free speech that derived from this self-censoring, has led to issues such as Palestine and wider topics relating to Islam not being discussed in post-16 educational spaces. I argued that because of this, Prevent is counterproductive in the sense that it is contributing to driving debates underground, rather than to freely discuss issues in a safe environment that could be challenged.

My research confirmed previous research findings around Muslim students self-censoring from the Prevent strategy (Amnesty International, 2023; Guest et al, 2020; Qurashi, 2018; Zempi & Tripli, 2022). I further suggested that Muslim women students' educational experiences have been impacted by Prevent. Their experiences were particularly impacted when it concerned issues of wearing the headscarf/hijab, as some participants noted self-censoring surrounding their dress in educational spaces. Even though some participants noted that they did not know what Prevent was (discussed in chapter 4), some discussed experiences that could relate to Prevent or had at least experienced Prevent-like incidents. There is some research regarding students and their knowledge of Prevent (Faure Walker, 2019; Lockley-Scott, 2020). However, the purpose of this research was not to uncover who did and did not have knowledge, but rather how young Muslim women experience Prevent in post-16 education as they are an overlooked group.

In relation to the theme of 'the responsibilisation of Muslim women' in chapter 6, I argued that Prevent has reduced Muslim women students' political agency due to having feelings of fear and untrustworthiness towards Prevent. The sub themes also discussed in relation to the responsiblisation of Muslim women were 'spying and self-snitching', 'Shamima Begum', 'the gendering of responsibilisation' and

'reporting to Prevent?'. To summarise, the sub themes detailed how the students often felt that the government was asking them to watch or 'spy' upon their own friends or family. I suggested that the women were aware of this responsibility and therefore felt a lack of trust towards the government. Other students also told of how teachers attempted to pry information from them concerning other students. Therefore, I argued that not only are the Muslim women students expected to watch and report on others in their community, but also within their educational sphere too. Shamima Begum was a case that arose frequently within the focus groups and interviews. I maintained that the case appeared to be a turning point for the young Muslim women in education at the same time as the case unfolded. The women noted a shift in the way they were focused upon in education after the Begum case. I argued that not only were the Muslim women students responsibilised into survielling others, but that they also had further surveillance placed upon themselves.

I also suggested that the Muslim women were reluctant to report to Prevent. This illustrated that the responsibilisation of Muslim women has resulted in Prevent being counterproductive. This is mainly due to Prevent relying upon others reporting individuals to the strategy. If the Muslim women do not wish to do this, as they noted a fear of consequences for themselves and others, then it renders Prevent inefficient. The above reasons combined of Muslim women feeling distrust towards the government, feeling responsibilised into countering terrorism, and survielling others, has therefore affected their experience within education. The maternalistic rhetoric that oft surrounds Muslim women in CT/CVE strategies has been researched by others (Brown, 2008; 2013; Pearson et al., 2020; Rothermel & Shepherd, 2023; Spalek, 2012). What I suggested was that this feminised logic of responsibility has

seeped into Prevent and has placed responsibility, particularly upon the shoulders of young Muslim women, to watch their family, friends, or community through a deradicalisation lens.

The theme of 'gendered Islamophobia' was analysed in chapter 7 in relation to how Prevent has impacted upon Muslim women students in post-16 education. The sub-themes included issues such as being the visible other, the differential treatment of non-racialised students and the homogenisation of Muslim women. From these sub-themes, I argued that the women's experience in education had been impacted by Prevent as the strategy has encouraged the suspicion placed upon them by staff and peers, particularly in relation to their dress and being visible Muslim women. I also put forward that Prevent is not the sole reason for this gendered Islamophobia in post-16 education, as it does not exist in a vacuum. Rather that Prevent plays a role within gendered Islamophobia, as does the media and public rhetoric.

RQ2. To what extent is this (Prevent's impact on Muslim women students' experiences) a 'gendered' impact?

The focus groups and interviews with the Muslim women students uncovered the gendered impact of Prevent. I argued that this gendered impact was mostly seen through the responsibilisation of Muslim women (discussed in chapter 6) and the gendered Islamophobia, analysed in chapter 7. Within the finding of the responsibilisation of Muslim women, the students referred to Muslim women being perceived by the UK government as more 'submissive' than Muslim men, and that they were often seen as 'peaceful' people who could tackle radicalisation. Other research has also found that women in CVE regimes are seen as moderate people

who can fix problems (Auchter, 2020). What I suggested was that the Muslim women students were aware that they are perceived this way, and that from this they believed that the responsibility that has been placed upon them, was due to the 'submissiveness/peaceful' stereotype. Chapter 6 discussed how this responsibilisation of Muslim women has led to the students feeling particularly vulnerable to being monitored by staff. This became especially evident when some of the participants spoke about the case of Shamima Begum, and the impact her case had upon their educational journeys.

The gendered Islamophobia analysed in chapter 7 paid special attention to the Muslim women's dress, and how the security suspicions that are oft connected to the hijab were placed upon the students in this study. I argued that Prevent has encouraged the Orientalist assumptions about the headscarf/hijab within educational spaces. Most research has previously focused upon the impact of Prevent upon Muslim students in general (Breen-Smyth, 2013; Faure Walker, 2021; Guest et al., 2020; Lakhani, 2020; Sian, 2015; Zempi & Tripli, 2022). My study has shown that Muslim women students experience Prevent through a specific gendered lens, particularly when it concerned responsibility or gendered Islamophobia.

RQ3. How do educators perceive Prevent and their duty to it within education?

To address research question 3, I highlighted the major themes that were found from the post-16 educators that reflected their overall experiences of the Prevent Duty in chapter 8. 'Prevent is counterproductive' was a key theme found. It detailed how educators perceived the duty to be silencing debates within the classroom. The

educators noted that an atmosphere of surveillance was present in the education sector, and that they were aware of students self-censoring their opinions and beliefs. The limiting of certain issues that were discussed in the classroom was also reflected upon and how Prevent has contributed to this. From this surveillance, self-censoring and limiting of debates, I argued that Prevent is counterproductive as if students are being alienated for their views, then Prevent could drive these issues further underground, rather than addressing them in a safe environment. My findings are similar to that of Faure Walker (2021), Open Society Justice Initiative (2016) and Saeed & Johnson (2016). However, as most research has focused upon schools or universities in relation to Prevent, I contributed to this field by analysing a small set of empirical data from specifically FE and HE educators.

The Prevent Duty being deemed as 'safeguarding' was also analysed in chapter 8. Some research asserts that educators do see the Prevent Duty as a wider part of their safeguarding duties as educators (Ali, 2020; Busher et al., 2017; Martin, 2019; Thomas, 2016; Qurashi, 2017). Although the sample size for my study was small, only the minority of educators uncritically accepted this view that Prevent should be viewed as safeguarding. Indeed, Busher et al. (2019) and Spiller et al. (2022, p.123) found that framing Prevent as safeguarding aids the strategy's legitimacy amongst educators and wider society, as it is portrayed as 'politically neutral'. I found that most of the educators that I interviewed were more critical of the Duty being described as such. Some of the educators made statements surrounding being unsure at what point to intervene with a student, that Prevent does not place young people in the centre of its 'care', and they shared sentiments that detailed the consequences of a Prevent referral for a young person. All these reasons combined led to the

conclusion that by framing Prevent as a safeguarding approach, it has made it more palatable for some educators. However, this study has also shown that the framing of Prevent in such a way has largely not stopped educators questioning why and how Prevent is portrayed as such.

I also analysed the theme of Prevent training being inadequate. My findings correlate with the wider literature, that note the dubiousness of the training received by educators (Acik & Deakin, 2017; Blackwood et al., 2012; Gulland, 2017; Heath-Kelly & Strausz, 2019; Lakhani, 2020; Spiller at al., 2018). My thesis gave an updated account on how some post-16 educators feel toward their Prevent training. The educators spoke about the training being an unhelpful tick-box exercise, that it occurred predominately online, and that the training did not aid them in spotting possible signs of radicalisation within their students. I suggested that although the educators felt negatively towards the training, they also perceived it as a compulsory task. Overall, the post-16 educators that I interviewed perceived Prevent and their duty to it as mundane, confusing, as restricting free speech, yet compulsory. Next, I map out my reflections upon using CRF as a theoretical framework for analysing young Muslim women's thoughts and experiences upon Prevent.

Reflections upon Critical Race Feminism

Throughout this thesis, I have discussed the theoretical and empirical contributions to the CRF and the CTS field by developing an empirical analysis concerning the gendered impact of Prevent. CRF frameworks are rarely used in relation to CTS.

Therefore, along with utilising commitments from CTS (outlined in chapter 4), I illustrated the empirical contributions whilst employing these intersectional frameworks. This thesis concluded that Prevent does have a specific gendered impact upon young Muslim women in post-16 education. My findings advance insights on how Prevent's gendered impact was observable in the empirical data and it occurred through different avenues, whether this was in the form of the women noting that they self-censored, that they feel responsible for reporting to Prevent, or that Prevent has encouraged gendered Islamophobia.

Within this section, I make clear how CRF aided the development of the empirical understandings from the Muslim women participants. Theoretically, this thesis was informed by critical understandings of racism and race (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Meghji, 2022). The theory of CRF has been mostly used in the US context, along with CRT in the field of education in the UK (Chakrabarty, et al., 2012; Gillborn, 2007; Wing, 2014). Although some work within the field of security studies have also adopted a CRF stance (Henry, 2021; Lewis, 2003), I used CRF to uncover the intersectional experiences of the Muslim women in this critical study. Within this thesis, I have demonstrated how CRF was useful when examining racialised women's experiences in relation to Prevent. For example, my theoretical contribution is one of implementing CRF empirically with the strategy. Therefore, this study demonstrated how CRF can be used to gather and analyse empirical data collected within the critical terrorism field. From this thesis, I recommend for others in the field to continue to develop CRF's use when collecting and analysing data.

The racialisation of Muslims from the Prevent strategy was the pivotal point of the thesis; this was discussed in chapter 2 and 3. It was from this racialisation that it was evident that states are using Muslim women in the CT, CVE, and deradicalisation sphere (Brown, 2008; 2013; Cook, 2017). I argued that this racialisation of Muslim women in FE and HE is encouraged and continued within the Prevent strategy. This was demonstrated through the targeting of women to 'look out' for signs of radicalisation within their community, the strategy's encouragement of suspicion from educational staff for Muslim women's clothing, or the limiting of political agency of the young women in education. By adopting a CRF theoretical framework, I was able to further explore the intersectional identities of the women (discussed in chapter 4). This exploration often occurred within the focus groups and interviews. Some women commented upon their race, ethnicity, culture, dress, and class background. Their intersectionality was expressed through their counter stories regarding their experiences of post-16 education, but some also specifically commented upon their identity regarding Prevent too (discussed in chapters 4, 5 and 6). The women's intersectionality became clear when they revealed incidents that highlighted how they experienced Prevent, Islamophobia, and sexism. For example, Nadia commented upon her ethnic background in relation to gendered Islamophobia. Other participants, such as Safa, also discussed their social class background. The students highlighted how they were asked to 'keep an eye' on siblings, they detailed how Islamophobic incidents in education are not taken seriously, and they told of how Muslim women are often perceived as more submissive. Altogether, the women discussed stories of their intersectional identities and how they have been impacted by the presence of Prevent.

The use of counter storytelling within the focus groups and interviews aided this thesis' aim of adding to existing critical studies on terrorism that discuss the securitisation of racialised people and the expansion of the global WOT. The method of counter storytelling contributes to the understanding of those who are often ignored (Martinez, 2014; Olszewski, 2022). My focus upon Muslim women post-16 students was because most research into Prevent has focused solely on Muslim communities as a whole, and usually concerned schools or universities when discussing Muslim students (Ghani & Nagdee, 2019; Lockley-Scott, 2016; Thomas, 2016; Qurashi, 2018; Zempi & Tripli, 2022). This study has added to the above literature and filled the gap that consisted of a lack of focus upon Muslim women students in FE and HE. The use of counter storytelling proved useful in understanding how Prevent operates. For instance, the women's stories casted doubt upon the official narrative from the UK government that Prevent contributes to 'keeping our country a free and safe place for all its citizens' (Home Office, 2023a, p. 5). The doubt derived from the women detailing issues of self-censoring, responsibilisation, gendered Islamophobia, and a reluctance to report to Prevent. By utilising counter storytelling to better understand the lived experiences of young, Muslim women I was able to place their stories in the context of how Prevent operates as a gendered, racial project that serves to infantilise yet responsiblise them. Overall, the use of CRF as the intersectional, theoretical framework for this thesis enabled the Muslim women's counter stories to come to the forefront of this study, placing their voices and stories at the centre to challenge dominant government discourses surrounding Prevent.

Limitations

This section details the limitations of this thesis. Considering that some of these issues were discussed in detail within chapter 4, I will briefly reflect on some of the limitations here. Firstly, there is the issue of if the argument can be made that the impact upon Muslim women students in post-16 education is as a result of the Prevent strategy, or a result of wider marginalisation and stigmatisation of Muslim women. Within my findings it became clear that some aspects of the self-censoring and the responsibilisation of Muslim women were observed as direct consequences of Prevent. For instance, when Nadia spoke of how Prevent added another "*burden*" to her life as a Muslim woman, or how some students discussed spying in education and how they were asked to watch others. I also argued that the gendered Islamophobia that is evident within the Prevent strategy does not exist in a vacuum. Rather, that Prevent has a role to play in the wider racialised rhetoric of Muslim women within society, through encouraging this form of Islamophobia. Therefore, I recognise that not all the women's experiences in this study related directly to Prevent, but that they exist in the same domain of Prevent. For example, being asked to "keep an eye" on siblings, or to "spy" on other students were not directly discussed in relation to Prevent, but that they lie under the wider umbrella of monitoring of students and racialised communities. However, I argued that Prevent operates within a sphere of heavily racialised discourse and that because of this, Prevent perpetuates the Islamophobic stereotypes concerning Muslim women.

Secondly, there was the issue that this study had a small sample size. The number of students that participated within this research (20) and six educator participants

could be considered a limitation. However, as this thesis utilised CRF as a theoretical framework, this allowed for a smaller number of participants to gain counter stories in greater detail (Evans-winters & Esposito, 2010). The number of educators interviewed (six) was also small, this was due to this element of the fieldwork being exploratory. It was exploratory due to educator's counter stories not being the central component to this thesis. Nonetheless, this study gave an updated view on how some sixth form, college and university educators feel towards their Prevent Duty. This thesis was also the first to combine the above educators to compare their feelings towards Prevent. My research mainly encompassed educator voices from a Social Science background, this could also be considered a limitation. This was not intentional, but rather a result of my recruitment. As a result of the small sample size, this research is not generalisable but was never intended to be so. It could be recommended that future research could have a larger sample size. As stated in chapter 4, the role of educators in the interviews could also be considered a limitation. Upon reflection, the interview schedule (Appendix H) should have been amended following the student focus groups. In order to gain insight on how educators perceive Prevent's impact upon Muslim women students, questions surrounding this should have been implemented within the interview schedules with educators. I discussed in chapter 6 how the Muslim women students believed that they became a site of suspicion for educators, this would have been an interesting question to put to the educator participants.

It was also important to reflect upon my own positionality within this research. This was discussed in detail within chapter 4. To reiterate, my own identity as a non-religious, non-racialised woman could have impacted this study in numerous ways.

For instance, my positionality may have influenced the meanings that I gave and interpretations that I made as the researcher. I aimed to counteract this by wanting to avoid reproducing victimising discourses about the young Muslim women, and therefore not feeding into white or governance feminism. Of course, positionality can only be reflected upon, but ultimately, I do believe that me not being a Muslim woman most likely did impact this work.

Future research and recommendations

From the beginning of this research, it was clear that there were few studies that paid attention to the effects of the Prevent strategy upon Muslim women. Therefore, this thesis offered a critique of the Prevent strategy, in relation to its gendered impact upon Muslim women post-16 students. Above highlighted brief recommendations following my own limitations. To build upon this, I highlight below where I see future research possibilities in detail.

To further investigate the gendered impact of Prevent outside of education, Muslim women should be spoken to regardless of their student status. This should also be the main focus of future studies, as some other empirical research has researched women in relation to Prevent, however Muslim women have not been the sole focus (Andrews, 2020b). This would help demonstrate a picture of Prevent's gendered impact on Muslim women in the UK. Future studies should also focus on the experiences from Muslim women who have been specifically referred to the Prevent or have had direct contact with it. Amnesty International (2023) were unable to interview women and girls who had been referred to Prevent despite attempts.

Therefore, this demonstrates how under-research this topic area of women, specifically Muslim women is, and how important it would be for future research to consider this gap. This would be helpful in revealing their gendered experiences of the strategy. I believe by that doing this, it would add a new perspective to the literature. However, I am also aware that Muslims can be over-researched, particularly in relation to CT. Therefore, a focus upon those who enact Prevent, whether those who work directly for Prevent (for example, local authorities), or those who policy-make could be useful to further understand how or if the 'workers' of Prevent perceive the strategy to be 'gendered'.

Finally, I would also suggest researching Prevent in terms of how it affects all students, regardless of their religion or race. This is because of increasing concern surrounding the targeting of dissenting voices on other issues, such as climate change (Amnesty International, 2023). Questions such as: do they believe Prevent is also affecting them? Do they feel the need to self-censor? Do they feel responsible to report others to Prevent?, could be asked. Furthermore, this could also be applicable to non-students too. For instance, how do climate change activists perceive the Prevent strategy? Are they fearful of its potential targeting? As Fernandez (2021, p.1) stated that although Muslims bear the brunt of these Islamophobic surveillance strategies, 'surveillance didn't start with Muslims, and it won't end with Muslims'. This avenue of research could be insightful regarding Prevent's targeting of non-racialised groups.

The aims of this study were to 1) critically explore the gendered impact of the counterterrorism strategy Prevent on young Muslim women in further and higher

education, and 2) add to existing critical studies on terrorism that discuss the securitisation of racialised people and the expansion of the global WOT (war on terror). As I was working within the field of CTS, I did not want to offer a 'problem-solving approach' for the Prevent strategy (Joseph, 2009, p. 94). This thesis put forward a critique of Prevent and added to the literature in this field. The recommendations made below are suggestions that could be further developed using the above future research proposals.

During the fieldwork, many of the participants, both students and educators, noted that they enjoyed having the opportunity to talk about an issue that interests them. The quotes below demonstrate how some participants either enjoyed the focus group or interview process, or that they wanted to be involved because the topic interested them:

> it's been nice to feel like, OK, someone's listening [to] like everything
>
> - Sameera, FE student, one-to-one interview.

> I thought your research is really valuable. So that's why I thought I'd have a look.
>
> - Laura, FE educator.

The participants appeared to value the opportunity to speak about the topic of Prevent and wider issues that matter to them. I argue that this could suggest that students in particular, should be encouraged to discuss issues that they value in safe

spaces within education, without the fear of Prevent. By creating safe spaces, students and staff will feel better equipped on how to discuss topics that could be challenged appropriately. The need to consider how the creation of safe spaces for debate to encourage academic freedom is crucial. This issue needs to be acknowledged in the context of how it could occur if Prevent persists in education.

In light of the finding that the students and educators within this study had negative perceptions of Prevent, with some detailing upsetting experiences with Prevent. I argue that withdrawing Prevent from education would be a constructive idea. Whilst I recognise that this is unlikely, this is not a new call. Others have also suggested the withdrawal or scrapping of the Prevent strategy (Aked, 2021; Amnesty International, 2023; Open Rights Group, 2024; Rights and Security International, 2024; The People's Review of Prevent, 2022). However, Skoczylis and Andrews (2020) believe that scrapping Prevent would not benefit the communities that have been affected by Prevent. On the other hand, Manzoor-Khan (2022) states that scrapping Prevent does not go far enough, rather we need to reconsider all deep-rooted surveillance practices that police racialised people. However, I believe that although scrapping Prevent will not solve the overall treatment of racialised communities, it is a small but nonetheless important step forward to removing harmful CT/CVE policies that target legitimate and lawful political dissent. The 'alternatives to Prevent' theme was discussed in relation to educators within chapter 8. I suggest the withdrawal of Prevent on the grounds that the strategy is a heavily racialised one, one that relies upon Islamophobic tropes and one that encourages Islamophobic rhetoric. Even though the sample size for this thesis was relatively small, my findings correlated with other research in the area, stated above. This recommendation is not to suggest

that problematic or concerning views from vulnerable students should not be challenged, but rather that this challenging should not be under a CVE guise that ultimately harms students.

As I write the end of this thesis, I hope that my retelling of the women's experiences of Prevent provides some insight to the huge variety of experiences of young Muslim women within the UK. However, questions and criticisms surrounding Prevent in education, and more broadly persist. Wider questions remain surrounding the appropriateness of Prevent's new referral categories, namely that of 'incel'. Together, with the 2023 Shawcross review, the UK's new definition of extremism, and the genocide in Gaza, Prevent proves to be consistently problematic. The ever-growing criticism of Prevent does not appear to be waning. Lastly, to highlight the importance of free speech within education, I leave a quote from bell hooks (1994, p.12): 'the classroom remains the most radical space of possibility in the academy'.

References

Abbas, M. S. (2016), 'Fracturing Muslim Relations, Producing 'Internal Suspect Bodies': The Effects of UK Counter-Terrorism on Muslim Families and Communities In Bradford', *Paper to the TAPVA Conference*, University of Leeds, 22-23 July.

Abbas, M. S. (2019), 'Producing 'internal suspect bodies': divisive effects of UK counter-terrorism measures on Muslim communities in Leeds and Bradford', *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.70, pp.261-282, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12366.

Abbas, T. (2021) Reflection: the "war on terror", Islamophobia and radicalisation twenty years on, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.14 (4), pp.402-404.

Abbas, T., Awan, I., & Marsden, J. (2021), 'Pushed to the edge: the consequences of the 'Prevent Duty' in de-radicalising pre-crime thought among British Muslim university students', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, Vol. 0, pp.1-21, DOI: 10.1080/13613324.2021.2019002

Abu-Lughod, L. (2002), "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others.", *American Anthropologist*, Vol.104(3), pp.783–790, DOI: https://doi.org/ 10.1525/aa.2002.104.3.783.

Abu-Lughod, L. (2013). *Do Muslim women need saving?* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Achilleos-Sarll, C. (2020) 'Seeing' the women, peace and security agenda : exploring the visual (re)production of WPS through UK Government National Action Plans, *International Affairs*, Vol.96(6). pp.1643-1663, DOI:10.1093/ia/iiaa168

Acik, N. & Deakin, J. (2017, April 4–6). *Conversation about radicalisation: Teacher and pupil perspectives on the prevent duty*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the British Sociological Association, Manchester.

Acik, N., Deakin, J. and Hindle, R. (2018), "Safeguarding, Surveillance and Control: School Policy and Practice Responses to the Prevent Duty and the "war on terror*", pp.467-489 in Deakin, A., Taylor, E. & Kupchik, A. (2018) *The Palgrave International Handbook of School Discipline, Surveillance, and Social Control*, Palgrave: UK.

