“You gotta practise what you preach.”

How non-English teachers conceptualise fundamental British values

By

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Abstract

This research emerged from my fascination with British exceptionalism represented in government policies regarding the promotion of fundamental British values. The intention of the government was to prevent the radicalisation of young people by promoting such values in schools. But the moniker 'British' makes it difficult to identify with the given values and divides society into discrete groups (Ragazzi, 2015), racialises some individuals and groups, and frames them as both dangerous and vulnerable (Saeed, 2018). In this thesis I argue that the concept of fundamental British values is exclusionary and that the values are not exclusively British.

Using life history methodology in order to explore counter-narratives, I conducted interviews with five non-English teachers teaching in an independent international school in South East England. The theoretical framework of the research is provided by Critical Race Theory. Drawing on themes of Critical Race Theory such as intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1995), conceptual whiteness and conceptual blackness (Taylor, 2016), and the centrality of experiential knowledge and commitment to social justice (Solorzano and Yosso, 2016), analysis of the interviews examines how the teachers conceptualise fundamental British values, how these values interact with their personal or cultural values, and how they promote these values in their practice.

My analysis offers four findings. First, the personal or cultural values of the participants aligned with the presented fundamental British values. Second, the values may not be uniquely British, but rather can be conceptualised as *Western liberal* or even *universal* values. Third, the participants found the English society generally *liberal* and living these values, which is linked to the fourth finding: it is not enough to teach the values or about the values, but to *practise* them, in order for them to be meaningful and effective.

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List of abbreviations

CRT	Critical Race Theory
BAME	Black, Asian, and minority ethnic
BIPOC	Black, Indigenous, and People of Colour
BME	Black and minority ethnic
DfE	Department for Education (UK)
EEA	The European Economic Area
EU	The European Union
FBV	Fundamental British values
ISI	Independent Schools Inspectorate
KS	key stage
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
Ofsted	The Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills
PSHE	Personal, social, health and economic education
SMSC	Spiritual, moral, social and cultural development
UN	The United Nations
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund

Chapter I: Introduction

1.1 Research focus

This research emerged from my fascination with British exceptionalism represented in government policies regarding the promotion of fundamental British values. The idea that a former member state of the European Union and the former largest empire in history has a set of values that is uniquely *British* has both annoyed and intrigued me; as a non-English teacher in England, teaching at an international school consisting almost exclusively of international students, I was annoyed that all of us of non-British, or even non-English origin were excluded from the narrative; as a teacher of International Relations and Global Politics, I was intrigued by how values and identities are constructed and for what purpose.

The overall research question to which I wished to find answers in the research is how non-English teachers conceptualise fundamental British values in their schools. All schools and all teachers have a duty to actively promote these values. As teachers and teaching can never be values free (Veugelers and Vedder, 2003), teachers bring values to their practice; these can be whole-school values as well as personal, cultural, or professional values with which teachers identify and which they internalise.

The second area on which I focus is how non-English teachers promote values, including fundamental British values, in their practice. I did not intend to observe their classroom practice; I was more interested in how they talked about it, in how they reflected on their practice, and in their experiences with teaching such values.

In her research on fundamental British values, Vincent (2019b, p. 121) found out that teachers have not altered their practice as they recognised that the values "were already absorbed within the already existing practices of their schools". This is also my question – whether teachers think that policies concerning fundamental British values have affected their practice in any way, and the practice of their schools in general.

1.2 Background

1.2.1 Fundamental British values

As stated above, all schools in England have a duty to actively promote fundamental British values, which is a set of four values – democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs (DfE, Nov 2014b). The set of values originates from the *Prevent Strategy* (HM Government, 2011), which is a part of the counter-terrorism strategy CONTEST and aims to "stop people becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism" (ibid., p. 6). The role of schools is, according to the Prevent Strategy, to "help protect children from extremist views" (ibid., p. 69) by actively promoting fundamental British values, as extremism is "vocal or active opposition to fundamental British values" (ibid., p. 107). The document also claims that "people who subscribe to these values and principles are unlikely to turn to terrorism" (ibid., p. 80). The United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2016) also recognises "the role of education in preventing violent extremism and de-radicalization of young people", a view which has gained "global acceptance".

The Prevent Strategy (HM Government, 2011), among others, refers interchangeable to "mainstream British values", "fundamental British values", or "our core values"; those values are much broader than the "final" four values included in education policies from 2013 onwards. This means that the Department for Education uses only the four values mentioned above, and omits "equality of opportunity" or "the right of all men and women to live free from persecution of any kind" also listed in the Prevent Strategy (HM Government, 2011, p. 34, 44), nor adds anything new. Why?

The duty to actively promote fundamental British values was introduced to all schools in November 2014, in the form of guidance for maintained and independent schools (DfE, Nov 2014a, 2014b). Since its introduction, the concept of fundamental British values has created quite a stir among

practitioners and researchers alike (Bowden, 2015; Goodwin, 2014; Jones, 2014; Lander, 2016; Panjwani, 2016; Richardson, 2015; Rosen, 2014; Vaughan, 2014; Ward, 2015, to list some of the timely reactions). Originally, in connection to the Prevent Strategy, teachers had a duty not to undermine the values (e.g., DfE, 2013), which changed to the duty to “actively promote” the values in 2014, in reaction to the infamous “Trojan Horse affair” (Vaughan, 2014; BBC, 2015; Struthers, 2016; Holmwood, 2017 and 2018; Shackle, 2017; Lander, Elton-Chalcraft and Revell, 2017).

The Trojan Horse affair was an event that captured both media and public’s attention, because it reflected the “patterns of inequality which perpetuate the disadvantage and exclusion of Muslim communities” (Richardson, 2015, p. 40). Muslims living in the UK had already been “disproportionately affected” by the implementation of the Prevent Strategy, which constructed Muslims as a “suspect community” (Abbas, Awan and Marsden, 2021, p. 13). The Trojan Horse affair refers to an alleged Islamic conspiracy to take over several Birmingham schools in 2014 and until today is used contrastingly to demonstrate either negative attitudes and discrimination shown by predominantly white Christian British society towards both British and immigrant Muslims, or the threat of the Islamisation of certain areas (Kundnani, 2015; Maylor, 2016; Saeed, 2018).

The promotion of values in education institutions is believed to prevent (violent) extremism. For instance, UNESCO refers in their *Teacher’s Guide on the Prevention of Violent Extremism* to “basic universal values, such as human rights, non-violence and non-discrimination” (UNESCO, 2016, p. 42), and “fundamental values” of “respect for human rights, social justice, gender equality and environmental sustainability” (ibid., p. 15). Thus, reference to “democratic values” in the Prevent Strategy (HM Government, 2011, p. 68 and 70) reflects the perspective that terrorist and violent extremist groups “seek to challenge our shared values” (United Nations General Assembly, 2015, p. 1). However, the implementation of the Prevent Strategy is perceived to increase the surveillance of some communities, particularly Muslim communities (Abbas, Awan and