Adams, R. & Abdul, G. (2024), 'Gaza protest camps at UK universities wind down amid legal action', *The Guardian* [online], 7th July 2024, available at: https://www.theguardian.com/education/article/2024/jul/07/gaza-protest-camps-uk-universities-legal-action [accessed 10 August 2024].

Adey, P. (2004), 'Secured and Sorted Mobilities: Examples from the Airport', *Surveillance & Society*, Vol.1(4), pp.500-519.

Agyeman, G. S. (2008), "White Researcher- Black Subjects: Exploring the Challenges of Researching the Marginalised and 'Invisible'", *Electronic Journal on Business Research Methods,* Vol.6(1), pp.77-84.

Åhäll, L. (2012), 'Motherhood, Myth and Gendered Agency in Political Violence', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol.14(1), pp.103-120, DOI: 10.1080/14616742.2011.619781

Ahmed L. (1992) *Women and gender in Islam: Historical roots of a modern debate*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Ahmed, S. (2007) 'A phenomenology of whiteness', *Feminist Theory*, Vol.8(2), pp. 149–168.

Ahmed, Z.R. (2012). 'The Role of Muslim Women in Britain in Relation to the Government's 'Prevent Agenda' in: Farrar, M., Robinson, S., Valli, Y., Wetherly, P. (2012) *Islam in the West*. Palgrave Macmillan: London. DOI https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137025067_7

Aitlhadj, L. et al. (2024) 'Where is Palestine in Critical Terrorism Studies? A roundtable conversation', *Critical Studies on Terrorism,* pp. 1–26, DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2024.2362966.

Aitlhadj, L. in Townsend, M. (2023), 'UK counter-terrorism report author accused of basing conclusions on 'handful of cases', *The Guardian* [online], available at: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2023/feb/12/uk-counter-terrorism-report-william-shawcross-accused-by-critics#:~:text=William%20Shawcross%20was%20appointed%20to,was%20met%20with%20widespread%20condemnation [accessed 22 February 2023].

Aked, H. (2021), Counterterrorism police can't spin surveillance as care' MEDACT [online], available at: https://www.medact.org/2021/blogs/counterterrorism-police-cant-spin-surveillance-as-care/ [accessed 13 June 2024].
Aked, H. (2022). 'Mad', bad or Muslim? The UK's Vulnerability Support Hubs and the nexus
of mental health, counterterrorism and racism. *Bioethics*, Vol.36, 290– 297.

Akel, S. (2021), Institutionalised The Rise of Islamophobia in Higher Education, Centre for Equity and Inclusion London Metropolitan University [online], available at: https://www.londonmet.ac.uk/media/london-metropolitan-university/london-met-documents/professional-service-departments/centre-for-equity-and-inclusion/research-reports/Institutionalised--%C3%82%C2%A0The-Rise-of-Islamophobia-in-Higher-Education.pdf [accessed 13 October 2022].

Ali, A.I. (2014), 'A threat enfleshed: Muslim college students situate their identities amidst portrayals of Muslim violence and terror', *International Journal of*

Qualitative Studies in Education, Vol.27:10, pp.1243-1261, DOI: 10.1080/09518398.2013.820860

Ali, N. (2020), "Seeing and Unseeing Prevent's Racialized Borders.", *Security Dialogue*, Vol.51 (6), pp.579–596, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010620903238.

Ali, S. (2006), 'Racializing research: managing power and politics?' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol.29 (3), pp.471–86.

Alimahomed-Wilson, S. & Zahzah, Y. (2023), 'Women and Warcare: Gendered Islamophobia in Counterterrorism', *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.16(1), pp.240-262, DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2023.2173126

Allen, C. (2017), 'Controversy: Is Prevent harming universities?', *Political Insight*, Vol. 8(1), pp.38–39.

Allen, C. and Guru, S. (2012) 'Between Political Fad and Political Empowerment: A Critical Evaluation of the National Muslim Women's Advisory Group (NMWAG) and Governmental Processes of Engaging Muslim Women', *Sociological Research Online*, Vol.17(3), pp. 32–40.

Alsultany, E. (2013). Arabs and Muslims in the Media after 9/11: Representational Strategies for a "Postrace" Era. *American Quarterly*, Vol.65(1), 1pp.61–169. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41809552

Amnesty International (2005), United Kingdom: Human Rights are not a game [online], available at: https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/eur450432005en.pdf [accessed 20 March 2024].

Amnesty International (2023), *''This is the thought police'' The Prevent duty and its chilling effect on human rights',* [online] available at: https://www.amnesty.org.uk/prevent [accessed 3 November 2023].

Andrews, S. (2020a), Prevent Tragedies: A case study in female-targeted strategic communications in the United Kingdom's Prevent counter- terrorism policy, *Journal for Deradicalisation,* No.24, ISSN: 2363-9849.

Andrews, S. (2020b), *Women and Prevent: Perceptions, Policy and Encounter*, PhD Thesis [online], available at: https://eprints.lincoln.ac.uk/id/eprint/48451/1/Andrews%2C%20Sam%20-%20PhD%20-%20Criminology.pdf [accessed 13 December 2023].

Anitha, S. and Dhaliwal, S. (2019) South Asian feminisms in Britain: traversing gender, race, class and religion. Economic and Political Weekly, Vol.54(17), pp. 37-44.

Ansari, S.N. & Patel, T. (2024), 'Islamophobia as intersectional phenomenon', in Easat-Daas & Zempi, I. (2024), *The Palgrave Handbook on Gendered Islamophobia*, Palgrave Macmillan: UK.

Antunes, A. (2017). "Muslim Girls and Critical Race Feminism: Towards an Understanding of CRF in Education." International Journal of Curriculum and Social Justice Vol.1(2), pp.97–118.

Aroussi S. (2021), 'Strange Bedfellows: Interrogating the Unintended Consequences of Integrating Countering Violent Extremism with the UN's Women, Peace, and Security Agenda in Kenya', *Politics & Gender*, Vol.17(4), pp.665-695. DOI:10.1017/S1743923X20000124

Arshad Imtiaz Ali (2014) 'A threat enfleshed: Muslim college students situate their identities amidst portrayals of Muslim violence and terror', *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, Vol.27(10), pp.1243-1261, DOI: 10.1080/09518398.2013.820860

Asante, D., and L. J. Shepherd. (2020) Gender and Countering Violent Extremism in Women, Peace and Security National Action Plans.", *European Journal of Politics and Gender* Vol.3(3), pp.311–330.

Auchter, J. (2020). 'The personal is political', in Martini, A., Ford, K., and Jackson, R. (2020). *Encountering extremism,* Manchester University Press: Manchester, England [online] available at: https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526136619.00011 [accessed 10 March 2023].

Audit Commission. (2008), "Preventing violent extremism: Learning and development exercise, Report to the Home Office and Communities and Local Government." [online] available at: https://assets-hmicfrs.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/uploads/preventing-violent-extremism-learning-and-development-exercise-20080930.pdf [accessed 2 March 2024].

Ayotte, K.J. & Husain, M.E. (2005), 'Securing Afghan Women: Neocolonialism, Epistemic Violence, and the Rhetoric of the Veil', *NWSA Journal*, Vol.*17*(3), pp.112–133. DOI: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4317160

Bakali, N. (2022). White Supremacist Mythologies in Canadian Educational Curricula: How Islamophobia Manifests and is Perpetuated in Canadian Schools. *Islamophobia Studies Journal*, Vol.*7*(2), 201–214, DOI: https://www.jstor.org/stable/48696285

Baker-Beall, C., Heath-Kelly, C., Jarvis, L. (2015) *Counter-Radicalisation: Critical Perspectives*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Baker-Beall, C., Miles, L., Leach, N. & Reed, E. (2024), 'From Prevent to Protect and Prepare: The Manchester Arena Attack and Shifting Priorities in the United Kingdom's Counter-Terrorism Strategy (CONTEST)', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2024.2327664

Bamber, P., Bullivant, A.,Clark, A. & Lundie, D. (2018) Educating Global Britain: Perils and Possibilities Promoting 'National' Values through Critical Global Citizenship Education, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, [online] Vol.66(4), pp.433-453, available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/26769315 [accessed 18 May 2024].

Basarudin, A. & Shaikh, K. (2020) 'The Contours of Speaking Out: Gender, State Security, and Muslim Women's Empowerment', *Meridians*, Vol.19(1), pp.107–135, DOI: https://doi-org.ntu.idm.oclc.org/10.1215/15366936-8117746

Basit, T. (1997a). "I Want More Freedom, but Not Too Much: British Muslim Girls and the Dynamism of Family Values." *Gender and Education*, Vol.9 (4), pp.425–440.

Basit, T. N. (1997b) *Eastern Values, Western Milieu: Identities and Aspirations of Adolescent British Muslim Girls*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Bassel, L., & Khan, K. (2021). Migrant women becoming British citizens: care and coloniality. *Citizenship Studies*, Vol.25(4), pp.583-601.

Bazian, H. (2016), *Muslim intellectuals and America's imperial project*. Daily Sabah, 8 September.

BBC News (2007), *"Muslim Women Advise on Extremism"* Dominic Casciani [online], available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/7203925.stm [accessed 28 September 2022].

Bei, Z. & Knowler, H. (2022), 'Disrupting unlawful exclusion from school of minoritised children and young people racialized as Black: using Critical Race Theory composite counter-storytelling', *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, Vol.27(3), pp.231-242, DOI: 10.1080/13632752.2022.2146225

Beighton C and Revell L (2018), 'Implementing the 'Prevent Duty' in England: The Semiotisation of Discourse and Practice in Further Education'. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* Vol.4, pp.516–531

Bell, D. (1992). Faces at the bottom of the well: The permanence of racism. New York: Basic Books.

Bell, D. 1987. "And We are Not Saved: The Elusive Quest for Racial Justice." In Basic Books. New York, New York: BasicBooks

Berlingozzi, L. (2022). "O Sister, Where Art Thou? Assessing the Limits of Gender Mainstreaming in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism in Mali." Critical Studies on Terrorism Vol.15(3), pp.659–680. DOI:10.1080/17539153.2022.2101536.

Bernal, D.D. (2002) 'Critical Race Theory, Latino Critical Theory, and Critical Raced-Gendered Epistemologies: Recognizing Students of Color as Holders and

Creators of Knowledge', *Qualitative Inquiry*, Vol.8, pp.105 – 126, DOI:10.1177/107780040200800107

Bhattacharyya, G. (2008), *Dangerous Brown Men: Exploiting Sex, Violence and Feminism in the War on Terror.* Zed: London; New York.

Bhopal, K. (2023), 'Critical race theory: confronting, challenging and rethinking white privilege', *Annual Review of Sociology,* Vol.49, pp. 111-128, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-031021-123710

Bhui, K., Everitt, B. , Jones, E. (2014), 'Might Depression, Psychosocial Adversity, and Limited Social Assets Explain Vulnerability to and Resistance against Violent Radicalisation?', *PLOS ONE*, Vol.9(9), DOI: https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0105918

Bigo D (2009). Immigration controls and free movement in Europe. International Review of the Red Cross. (875), pp.579-591. DOI:10.1017/S1816383109990385

Blackwood, L.M., Hopkins, N. and Reicher, S.D. (2012). '*Divided by a Common Language?. In Restoring Civil Societies'* (eds M.B. Brewer, K.J. Jonas and T.A. Morton), [online], available at: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781118347683.ch13 [accessed 18 October 2022].

Blaxter, L., Hughes, C. and Tight, M. (2010). How to Research. 4th ed. Maidenhead: Open University Press/McGraw-Hill Education.

Boland J, Banks S, Krabbe R, Lawrence S, Murray T, Henning T, Vandenberg M. A. (2021), 'COVID-19-era rapid review: using Zoom and Skype for qualitative group research', *Public Health Res Pract*., Vol.32(2).

Bolloten, B. & Richardson, R. (2015) *The great British values disaster – education, security and vitriolic hate.* [online] Available at: www.irr.org.uk/news/the-great-british-values-disaster-education-sec urity-and-vitriolic-hate/ [accessed 17 March 2022].

Booth, K. (2007), Theory of World Security. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Boteler (2013) *Syria Poster,* [online] available at: https://www.boteler.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Syria-Poster.pdf [accessed 30 September 2022].

Bourne, J. (2007), 'The beatification of Enoch Powell', *Institute of Race Relations,* [online], available at: https://irr.org.uk/article/the-beatification-of-enoch-powell/ [accessed 27 June 2022]

Bowlby, S., and S. Lloyd-Evans. (2012), "'You seem very Westernised to me': Place, Identity and Othering of Muslim Workers in the UK Labour Market.", pp.37-

54 in P. Hopkins and R. Gale, in *Muslims in Britain: Race Place and Identities*, Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh.

Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006) 'Using thematic analysis in psychology', *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, Vol.3(2), pp.77-101, DOI: 10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Breen-Smyth. M. (2013) Theorising the "suspect community": counterterrorism, security practices and the public imagination, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.7(2), pp.223-240.

Breen, D. & Meer, N. (2019), 'Securing whiteness? Critical Race Theory (CRT) and the securitization of Muslims in education', *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power,* Vol. 26(5), pp. 595-613. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2019.1589981

Briggs R, Fieschi C and Lownsbrough H (2006) *Bringing it Home: Community-based Approaches to Counter-terrorism.* London: Demos.

Brooke, N. (2023), Fundamental British Values & the Prevent Duty in Scotland, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2023.2266161

Brown, K. (2008) "The Promise and Perils of Women's Participation in UK Mosques: The Impact of Securitisation Agendas on Identity, Gender and Community," *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, Vol.10 (3), pp.486.

Brown, K. E. (2013) "Gender and Counter-radicalization: Women and Emerging Counter-Terror Measures." in *Gender, National Security, and Counter-Terrorism*, edited by M. L. Satterthwaite, and J. Huckerby, pp.36-59. London: Routledge

Brown, K. E., & Saeed, T. (2015). 'Radicalization and counter-radicalization at British universities: Muslim encounters and alternatives'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol.38(11), pp.1952–1968. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2014.911343

Brown, K.E. (2020) *Gender, Religion, Extremism: Finding Women in Anti-Radicalization,* Oxford University Press: NY.

Bryan, H. (2017), 'Developing the political citizen: How teachers are navigating the statutory demands of the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 205 and the Prevent Duty', *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, Vol.12(3), pp.213–226, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/1746197917717841

Bucerius, S.M. (2013) Becoming a 'Trusted Outsider': Gender, Ethnicity, and Inequality in Ethnographic Research. Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, Vol.42(6), pp.690–721.

Bullock, K. H., & Jafri, G. J. (2000). Media (Mis)representations: Muslim Women in the Canadian Nation. *Canadian Woman Studies*, Vol.20(2), pp.35–40.

Busher, J., T. Choudhury, and P. Thomas (2019), "The Enactment of the Counter-Terrorism 'Prevent duty' in British Schools and Colleges: Beyond Reluctant Accommodation or Straightforward Policy Acceptance." *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.12(3), pp.440–462, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2019.1568853.

Busher, J.,Choudhury, T., Thomas, P. and Gareth Harris (2017) What the Prevent duty means for schools and colleges in England: An analysis of educationalists' experiences. Research Report, [online] https://www.basw.co.uk/system/files/resources/basw_71458-3_0.pdf. [accessed 23 March 2022]

Butler, J. (2006) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New ed. New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. (2020). *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. Verso: Le Vergne.

Buzan B., Waever O., de Wilde J. (1998) *Security: a new framework for analysis*. Lynne Rienner: Boulder.

Búzás, Z. & Meier, A. (2023) Racism by Designation: Making Sense of Western States' Nondesignation of White Supremacists as Terrorists, Security Studies, Vol.32:4-5, pp.680-713, DOI: 10.1080/09636412.2023.2230882

Chadderton, C. (2013) Towards a research framework for race in education: Critical

Chakrabarty, N. Roberts, L. & Preston , J. (2012) Critical Race Theory in England, *Race Ethnicity and Education,* Vol.15(1), pp.1-3.

Child Rights International Network (2022), Preventing Safeguarding: the Prevent strategy and children's rights [online], available at: https://home.crin.org/readlistenwatch/stories/preventing-safeguarding [accessed 23 March 2022].

Chua, L. J. (2018), *The Politics of Love in Myanmar: LGBT Mobilization and Human Rights As a Way of Life*. 1st edition. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.

Clark, R. (2017), 'Convenience sample', pp.1-2 in G. Ritzer (Ed.), *The Blackwell encyclopedia of sociology*, Blackwell, https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405165518.wbeosc131.pub2.

Clark, T. (2008). `We're Over-Researched Here!': Exploring Accounts of Research Fatigue within Qualitative Research Engagements, *Sociology*, Vol.42(5), pp.953–970. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038508094573.

Clements, J., Roberts, M. and Foreman, D. (2020), 'Listening to British Muslims: Policing, Extremism and Prevent' (online), available at:

www.crestadvisory.com/post/listening-to-british-muslims-policing-extremism-and-prevent [accessed 12 June 2023].

Cohen, B. and Tufail, W. (2017) '*Prevent and the Normalization of Islamophobia. In: Islamophobia: Still a Challenge For Us All'*, Runnymede Trust: London.

Cole, E. L. (2024). *Silenced and Marginalized: A Qualitative Study of Gendered Racial Microaggressions Among Black Female Graduate Students* [Doctoral dissertation, Franklin University], [online] available at: http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc_num=frank1711019428902495 [accessed 29 March 2024].

Cole, M. (2017). 'Critical Race Theory: a Marxist Critique' pp.978-981, in: Peters, Michael A., '*Encyclopedia of Educational Philosophy and Theory,* Springer: Singapore.

Columbia Law School (2017), Kimberlé Crenshaw on Intersectionality, More than Two Decades Later [online], available at: https://www.law.columbia.edu/news/archive/kimberle-crenshaw-intersectionality-more-two-decades-later [accessed 10 June 2024].
communities in Britain. London: London Metropolitan University.
Communities?" Counter-terrorism policy, the press, and the impact on Irish and Muslim

Connah, L. (2021). 'US intervention in Afghanistan: Justifying the Unjustifiable?', *South Asia Research*, Vol.41(1), pp.70–86.

Cook J, (2020) *Woman's Place US Counterterrorism Since 9/11*. Oxford University Press.

Cook, J. (2017), Avoiding the Pitfalls of Prevent, [online] available at: https://giwps.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Avoiding-the-Pitfalls-of-Prevent.pdf [accessed 27 April 2022].

Coppock, V. and McGovern, M. (2014), 'Dangerous Minds'? Deconstructing Counter-Terrorism Discourse, Radicalisation and the 'Psychological Vulnerability' of Muslim Children and Young People in Britain', *Child Soc*, Vol.28, pp.242-256, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12060.

Crawford, C. (2017), 'Promoting 'fundamental British values' in schools: a critical race perspective', *Curriculum Perspectives*, Vol.37(2), pp. 197-204.

Crawford, C. E. (2019). "The One-In-ten: Quantitative Critical Race Theory and the Education of the 'New (White) Oppressed'." Journal of Education Policy Vol.34(3), pp.423–444. DOI:10.1080/ 02680939.2018.1531314.

Crenshaw, K. (1989) "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, Vol.1989(1), Article 8, available at:

https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8 [accessed 23 October 2023]

Crenshaw, K. (1989), 'Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine', *Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics*, University of Chicago Legal Forum pp.139-67.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. Stanford law review, 1241-1299.

Crenshaw, K. Peller, G., Gotanda, N., Thomas, K. (1995), *Critical Race Theory*, New Press: New York.

CREST Advisory (2020), Listening to British Muslims: Policing, Extremism and Prevent. London: CREST Advisory.

da Silva, R., & Martini, A. (2021), '9/11 and the emergence of Critical Terrorism Studies: Main debates, theoretical advancements, and ways forwards', *Locus: Revista de História*, Vol.27(2), pp.9–25, DOI: https://doi.org/10.34019/2594-8296.2021.v27.33772

da Silva, R., G. Fontana, and M. A. Armstrong (2020) "Enacting the Prevent Duty in Primary Schools." pp.99-115, in *The Prevent Duty in Education: Impact, Enactment and Implication*s, edited by J. Busher and L. Jerome, London: Palgrave MacMillan, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-45559-0_6.

Davies, L. (2016). 'Security, extremism and education: Safeguarding or surveillance?', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol64(1), pp.1–19.

Davis, K. (2008), 'Intersectionality as buzzword,' Feminist Theory, Vol.9(1), pp. 67-85.

Davison, M. (2021), 'The role of the police in the Prevent strategy, The disparity between Prevent in practice and academic research' pp.90-111 in Lowe, D. Bennett, R. (2021) *Prevent Strategy*, Routledge: London.

Dawson, J. and Godec, S. (2017), *Counter-extremism policy: an overview,* House of Commons Library, 7238.

Deakin, H. and Wakefield, K. (2014) 'Skype interviewing: reflections of two PhD researchers', *Qualitative Research*, Vol.14(5), pp. 603–616.

Deleuze, G., and F. Guattari. (2013), *A Thousand Plateaus,* London: Bloomsbury.

Delgado B. D. (1998). Using a Chicana feminist epistemology in educational research. Harvard Educational Review, 68, 555-582.

Delgado B. D. (2016) Cultural Intuition: Then, now and into the future, *Centre for Critical Race Studies at UCLA*, Issue 1.

Delgado, R. & Stefancic, J. (2017). *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*, New York University Press: New York.

Department for Education (2015) *The Prevent duty Departmental advice for schools and childcare providers,* London: HM Government.

Department for Education (2022), '*The Prevent Process*' [online], available at: https://www.gov.uk/guidance/making-a-referral-to-prevent [accessed 22 March 2023].

Department for Education (2022), Political impartiality in schools, [online], available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/political-impartiality-in-schools/political-impartiality-in-schools [accessed 25 September 2023].

Department for Education (2022), *Political impartiality in schools,* [online], available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/political-impartiality-in-schools [accessed 13 November 2023].

Department for Levelling up, Housing & Communities (2024), New definition of extremism (2024), [online], available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/new-definition-of-extremism-2024/new-definition-of-extremism-2024 [accessed 14 March 2024].

Dixon, P. (2009) 'Hearts and Minds'? British Counter-Insurgency Strategy in Northern Ireland, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol.32(3), pp.445-474.

Doharty, N. (2019). "'I FELT DEAD': Applying a Racial Microaggressions Framework to Black Students' Experiences of Black History Month and Black History." Race Ethnicity and Education Vol.22(1), pp.110–129. DOI:10.1080/13613324.2017.1417253

Dugan, E. and Syal, R. (2024), ' Public left 'at risk' over UK counter-terrorism strategy, says Prevent review author', *The Guardian,* [online], available at: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2024/feb/22/public-left-at-risk-uk-counter-terrorism-strategy-william-shawcross-prevent-review-author [accessed 5 March 2024].

Easat-Daas, A. and Zempi, I. (2024), *The Palgrave Handbook of Gendered Islamophobia*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Educate Against Hate (2021), *Government advice and trusted resources for schools to safeguard students from radicalisation, build resilience to all types of extremism and promote shared values* [online], available at: https://educateagainsthate.com/ [accessed 20 January 2022]

Education Reform Act (1988), [online], available at: https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1988/40/contents [accessed 23 October 2023].

Eggert, J.P. (2017) 'Mothers, bombs, and a whole lot of gender cliches', *LSE Blog*, 29 June [online] available at: http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/gender/2017/06/29/mothers-bombs-and-a-wholelot-of-gender-cliches/ [accessed 10 March 2023].

Eggert, J.P. (2023) in Hagen, J.J, Michelis, I., Eggert, J.P. & Turner, L. (2023) 'Learning to say 'no': privilege, entitlement and refusal in peace, (post)conflict and security research, *Critical Studies on Security*, Vol.11(2), pp.126-144, DOI: 10.1080/21624887.2023.2208902.

Eisenstein, Z. (2007). *Sexual decoys: Gender, race and war in imperial democracy*. London: Zed Books.

El Habbouch, J. (2023), 'The Burqa-clad woman, terror and the postcolony: the Kabul Beauty School and the art of imperial friendship and freedom', *Critical Studies on Terrorism,* DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2023.2234707.

Elhaj, O. (2023), 'Palestinians at the Center: Three Takeaways from Gaza and Israel', Annotations Blog, Journal of Public & International Affairs [online], available at: https://jpia.princeton.edu/news/palestinians-center-three-takeaways-gaza-and-israel [accessed 16 January 2024].

Elliott-Cooper, A. (2021) *Black Resistance to British Policing,* Manchester University Press: Manchester.

Elshimi, M. (2015), '*The Concept and Practice of De-radicalisation in the PREVENT Strand of the UK Counter-terrorism Strategy: What is Deradicalisation?*', University of Exeter Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Ethno-Political Studies.

Elwick, A., and L. Jerome. 2019. "Balancing Securitisation and Education in Schools: Teachers' Agency in Implementing the Prevent Duty." Journal of Beliefs & Values 40(3), pp.338–353. https:// doi.org/10.1080/13617672.2019.1600322.

Enloe, C. (2016). "Being Reflexively Feminist Shouldn't Be Easy." In *Researching War. Feminist Methods, Ethics and Politics*, edited by A. Wibben, 258–59. Routledge: London.

Espino, M. (2012) 'Seeking the "Truth" in the Stories We Tell: The Role of Critical Race Epistemology in Higher Education Research', *The Review of Higher Education*, Vol.36(1), pp.31-67.

Espinoza, L. G. (1997). Legal narratives, therapeutic narratives: the invisibility and omnipresence of race and gender. Michigan Law Review, 901-937.
European Network Against Racism (2016), FORGOTTEN WOMEN: The impact of Islamophobia on Muslim women in the United Kingdom [online], available at: https://www.enar-eu.org/wp-content/uploads/forgotten_women_report_united_kingdom_-_final.pdf [accessed 10 June 2024].

Evans-Winters, V. and Esposito, J., (2010). Other People's Daughters: Critical Race Feminism and Black Girls' Education. *The Journal of Educational Foundations,* Vol.24(1), pp. 11-24.

Fanon, F. (2004). Les Damnés de la Terre. Translated by Philcox Richard. New York: Grove Press. First published 1961.

Fanon, F. (2008). Peau Noire, Masques Blancs. Translated by Philcox Richard. New York: Grove Press. First published 1952.

Farris, S. (2017), *In the Name of Women's Rights: The Rise of Femonationalism,* Duke University Press: Durham.

Faure Walker, R. (2019) Teachers as informants: countering extremism and promoting violence. Journal of Beliefs and Values, Vol.40(3) pp.368-380.

Faure Walker, R. (2019) The Emergence of 'Extremism' and 'Radicalisation': An investigation into the discursive conditions that have enabled UK counter-terrorism strategy to focus on 'radicalisation' and 'extremism', and a theorisation of the impact of this focus. Doctoral thesis (Ph.D), UCL (University of London).

Faure Walker, R. (2021). *The Emergence of Extremism,* Bloomsbury Academic: London.

FE Week (2024), Prevent referrals made in FE at record high [online], available at: https://feweek.co.uk/prevent-referrals-made-in-fe-at-record-high/ [accessed 9 July 2024].

Fekete, L. (2009), *A Suitable Enemy Racism, Migration and Islamophobia in Europe*, Pluto Press: London.

Fernandez, S. (2018), 'The Geographies of Prevent: The Transformation of the Muslim Home into a Pre-Crime Space', *Journal of Muslims in Europe,* Vol.*7*(2), pp.167–189, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/22117954-12341375

Fernandez, S. (2021) in Mustafa, N. (2021), 'Mass surveillance and the creation of a Muslim suspect', CBC [online], available at: https://www.cbc.ca/radio/ideas/mass-surveillance-and-the-creation-of-a-muslim-suspect-1.6280260 [accessed 2 May 2024].

Fernandez, S. (2024), 'When counter-extremism 'sticks': the circulation of the prevent duty in the school space', *Identities*, DOI: 10.1080/1070289X.2024.2318092.

Fernandez, S. & Younis, T. (2021), '*Why pro-Palestine activists are targeted in British schools and society'*, Middle East Eye, [online] available at: https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/uk-pro-palestine-activists-targeted-in-schools [accessed 15 January 2024].

Fernandez, S. and Tufail, W. (2023), '*Palestine, Islamophobia and the policing of solidarity'*, Identities Blog, [online], available at: https://www.identitiesjournal.com/blog-collection/palestine-islamophobia-and-the-policing-of-solidarity [accessed 15 January 2024].

Fernandez, S., Faure Walker, R. and Younis, T. (2018), Focus: The 'Where' of Prevent', *Discover Society* [online], available at: https://archive.discoversociety.org/2018/06/05/focus-the-where-of-prevent/ [accessed 7 March 2023].

Fink, C., R. B. Naureen, and L. Shetret. (2013). The Roles of Women in Terrorism, Conflict, and Violent Extremism: Lessons for the United Nations and International Actors. *Goshen, IN: Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation.*

Finn, R. (2011), Surveillant staring: Race and the everyday surveillance of South Asian Women after 9/11. *Surveillance & Society* Vol.8(4), pp.413-426.

Foucault, M. (1980), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972–1977*, Pantheon Books.

Fox, F., Morris, M. and Rumsey, N. (2007) 'Doing synchronous online focus groups with young people: methodological reflection', *Qualitative Health Research,* Vol.17(4), pp.539- 47.

Fransen, R. (2023), '*Can P/CVE be salvaged? Lessons and questions from gendered practice* ', Journal of the British Academy, 11(Supplementary issue 1): 157, DOI: https://doi.org/10.5871/jba/011s1.157

Gani, J.K & Khan, R.M. (2024), Positionality Statements as a Function of Coloniality: Interrogating Reflexive Methodologies, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol.68(2), DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqae038.

Garner, S., & Selod, S. (2015). The Racialization of Muslims: Empirical Studies of Islamophobia. Critical Sociology, Vol.41(1), 9-19. https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920514531606

Gelinas, L., Largent, E.A., Cohen, I.G., Kornetsky, S., Bierer, B.E. & Lynch, H.F. (2018) A framework for ethical payment to research partici-pants. The New England Journal of Medicine, 378, 766–771. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1056/NEJMsb1710591Goodman.

Gentry, C. (2009) "Twisted Maternalism*," International Feminist Journal of Politics* , Vol.11(2), pp.235.

Ghani and Nagdee, I. (2019), 'Islamophobia in UK universities', pp.188-197 in Zempi, I. & Awan, I. *The Routledge International Handbook of Islamophobia,* Routledge: UK.

Gilks, M. (2020) 'The security-prejudice nexus: "Islamist" terrorism and the structural logics of Islamophobia in the UK', *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.13(1), pp.24-46, DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2019.1650874 [accessed 27 March 2023].

Gillborn D, Bhopal K, Crawford C, Demack S, Gholami R, et al. (2021), *Evidence for the Commission on Ethnic and Race Disparities*. Rep., Univ. Birmingham Cent. Res. Race Educ., Birmingham, UK.

Gillborn, D. (2006) Critical Race Theory and Education: Racism and anti-racism in educational theory and praxis, Discourse: *Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, Vol.27(1), pp.11-32.

Gillborn, D., N. Rollock, C. Vincent, and S. J. Ball. (2012). "'You Got a Pass, so What More Do You Want?': Race, Class and Gender Intersections in the Educational Experiences of the Black Middle Class." Race Ethnicity and Education Vol.15(1), pp.121–139. DOI:10.1080/13613324.2012.638869.

Giordana, N. & Klausen, C. (2024) "Unveiling George Orwell through a Critical Race Theory Feminist Lens: A Social Constructivist Approach", International Journal of Science and Research (IJSR), Vol.13(10), pp. 1248-1253, DOI: https://www.doi.org/10.21275/SR241014191656

Giri K. (2022) 'Can Men Do Feminist Fieldwork and Research?', *International Studies Review*, Vol.24 (1).

Giscard d'Estaing, S. (2017) 'Engaging women in countering violent extremism: avoiding instrumentalisation and furthering agency', *Gender & Development*, Vol.25(1), pp.103-118, DOI: 10.1080/13552074.2017.1279823

Gohir, S. (2010), *OPEN LETTER - Resignation from the government's National Muslim Women's Advisory Group* [online], available at: https://www.mwnuk.co.uk/news.php?id=58 [accessed 30 September 2022].

Goodman, L.A., Liang, B., Helms, J.E., Latta, R.E., Sparks, E., & Weintraub, S.R. (2004), 'Training counselling psychologists as social justice agents: Feminist and multicultural principles in action', *Counselling Psychologist*, Vol.32(6), pp.793–837.

Gordon, E., and J. True. (2019) "Gender Stereotyped or Gender Responsive?: Hidden Threats and Missed Opportunities to Prevent and Counter Violent Extremism in Indonesia and Bangladesh." *The RUSI Journal* Vol.164 (4), pp.74–91.

Greer, S & Bell, LC. (2018), 'Counter-terrorist law in British universities: a review of the "Prevent" debate', *Public Law,* pp.84-104 (online) http://www.bristol.ac.uk/media-library/sites/law/GreerBell%20PREVENT%20final%20article.pdf [accessed 24 March 2022].

Grewal, I. (2017), "Security Moms" in Twenty-First-Century U.S.A. The Gender of Security in Neoliberalism', in Victoria Rosner, and Geraldine Pratt (eds), *The Global and the Intimate: Feminism in Our Time*, DOI: https://doi.org/10.7312/columbia/9780231154499.003.0009

Grewal, I. (2017), *Saving the Security State: Exceptional Citizens in Twenty-First Century America.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Griffin, P. & Khalid, M. (2022) 'Gender, race and Orientalism: The governance of terrorism and violent extremism in global and local perspective', *Critical Studies on Terrorism,* Vol.15(3), pp.559-584, DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2022.2100576.

Groothuis, S. (2020) 'Researching race, racialisation, and racism in critical terrorism studies: clarifying conceptual ambiguities, *Critical Studies on Terrorism,* Vol.13(4), pp.680-701.

Guest, M., Scott-Baumann, A., Cheruvallil-Contractor, S., Naguib, S., Phoenix, A., Lee, Y., & Al-Baghal, T. (2020) *'Islam and Muslims on UK University Campuses: Perceptions and Challenges',* [online], available at: https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/33345/1/file148310.pdf [accessed 7 June 2023].

Gulland, A. (2017). "Is There Any Place for Counterterrorism in the NHS?" *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, Vol.357.

Gunning, J. (2007) "A Case for Critical Terrorism Studies?," *Government and Opposition. Cambridge University Press,* Vol.42(3), pp. 363–393. DOI: 10.1111/j.1477-7053.2007.00228.x.

Habib, S. (2018), *Learning and Teaching British Values*, Palgrave Macmillan Cham: UK, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-60381-0

Hafez, M., and C. Mullins. (2015). "The Radicalization Puzzle: A Theoretical Synthesis of Empirical Approaches to Homegrown Extremism.*" Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol.38 (11), pp.958–975.

Hagen, J.J, Michelis, I., Eggert, J.P. & Turner, L. (2023) 'Learning to say 'no': privilege, entitlement and refusal in peace, (post)conflict and security research, *Critical Studies on Security*, DOI: 10.1080/21624887.2023.2208902

Hamad, R. (2020), *White Tears/ Brown Scars How White Feminism betrays women of color*, Trapeze: London.

Hand, M. (2014), 'We should not be conflating liberal democratic values with British national identity', *London School of Economics* [online], available at: http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/encouraging-liberaldemocratic-values-not-conflating-with-british-national-identity.

Hanisch, C. (1970). "The Personal is Political," in New York Radical Women, Notes from the Second Year: Women's Liberation; Major Writings of the Radical Feminists, New York, pp. 76–78.

Harmes, A. (2012) The rise of neoliberal nationalism, *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol.19(1), pp.59-86.

Harris, A. P. (1990). Race and essentialism in feminist legal theory. Stanford law review, 581-616.

Haw, K. (2010), "Being, Becoming and Belonging: Young Muslim Women in Contemporary Britain." *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, Vol.31 (4), pp.345–361

Haydn, T. (2014) *How and what should we teach about the British Empire in schools? In: Yearbook of the International Society of History Didactics*. Wochen Schau Verlag, Schwalbach, pp. 23-40.

Heath-Kelly, C. (2013) 'Counter-Terrorism and the Counterfactual: Producing the 'Radicalisation' Discourse and the UK PREVENT Strategy', *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol.15(3), pp. 394–415.

Heath-Kelly, C. (2024), Devolution and the Prevent Strategy in Scotland: Constitutional Politics and the Path of Scottish P/CVE, *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol.77(2), pp.350–370, DOI:https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsad007

Heath-Kelly, C. & Strausz, E. (2019) The banality of counterterrorism "after, after 9/11"? Perspectives on the Prevent duty from the UK health care sector, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.12(1), pp.89-109.

Heath-Kelly, C., and E. Strausz. (2019) "The Banality of Counterterrorism "After, After 9/11"? Perspectives on the Prevent Duty from the UK Health Care Sector." *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.12 (1), pp.89–109. doi:10.1080/17539153.2018.1494123.

Heidegger M (1962) *Being and Time*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Henehan, K. & Rose H. (2018), *Opportunities knocked? Exploring pay penalties among the UK's ethnic minorities.* London: Resolut. Found.

Henry, M. (2021). 'On the necessity of critical race feminism for women, peace and security', *Critical Studies on Security*, Vol9(1), pp.22-26.

Hickman, M., Thomas, L., Silvestri, S. & Nickels, H. (2011). "*Suspect*

Higham-James, N. and Holland, J. (2024) 'Enactors of the State: The everyday coproduction of security in the prevention of radicalisation.' *Political Studies*. ISSN 0032- 3217

Higton, J., Patel, R., Hansel, M., Choudhoury, A., Francis, N., Merrett, D., & CFE Research. (2021). Prevent referrals in higher education: Approaches and practices. Department for Education

Hillyard, P. (1993), *Suspect Community: People's Experience of the Prevention of Terrorism Acts in Britain,* Pluto Press: Chicago.

Hirschkind, C., & Mahmood, S. (2002). Feminism, the Taliban, and Politics of Counter-Insurgency. *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol.75(2), pp.339–354.

HM Government (2006), *Countering International Terrorism: The United Kingdom's Strategy,* Cm6888, London: HM Government.

HM Government (2007), *Communities and Local Government, "Muslim Women to Advise Government on Preventing Violent Extremism*, London: HM Government.

HM Government (2011a). *Prevent Strategy.* London: HM Government.

HM Government (2011b) *Extremism Risk Guidelines: ERG 22+ Structured Professional Guidelines for Assessing Risk of Extremist Offending*. National Offender Management Service.

HM Government (2011c) *Channel Duty Guidance.* London: HM Government.

HM Government (2013), *Tackling Extremism in the UK,* London: HM Government.

HM Government (2015a) *Counter-Terrorism and Security Act*, London, HM Government.

HM Government (2015b), *Prevent Duty Guidance: for higher education institutions in England and Wales*, London: HM Government.

Hodkinson, A. (2020) 'Fundamental British Values: Radicalizing British Children Into a Manufactured Them and Us Narrative Concept of Britishness?', *International Review of Qualitative Research*, Vol.13(1), pp. 23–40.

Holl-Allen, G. (2023), 'London university temporarily suspends students following Gaza solidarity rally' [online], available at: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2023/10/17/london-university-temporarily-suspends-students-gaza-rally/ [accessed 15 February 2024].

Holmwood, J. & O'Toole, T. (2017), *Countering Extremism in British Schools? The Truth about the Birmingham Trojan Horse Affair*. Policy Press, Bristol.

Home Affairs Committee (2009) House of Commons Project CONTEST: The Government's Counter Terrorism Strategy, London: The Stationery Office.

Home Office (1985), Police and criminal evidence act 1984 (s.66) codes of practice. H.M.S.O.

Home Office (2005), 'Community relations: existing problems and policies' [online], available at: https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200405/cmselect/cmhaff/165/16505.htm#note7 [accessed 17 May 2023].

Home Office (2017), Individuals referred to and supported through the Prevent Programme, April 2015 to March 2016, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/individuals-referred-to-and-supported-through-the-prevent-programme-april-2015-to-march-2016 [accessed 29 March 2022].

Home Office (2018), *Counter-Terrorism and Border Security Act 2019* [online], available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/counter-terrorism-and-border-security-bill-2018 [accessed 23 June 2023].

Home Office (2019), Individuals referred to and supported through the Prevent Programme, April 2018 to March 2019, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/individuals-referred-to-and-supported-through-the-prevent-programme-april-2018-to-march-2019 [accessed 22 March 2022].

Home Office (2020), Individuals referred to and supported through the Prevent Programme, April 2019 to March 2020' available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/individuals-referred-to-and-supported-through-the-prevent-programme-april-2019-to-march-2020 [accessed 20 April 2021].

Home Office (2021), Individuals referred to and supported through the Prevent Programme, England and Wales, April 2020 to March 2021, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/individuals-referred-to-and-supported-through-the-prevent-programme-april-2020-to-march-2021/individuals-referred-to-and-supported-through-the-prevent-programme-england-and-wales-april-2020-to-march-2021 [accessed 10 December 2021].

Home Office (2023a), '*Independent Review of Prevent's report and government response By William Shawcross CVO'* [online], available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/1134986/Independent_Review_of_Prevent.pdf [accessed 3 March 2023].

Home Office (2023b), 'Individuals referred to Prevent: to March 2023' [online], available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/user-guide-to-individuals-referred-to-and-supported-through-the-prevent-programme-england-and-wales/user-guide-to-individuals-referred-to-and-supported-through-the-prevent-programme-england-and-wales#glossary [accessed 15 December 2023].

Home Office (2023c), Individuals referred to and supported through the Prevent Programme, England and Wales, April 2021 to March 2022, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/individuals-referred-to-and-supported-

through-the-prevent-programme-april-2021-to-march-2022/individuals-referred-to-and-supported-through-the-prevent-programme-april-2021-to-march-2022 [accessed 27 January 2023].

Home Office (2023d), *CONTEST 2023,* [online], available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/counter-terrorism-strategy-contest-2023/counter-terrorism-strategy-contest-2023-accessible [accessed 8 November 2023].

Home Office (2023d), Statutory guidance, Prevent duty guidance: for further education institutions in England and Wales (2015), Published 7 September 2023 [online], available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/prevent-duty-guidance-england-scotland-and-wales-2015/prevent-duty-guidance-for-further-education-institutions-in-england-and-wales-2015 [accessed 7 November 2023].

Home Office (2023e), *Proscribed terrorist groups or organisations* [online], available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/proscribed-terror-groups-or-organisations--2/proscribed-terrorist-groups-or-organisations-accessible-version#list-of-proscribed-international-terrorist-groups [accessed 16 January 2024].

hooks b. (1992) 'Eating the other: Desire and resistance' in *Black looks: Race and representation,* South End Press: Boston.

hooks, b. (1994), *Teaching to Transgress*, Routledge: New York.

Hourani, A, (1983), *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age: 1798-1939*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

House of Commons (2010) Preventing Violent Extremism: Sixth Report of Session 2009–10. Communities and Local Government Committee. London: House of Commons.

Hoyle, L. (2022) *An interview with Suhaiymah Manzoor-Khan* [online], available at: https://medium.com/perlego/surveillance-and-security-how-islamophobia-benefits-the-state-98ba01d0c244 (accessed 8 November 2022).

Hua, A. (2003) "Critical Race Feminism." *Canadian Critical Race Conference 2003: Pedagogy and Practice.* University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC Canada. May 2 - 4, 2003 [online], available at: https://edocs.lib.sfu.ca/ccrc/html/CCRC_PDF/CriticalRaceFeminism(AnhHua).pdf [accessed 21 April 2023].

Huber, L.P (2008) Building Critical Race Methodologies in Educational Research: A Research Note on Critical Race Testimonio, *FIU Law Review*, Vol.4, pp.159.

Huckerby, J. (2011). Women and Preventing Violent Extremism: The U.S. and U.K. Experiences. NYU School of Law: Center for Human Rights and Global Justice. (online) available at: http://chrgj.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Women-andViolent-Extremism-The-US-and-UK-Experiences.pdf. [accessed 18 March 2024].

Huckerby, J. (2012), CTR. FOR HUMAN RIGHTS & GLOB. JUSTICE, WOMEN AND PREVENTING VIOLENT EXTREMISM: THE U.S. AND U.K. EXPERIENCES 4 [online], available at: https://chrgj.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Women-and-Violent-Extremism-The-US-and-UK-Experiences.pdf [accessed 22 November 2022].

Huckerby, J. (2015). 'The Complexities of Women, Peace, Security and Countering Violent Extremism'. Just Security, Online Forum, New York University School of Law.

Husband, C. and Alam, Y. (2011). *Social Cohesion and Counter-Terrorism: A Policy Contradiction?* Bristol: The Policy Press.

Hussain, Y. and Bagguley, P. (2012) 'Securitized Citizens: Islamophobia, Racism and the 7/7 London Bombings', *The Sociological Review*, Vol.60(4), pp. 715–734.

Hylton, K. (2012) Talk the talk, walk the walk: defining Critical Race Theory in research, Race Ethnicity and Education, Vol.15(1), pp.23-41.

Intelligence and Security Committee of Parliament (2022), Government Response to the
Intelligence and Security Committee of Parliament Report 'Extreme Right-Wing Terrorism', [online], available at: https://isc.independent.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Government-Response-to-the-%E2%80%98Extreme-Right-Wing-Terrorism-Report.pdf [accessed 8 November 2023].

International Committee on the Red Cross (ICRC) (2017), "Background Note and Guidance for National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies on "Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism", available at: https://www.icrc.org/en/document/guidance-note-national-societies-preventingand-countering-violent-extremism-approach [accessed 9 September 2022].

IRR (Inst. Race Relat.) (2020), *BME statistics on poverty and housing and employment*. Rep., Inst. Race Relat., London [online], available at: https://irr.org.uk/research/statistics/poverty/ [accessed 5 December 2023].

Isakjee, A. and Allen, C. (2013) ''A catastrophic lack of inquisitiveness': A critical study of the impact and narrative of the Project Champion surveillance project in Birmingham', *Ethnicities*, 13(6), pp. 751–770.

Ishak, N. and Bakar, A. (2012), 'Qualitative data management and analysis using NVivo: an approach used to examine leadership qualities among student leaders', *Education Research Journal*, Vol.2(3), pp.94-103.

Ivanoff, S. D. and Hultberg, J. (2006), "Understanding the multiple realities of everyday life: Basic assumptions in focus-group methodology.*" Scandinavian Journal of Occupational Therapy* Vol.13, pp.25 - 132.

Jackson R. (2016) 'To be or not to be policy relevant? Power, emancipation and resistance in CTS research', *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.9(1), pp. 120–125.

Jackson, L.B. (2024): Constructing the 'good Muslim girl': hegemonic and pariah femininities in the British Preventing Violent Extremism (PVE) agenda, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, DOI: 10.1080/09557571.2024.2307626

Jackson, R. (2007a) 'The Core Commitments of Critical Terrorism Studies', *European Political Science,* Vol.6, pp.244–251.

Jackson, R. (2007b). Constructing Enemies: "Islamic Terrorism" in Political and Academic Discourse. *Government and Opposition*, Vol.42(3), pp.394–426.

James, C.E., & Taylor, L.E. (2022*). First-Generation Student Experiences in Higher Education: Counterstories* (1st ed.). Routledge. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003090281.

James, N. (2022) Countering far-right threat through Britishness: the Prevent duty in further education, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.15(1), 121-142.

James, N. (2020). 'Enacting the Prevent Duty in further education. The Prevent Duty in Education: Impact, Enactment and Implications', pp.139-158 in Busher, J. & Jerome, L. (2020) *The Prevent Duty in Education Impact, Enactment and Implications*, Palgrave Macmillian: UK.

James, N. (2022) Countering far-right threat through Britishness: the Prevent duty in further education, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.15(1), pp.121-142, DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2022.2031135.

Janesick, V.J., 'Oral History Interviewing with Purpose and Critical Awareness', in Patricia Leavy (2020), *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 2nd edition, Oxford Handbooks, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190847388.013.23

Jayaratne, T. E. and Stewart, A. J. (1991), 'Quantitative and qualitative methods in the social sciences: current feminist issues and practical strategies', in M.M. Fonow and J.A. Cook (eds), *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp.85-106.

Joint Committee on Human Rights (2016), *Counter-Extremism: Second Report 2016–2017*, Crown Copyright: London.

Jones, C.S. (2024). The power we hold: sharing the stories of girls of color (Doctoral dissertation). [online], available at: The power we hold: sharing the stories of girls of color [accessed 29 May 2024].

Joppke, C. (2004) 'The retreat of multiculturalism in the liberal state: Theory and policy', *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.55(2), pp.237–257, available at: https://psycnet.apa.org/record/2004-16317-004 [accessed 20 March 2023].

Joseph-Salisbury, R. (2021). "Teacher Perspectives on the Presence of Police Officers in English Secondary Schools: A Critical Race Theory Analysis." Race Ethnicity and Education Vol.24(4), pp.578–595. DOI:10.1080/13613324.2021.1890563.

Joseph, J. (2009), 'Critical of What? Terrorism and its Study', *International Relations*, Vol.23(1), DOI:10.1177/0047117808100614.

Jung, M.K., J. H. C. Vargas, and E. Bonilla-Silva (2011). *State of White Supremacy: Racism,Governance, and the United States*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press

Kaleem, A. (2022) The hegemony of Prevent: turning counter-terrorism policing into common sense, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.15(2), pp.267-289, DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2021.2013016.

Karaman, N., & Christian, M. (2020). "My Hijab Is Like My Skin Color": Muslim Women Students, Racialization, and Intersectionality, *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity,* Vol.6(4), pp.517–532, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649220903740.

Keddie, A. (2018) Disrupting (gendered) Islamophobia: the practice of feminist ijtihad to support the agency of young Muslim women, Journal of Gender Studies, Vol27(5), pp.522-533, DOI: 10.1080/09589236.2016.1243047

Keenan, J. (2017), 'UK Foreign Policy and Intelligence in the Post-Truth Era: Radical Violent Extremism and "Blow-Back', *State Crime Journal*, Vol.6(2), pp.190-213.

Khalid, M. (2011) 'Gender, orientalism and representations of the 'Other' in the War on Terror', *Global Change, Peace & Security*, Vol.23(1), pp.15-29.

Khan, K. (2020) '*What Does a Terrorist Sound Like? Language and Racialized Representations of Muslims'* in H. Samy Alim, Angela Reyes, and Paul V. Kroskrity (eds), The Oxford Handbook of Language and Race (online) available at: https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190845995.013.19 [accessed 18 November 2022].

Khan, R. (2021) Race, coloniality and the post 9/11 counter-discourse: Critical Terrorism Studies and the reproduction of the Islam-Terrorism discourse, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.14(4), pp.498-501.

Khan, R. (2021), 'Afghanistan and the colonial project of feminism: dismantling the binary lens' [online], available at: https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/medialse/2021/09/02/afghanistan-and-the-colonial-project-of-feminism-dismantling-the-binary-lens/ [accessed 6 February 2023].

Khan, Z. (2000) 'Muslim Presence in Europe: The British Dimension - Identity, Integration and Community Activism', *Current Sociology*, Vol.48(4), pp. 29–43.

Khosrojerdi, F. (2015), "*Muslim Female Students and Their Experiences of Higher Education in Canada"*, Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository [online], available at: https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/2896 [accessed 14 October 2022]

Kirkup, J. (2021), Missing the Story: the UK media's neglect of Further Education, *Social Market Foundation,* [online], available at: https://fetl.org.uk/publications/missing-the-story-the-uk-medias-neglect-of-further-education/ [accessed 27 April 2023].

Knudsen, R. A. (2018). Measuring radicalisation: Risk assessment conceptualisations and practice in England and Wales. Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression, Vol.12(1), pp.37– 54.

Kundnani, A. (2009), 'Spooked! How not to prevent violent extremism', *Institute of Race Relations* [online], available at: http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.163.1260&rep=rep1&type=pdf [accessed 14 March 2022]

Kundnani, A. (2012), 'Radicalisation: the journey of a concept', *Race & Class*, Vol.54(2), pp.3–25. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396812454984.

Kundnani, A. (2014), *The Muslims are Coming!: Islamophobia, Extremism, and the Domestic War on Terror*, Verso: London.

Kundnani, A. & Hayes, B. (2018) The globalisation of Countering Violent Extremism policies: Undermining human rights, instrumentalising civil society, *TNI Report*.

Kyriacou, C., Szczepek Reed, B., Said, F., & Davies, I. (2017), 'British Muslim university students' perceptions of Prevent and its impact on their sense of identity', *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice,* Vol.12(2), pp.97-110, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/1746197916688918

Ladson-Billings, G. (2009) ''Who you callin' nappy-headed?' A critical race theory look at the construction of Black women', Race Ethnicity and Education, 12(1), pp. 87-99.

Lahman, M. K. E., Rodriguez, K. L., Moses, L., Griffin, K. M., Mendoza, B. M., & Yacoub, W. (2015). 'A Rose By Any Other Name Is Still a Rose? Problematizing Pseudonyms in Research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, Vol.21(5), pp.445–453.

Lakhani, S. (2020) Social capital and the enactment of prevent duty: an empirical case-study of schools and colleges, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.13 (4), pp. 660-679.

Lakhani, S. & James, N. (2021) "Prevent duty": empirical reflections on the challenges of addressing far-right extremism within secondary schools and colleges

in the UK, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.14(1), pp.67-89, DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2021.1876550

Lammy, D. (2017), The Lammy review: an independent review into the treatment of, and outcomes for, Black, Asian and minority ethnic individuals in the criminal justice system. Rep., Lammy Rev. and Minist. Justice, London.

Le Bourdon, M. (2022). 'Confronting the Discomfort: A Critical Analysis of Privilege and Positionality in Development'. *International Journal of Qualitative Method*s, Vol.21. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069221081362

Lee-Treweek, G., & Linkogle, S. (2000), *Danger in the Field: Ethics and Risk in Social Research (1st ed.)*, Routledge: New York.

Lewis, H. (1998), 'Global Intersections: Critical Race Feminist Human Rights and Inter/national Black Women', *Maine Law Review* [online], available at: https://digitalcommons.mainelaw.maine.edu/mlr/vol50/iss2/7 [accessed 28 March 2023].

Lewis, H. (2003), "Embracing Complexity: Human Rights in Critical Race Feminist Perspective," *Columbia Journal of Gender and Law*, Vol.12(3), pp.510-521.

Levers, M-J.D., (2013), Philosophical Paradigms, Grounded Theory, and Perspectives on Emergence. SAGE, Vol.3 (4), pp.1-6. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244013517243

Liamputtong, P. (2007), *Researching the vulnerable: A guide to sensitive research methods.* Sage Publications: US.

Lincoln, Y.S., Lynham, S.A. and Guba, E.G. (2011), "Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions, and Emerging Confluences, Revisited." pp. 97-128, in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, edited by N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln, Sage: London.

Lindahl, S. (2020). 'Conceptualising violent extremism', pp.40-54, in *Encountering extremism*, Manchester University Press: Manchester, DOI: https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526136619.00008

Lister, M. (2023), Public opinion and counter-terrorism: security and politics in the UK, Routledge: Abingdon, Oxon; New York.

Litowitz, D.E (1997), 'Some Critical Thoughts on Critical Race Theory*'*, 72 Notre Dame L. Rev. 503 [online], available at: https://scholarship.law.nd.edu/ndlr/vol72/iss2/5 [accessed 10 June 2024].

Lockley-Scott, A. (2016) *What is the Impact of UK Government Strategies Preventing Non-Violent Extremism on Muslim Pupils in School?,* paper presented at the University of Birmingham Education Conference, 26th November. [online], available at:

https://www.academia.edu/33336146/WHAT_IS_THE_IMPACT_OF_UK_GOVER
NMENT_STRATEGIES_PREVENTING_NON_docx [accessed 30 January 2024].

Lockley-Scott, A. (2020), *Exploring the imagined identities of Muslim pupils in the context of Prevent*, PhD Thesis [online], available at:
https://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/153071/1/WRAP_Theses_Lockley-Scott_2020.pdf
[accessed 22 April 2024].

Long L. J. (2018) *Perpetual Suspects: A Critical Race Theory of Black and Mixed-Race Experiences of Policing*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Lowe, D. (2017), "Prevent Strategies: The Problems Associated in Defining Extremism: The Case of the United Kingdom." Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, Vol.40(11), pp.917–933, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/ 1057610X.2016.1253941.

Lowe, D. and Bennett, R. (2021), *Prevent Strategy Helping the Vulnerable Being Drawn towards Terrorism or Another Layer of State Surveillance?,* Routledge: UK.

Lundie, D. C. (2019) Building a terrorist house on sand: a critical incident analysis of interprofessionality and the Prevent duty in schools in England. *Journal of Beliefs and Values*, Vol.40(3), pp. 321-337.

Mac An Ghaill, M. & Haywood, C. (2017). *Muslim Students, Education and Neoliberalism: Schooling a 'Suspect Community'*, Palgrave Macmillan: London.

Macdonald, S., Whiting, A., & Jarvis, L. (2024), 'Evidence and Ideology in the Independent Review of Prevent', *Journal for Deradicalization*, Vol.*39*, pp.40-76. DOI: https://journals.sfu.ca/jd/index.php/jd/article/view/907/471

MacKay, D. (2022), 'The ethics of payments to research participants' [online] available at: https://www.3ieimpact.org/blogs/ethics-payments-research-participants [accessed 30 May 2024].

Maguire, M., & Delahunt, B. (2017). 'Doing a Thematic Analysis: A Practical, Step-by-Step Guide for Learning and Teaching Scholars', *AISHE-J*, Vol.9 (3) pp.3351-33514.
Manchester Muslim Student Fund (2022), Muslims in Education, [online], available at: https://mmsf.org.uk/facts-figures/ [accessed 10 June 2024].

Manzoor-Khan, S. (2022), *Tangled in Terror: Uprooting Islamophobia,* Pluto Press: London.

Martin, T. (2019), *Counter-radicalisation Policy and the Securing of British Identity: The Politics of Prevent*, Manchester University Press: Manchester.

Martinez, A.Y. (2014), 'A plea for critical race theory counterstory: Stock story versus counterstory dialogues concerning Alejandra's" fit" in the academy', *Composition Studies*, pp.33-55.

Martínez, G.A. (2020), 'Law, Race, and the Epistemology of Ignorance', *Hastings Race & Poverty, Law Journal,* Vol.17(2) [online], available at: https://repository.uclawsf.edu/hastings_race_poverty_law_journal/vol17/iss2/9 [accessed 18 May 2023].

Martini, A. (2023). Global silences as privilege: The international community's white silence on far-right terrorism. Security Dialogue, 0(0), DOI:https://doi.org/10.1177/09670106221142425

Martini, A., Ford, K., and Jackson, R. (2020). *Encountering extremism,* Manchester University Press: Manchester, England [online], available at: https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526136619 [accessed 10 March 2023].

Mason, J. (2002), *Qualitative Researching,* SAGE: London.

Masters, C. (2009) 'Femina Sacra: The `War on/of Terror', Women and the Feminine', *Security Dialogue*, Vol.40(1), pp. 29–49.

Masters, M. & Regilme, S.S.F. (2020), 'Human Rights and British Citizenship: The Case of Shamima Begum as Citizen to Homo Sacer', *Journal of Human Rights Practice*, Vol.12(2), DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/jhuman/huaa029

Matsuda, C. (1991),Voices of America: Accent, anti-discrimination law, and a jurisprudence for the last reconstruction, *Yale Law Journal*,Vol.100, pp.1329-1407.

Matsuda, M. J. (1989) "Public Response to Racist Speech: Considering the Victim's Story." *Michigan Law Review*, vol. 87(8), pp. 2320–81.

May, V.M. (2014) "Speaking into the Void"? Intersectionality Critiques and Epistemic Backlash,' Hypatia, Vol.29(1), pp. 94- 112.

McCall, L. (2005). The Complexity of Intersectionality. Signs: *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*., Vol.30(3), 1771–1800.

McCulloch, J., & Pickering, S. (2009). PRE-CRIME AND COUNTER-TERRORISM: Imagining Future Crime in the "War on Terror." *The British Journal of Criminology,* Vol.49(5), pp.628–645.

McDonald, M. (2007). 'Emancipation and critical terrorism studies', *European Political Science*. Vol.6, pp.252-259.

McGhee, D, (2010), *Security, Citizenship and Human Rights: Shared values in uncertain time*s, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

McGlynn, C. & McDaid, S. (2019) Radicalisation and Higher Education: Students' Understanding and Experiences, Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol.31(3), pp.559-576.

McKenna, U.& Francis, L. (2019), 'Growing up female and Muslim in the UK: an empirical enquiry into the distinctive religious and social values of young Muslims', British Journal of Religious Education, Vol.41(4), pp.388-401.

McNeil-Wilson, R., Faure Walker, R., Ingham-Barrow, I. (2021), '*The Henry Jackson Society: The Threat to British Democracy caused by Security Think Tanks'* [online], available at: https://blogs.soas.ac.uk/cop/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/The_Threat_to_British-Democracy.pdf [accessed 28 March 2022]

Medact (2020), False Positives the Prevent counter-extremism policy in healthcare [online], available at: https://www.medact.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/MEDACT-False-Positives-WEB.pdf [accessed 30 March 2022]

Meer, N., & Modood, T. (2009). The multicultural state we're in: Muslims, 'multiculture' and the 'civic re-balancing' of British multiculturalism. *Political Studies*, Vol.57, 473–497.

Meghji, A. (2022). *The racialized social system: Critical race theory as social theory*. London: Polity Press.

Meier, A. (2023), *'Salad Bar Extremism' as White Distraction: The (In)coherence of a Category* [online], available at: https://gnet-research.org/2023/08/24/salad-bar-extremism-as-white-distraction-the-incoherence-of-a-category/ [accessed 25 August 2023].

Miah, S. (2017). *Muslims, Schooling and Security: Trojan Horse, Prevent and Racial Politics*. New York: Springer.

Mills, C. W. (2007), 'White Ignorance', in S. Sullivan & N. Tuana (Eds.), *Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance*, University of New York Press: New York.

Mirza, H. (2015), 'Dangerous Muslim Girls? Race, Gender and Islamophobia in British Schools', in C. Alexander et al. (eds) *The Runnymede School Report: Race Education and Inequality in Contemporary Britain,* pp. 40–43. London: Runnymede Trust.

Mirza, H. S. (1997), *Black British Feminism*, Routledge: London.

Mirza, H. S. (2015), "'*Dangerous' Muslim Girls? Race, Gender and Islamophobia in British Schools.''* in The School Report: Race, education and Inequality in Britain, edited by Claire Alexander, Debbie Weekes-Bernard, and Jason Arday. London: Runnymede Trust, available at: https://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/The%20School%20Report.pdf [accessed 13 October 2022]

Mirza, H. S. and Joseph, C. (2013) *Black and Postcolonial Feminisms In: Researching Educational Inequalities*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Mirza, H.S. & Meetoo, V. (2018) Empowering Muslim girls? Post-feminism, multiculturalism and the production of the 'model' Muslim female student in British schools, *British Journal of Sociology of Education,* Vol39(2), pp.227-241.

Mirza, W. (2016), Freedom of Information Request [online], available at: https://www.whatdotheyknow.com/request/353943/response/894040/attach/3/2016%2011%2011%20FOI%20107263%20Waqas%20Mirza.pdf?cookie_passthrough=1 [accessed 13 May 2022]

Moffat, A. & Gerard , F.J. (2019), 'Securitising education: an exploration of teachers' attitudes and experiences regarding the implementation of the Prevent duty in sixth form colleges,' *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.13(2), pp.197-217, DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2019.1629860

Mohanty, C. (2006) US Empire and the Project of Women's Studies: Stories of citizenship, complicity and dissent, *Gender, Place & Culture*, Vol.13(1), pp.7-20, DOI:

Moncrieffe, M. and Moncrieffe, A. (2019) 'An examination of imagery used to represent fundamental British values and British identity on primary school display boards', *London Review of Education*, Vol.17(1): pp.52–69. DOI: https://doi.org/10.18546/LRE.17.1.05

Moore, T. & McKee, K. & McCoughlin, P. (2015), 'Online focus groups and qualitative research in the social sciences: their merits and limitations in a study of housing and youth', *People, Place and Policy*, Vol.9, pp.17-28. DOI: 10.3351/ppp.0009.0001.0002.

Muslim Council of Britain (2022), '2021 Census: As UK Population Grows, So Do British Muslim Communities' [online] available at: https://mcb.org.uk/2021-census-as-uk-population-grows-so-do-british-muslim-communities/ [accessed 27 January 2023].

Mythen, G., Walklate, S. and Khan, F. (2013) ''Why Should We Have to Prove We're Alright?': Counter-terrorism, Risk and Partial Securities', *Sociology*, Vol.47(2), pp. 383–398.

Naber, N. (2008), *Race and Arab Americans Before and After 9/11: From Invisible Citizens to Visible Subjects*, Syracuse University Press.

Nabi, S. (2021) Institutionalized Islamophobia Before Prevent: Muslim Students, Campus Watch and the 'Fundamentalist' Formation in British Universities, *Journal of the Contemporary Study of Islam*, Vol.2 (2), pp.112–141.

Nagdee, I. (2023), 'UK: Shawcross review of Prevent is 'deeply prejudiced and has no legitimacy', *Amnesty International* [online], available at: https://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/uk-shawcross-review-prevent-deeply-prejudiced-and-has-no-legitimacy [accessed 22 February 2023].

National Union for Students (2018), *The experience of Muslim students in 2017-18* [online], available at: https://www.nusconnect.org.uk/resources/the-experience-of-muslim-students-in-2017-18 [accessed 15 January 2024].

Nayak, M. (2006). 'Orientalism and "Saving" US State Identity After 9/11', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol.8(1), pp.42–61.

Neumann, P. (2008). *Perspectives on Radicalisation and Political Violence: papers from the first International Conference on Radicalisation and Political Violence*, London, pp.17–18.

Njue M, Molyneux S, Kombe F, Mwalukore S, Kamuya D, Marsh V (2015) Benefits in Cash or in Kind? A Community Consultation on Types of Benefits in Health Research on the Kenyan Coast. PLoS ONE, Vol.10(5), DOI: 10.1371/journal.pone.0127842

Nordstrom, C. (1997), *A different kind of war story*, University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia.

O'Donnell, A. (2020), 'What is an educational response to extreme and radical ideas and why does it matter?', In: Martini, A., Ford, K. and Jackson, R. ed. *Encountering extremism: Theoretical issues and local challenges*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 136-156, DOI: https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526136619.00013

O'Toole, T, Meer, N, Nilsson DeHanas, D, Jones, S & Modood, T (2016a), 'Governing through prevent? Regulation and contested practice in state–Muslim engagement', *Sociology*, Vol. 50(1), pp. 160-177.

O'Donnell, A. (2016b), Securitisation, counterterrorism and the silencing of dissent: the educational implications of prevent, *Br. J. Educ. Stud.*, Vol.64, pp. 53-76

O'Malley, P. (2004), *Risk, Uncertainty and Government*. London: The Glasshouse Press.

O'Reilly, M. and Dogra, N. (2017) 'Different Types of Interview'. In: *Interviewing Children and Young People for Research*, pp.37-48, SAGE: London.

O'Toole, T., Meer, N., Dehanas, D.N., Jones, S.H., Modood, T. (2016b) 'Governing through Prevent? Regulation and Contested Practice in State–Muslim Engagement', *Sociology*, Vol.50(1), pp. 160–177.

Office for Students (2021), 'Prevent monitoring Summary of annual accountability and data returns: 2017-18, 2018-19, 2019-20' [online], available at: https://www.officeforstudents.org.uk/media/0dcf1d05-1f28-439b-be3b-9b59735a1b2d/prevent-monitoring-summary-of-annual-adrs-2017-20.pdf [accessed 30 March 2022]

Office for Students (2022), Prevent monitoring: Summary of 2021-22 accountability and data returns [online], available at:

https://www.officeforstudents.org.uk/publications/prevent-monitoring-summary-of-2021-22-accountability-and-data-returns/ [accessed 17 June 2024].

OFSTED (2015), The Common Inspection Framework: Education, Skills and Early Years. Manchester: OFSTED.

Olszewski, A.E. (2022), 'Narrative, Compassion, and Counter Stories', *AMA Journal of Ethics*, Vol.24(3), pp.212-217, DOI: 10.1001/amajethics.2022.212.

Olusoga, D. (2024), There can be no excuses. The UK riots were violent racism fomented by populism, *The Guardian,* 10 August 2024, [online] available at: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/article/2024/aug/10/there-can-be-no-excuses-the-uk-riots-were-violent-racism-fomented-by-populism [accessed 13 August 2024].

Omand, D. (2010) *Securing the State*, London: Hurst.

Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. (1986), '*Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960S to the1980s',* New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul

ONS (2019), Population estimates by ethnic group and religion, England and Wales: 2019 [online], available at:
https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/articles/populationestimatesbyethnicgroupandreligionenglandandwales/2019/pdf [accessed 4 January 2021]

ONS (2022), 'Religion, England and Wales: Census 2021'[online] available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/religion/bulletins/religionenglandandwales/census2021#:~:text=There%20were%20increases%20in%20the,%2C%201.5%25%20in%202011) [accessed 27 January 2023].

Open Rights Group (2024), *Prevent And The Pre-Crime State: How Unaccountable Data Sharing Is Harming A Generation* [online], available at: https://www.openrightsgroup.org/publications/prevent-and-the-pre-crime-state-how-unaccountable-data-sharing-is-harming-a-generation/ [accessed 19 March 2024].

Open Society Justice Initiative (2016), The UK's PREVENT Counter-Extremism Strategy in Health and Education [online], available at: https://www.justiceinitiative.org/uploads/f87bd3ad-50fb-42d0-95a8-54ba85dce818/eroding-trust-20161017_0.pdf [accessed 13 September 2023].

OSCE (2013), *Women and Terrorism Radicalisation: Final Report* [online], available at: osce.org/secretariat/99919?download=true

Pacwa, J. (2019) "*War on Terror as a "fight for the rights and dignity of women": a discourse analysis of the U.S. 'liberation' campaign for Afghan women*" (2019). Theses and Dissertations [online], available at: https://digitalcommons.pepperdine.edu/etd/1101 [accessed 6 February 2023].

Pang, M. (2018), *Exploring 'mixed-race' identities in Scotland through a familial lens,* PhD thesis [online], available at: *https://theses.gla.ac.uk/8741/1/2018PangPhD.pdf* [accessed 2 May 2023].

Panjwani, F. (2016) 'Towards an overlapping consensus: Muslim teachers' views on fundamental British values', *Journal of Education for Teaching*, Vol.42(3), pp. 329–340, DOI: 10.1080/02607476.2016.1184463.

Pappe, I. (2006), *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine,* OneWorld Publications: Oxford, England.

Parker, D., Lindekilde, L., & Gøtzsche-Astrup, O. (2021). Recognising and responding to radicalisation at the 'frontline': Assessing the capability of school teachers to recognise and respond to radicalisation. British Educational Research Journal, Vol.47(3), pp.634– 653.

Parker, C., Witherow, T., Mltib, A., Ledwith, M. (2024), 'Inside the UK's pro-Palestinian university protests', *The Times*, [online] 8th May 2024, available at: https://www.thetimes.com/uk/society/article/inside-pro-palestinian-university-protests-uk-gaza-oxford-cambridge-mkp3mqncl [accessed 10 August 2024].

Patai, D.. (1991). "U.S. Academics and Third World Women: Is Ethical Research Possible?" in *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, edited by Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai, pp.137–53. Routledge: New York.

Patel, S. and Westermann, L. (2018) Perspectives are integrated in countering violent extremism policy and practices, *Security Challenges*, Vol.14(2), pp.53–81.

Patel, T.G. (2012). Surveillance, Suspicion and Stigma: Brown Bodies in a Terror-Panic Climate. *Surveillance & Society*, Vol.10(3/4), pp.215-234.

Patton, M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods,* Third edition, SAGE: California.

Pawlowski, N.S. (2023) Suspicious cities: An analysis of the securitisation of urban everyday life in London and Brussels, Critical Studies on Terrorism, 16:2, 305-327, DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2023.2176408

Pearce, J. M., Lindekilde, L. & Parker, D. (2023). Understanding UK university academic staff attitudes towards recognising and responding to student radicalisation. *British Educational Research Journal*, Vol.49, pp.1254–1272, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1002/berj.3896

Pearson, E. (2023), *Extreme Britain: Gender, Masculinity and Radicalisation*, Hurst: UK.

Pearson, E., Winterbotham, E., & Brown, K. E. (2020). *Countering violent extremism: Making gender matter*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Pennant, A. (2020), "Look, I Have Gone Through The Education System And I Have Tried Damn Hard To Get To Where I Am, So No One Is Gonna Stop Me!"": The Educational Journeys And Experiences Of Black British Women Graduates', PhD Thesis [online], available at: https://etheses.bham.ac.uk/id/eprint/10418/7/Pennant2020PhD.pdf [accessed 10 June 2024].

Perry, B. (2014), "Gendered Islamophobia: Hate Crime against Muslim Women." *Social Identities*, Vol.20 (1), pp.74–89, DOI:10.1080/13504630.2013.864467.

Petrie, S. (2015). *The Channel programme: helping vulnerable people or nudging them towards radicalisation?,* The Conversation, Oct 9 2015 [online], available at: https://theconversation.com/the-channel-programme-helping-vulnerable-people-or-nudging-them-towards-radicalisation-48863 [accessed 1 April 2022].

Pettinger, T. (2020). 'British terrorism preemption: Subjectivity and disjuncture in Channel "de-radicalization" interventions', *The British Journal of Sociology*. Vol.71.

Pini, B. (2002) Focus groups, feminist research and farm women: opportunities for empowerment in rural social research, *Journal of Rural Studies*, Vol.18(3).

Politzer, N.M. & Alcaraz, O.A. (2023), 'Islam, media framing and Islamophobia in the US press, before and after the Charlie Hebdo terrorist attack', *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2023.2207164

Poynting, S., & Mason, V. (2007). The resistible rise of Islamophobia: Anti-Muslim racism in the UK and Australia before 11 September 2001. *Journal of Sociology*, Vol43(1), pp.61-86. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/1440783307073935

Prelec, T. & Furstenberg, S. & Heathershaw, J. & Thomson, C. (2022), 'Is academic freedom at risk from internationalisation? Results from a 2020 survey of UK social scientists', *The International Journal of Human Rights*, Vol.26(10), pp.1698-1722, DOI: 10.1080/13642987.2021.2021398

Press Association (2017), 'Amber Rudd denies cuts to police were factor in Manchester atrocity', The Guardian [online], available at: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/may/25/amber-rudd-denies-cuts-to-police-were-factor-in-manchester-atrocity [accessed 12 March 2023].

Prevent Watch (2017), 'Ten-year-old gets Prevent referral for hijab because its 'anti-Christian', [online], available at: https://www.preventwatch.org/ten-year-old-prevent-referral-for-hijab-anti-christian/ [accessed 19 February 2024].
Prevent Watch (2021), *Prevent Watch,* [online] https://www.preventwatch.org/ [accessed 14 October 2021].

Prevent Watch (2023a), '*The Prevent duty and Israel-Palestine in the new academic year'* [online], available at: https://www.preventwatch.org/the-prevent-duty-and-israel-palestine-in-the-new-academic-year/ [accessed 31 October 2023].

Prevent Watch (2023b), Expert View: Our response on Prevent referral data concerns, [online] available at: https://www.preventwatch.org/expert-response-prevent-referral-data-concerns/ [accessed 7 June 2023].

Prevent Watch (2024), *Due Regard* [online], available at: https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/research/projects/neoliberalterror/neoliberal-terror/ [accessed 10 May 2024].

Proude, A.C. & Inge, L. (2004). "'Unwelcomed sisters'"? An analysis of findings from a study of how Muslim women (and Muslim men) experience university," *Australian Journal of Education,* Vol.48 (1),47-63.

Proudfoot, K. (2022), 'Inductive/Deductive Hybrid Thematic Analysis in Mixed Methods Research', *Journal of Mixed Methods Research,* Vol.0(0), pp.1-19.

Qurashi, F. (2017) "Just Get on with It: Implementing the Prevent Duty in Higher Education and the Role of Academic Expertise.", *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, Vol.12(3), pp.197–212, DOI: https://doi. org/10.1177/1746197917716106.

Qurashi, F. (2018) 'The Prevent strategy and the UK 'war on terror': embedding infrastructures of surveillance in Muslim communities', *Palgrave Communications* Vol.4(17).

Qureshi, A. (2020) 'Experiencing the war "of" terror: a call to the critical terrorism studies community', *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.13(3), pp.485-499, DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2020.1746564

Rabiee, F. (2004). 'Focus-group interview and data analysis', *Proceedings of Nutrition Society*, Vol.63, pp.655–660.

Rainie, L., Anderson, J. and Connolly, J. (2014), "Killer Apps inthe Gigabit Age," Pew Research Center, [online] available at: http://www.pewinternet.org/2014/10/09/killer-apps-in-the-gigabit-age/ [accessed 30 May 2024].

Ramazanoglu, C. and Holland, J. (2002), *Feminist Methodologies: Challenges and Choices*, Routledge: London.

Ramsay, P. (2017), "Is Prevent a Safe Space?", *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, Vol.12(2), pp.143–158, DOI:10.1177/1746197917693022.

Rashid, N. (2013) 'Giving the silent majority a stronger voice? Initiatives to empower Muslim women as part of the UK's 'War on Terror'', *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* Vol37(4), pp. 589–604. DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2013.816759.

Rashid, N. (2016a). *Veiled Threats: Representing the Muslim Woman in Public Policy Discourses*. Bristol University Press.

Rashid, N. (2016b). Just a Girl: Thinking Intersectionally about 'the Muslim Girl' and Writing against Culture. *YOUNG*, Vol.24(3), pp.255–269.

Rashid, N. (2024), *'From Silent Majority to Safeguarding: Mapping the Representation of Muslim Women in UK Counterterrorism Policies'* pp.89- 108 in Easat-Daas, A. and Zempi, I. (2024), *The Palgrave Handbook of Gendered Islamophobia*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Redmond, N., & Viney, V. (2015). *Counter Terrorism 2014/15 Communications Campaign— Revised Creative and Media Brief.* London: National Counter Terrorism Policing HQ; Metropolitan Police Service.

Redwine Johnson, V., (2024). The Esoteric Relationship Among Black Teachers: A Collaborative Autoethnography Exploring How Schools Work as a Disservice to Black Teachers. *Black Educology Mixtape Journal*, Vol.2(1), p.6.

Rehman, Y. (2014). *Muslim women and the Met: Only a pawn in their game*. [online] available at: http://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/yasmin-rehman/muslim-women-and-met-only-pawn-intheir-game [accessed 30 September 2022].

Revell, L. and Bryan, H. (2016) 'Calibrating fundamental British values: how head teachers are approaching appraisal in the light of the Teachers' Standards 2012, Prevent and the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act, 2015', *Journal of Education for Teaching*, Vol.42(3), pp. 341–353. DOI: 10.1080/02607476.2016.1184464.

Revell, L., and H. Bryan. (2018). *Fundamental British Values in Education: Radicalisation, National Identity and Britishness.* Bingley: Emerald Publishing Limited.

Rich, J (2014), 'Saving' Muslim Women: Feminism, U.S. Policy and the War on Terror, INT'L AFF. REV. Vol.1(3).

Richardson, R. (2015). 'British values and British identity: Muddles, mixtures, and ways ahead', *London Review of Education*, Vol.13(2), pp.37–48.

Rights and Security International (2023), Rights & Security international raises concerns about prevent and channel referrals data on race [online], available at: https://www.rightsandsecurity.org/impact/entry/rights-security-international-raises-concerns-about-prevent-and-channel-referrals-data-on-race#:~:text=The%20FoI%20request%20seeking%20data,intervention%20by%20the%20Information%20Commissioner [accessed 6 September 2023].

Rights and Security International (2024), 'Exporting Prevent, The UK government's complicity in rights violating counter-extremism programmes in Indonesia' [online], available at:
https://www.rightsandsecurity.org/assets/downloads/Indonesia_report_final.pdf
[accessed 30 April 2024].

Rights Watch UK (2016), Preventing Education? Human Rights And Uk Counter-Terrorism Policy In Schools, [online], available at: https://www.rightsandsecurity.org/assets/downloads/preventing-education-final-to-print-3.compressed-1_.pdf [accessed 9 October 2023].

Robson, C., (2002). *Real world research: A resource for social scientists and practitioner-researchers*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Rodrigo Jusué, I. (2022) "Counter-Terrorism Training "At Your Kitchen table": The Promotion of "CT citizens" and the Securitisation of Everyday Life in the UK." *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.15 (2), pp.290–310. doi:10.1080/17539153.2021.2013014.

Rosen, R. (2006). 'The Hidden War on Women in Iraq', ZNet, 13 July, [online] available at http:// www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?ItemID=10570 [accessed 20 February 2022].

Rothermel, A. (2020) Gender in the United Nations' agenda on Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol.22(5), pp.720-741.

Rothermel, A. & Kelly, M. (2024) 'Outsourcing patriarchy' in preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE), *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, DOI: 10.1080/09557571.2024.2312840

Rothermel, A. and Shepherd, L.J. (2023), *Gender and the governance of terrorism and violent extremism*, London: Routledge.

Royal College of Psychiatrists (2016), "*Counter-terrorism and Psychiatry,*" Position Statement (PS04/ 16), pp.5–6.

Rumsby, S., & Eggert, J. P. (2023), 'Religious positionalities and political science research in 'the field' and beyond: Insights from Vietnam, Lebanon and the UK', *Qualitative Research*, Vol. 0(0), DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/14687941231165884.

Runnymede Trust (2017), *"Islamophobia - 20 Years On, Still a Challenge for Us All."* [online], available at: https://www.runnymedetrust.org/publications/islamophobia-still-a-challenge-for-us-all [accessed 27 March 2023].

RUSI (2024), 'Two-tier': UK treats far-right attacks less harshly than Islamist violence, says thinktank', [online] available at: https://www.rusi.org/news-and-comment/in-the-news/two-tier-uk-treats-far-right-attacks-less-harshly-islamist-violence-says-thinktank

Ryan, G. W., & Bernard, H. R. (2000). 'Data management and analysis methods', in N. K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed., pp. 769-802). SAGE: Thousand Oaks, CA.

Sabir, R. (2022) *The Suspect: Counterterrorism, Islam, and the Security State*, Pluto Press: London.

Sabir, R. (2023) in Melbourne Asia Review (2023), 'INTERVIEW: Terrorism, Muslimness and Islamophobia – Counterterrorism's impact on Muslim

communities' [online], available at: https://melbourneasiareview.edu.au/interview-terrorism-muslimness-and-islamophobia-counterterrorisms-impact-on-muslim-communities/ [accessed 13 September 2023].

Saeed, T. & Johnson, D. (2016) Intelligence, Global Terrorism and Higher Education: Neutralising Threats or Alienating Allies?, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol.64(1), pp.37-51.

Sageman M. (2016*) Misunderstanding Terrorism.* University of Pennsylvania Press: Pennsylvania.

Saïd, E. (1979), *The Question of Palestine*, Times Books: New York.

Saïd, E.W. (2003), *Orientalism*, Penguin Modern Classics: London, England.

Santry, C. (2016). 'Exclusive: Teachers are not being given adequate prevent strategy training, poll finds'. TES [online], available at: https://www.tes.com/news/school-news/ breaking-news/exclusive-teachers-are-not-being-given-adequate-prevent-strategy [accessed 27 March 2024].

Satterthwaite, M. & Huckerby, J. (2013). *Gender, National Security, and Counter-Terrorism: Human Rights Perspectives.* Routledge: UK.

Saulnier, A. (2017). Surveillance as communicating relational messages: Advancing understandings of surveilled subject. Surveillance and Society, Vol.15(2), pp.286–302.

Scerri, D. (2024) An educational response to the "Prevent duty" in England and Wales, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2024.2319886.

Schmidt, R. (2022) 'Duped: Examining Gender Stereotypes in Disengagement and Deradicalization Practices', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol.45(11), pp. 953–976. DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2020.1711586.

Schonfeld, T. L., Brown, J. S., Weniger, M., & Gordon, B. (2003). Research Involving the Homeless: Arguments against Payment-in-Kind (PinK). *IRB: Ethics & Human Research*, Vol.*25*(5), pp.17–20. https://doi.org/10.2307/3564602

Schools Week (2022), 'Political impartiality guidance: What schools need to know' [online], available at: https://schoolsweek.co.uk/political-impartiality-guidance-what-schools-need-to-know/ [accessed 13 November 2023].

Schotten, C.H. (2024), 'Zionism and the war(s) on terror: extinction phobias, anti-Muslim racism, and critical scholarship', Critical Studies on Terrorism, DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2024.2337448

Selod, S. and Embrick, D.G. (2013), Racialization and Muslims: Situating the Muslim Experience in Race Scholarship. *Sociology Compass*, Vol.7, pp.644-655, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12057

Serim, S. (2023), 'Q&A: The 'chilling effects' of UK's Prevent strategy on Muslims', TRT World, [online], available at: https://www.trtworld.com/discrimination/qanda-the-chilling-effects-of-uks-prevent-strategy-on-muslims-15079893 [accessed 5 October 2023].

Shand-Baptiste, K. (2020), The government has no intention of taking racism seriously – and it is using MPs of colour to avoid criticism, *The Independent* [online], available at: https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/critical-race-theory-racism-kemi-badenoch-black-history-month-bame-discrimination-b1227367.html [accessed 2 March 2023].

Sharma, S., & Nijjar, J. S. (2023), 'Post-racial politics, pre-emption and in/security', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 0(0), DOI:https://doi.org/10.1177/13675494231168177.

Shaw, D. (2022) 'A tale of two feminisms: gender critical feminism, trans inclusive feminism and the case of Kathleen Stock', *Women's History Review,* DOI: 10.1080/09612025.2022.2147915

Shepherd, L. J. (2006),'Veiled References: Constructions of Gender in the Bush Administration Discourse on the Attacks on Afghanistan Post 9/11.', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol.8(1), pp.19–41.DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/14616740500415425

Shepherd, L.J. (2022) White feminism and the governance of violent extremism, *Critical Studies on Terrorism,* Vol.15(3), pp.727-749, DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2022.2089401

Shilliam, R. (2016) 'Race in world politics', pp.285-301, In: Baylis J, Smith S, Owens P (eds) *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations.* 7th edition, Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Sian, K. (2015), 'Spies, Surveillance and Stakeouts: Monitoring Muslim Moves in British State Schools', *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, Vol.18(2), pp. 183-201.

Sian, K. (2017) 'Born radicals? Prevent, positivism, and 'race-thinking', *Palgrave Communications*, Vol.3(6).

Siddiqui, S. (2019). Anti-racist feminism: engaging with the past. *Race & Class*, Vol.61(2), pp.96–104.

Sinai, J., Fuller, J., & Seal, T. (2019). 'Effectiveness in Counter-Terrorism and Countering Violent Extremism: A Literature Review', *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol.13(6), pp.90–108. [online] available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/26853743 [accessed 18 May 2024].

Sivanandan, A. (2008). Race and resistance: the IRR story. *Race & Class*, Vol.50(2), pp.1-30, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396808096391

Sjøen, M. & Jore, S. (2019), 'Preventing extremism through education: exploring impacts and implications of counter-radicalisation efforts', *Journal of Beliefs & Values*, Vol.40(3), pp. 269-283, DOI: 10.1080/13617672.2019.1600134

Skoczylis, J. and Andrews, S. (2020), A conceptual critique of Prevent: Can Prevent be saved? No, but…, *Critical Social Policy*, Vol.40(3), pp.350-369

Smith, H.J. (2016) Britishness as racist nativism: a case of the unnamed 'other', *Journal of Education for Teaching*, Vol.42(3), pp.298-313.

Smithson, M. (2015), "Afterword: Ignorance Studies: Interdisciplinary, Multidisciplinary, and Transdisciplinary." in *Routledge International Handbook of Ignorance Studies,* edited by M. Gross and L. McGoey, 385–399. Routledge: London.Smyth, M. B., Gunning, J., Jackson, R., Kassimeris, G., & Robinson, P. (2008). 'Critical terrorism studies–An introduction', *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.1(1), pp.1–4.

Solórzano, D. G. and Yosso, T. J. (2002) 'Critical Race Methodology: Counter-Storytelling as an Analytical Framework for Education Research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, Vol.8(1), pp. 23–44.

Song, M. & Parker, D. (1995) 'Commonality, difference and the dynamics of disclosure in in-depth interviewing', *Sociology*, Vol.29(2), pp.241-256.

Spalek B (2012), *Counter-Terrorism. Community-Based Approaches to Preventing Terror Crime*, Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke.

Spalek, B. (2005) A Critical Reflection on Researching Black Muslim Women's Lives Post-September 11th, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, Vol.8(5), pp.405-418.

Spalek, B. & Imtoual, A. (2007) Muslim Communities and Counter-Terror Responses: "Hard" Approaches to Community Engagement in the UK and Australia, *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs,* Vol.27(2) pp.185-202.

Spiller, K. Awan, I. & Whiting, A. (2017) 'What does terrorism look like?': university lecturers' interpretations of their Prevent duties and tackling extremism in UK universities, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.11(1), pp.130-150.

Spiller, K., Whiting, A., Awan, I. (2022), 'The Politic of Everyday Counter-Terrorism: Online Performances and Responsibilities of the Prevent Duty in UK Higher Education Institutions', *Sociology*, Vol.57(5), pp.999-1258.

Spivak, G. C., (1994) 'Can the Subaltern Speak?'pp.90-105, in Williams, P. & Chrisman, L. (1994), 'Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader', Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Stampnitzky, L. (2013) *Disciplining Terror: How Experts Invented 'Terrorism'*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Steadman, A. and Grace, J. and Roberts, R. (2019) The 'Choice to Challenge' Extreme Views in the Classroom? Counter-Radicalisation in the University Context, *SSRN,* DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3487428

Stewart, D. & Shamdasani, P. (2017) 'Online Focus Groups', *Journal of Advertising*, Vol.46(1), pp.48-60, DOI: 10.1080/00913367.2016.1252288

Stohl, M. (2008) Old myths, new fantasies and the enduring realities of terrorism, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.1(1), pp.5-16, DOI: 10.1080/17539150701846443

Stone, J. (2021), Tory MP says people using term 'white privilege' should be reported to the Home Office as extremists, *The Independent* [online], available at: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/white-privilege-tory-mp-jonathan-gullis-b1935308.html [accessed 2 March 2023].

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. SAGE: Newbury Park, CA.

Taylor, L. & Soni, A. (2017) Preventing radicalisation: a systematic review of literature considering the lived experiences of the UK's Prevent strategy in educational settings, *Pastoral Care in Education,* Vol.35 (4), pp.241-252.

The Canary (2021), *The Home Office is sinking around £44m a year into Prevent – where's it all going?*, Maryan Jameela, [online], available at: https://www.thecanary.co/investigations/2021/03/20/the-home-office-is-sinking-around-44m-a-year-into-prevent-wheres-it-all-going/ [accessed 28 March 2022]

The Guardian (2016), Cameron 'stigmatising Muslim women' with English language policy, [online] available at: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jan/18/david-cameron-stigmatising-muslim-women-learn-english-language-policy [accessed 30 June 2022]

The Guardian (2019a), "*We acknowledge we went wrong": Lifestyle website for Muslim teens admits it should have been clearer about Home Office funding*, Nosheen Iqbal, [online], available at: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/sep/15/lifestyle-website-for-muslim-teens-is-covertly-funded-by-the-home-office#:~:text=SuperSisters%20was%20conceived%20by%20J,becoming%20terrorists%20or%20supporting%20terrorism. [accessed 28 March 2022]

The Guardian (2019b), *Does Bradford festival's counter-extremism funding warrant a boycott?* Suhaiymah Manzoor-Khan and Saima Mir, [online], available at: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/jun/24/bradford-literary-festival-counter-extremism-funding-boycott [accessed 28 March 2022]

The Guardian (2022), Shamima Begum 'smuggled into Syria for Islamic State by Canadian spy' Emily Dugan and Dan Sabbagh [online], available at: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/aug/31/shamima-begum-smuggled-into-syria-for-islamic-state-by-canadian-spy [accessed 30 September 2022].

The Guardian, (2021), '"Staggeringly high" number of people with autism on UK Prevent scheme', 7 July 2021, [online], available at: theguardian.com/uk-news/2021/jul/07/staggeringly-high-number-of-people-with-autism-on-uk-prevent-scheme [accessed 8 November 2023].

The New York Times (2022), *The Trojan Horse Affair*, Feb. 2022, [online] available at: https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/podcasts/trojan-horse-affair.html [accessed 17 March 2022]

The People's Review of Prevent (2022), *Report*, [online], Available at: https://peoplesreviewofprevent.org/main-report/ [Accessed 15 February 2022].

The People's Review of Prevent (2023), '*A Response to the Shawcross Report by Professor John Holmwood & Dr Layla Aitlhadj'* [online], available at: https://peoplesreviewofprevent.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/A-Response-to-the-Shawcross-Report.pdf [accessed 21 March 2023].

The Times (2019), Inside Prevent, the UK's controversial anti-terrorism programme [online], available at: https://www.ft.com/content/a82e18b4-1ea3-11e9-b126-46fc3ad87c65 [accessed 1 April 2022].

Thomas P (2012) Responding to the Threat of Violent Extremism: Failing to Prevent. London: Bloomsbury.

Thomas P. (2020) Britain's Prevent Strategy: Always Changing, Always the Same?. In: Busher J., Jerome L. (eds) The Prevent Duty in Education. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-45559-0_2

Thomas, E. (2012). "Beyond the Culture of Exclusion: Using Critical Race Theory to Examine the Perceptions of British 'Minority Ethnic' and Eastern European 'Immigrant' Young People in English Schools." Intercultural Education Vol.23(6), pp.501–511. DOI:10.1080/14675986.2012.731205

Thomas, P (2017), 'Changing experiences of responsibilisation and contestation within counter-terrorism policies: the British Prevent experience', Policy and Politics, vol. 45(3), pp. 305-321.

Thomas, P. (2016). 'Youth, terrorism and education: Britain's Prevent programme', *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, Vol.35(2), pp.171-187, DOI: 10.1080/02601370.2016.1164469

Thomas, P. (2017), 'Changing experiences of responsibilisation and contestation within Counter Terrorism policies: The British Prevent experience'. *Policy and Politics*, Vol.45(3), pp. 305-321.

Thomas, T. (2023), 'Government has failed to address UK's far-right threat, says open letter', *The Guardian* [online], available at: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2023/feb/21/uk-far-right-threat-open-letter [accessed 22 February 2023].

Tomlinson, B. (2013) 'Colonizing intersectionality: replicating racial hierarchy in feminist academic arguments,' Social Identities, Vol.19(2), pp. 254- 272. Transnational Institute (TNI) in association with SOURCE Network on Societal Security [online] available at: https://www.prio.org/publications/12378 [accessed 18 November 2022].

Traquair S (2014) *Freedom of information request reference number: 000117/13,* Information released to Mr Whitehead, Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO), 24 Jan 2014.

Trein, L. (2018) 'Governing the Fear of Islam: Thinking Islamophobia through the Politics of Secular Affect in Historical Debate', *ReOrient*, Vol.4(1), pp. 44–58. UK Parliament (2018), 'Written submission from Christian Concern (HCL0054)' [online], available at: https://committees.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/103559/html/ [accessed 4 March 2024].

UN (2018*), End of Mission Statement of the Special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance at the Conclusion of Her Mission to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland,* [online], available at: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3824592?ln=en [accessed 31 March 2022].

United Nations (2016), Statement by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association at the conclusion of his visit to the United Kingdom (online), available at: https://www.ohchr.org/en/statements/2016/04/statement-united-nations-special-rapporteur-rights-freedom-peaceful-assembly-and?LangID=E&NewsID=19854 [accessed 23 March 2022].

United Nations (2022), '*TERRORIST ATTACKS ON THE BASIS OF XENOPHOBIA, RACISM AND OTHER FORMS OF INTOLERANCE, OR IN THE NAME OF RELIGION OR BELIEF (XRIRB)* [online], available at: https://www.unodc.org/documents/terrorism/ManualXRIRB/UNODC_Manual_on_Prevention_of_and_Responses_to_Terrorist_Attacks_on_the_basis_of_XRIRB.pdf [accessed 21 March 2023].

United Nations (2024), 'Rights expert finds 'reasonable grounds' genocide is being committed in Gaza, [online], available at: https://news.un.org/en/story/2024/03/1147976 [accessed 7 May 2024].

Verjee, B. (2012), 'Critical Race Feminism: A Transformative Vision for Service-Learning Engagement', *Journal of Community Engagement and Scholarship*, Vol.5(1), pp.57-69.DOI: https://doi.org/10.54656/FBBT3737 [accessed 27 March 2023].

Versi, M. (2022) 'Sunak wants to punish those who 'vilify the UK'. That's wrong – and he's chosen the wrong target', 3 August, [online], available at: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/aug/03/rishi-sunak-prevent-strategy-conservative-leadership [accessed 27 January 2023].

Vidich, A. J., & Lyman, S.M. (2003) 'Qualitative methods: Their history in sociology and anthropology', pp.55-130, in N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The landscape of qualitative research* (2nd ed.) SAGE: Thousand Oaks, CA. Vol.26(8).

Volpp, L. (2020). *The Citizen and the Terrorist*. In C. Choudhury & K. Beydoun (Eds.), Islamophobia and the Law (pp. 19-33). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ward, H. (2017) '*Schools "overzealous" in reporting radicalization fears'*, [online], available at: www.tes.com/news/school-news/breaking-news/ schools-overzealous-reporting-radicalization-fears [accessed 20 November 2021]

Warnock, R., Taylor, F.M. & Horton, A. (2022) Should we pay research participants? Feminist political economy for ethical practices in precarious times. Area, Vol.54, pp.195–202. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12790

Webster, C. S. (2018) "Turning the Tables: Media Constructions of British Asians from Victims to Criminals, 1962 to 2011." Pp.11-32 in: Bhatia, M and Poynting, S and Tufail, W, (eds.) *Media, Crime, Racism.* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71776-0

Wellings, K., Branigan, P., & Mitchell, K. (2000), 'Discomfort, discord and discontinuity as data: Using focus groups to research sensitive topics', *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, Vol.2(3), pp.255-267.

White, J. (2022). *Gender Mainstreaming in Counter-Terrorism Policy: Building Transformative Strategies to Counter Violent Extremism* (1st ed.). Routledge. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003195023

Whiting, A., Campbell, B., Spiller, K., & Awan, I. (2021), 'The Prevent Duty in UK higher education: Insights from freedom of information requests', *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol.23(3), pp.513–532, DOI:https://doi.org/10.1177/1369148120968520

Whiting, A., Spiller, K. and Awan, I. (2024) 'Counter-radicalisation in UK higher education: a vernacular analysis of 'vulnerability' and the prevent duty', *Critical Studies on Security*, pp.1–18. DOI: 10.1080/21624887.2024.2313835.

Whittington, N., (2024), "They're Always Actin Up": Exploring the Impacts of In-school Disciplinary Policies In Out-of-school Spaces. Black Educology Mixtape" Journal", Vol2(1), p.4.

Wiltshier, F. (2011), 'Researching with NVivo', *Qualitative Social Research*, Vol.12(1) [online', available at: https://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1628/3156 [accessed 2 May 2023].

Wing, A. K. (2014) "Critical race feminism," pp.162-179, in Murji, K. and Solomos, J. (eds) *Theories of Race and Ethnicity: Contemporary Debates and Perspectives*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Winter, C., Heath-Kelly, C., Kaleem, A. (2021), 'A moral education? British values, colour-blindness, and preventing terrorism', *Critical Social Policy*. ISSN 0261-0183.

Winterbotham, E. & Pearson, E. (2016) 'Different Cities, Shared Stories', *The RUSI Journal*, Vol.161(5), pp.54-65, DOI: 10.1080/03071847.2016.1253377.

Wishart, S. and Kane, G. (2021) Who is a Trafficked Person? The Case of Shamima Begum suggests that 'Ideal Victim' Narratives persist, more than 20 years after the Adoption of the Palermo Protocol [online], available at: https://rli.blogs.sas.ac.uk/2021/03/15/who-is-a-trafficked-person-the-case-of-shamima-begum/ [accessed 30 September 2022]

Wright, O. (2024), Groups 'undermining' British values to be guilty of extremism, *The Times,* [online], available at: https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/extremism-definition-updated-actions-that-undermine-britain-0p969ks0b [accessed 4 March 2024].

Younis, T. (2020), "Twitter Thread" [online], available at: https://twitter.com/Tarek_Younis_/status/1322467138112815105 [accessed 11 May 2023].

Younis, T. (2021) 'The psychologisation of counter-extremism: unpacking PREVENT', *Race & Class*, Vol.62(3), pp. 37–60.

Younis, T. (2022*), The Muslim, State and Mind, Psychology in Times of Islamophobia*, SAGE: UK.

Younis, T. and Jadhav, S. (2020). Islamophobia in the National Health Service: an ethnography of institutional racism in PREVENT's counter-radicalisation policy. *Sociology of Health & Illness*. Vol.42 (3), pp. 610-626, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9566.13047

Yuval Davis, N. (1997) *Gender and Nation*. Sage: London.

Zaid, R. (2020), 'ROLE OF WOMEN IN COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM. THE CASE OF KWALE COUNTY, KENYA', [online] available at: https://www.academia.edu/43212228/Role_of_Women_In_Countering_Violent_Extremism_Kwale_County_Kenya20200531_59837_o36dac [accessed 20 March 2024].

Zedner, L. (2007), 'Pre-Crime and Post-Criminology?', *Theoretical Criminology* , Vol.11, pp.261-281.

Zempi, I. and Tripli, A. (2022) 'Listening to Muslim Students' Voices on the Prevent Duty in British Universities: A Qualitative Study', *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*. doi: 10.1177/17461979221077990.

Zine, J. (2006) 'Unveiled Sentiments: Gendered Islamophobia and Experiences of Veiling among Muslim Girls in a Canadian Islamic School', *Equity & Excellence in Education*, Vol.39(3), pp.239-252, DOI: 10.1080/10665680600788503.

Zuberi, T., & Bonilla-Silva, E. (2008). W*hite logic, white methods: Racism and methodology.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Appendix

Appendix A: Timeline of Prevent and associated thesis events

Timeline of Prevent and associated thesis events:	
House of Commons debate surrounding Critical Race Theory	October 2020
William Shawcross appointed as independent reviewer of Prevent	January 2021
Began doctoral studies	October 2021
Participant recruitment began	November 2022
Online focus groups began	January 2023
Shawcross, Home Office Prevent review published	February 2023
Educator online interviews began	February 2023
Attack on Israel and Gaza, Palestine	October 2023
Completed fieldwork	January 2024
New UK definition of 'extremism' published	March 2024
Thesis submitted	September 2024

Appendix B: Participant Focus Group Information Sheet- Muslim Women students under 18

Participant Information Sheet: Focus Groups College/Sixth Form

NTU Nottingham Trent University

Project Title:

Prevent and Critical Race Feminism: The implications of Prevent for young Muslim women in education.

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being carried out and what participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide if you wish to take part. You can keep this document for your own record. Thank you ☺

What is the project's purpose?
This project hopes to critically explore the impact of the counterterrorism strategy Prevent on young Muslim women in further and higher education.

It is hoped that this research will contribute to the debate surrounding the future (if any) of Prevent and highlight the impact Prevent has upon young Muslim women in education.

I am particularly interested with how Prevent operates in sixth forms, colleges and universities in England & Wales and what young Muslim women (aged 16-25) think of Prevent.

Who is running this study?
The project is being carried out by me, Lilly Barker, a PhD researcher at Nottingham Trent University at the School of Social Sciences.
I am a qualified further education teacher and has been researching racism, xenophobia and the impact of government policies upon racialised communities in the UK for over 4 years.
The supervisors for the project are Dr Jane Pilcher and Dr Katerina Krulisova, who have extensive research experience in Education, International Relations and Sociology.

Who is funding this study?
This study is funded by Nottingham Trent University.

Why have I been chosen?
You have been chosen as you:
- identify as a Muslim woman
- are aged 16-25
- currently attend either sixth form or college in England or Wales

We are asking you to take part in an **online** focus group **(a group discussion)** with a maximum of 11 other young Muslim women because the research wants to uncover your opinions surrounding the counterterrorism strategy Prevent and topics surrounding it.
You do **not** need to have any prior knowledge about Prevent.

Do I have to take part?

No, your participation is entirely voluntary.

If you are aged 16 or 17, your parent/guardian will also have to consent to you taking part in this research. Please let Lilly know via email if you need the 'Parental consent and information form' in another language- this can be provided.

If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and you will be asked to sign a consent form.

You will be free to withdraw during data collection (during the focus group) but it will **not be possible for participants to withdraw their data from the focus group after** it has finished.

You can withdraw from the study by leaving the focus group and emailing Lilly afterwards (Lilly.barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk) stating you have withdrawn, **you do not have to give a reason why, nor will face any repercussions**.

What will happen if I take part?

The focus group will last no more than 1 hour and a half.

It will take **place online.**

It will be arranged at a time convenient for everyone in the focus group.

Focus groups **topics** will be surrounding, for example: 'fundamental British values', classroom debate, knowledge of Prevent, past experiences in education, confidence in the classroom, Islamophobia in Britain.

If you feel uncomfortable at any time during the focus group you can leave at any point and will not have to give a reason why.

Once the focus group is over, you **may** also be invited to take part in a **one-to-one, online interview at a later date.**

If you are invited to a one-to-one interview, then you will be given another information sheet and asked to sign a consent form (and if you are under 18, you will also need parental consent).

The focus groups and interviews will be carried out by Lilly.

All data will be anonymised in publication (a fake name will be given).

Will I be recorded?

You will be **audio recorded** (voice only) in the focus groups.

All recordings will be **permanently destroyed** once they have been transcribed.

What will happen to the information I give during the focus group?

The recording of the focus group will then be transcribed (written/typed out) by Lilly.

The transcripts will be seen by Lilly, Jane and Kat.

When writing up, all data will be **anonymised.**

You may be quoted directly but your name will never be published.

At the end of the study, the anonymous transcripts will be deposited in the Nottingham Trent Data Archive and will only be available to other genuine researchers.

Anonymised data will be stored on Nottingham Trent Data Archive for up to ten years.

How will you protect my confidentiality and anonymity?
All the information that we collect about you during the research will be kept strictly confidential.

Your anonymity will be protected as I will not use your name but give you a fake name instead.

You will not be able to be identified in any ensuing reports or publications.

The recordings of the focus group will only be accessed by Lilly.

The transcripts of the focus groups will be accessed by Lilly, Jane and Kat.

All electronic files and recordings will be kept on a highly secure database within Nottingham Trent University only accessible by Lilly.

Once the transcripts have been placed in the database, the **recordings of your focus group will be destroyed.**

We are confident that these precautions will ensure that no one will be able to trace your transcript back to you.

The Exception to Confidentiality and Anonymity
The only exception to maintain the confidentiality and anonymity of your data is if you disclose details of previously unreported or intended criminal activity and we can identify you or an alleged victim. If this happens, the researcher would have an obligation both lawful and professional to report it to the relevant authorities. **At no time during the research process will the researcher ask questions that might incriminate you.** We strongly advise that you do not reveal any identifying information unless you wish to do so.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?
The main cost to you is the time needed to do the focus group and the possibility of an interview.

The main risk is you feeling uncomfortable with any of the subjects that may arise, remember **if you do feel uncomfortable you can leave or withdraw from the study during the focus group, without question.**

My hope is that the discussions and topics mentioned will not cause significant distress to participants.

If you do feel upset or distressed there are helplines available:

Muslim Youth helpline: 0808 808 2008, webchat via:
https://myh.org.uk/how-we-can-help/chat-with-us/
Muslim Women's Network helpline: 0800 999 5786, webchat via:
https://www.mwnhelpline.co.uk/

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

You will have **receive a £10 voucher** after the focus group has finished. This is a gesture of thanks from the research team. **A £10 Amazon voucher is given if you are selected for a one-to-one interview at a later date. If you'd like the opportunity to receive a voucher, please leave your email on the consent form.**

I hope that you will find the focus group discussions interesting and will take satisfaction from helping to develop knowledge of this important topic.

What will happen to the results?

The results of the research may be published.

Once the findings from the research have been analysed, you will be able look at them and these will be emailed in the form of a summary of the results, if you wish to do so.

This information will be stored separately from any other data.

The data collected during the project may be used for additional research. This will all be anonymous, you will not be identified.

Who is responsible if anything goes wrong?

I am responsible for the conduct of the study under the supervision of both of my supervisors.

I'm thinking about taking part in this research/ I still have some questions, what do I do?

Please contact the principal investigator, Lilly, at:

Lilly.barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk and state that you would like to take part.

If you do not receive a reply within 5 working days please email Dr Jane Pilcher or Dr Katerina Krulisova (details below).

Contacts for further information

> *Please feel welcome to contact Lilly or her supervisors Dr Jane Pilcher or Dr Katerina Krulisova for further information:*

Lilly Barker
Email: Lilly.barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk

Dr Jane Pilcher
School of Social Sciences, Nottingham Trent University, Chaucer Building, Goldsmith Street, Nottingham NG1 5LT
Phone: +44 115 84 86033. Email: jane.pilcher@ntu.ac.uk

Dr Katerina Krulisova

School of Social Sciences, Nottingham Trent University, Chaucer Building,
Goldsmith Street, Nottingham, NG1 5LT
Phone: +44 115 84 86444, extension 86444. Email: katerina.krulisova02@ntu.ac.uk

We look forward to hearing from you!

Appendix C: Recruitment Posters

Appendix D: Participant Consent Form - Educators

Participant Consent Form

Research project title**: Prevent and Critical Race Feminism: The implications of Prevent for young Muslim women in education**.

Please read and confirm your consent to being interviewed for this project by ticking the appropriate box(es) and signing and dating this form. You can keep a copy of this consent form for your own records.

Once completed, please email it back to Lilly at:
Lilly.Barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk

Please tick the appropriate boxes:	Yes	No
I confirm that the purpose of the study has been explained to me and that I have been given information about it.		
I confirm that I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research and I understand that I am free to contact the researcher with any questions I may have in the future.		
I agree to take part in the project. Taking part will include being interviewed and audio or video recorded, on the understanding the recording will be destroyed at the end of the study in December 2024.		
I understand that my participation is voluntary, and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without any repercussions.		
I have read the information sheet.		
I understand that my personal details will not be revealed to people outside of the project.		
I understand that the quotes from the interview may be used and anonymised.		
I understand that my real name will not be used.		
I agree that the data I provide will be archived at NTU Data Archive for up to ten years.		
I understand that other researchers will have access to the anonymised data only if they have ethical approval.		
I understand that if I disclose details of previously unreported or intended criminal activity and we can identify you or an alleged victim, the researcher would have an obligation to report it to the relevant authorities.		
I would like to read a summary of the findings once finished and I will leave my email to do so.		

Name of respondent:

Email of respondent:

Region of sixth form/college/university (e.g. East Midlands):

Date:

Signature of respondent:

Name of researcher: Lilly Barker

Date:

Researcher Signature:

Lilly Barker
Principal Investigator
Lilly.Barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk
Nottingham Trent University, School of Social Sciences

Appendix E: Focus Group Topic Schedule

- Knowledge of Prevent,
- 'Fundamental British Values'
- Classroom debate
- Past experiences as a Muslim woman within education concerning peer relations and teacher-student relations,
- Islamophobia in education
- Confidence in the classroom
- Wider Islamophobia in Britain

Appendix F: Student Focus Group informal schedule

<u>Questions:</u>

1. Do you know what the counterterrorism strategy 'Prevent' is? Have you ever heard of it? Heard family or friends talking about it? In the media/news/social media? How do you feel about it?

   {If no} How do you feel about counterterrorism strategies/ rhetoric in the UK? Positively/negatively?

2. Do you feel as though counterterrorism strategies in the UK have affected you as Muslim women? How does talk about 'terrorism' make you, as a Muslim woman, feel?

   {If yes} Do you feel that Prevent could impact your time in education as Muslim women?

3. David Cameron a previous Conservative British Prime Minister said that Muslim women need to 'integrate more' and learn the English language as to not leave them 'susceptible from the extremist message'. What are your opinions on this?

4. Under Prevent, teachers and lecturers have to carry out the 'Prevent Duty' which consists of reporting students they feel are at risk of radicalisation. How do you feel about teachers potentially reporting 'traits' of radicalisation *(show sheet of 'traits' teachers look for).*

5. Teachers also have to promote 'British values' under the Prevent Duty. Has anyone heard of 'British values'?

6. British values are *(show sheet- teachers have to implement these in classroom).* How do you feel about these? Have you ever been aware that these values are being taught in the classroom and an example of this occurring?

7. Moving on to discuss classroom debate now. Can you describe a time when you've ever had a debate or discussion in the classroom? How did it make you feel?

8. The UK Government has previously said that Muslim women "can play a vital role in building strong communities and tackling violent extremism and radicalisation*"*. Have do you feel about this statement?

9. Would you feel comfortable in reporting a friend or family member to, for example, Prevent? Why/why not?

10. How do you think the topic of Islamophobia is dealt with in schools/colleges/universities? Do you feel supported?

Appendix G: Student 1-1 Interview Informal Schedule

Questions:

1. How did/do you feel when …?
2. You said…. Why do you think that?
3. We talked about … in the focus group. Why did you say this?
4. Anything else you'd like to add to our discussion today about how Prevent could impact upon Muslim women in education?
5. Out of all the things we discussed in the focus group and today, what do you think is the most important issue to you?

Appendix H: Educator interview informal schedule

Questions

1. How much do you know of Prevent & how do you feel about Prevent in general?

2. How do you feel about the 'Prevent duty' that you have as an educator?

3. How do you feel that the 'Prevent duty' is described as part of your 'safeguarding duties'?

4. Have you received any kind of training for Prevent? What did that entail? What was your experience of that? How did you feel undergoing the training?

5. Did you feel the training was positive/negative, for what reason? Did it prepare you to be part of the Prevent duty?

6. Do you feel confident in carrying the Prevent duty out/ spotting signs of radicalisation/ referring students?

7. How do you feel about the 'British value' discourse that is a part of Prevent?

8. Within the focus groups that I did with students, they brought up issues of not wanting to say certain things in case they are picked up by teachers. Have you ever been aware of this?

9. Have you ever felt that you could not discuss certain topics with students?

10. In the new government Prevent report, it cites that students should be treated as 'susceptible' to radicalisation rather than 'vulnerable' due to having 'agency'. What are your opinions on this?

11. Recently, there have been cases of teachers referring students to Prevent due to 'incel/misogyny' concerns. What are your opinions on this?

12. Do you think anything could work better work better for yourself as an educator and for students to tackle the issue of radicalisation?

Appendix I: Nottingham Trent University Ethics application approval

Chair's Action?	Yes
Approval End Date	31 Oct 2024, 00:00
Response	Thank you for the revised submission of your ethical application to the Schools of Business, Law and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (BLSS REC).

Following resubmission, we are pleased to inform you that the BLSS REC Chair was happy to verify that in their judgement, there were no outstanding ethical concerns and as a result, your revised application has meet with a favourable ethics opinion through Chair's Action, with the following request:

• Please delete any 'old' documents that have been superseded by newer versions, to avoid confusion.

The favourable ethics opinion of your application is valid until "31 October 2024". Should your project extend beyond this time then an application for an extension would need to be submitted to the BLSS REC.

Please note: your project has been granted a favourable ethics opinion based on the information provided in your application. However, should any of the information change at any point during your study or should you wish to engage participants to undertake further research, then you are required to resubmit your application to the BLSS REC through the Worktribe Ethics Module for further consideration.

If you do resubmit your application and if you wish to make changes to your existing document(s), please use track changes so we can identify where the changes have been made. To make amendments you will need to delete the old document and replace with a new one. Please put AMENDED and the DATE in the saved document title. Please "DO NOT" replace the existing document(s) with a "clean" copy, as we will not be able to identify where the changes have been made.

Receipt of a favourable ethics opinion does not constitute permission to proceed with the research. A 'breach of integrity' would technically occur if the researcher goes ahead with the project without the correct governance approvals being in place first, which could be considered to be Research Misconduct.

REC documentation should require an explicit commitment from research teams to consider the possible impact that any changes to their research project, but in particular changes to research design and methods of data collection, have on research ethics; and, therefore, whether a follow-up ethics review of a substantial amendment is required. If researchers are unsure, they should discuss the matter with their REC Chair in the first instance.

Examples of substantial changes that would require a research ethics application for review of a substantial amendment include:
(i) the safety or physical or mental integrity of the research participants (normally requiring amendments to information sheets, consent forms and other participant facing documents);
(ii) the scientific value of the study (normally requiring changes to the study methods);
(iii) the conduct or management of the study, (this might include changes in recruitment strategies, data management, or changes that might affect risk assessment);
(iv) the quality or safety of any equipment used in the study.

On behalf of the Committee, we would like to wish you success with the completion of your project.

Annabel Call
BLSS Ethics Officer
Research Governance and Policy |

Appendix J: Participant Consent Form Focus Group- Muslim Women students under 18

Participant Consent Form: Focus Groups Colleges/Sixth Forms
Research project title**: Prevent and Critical Race Feminism: The implications of Prevent for young Muslim women in education**.

Please read and confirm your consent to being interviewed for this project by ticking the appropriate box(es) and signing and dating this form. You can keep a copy of this consent form for your own records.

Once completed, please email it back to Lilly at:
Lilly.Barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk

Please tick the appropriate boxes:	Yes	No
I confirm that the purpose of the study has been explained to me and that I have been given information about it.		
I confirm that I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research and I understand that I am free to contact the researcher with any questions I may have in the future.		
I agree to take part in the project. Taking part will include being in an online focus group and audio recorded, on the understanding the recording will be destroyed at the end of the study in December 2024.		
I understand that my participation is voluntary, and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without any repercussions **before** the focus group takes place.		
I understand that my parent/guardian has to give consent if I am aged under 18.		
I have read the information sheet.		
I understand that my personal details will not be revealed to people outside of the project.		
I understand that the quotes from the interview may be used and anonymised.		
I understand that my real name will not be used.		
I agree that the anonymised data I provide will be archived at NTU Data Archive for up to ten years.		
I understand that other researchers will have access to the anonymised data only if they have ethical approval.		
I understand that if I disclose details of previously unreported or intended criminal activity and I can be identified or an alleged victim can be, the researcher would have an obligation to report it to the relevant authorities.		
I confirm that I will leave my email in order to have a chance to win an Amazon voucher.		
I confirm that I can be contacted (if selected) via email to be invited to a one-to-one follow up interview.		
I would like to read a summary of the findings once finished and I will leave my email to do so.		

Name of respondent:
Age:

Email of respondent:

Location of college/sixth form (e.g. Manchester, London):

Date:

Signature:

Email of parent/guardian (if you are aged under 18):

Name of researcher: Lilly Barker

Date:

Researcher Signature:

Lilly Barker
Principal Investigator
Lilly.Barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk
Nottingham Trent University, School of Social Sciences

Appendix K: Participant 1-1 Interview Information Sheet- Muslim Women students

Participant Information Sheet: Interview

NTU Nottingham Trent University

Project Title:

Prevent and Critical Race Feminism: The implications of Prevent for young Muslim women in education.

> Thank you for considering taking part in this research. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being carried out and what participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide if you wish to take part. You can keep this document for your own record. Thank you ☺

What is the project's purpose?
This project hopes to critically explore the impact of the counterterrorism strategy Prevent on young Muslim women in further and higher education.

It is hoped that this research will contribute to the debate surrounding the future (if any) of Prevent and highlight the impact Prevent has upon young Muslim women in education.

I am particularly interested with how Prevent operates in sixth forms, colleges and universities in England & Wales and what young Muslim women (aged 16-25) think of Prevent.

<u>Who is running this study?</u>
The project is being carried out by Lilly Barker, a PhD researcher at Nottingham Trent University at the School of Social Sciences.
I am a qualified further education teacher and has been researching racism, xenophobia and the impact of government policies upon racialised communities in the UK for over 4 years.
The supervisors for the project are Dr Jane Pilcher and Dr Katerina Krulisova, who have extensive research experience in Education, International Relations and Sociology.

<u>Who is funding this study?</u>
This study is funded by Nottingham Trent University.

<u>Why have I been chosen?</u>
You have been chosen as you:
- identify as a Muslim woman
- are aged 16-25
- currently attend either sixth form, college or university in England or Wales.

We are asking you to take part in a **one-to-one, online interview** because the research wants to uncover your opinions surrounding the counterterrorism strategy Prevent and topics surrounding it.
You do **not** need to have any prior knowledge about Prevent.

<u>Do I have to take part?</u>
No, your participation is entirely voluntary.
If you are aged 16 or 17, your parent/guardian will also have to consent to you taking part in this research. Please let Lilly know via email if you need the 'Parental consent and information form' in another language- this can be provided.
If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and you will be asked to sign a consent form.
You can withdraw during data collection and you can withdraw your interview data (if you are invited to an interview) up to two weeks after interview has taken place.
You can withdraw from the study by emailing Lilly (Lilly.barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk) stating that you would like to withdraw, **you do not have to give a reason why, nor will you face any repercussions**.

<u>What will happen if I take part?</u>
The interview will last no longer than 1 hour.
It will occur online.

It will be arranged at a time convenient for you.

If you feel uncomfortable at any time during the interview you can leave at any point and will not have to give a reason why.

The interviews will be carried out by Lilly.

All data will be anonymised in publication (a fake name will be given).

Will I be recorded?

It will be **video recorded (but cameras do not have to be on).**

Only the audio recording from the interview will be analysed.

What will happen to the information I give during the interview?

The recording of the interview will then be transcribed (written/typed out) by Lilly.

The transcripts will be seen by Lilly, Jane and Kat.

When writing up, all data will be anonymised.

You may be quoted directly but your name will not published.

At the end of the study, the anonymous transcripts will be deposited in the Nottingham Trent Data Archive and will only be available to other genuine researchers.

Anonymised data will be stored on Nottingham Trent Data Archive for up to ten years.

How will you protect my confidentiality and anonymity?

All the information that we collect about you during the research will be kept strictly confidential.

Your anonymity will be protected as I will not use your name, but give you a fake name instead.

You will not be able to be identified in any ensuing reports or publications.

The recordings will only be accessed by Lilly.

The transcripts will be accessed by Lilly, Jane and Kat.

All electronic files and recordings will be kept on a highly secure database within Nottingham Trent University only accessible by Lilly.

Once the transcripts have been placed in the database, the **recordings will be destroyed.**

We are confident that these precautions will ensure that no one will be able to trace your transcript back to you.

The Exception to Confidentiality and Anonymity

The only exception to maintain the confidentiality and anonymity of your data is if you disclose details of previously unreported or intended criminal activity and we can identify you or an alleged victim. If this happens, the researcher would have an obligation both lawful and professional to report it to the relevant authorities. **At no time during the research process will the researcher ask questions that might incriminate you.** We strongly advise that you do not reveal any identifying information unless you wish to do so.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?
The main cost to you is the time needed to do the interview.
The main risk is you feeling uncomfortable with any of the subjects that may arise.
Remember **if you do feel uncomfortable you can leave the interview or withdraw from the study entirely during data collection, without question**.
My hope is that the discussions and topics mentioned will not cause significant distress to participants.
If you do feel upset or distressed there are helplines available:

> Muslim Youth helpline: 0808 808 2008, webchat via:
> https://myh.org.uk/how-we-can-help/chat-with-us/
> Muslim Women's Network helpline: 0800 999 5786, webchat via:
> https://www.mwnhelpline.co.uk/

What are the possible benefits of taking part?
You will receive a £10 Amazon voucher after the interview.
If you'd like to receive a voucher, please leave your email on the consent form.
I hope that you will find the interview interesting and will take satisfaction from helping to develop knowledge of this important topic.

What will happen to the results?
The results of the research may be published.
Once the findings from the research have been analysed, you will be able look at them in the form of a summary of the results, if you wish to do so.
This information will be stored separately from any other data.
The data collected during the project may be used for additional research, again this will all be anonymous, you will not be identified.

Who is responsibly if anything goes wrong?
I am responsible for the conduct of the study under the supervision of both of my supervisors.

I'm thinking about taking part in this research/ I still have some questions, what do I do?
Please contact the principal investigator, Lilly, at:
Lilly.barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk and state that you would like to take part.
If you do not receive a reply within 5 working days please email Dr Jane Pilcher or Dr Katerina Krulisova (details below).

Contacts for further information
> *Please feel welcome to contact Lilly or her supervisors Dr Jane Pilcher or Dr Katerina Krulisova for further information:*

Lilly Barker
Email: Lilly.barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk
Dr Jane Pilcher
School of Social Sciences, Nottingham Trent University, Chaucer Building,
Goldsmith Street, Nottingham NG1 5LT
Phone: +44 115 84 86033. Email: jane.pilcher@ntu.ac.uk

Dr Katerina Krulisova
School of Social Sciences, Nottingham Trent University, Chaucer Building,
Goldsmith Street, Nottingham, NG1 5LT
Phone: +44 115 84 86444, extension 86444. Email: katerina.krulisova02@ntu.ac.uk

We look forward to hearing from you

Appendix L: Participant Focus Group Information Sheet- Muslim Women students
18 & over

Participant Information Sheet: 18+ Student Online Focus Groups

Project Title:

Prevent and Critical Race Feminism: The implications of Prevent for young Muslim women in education.

> Thank you for considering taking part in this research. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being carried out and what participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide if you wish to take part. You can keep this document for your own record. Thank you ☺

What is the project's purpose?
This project hopes to critically explore the impact of the counterterrorism strategy Prevent on young Muslim women in further and higher education.

It is hoped that this research will contribute to the debate surrounding the future (if any) of Prevent and highlight the impact Prevent has upon young Muslim women in education.

I am particularly interested with how Prevent operates in sixth forms, colleges and universities in England & Wales and what young Muslim women (aged 16-25) think of Prevent.

<u>Who is running this study?</u>
The project is being carried out by me, Lilly Barker, a PhD researcher at Nottingham Trent University at the School of Social Sciences.
I am a qualified further education teacher and has been researching racism, xenophobia and the impact of government policies upon racialised communities in the UK for over 4 years.
The supervisors for the project are Dr Jane Pilcher and Dr Katerina Krulisova, who have extensive research experience in Education, International Relations and Sociology.

<u>Who is funding this study?</u>
This study is funded by Nottingham Trent University.

<u>Why have I been chosen?</u>
You have been chosen as you answer yes to all three:
- identify as a Muslim woman
- are aged 18-25
- currently attend a sixth form, college or university in England or Wales.

We are asking you to take part in an online focus group (**a group discussion**) with a maximum of 11 other young Muslim women because the research wants to uncover your opinions surrounding the counterterrorism strategy Prevent and topics surrounding it.
You do **not** need to have any prior knowledge about Prevent.

<u>Do I have to take part?</u>
No, your participation is entirely voluntary.
If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and you will be asked to sign a consent form.
You will be free to withdraw during data collection (during the focus group) but it will **not be possible for participants to withdraw their data from the focus group after** it has finished.
You can withdraw from the study by physically leaving the focus group and emailing Lilly afterwards (<u>Lilly.barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk</u>) stating you have withdrawn, **you do not have to give a reason why, nor will face any repercussions**.

What will happen if I take part?

The focus group will last no more than 1 hour and a half.

It will take **place online.**

It will be arranged at a time convenient for everyone in the focus group.

Focus groups **topics** will be surrounding, for example: 'fundamental British values', classroom debate, knowledge of Prevent, past experiences in education, confidence in the classroom, Islamophobia in Britain.

If you feel uncomfortable at any time during the focus group you can leave at any point and will not have to give a reason why.

Once the focus group is over, you **may** also be invited to take part in a one-to-one, online interview **at a later date.**

If you are invited to a one-to-one interview, then you will be given another information sheet and asked to sign a consent form.

The focus groups and interviews will be carried out by Lilly.

All data will be anonymised in publication (a fake name will be given).

Will I be recorded?

You will be **audio recorded** (voice only) in the focus groups.

All recordings will be **permanently destroyed** once they have been transcribed.

What will happen to the information I give during the focus group?

The recording of the focus group will then be transcribed (written/typed out) by Lilly.

The transcripts will be seen by Lilly, Jane and Kat.

When writing up, all data will be **anonymised.**

You may be quoted directly but your name will never be published.

At the end of the study, the anonymous transcripts will be deposited in the Nottingham Trent Data Archive and will only be available to other genuine researchers.

Anonymised data will be stored on Nottingham Trent Data Archive for up to ten years.

How will you protect my confidentiality and anonymity?

All the information that we collect about you during the research will be kept strictly confidential.

Your anonymity will be protected as I will not use your name but give you a fake name instead.

You will not be able to be identified in any ensuing reports or publications.

The recordings of the focus group will only be accessed by Lilly.

The transcripts of the focus groups will be accessed by Lilly, Jane and Kat.

All electronic files and recordings will be kept on a highly secure database within Nottingham Trent University only accessible by Lilly.

Once the transcripts have been placed in the database, the **recordings of your focus group will be destroyed.**

We are confident that these precautions will ensure that no one will be able to trace your transcript back to you.

The Exception to Confidentiality and Anonymity

The only exception to maintain the confidentiality and anonymity of your data is if you disclose details of previously unreported or intended criminal activity and we can identify you or an alleged victim. If this happens, the researcher would have an obligation both lawful and professional to report it to the relevant authorities. **At no time during the research process will the researcher ask questions that might incriminate you.** We strongly advise that you do not reveal any identifying information unless you wish to do so.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

The main cost to you is the time needed to do the focus group and the possibility of an interview.

The main risk is you feeling uncomfortable with any of the subjects that may arise, remember **if you do feel uncomfortable you can leave the room or withdraw from the study during the focus group, without question.**

My hope is that the discussions and topics mentioned will not cause significant distress to participants.

If you do feel upset or distressed there are helplines available:

> Muslim Youth helpline: 0808 808 2008, webchat via:
> https://myh.org.uk/how-we-can-help/chat-with-us/
> Muslim Women's Network helpline: 0800 999 5786, webchat via:
> https://www.mwnhelpline.co.uk/

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

You will **receive a £10 Amazon voucher** after the focus group has finished. This is a gesture of thanks from the research team. **A £10 Amazon voucher is given if you are selected for a one-to-one interview at a later date. If you'd like the opportunity to receive a voucher, please leave your email on the consent form.**

I hope that you will find the focus group discussions interesting and will take satisfaction from helping to develop knowledge of this important topic.

What will happen to the results?

The results of the research may be published.

Once the findings from the research have been analysed, you will be able look at them and these will be emailed in the form of a summary of the results, if you wish to do so.

This information will be stored separately from any other data.

The data collected during the project may be used for additional research. This will all be anonymous, you will not be identified.

<u>Who is responsible if anything goes wrong?</u>
Lilly is responsible for the conduct of the study under the supervision of both of her supervisors.

<u>I'm thinking about taking part in this research/ I still have some questions, what do I do?</u>
Please contact the principal investigator, Lilly, at:
Lilly.barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk and **state that you would like to take part and return the signed consent form.**
If you do not receive a reply within 5 working days from Lilly, please email Dr Jane Pilcher or Dr Katerina Krulisova (details below).

<u>Contacts for further information</u>
Please feel welcome to contact Lilly or her supervisors Dr Jane Pilcher or Dr Katerina Krulisova for further information:

Lilly Barker
Email: Lilly.barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk

Dr Jane Pilcher
School of Social Sciences, Nottingham Trent University, Chaucer Building, Goldsmith Street, Nottingham NG1 5LT
Phone: +44 115 84 86033. Email: jane.pilcher@ntu.ac.uk

Dr Katerina Krulisova
School of Social Sciences, Nottingham Trent University, Chaucer Building, Goldsmith Street, Nottingham, NG1 5LT
Phone: +44 115 84 86444, extension 86444. Email: katerina.krulisova02@ntu.ac.uk

We look forward to hearing from you!

Appendix M: Participant Focus Group Parental/Guardian Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet: Parental/Guardian Focus Group

Your child aged under 18 is being invited to take part in our research study. Before you decide whether you would like your child to take part, we'd like you to understand why the research is being conducted and what it would involve for your

child. Ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide if you wish to take part. You can keep this document for your own record. Your child is also being asked to give their own consent. Thank you.

Project Title:

Prevent and Critical Race Feminism: The implications of Prevent for young Muslim women in education.

What is the project's purpose?
This project hopes to critically explore the impact of the counterterrorism strategy Prevent on young Muslim women in further and higher education.

It is hoped that this research will contribute to the debate surrounding the future (if any) of Prevent and highlight the impact Prevent has upon young Muslim women in education.

I am particularly interested with how Prevent operates in sixth forms, colleges and universities in England & Wales and what young Muslim women (aged 16-25) think of Prevent.

Who is running this study?
The project is being carried out by Lilly Barker, a PhD researcher at Nottingham Trent University at the School of Social Sciences.
I am a qualified further education teacher and has been researching racism, xenophobia and the impact of government policies upon racialised communities in the UK for over 4 years.
The supervisors for the project are Dr Jane Pilcher and Dr Katerina Krulisova, who have extensive research experience in Education, International Relations and Sociology.

Who is funding this study?
This study is funded by Nottingham Trent University.

Why has my child been invited?
Your child has been invited as they:
- identify as a Muslim woman
- are aged 16-25
- currently attend either sixth form or college in England or Wales.

We are asking your child to take part in an **online focus group** with a maximum of 11 other young Muslim women because the research wants to uncover their

opinions surrounding the counterterrorism strategy Prevent and topics surrounding it.

Your child does **not** need to have any prior knowledge about Prevent.

All data will be anonymised in publication (a fake name will be given).

Does my child have to take part?

No, your child's participation is entirely voluntary.

If your child does take part, you and your child will be given this information sheet to keep and you will be asked to sign a consent form.

Your child will be free to withdraw during data collection but it will not be possible for participants to withdraw their data from the focus group after it has finished.

Your child can withdraw from the study by physically leaving the focus group and emailing Lilly afterwards (Lilly.barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk) stating that they have withdrawn, **they do not have to give a reason why, nor will face any repercussions**.

What will happen if my child takes part?

The focus group will last no more than 1 hour and a half.

It will take place **online**.

It will be arranged at a time convenient for everyone in the focus group.

Focus groups **topics** will be surrounding, for example: 'fundamental British values', classroom debate, knowledge of Prevent, past experiences in education, confidence in the classroom, Islamophobia in Britain.

After the focus group has taken place, your child **may** be invited to a one-to-one, online interview **at a later date** with Lilly to explore these topics more.

If your child is invited to do an interview, you and your child will be asked to sign another consent form and will be given another information sheet also.

The focus groups and interviews will be carried out by Lilly.

If your child feels uncomfortable at any time during the focus group your child can leave at any point and will not have to give a reason why.

Will my child be recorded?

Your child will be **audio recorded** (voice only) in the focus groups.

All recordings will be **permanently destroyed** once they have been transcribed.

What will happen to the information my child gives during the focus group?

The recording of the focus group will then be transcribed (written/typed out) by Lilly.

The recordings and all other information will be kept on a **highly secure Nottingham Trent University database.**

The transcripts will be anonymised (your child's name will be taken out and this information will be kept separately on a secure database only accessed by Lilly).

The transcripts will be seen by Lilly, Jane and Kat.

Your child's anonymity will be protected as I will not use your child's name but give them a fake name instead.

Your child may be quoted directly but their name will not published.

At the end of the study, the anonymous transcripts will be deposited in the Nottingham Trent Data Archive and will only be available to other genuine researchers.

Anonymised data will be stored on Nottingham Trent Data Archive for up to ten years.

How will you protect my child's confidentiality and anonymity?

All the information that we collect about your child during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential.

Your child will not be able to be identified in any ensuing reports or publications.

The recordings of the focus group will only be accessed by Lilly.

The transcripts of the focus groups will be accessed by Lilly, Jane and Kat.

All electronic files and recordings will be kept on a highly secure database within Nottingham Trent University only accessible by Lilly.

We are confident that these precautions will ensure that no one will be able to trace your transcript back to your child.

The Exception to Confidentiality and Anonymity

The exception to maintaining the confidentiality and anonymity of your child's data is if your child discloses details of previously unreported or intended criminal activity and we can identify you or an alleged victim. If this happens, the researcher would have an obligation both lawful and professional to report it to the relevant authorities. **At no time during the research process will the researcher ask questions that might incriminate your child.** We strongly advise that your child does not reveal any identifying information.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

The main cost to your child is the time needed to do the focus group.

The main risk is your child feeling uncomfortable with any of the subjects that may arise, remember **if they do feel uncomfortable they can leave or withdraw from the study during the focus group, without question**.

My hope is that the discussions and topics mentioned will not cause significant distress to participants.

If your child does feel upset or distressed there are helplines available:

> Muslim Youth helpline: 0808 808 2008, webchat via:
> https://myh.org.uk/how-we-can-help/chat-with-us/
> Muslim Women's Network helpline: 0800 999 5786, webchat via:
> https://www.mwnhelpline.co.uk/

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Your child will **receive a £10 Amazon voucher after the focus group has finished**. **If they are selected for a one-to-one interview they will receive a £10 Amazon voucher.** This is a gesture of thanks from the research team.

I hope that your child will find the focus group discussions interesting and will take satisfaction from helping to develop knowledge of this important topic.

What will happen to the results?

The results of the research may be published.

Once the findings from the research have been analysed, you will be able look at them and these will be emailed in the form of a summary of the results, if you wish to do so.

This information will be stored separately from any other data.

Who is responsibly if anything goes wrong?

I am responsible for the conduct of the study under the supervision of both of my supervisors.

I'm thinking about my child taking part in this research/ I still have some questions, what do I do?

Please contact the principal investigator, Lilly, at:

Lilly.barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk.

If you do not receive a reply within 5 working days please email Dr Jane Pilcher or Dr Katerina Krulisova (details below).

Contacts for further information

Please feel welcome to contact Lilly or her supervisors Dr Jane Pilcher or Dr Katerina Krulisova for further information:

Lilly Barker

Email: Lilly.barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk

Dr Jane Pilcher

School of Social Sciences, Nottingham Trent University, Chaucer Building, Goldsmith Street, Nottingham NG1 5LT
Phone: +44 115 84 86033. Email: jane.pilcher@ntu.ac.uk

Dr Katerina Krulisova

School of Social Sciences, Nottingham Trent University, Chaucer Building, Goldsmith Street, Nottingham, NG1 5LT
Phone: +44 115 84 86444, extension 86444. Email: katerina.krulisova02@ntu.ac.uk

We look forward to hearing from you!

Appendix N: Participant Information Interview Sheet- Educators

<u>Participant Information Sheet: 1-1 interview.</u>

<u>Project Title:</u>

Prevent and Critical Race Feminism: The implications of Prevent for young Muslim women in education.

> Thank you for considering taking part in this research. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being carried out and what participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide if you wish to take part. You can keep this document for your own record. Thank you.

<u>What is the project's purpose?</u>
This project hopes to critically explore the impact of the counterterrorism strategy Prevent on young Muslim women in further and higher education.

It is hoped that this research will contribute to the debate surrounding the future (if any) of Prevent and highlight the impact Prevent has upon young Muslim women in education.

I am particularly interested with how Prevent operates in sixth forms, colleges and universities in England & Wales and what young Muslim women (aged 16-25) and those who teach think of Prevent.

<u>Who is running this study?</u>
The project is being carried out by me (Lilly Barker) a PhD researcher at Nottingham Trent University at the School of Social Sciences.
I am a qualified further education teacher and have been researching racism, xenophobia and the impact of government policies upon racialised communities in the UK for over 4 years.
The supervisors for the project are Dr Jane Pilcher and Dr Katerina Krulisova, who have extensive research experience in Education, International Relations and Sociology.

Who is funding this study?

This study is funded by Nottingham Trent University.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen as you are a teacher/lecturer in England/Wales in a sixth form, college or university.

We are asking you to take part in an **online, one-to-one interview**, to uncover your opinions surrounding the counterterrorism strategy Prevent and topics surrounding it.

The one-to-one interview will take place online.

The interviews will be carried out by Lilly.

All data will be anonymised in publication.

Do I have to take part?

No, your participation is entirely voluntary.

If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and you will be asked to sign a consent form.

You can withdraw from the study by emailing Lilly stating that you would like to withdraw. **You do not have to give a reason why nor will face any repercussions**.

If after completing the interview you no longer wish to take part, you can ask to withdraw from the research altogether. This means that your recorded interview and any information relating to you will be destroyed as soon as possible. You will have up until 2 weeks after the interview to do this. After this time, your data may have been incorporated into the final analysis. To withdraw, please contact Lilly via email (Lilly.barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk)

What will happen if I take part?

The interview will last no longer than 1 hour.

It will take place online.

It will be arranged at a time convenient for you.

Interview topics will be surrounding for example, what you think of Prevent and how it affects your teaching practice.

You have the chance to ask questions before the interview begins and you can take breaks at any point throughout the interview.

Will I be recorded?

You will be video recorded via the online platform Microsoft Teams.

Camera/webcam does <u>not</u> have to be on.

Only the audio from the interview will be analysed.

The recordings will be **permanently destroyed** once they have been transcribed.

You will be asked for your written permission to video record the interview, to ensure that the information you give us is accurately recorded.

<u>What will happen to the information I give during the interview?</u>
The recording of the interview will then be transcribed automatically by the video recording software.

The recordings and all other information will be kept on a **highly secure Nottingham Trent University database.**

Any information that could identify you will be kept separate from the recordings on the database and will be destroyed upon completion of the study.

The transcripts will be seen by Lilly, Jane and Kat.

When writing up, all data will be **anonymised**. Any information that identifies you will be removed.

Your anonymity will be protected as I will not use your name, but I will use a pseudonym in place of your name.

You may be quoted directly but your name will not be published.

At the end of the study, the anonymised transcripts will be deposited in the Nottingham Trent Data Archive and will only be available to other genuine researchers.

Anonymised data will be stored on Nottingham Trent Data Archive for up to ten years.

<u>How will you protect my confidentiality and anonymity?</u>
All the information that we collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential.

You will not be able to be identified in any ensuing reports or publications.

The recordings of the interviews will only be accessed by Lilly.

The transcripts of the interviews will be accessed by Lilly, Jane and Kat.

You will not be named or otherwise identified in any publication arising from this project.

We are confident that these precautions will ensure that no one will be able to trace your transcript back to you.

The Exception to Confidentiality and Anonymity
The only exception to maintain the confidentiality and anonymity of your data is if you disclose details of previously unreported or intended criminal activity and we can identify you or an alleged victim. If this happens, the researcher would have an obligation both lawful and professional to report it to the relevant authorities. At no time during the research process will the researcher ask questions that might incriminate you. We strongly advise that you do not reveal any identifying information unless you wish to do so.

<u>What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?</u>
The main cost to you is the time needed to do the interview.

The main risk is you feeling uncomfortable with any of the subjects that may arise. Remember **if you do feel uncomfortable you can leave the interview or withdraw from the study entirely at any point, without question**.

My hope is that the discussions and topics mentioned will not cause significant distress to participants.

If you do feel upset or distressed there are helplines available:

> Education Support helpline: 08000 562 561
>
> CALM webchat: https://www.thecalmzone.net/help/webchat/

<u>What are the possible benefits of taking part?</u>

Whilst there are no immediate benefits for participating in the project, it is hoped that this work will highlight the impact Prevent has upon young Muslim women and contribute to the debate about the future (if any) of Prevent.

I hope that you will find the interview interesting and will take satisfaction from helping to develop knowledge of this important topic.

<u>What will happen to the results?</u>

The results of the research may be published.

Once the findings from the research have been analysed, you will be able look at them and these will be emailed in the form of a summary of the results, if you wish to do so.

This information will be stored separately from any other data.

The data collected during the project may be used for additional research. You will not be identified.

<u>Who is responsibly if anything goes wrong?</u>

I am responsible for the conduct of the study under the supervision of both of my supervisors.

<u>I'm thinking about taking part in this research/ I still have some questions, what do I do?</u>

Please contact the principal investigator, Lilly, at:

Lilly.barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk

If you do not receive a reply within 5 working days, please email Dr Jane Pilcher or Dr Katerina Krulisova (details below).

<u>Contacts for further information</u>

Please feel welcome to contact the principal investigator, Lilly, or her supervisors Dr Jane Pilcher or Dr Katerina Krulisova for further information:

Lilly Barker
Email: Lilly.barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk

Dr Jane Pilcher

School of Social Sciences, Nottingham Trent University, Chaucer Building, Goldsmith Street, Nottingham NG1 5LT
Phone: +44 115 84 86033. Email: jane.pilcher@ntu.ac.uk

Dr Katerina Krulisova

School of Social Sciences, Nottingham Trent University, Chaucer Building, Goldsmith Street, Nottingham, NG1 5LT
Phone: +44 115 84 86444, extension 86444. Email: katerina.krulisova02@ntu.ac.uk

We look forward to hearing from you!

Appendix O: Parental/ Guardian Information Sheet 1-1 Interviews

NTU Nottingham Trent University

Participant Parental Information sheet: Interview

Your child aged under 18 is being invited to take part in our research study. Before you decide whether you would like your child to take part, we'd like you to understand why the research is being conducted and what it would involve for your child. Ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. You can keep this document for your own record. Your child will also be asked for their consent. Thank you.

Project Title:

Prevent and Critical Race Feminism: The implications of Prevent for young Muslim women in education.

What is the project's purpose?
This project hopes to critically explore the impact of the counterterrorism strategy Prevent on young Muslim women in further and higher education.

It is hoped that this research will contribute to the debate surrounding the future (if any) of Prevent and highlight the impact Prevent has upon young Muslim women in education.

I am particularly interested with how Prevent operates in sixth forms, colleges and universities in England & Wales and what young Muslim women (aged 16-25) think of Prevent.

Who is running this study?
The project is being carried out by Lilly Barker, a PhD researcher at Nottingham Trent University at the School of Social Sciences.
I am a qualified further education teacher and has been researching racism, xenophobia and the impact of government policies upon racialised communities in the UK for over 4 years.
The supervisors for the project are Dr Jane Pilcher and Dr Katerina Krulisova, who have extensive research experience in Education, International Relations and Sociology.

Who is funding this study?
This study is funded by Nottingham Trent University.

Why has my child been invited?
Your child has been invited as they:
- identify as a Muslim woman
- are aged 16-25
- currently attend either sixth form or college in England or Wales.

We are asking your child to take part in a **one-to-one, online interview** because the research wants to uncover their opinions surrounding the counterterrorism strategy Prevent and topics surrounding it.
Your child does **not** need to have any prior knowledge about Prevent.
The interviews will be carried out by Lilly.
All data will be anonymised in publication (a fake name will be given).

Does my child have to take part?
No, your child's participation is entirely voluntary.
If your child does take part, you and your child will be given this information sheet to keep and you and your child will be asked to sign a consent form.
Your child can withdraw during the interview and your child can withdraw their interview data, up to two weeks after interview has taken place.
Your child or you can withdraw from the study by emailing Lilly (Lilly.barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk) stating that you would like to withdraw. **You do not have to give a reason why, nor will face any repercussions**.

What will happen if my child takes part?
This interview will take place **online.**
It will be arranged at a time convenient for your child.
The interview will last no longer than 1 hour.
Your child and you will be asked for your written permission to video record the interview, to ensure that the information you give us is accurately recorded.

If your child feels uncomfortable at any time during the interview your child can leave at any point and will not have to give a reason why.

Will my child be recorded?
If your child is invited to and accepts a one-to-one interview it will be **video recorded (but cameras do <u>not</u> have to be on).**
Only the audio recording from the interview will be analysed.
All recordings will be **permanently destroyed** once they have been transcribed.

What will happen to the information my child gives during the interview?
The recording of the interview will then be transcribed (written/typed out) by Lilly.
The recordings and all other information will be kept on a **highly secure Nottingham Trent University database.**
The transcripts will be anonymised (your child's name will be taken out and this information will be kept separately on a secure database only accessed by Lilly).
The transcripts will be seen by Lilly, Jane and Kat.
Your child's anonymity will be protected as I will not use your child's name but give them a fake name instead.
Your child may be quoted directly but their name will not published.
At the end of the study, the anonymous transcripts will be deposited in the Nottingham Trent Data Archive and will only be available to other genuine researchers.
Anonymised data will be stored on Nottingham Trent Data Archive for up to ten years.

How will you protect my child's confidentiality and anonymity?
All the information that we collect about your child during the research will be kept strictly confidential.
They will not be able to be identified in any ensuing reports or publications.
The recordings of the interviews will only be accessed by Lilly.
The transcripts of the interviews will be accessed by Lilly, Jane and Kat.
All electronic files and recordings will be kept on a highly secure database within Nottingham Trent University only accessible by Lilly.
We are confident that these precautions will ensure that no one will be able to trace your transcript back to your child.

The Exception to Confidentiality and Anonymity
The exception to maintaining the confidentiality and anonymity of your child's data is if your child discloses details of previously unreported or intended criminal activity and we can identify them or an alleged victim. If this happens, the researcher would have an obligation both lawful and professional to report it to the relevant authorities. **At no time during the research process will the researcher ask questions that might incriminate your child.** We strongly advise that your child does not reveal any identifying information.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

The main cost to your child is the time needed to do the interview.

The main risk is your child feeling uncomfortable with any of the subjects that may arise. Remember **if they do feel uncomfortable they can leave the interview or withdraw from the study entirely at any point, without question**.

My hope is that the discussions and topics mentioned will not cause significant distress to participants.

If your child does feel upset or distressed there are helplines available:

Muslim Youth helpline: 0808 808 2008, webchat via:
https://myh.org.uk/how-we-can-help/chat-with-us/
Muslim Women's Network helpline: 0800 999 5786, webchat via:
https://www.mwnhelpline.co.uk/

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Your child will receive **a £10 Amazon voucher** after the interview has finished. This is a gesture of thanks from the research team.

I hope that your child will find the interview interesting and will take satisfaction from helping to develop knowledge of this important topic.

What will happen to the results?

The results of the research may be published.

Once the findings from the research have been analysed, you will be able look at them and these will be emailed in the form of a summary of the results, if you wish to do so.

This information will be stored separately from any other data.

Who is responsibly if anything goes wrong?

I am responsible for the conduct of the study under the supervision of both of my supervisors.

I'm thinking about my child taking part in this research/ I still have some questions, what do I do?

Please contact the principal investigator, Lilly, at:
Lilly.barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk
If you do not receive a reply within 5 working days please email Dr Jane Pilcher or Dr Katerina Krulisova (details below).

Contacts for further information

Please feel welcome to contact Lilly or her supervisors Dr Jane Pilcher or Dr Katerina Krulisova for further information:

Lilly Barker
Email: Lilly.barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk

Dr Jane Pilcher

School of Social Sciences, Nottingham Trent University, Chaucer Building, Goldsmith Street, Nottingham NG1 5LT
Phone: +44 115 84 86033. Email: jane.pilcher@ntu.ac.uk

Dr Katerina Krulisova
School of Social Sciences, Nottingham Trent University, Chaucer Building, Goldsmith Street, Nottingham, NG1 5LT
Phone: +44 115 84 86444, extension 86444. Email: katerina.krulisova02@ntu.ac.uk

We look forward to hearing from you!

Appendix P: Participant Consent Form Focus Group- Muslim Women students 18 & over

<u>Participant Consent Form: 18+ Student Online Focus Groups</u>

Research project title: <u>Prevent and Critical Race Feminism: The implications of Prevent for young Muslim women in education.</u>

Please read and confirm your consent to being interviewed for this project by ticking the appropriate box(es) and signing and dating this form. You can keep a copy of this consent form for your own records.

<u>Once completed, please email it back to Lilly at:</u>
<u>Lilly.Barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk</u>

Please tick the appropriate boxes:	Yes	No
I confirm that the purpose of the study has been explained to me and that I have been given information about it.		
I confirm that I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research and I understand that I am free to contact the researcher with any questions I may have in the future.		
I agree to take part in the project. Taking part will include being in an online focus group and audio recorded, on the understanding the recording will be destroyed at the end of the study in December 2024.		
I understand that my participation is voluntary, and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without any repercussions before the focus group takes place.		
I have read the information sheet.		

I understand that my personal details will not be revealed to people outside of the project.		
I understand that the quotes from the interview may be used and anonymised.		
I understand that my real name will not be used.		
I agree that the anonymised data I provide will be archived at NTU Data Archive for up to ten years.		
I understand that other researchers will have access to the anonymised data only if they have ethical approval.		
I understand that if I disclose details of previously unreported or intended criminal activity and I can be identified or an alleged victim can be, the researcher would have an obligation to report it to the relevant authorities.		
I confirm that I will leave my email in order to have a chance to win an Amazon voucher.		
I would like to read a summary of the findings once finished and I will leave my email to do so.		

Name of respondent:

Age:

Email of respondent:

University/sixth form/college location (e.g. Sheffield/Leeds):

Date:

Signature:

Name of researcher: Lilly Barker

Date:

Researcher Signature:

Lilly Barker
Principal Investigator
Lilly.Barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk
Nottingham Trent University, School of Social Sciences

Appendix Q: Parental/Guardian Consent Form Focus Group

Participant Consent Form: Parental/Guardian. Focus Group

Research project title**: Prevent and Critical Race Feminism: The implications of Prevent for young Muslim women in education**.

Please read and confirm your consent to being interviewed for this project by ticking the appropriate box(es) and signing and dating this form. You can keep a copy of this consent form for your own records.

Once completed, please email it back to Lilly at:
Lilly.Barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk

Please tick the appropriate boxes:	Yes	No
I confirm that the purpose of the study has been explained to me and that I have been given information about it.		
I confirm that I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research and I understand that I am free to contact the researcher with any questions I may have in the future.		
I agree for my child to take part in the project. Taking part will include being in an online focus group and audio recorded, on the understanding the recording will be destroyed at the end of the study.		
I understand that my child's participation is voluntary, and that my child is free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without any repercussions **before** the focus group.		
I have read the information sheet.		
I understand that my child's personal details will not be revealed to people outside of the project.		
I understand that the quotes from the interview may be used and anonymised.		
I understand that my child's real name will not be used.		
I agree that the anonymised data I provide will be archived at NTU Data Archive for up to ten years.		
I understand that other researchers will have access to the anonymised data only if they have ethical approval.		
I understand that if my child discloses details of previously unreported or intended criminal activity and we can identify them or an alleged victim, the researcher would have an obligation to report it to the relevant authorities.		
I confirm that my child can be contacted (if selected) to invite them to a one-to-one follow up, online interview and I will be asked to sign another consent form.		
I would like to read a summary of the findings once finished and I will leave my email to do so.		
I give permission for my child to be entered into a prize draw to win an Amazon voucher.		

Name of parent/guardian:

Email of parent/guardian:

Name of child:

Date:

Signature:

Name of researcher: Lilly Barker

Date:

Researcher Signature:

Lilly Barker
Principal Investigator
Lilly.Barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk
Nottingham Trent University, School of Social Sciences

Appendix R: Participant Consent Form 1-1 Interview- Student

<u>**Participant Consent Form: Interview**</u>
Research project title**: Prevent and Critical Race Feminism: The implications of Prevent for young Muslim women in education**.

NTU Nottingham Trent University

Please read and confirm your consent to being interviewed for this project by ticking the appropriate box(es) and signing and dating this form. You can keep a copy of this consent form for your own records.

<u>**Once completed, please email it back to Lilly at:**</u>
Lilly.Barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk

Please tick the appropriate boxes:	Yes	No
I confirm that the purpose of the study has been explained to me and that I have been given information about it.		
I confirm that I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research and I understand that I am free to contact the researcher with any questions I may have in the future.		

I agree to take part in the project. Taking part will include being in a one-to-one, online interview and audio or video recorded, on the understanding the recording will be destroyed at the end of the study in December 2024.		
I understand that my participation is voluntary, and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without any repercussions.		
I have read the information sheet.		
I understand that my personal details will not be revealed to people outside of the project.		
I understand that the quotes from the interview may be used and anonymised.		
I understand that my real name will not be used.		
I agree that the data I provide will be archived at NTU Data Archive for up to ten years.		
I understand that other researchers will have access to the anonymised data only if they have ethical approval.		
I understand that my parent/guardian has to give consent if I am aged under 18.		
I understand that if I disclose details of previously unreported or intended criminal activity and we can identify you or an alleged victim, the researcher would have an obligation to report it to the relevant authorities.		
I confirm that I will leave my email in order to receive an Amazon voucher.		
I would like to read a summary of the findings once finished and I will leave my email to do so.		

Name of respondent:

Email of respondent:
Location of university/college/sixth form (e.g. Leeds, Manchester):
Date:
Signature:

Name of researcher:

Date:

Researcher Signature:

Lilly Barker
Principal Investigator
Lilly.Barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk
Nottingham Trent University, School of Social Sciences

Appendix S: Parental/ Guardian Consent Form- 1-1 Interview

Participant Consent Form: Parental/Guardian. Interview

Research project title**: Prevent and Critical Race Feminism: The implications of Prevent for young Muslim women in education**.

Please read and confirm your consent to being interviewed for this project by ticking the appropriate box(es) and signing and dating this form. You can keep a copy of this consent form for your own records.

Once completed, please email it back to Lilly at:
Lilly.Barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk

Please tick the appropriate boxes:	Yes	No
I confirm that the purpose of the study has been explained to me and that I have been given information about it.		
I confirm that I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research and I understand that I am free to contact the researcher with any questions I may have in the future.		
I agree for my child to take part in the project. Taking part will include being in an online interview and recorded, on the understanding the recording will be destroyed at the end of the study in December 2024.		
I understand that my child's participation is voluntary, and that my child is free to withdraw data two weeks following the interview date without giving any reason and without any repercussions.		
I have read the information sheet.		
I understand that my child's personal details will not be revealed to people outside of the project.		
I understand that the quotes from the interview may be used and anonymised.		
I understand that my child's real name will not be used.		
I agree that the data I provide will be archived at NTU Data Archive for up to ten years.		
I understand that other researchers will have access to the anonymised data only if they have ethical approval.		
I understand that if my child discloses details of previously unreported or intended criminal activity and we can identify them or an alleged victim, the researcher would have an obligation to report it to the relevant authorities.		
I would like to read a summary of the findings once finished and I will leave my email to do so.		

I give permission for my child to be entered into a prize draw to win an Amazon voucher.		

Name of parent/guardian:

Email of parent/guardian:

Name of child:

Date:

Signature:

Name of researcher: Lilly Barker

Date:

Researcher Signature:

Lilly Barker
Principal Investigator
Lilly.Barker2021@my.ntu.ac.uk
Nottingham Trent University, School of Social Sciences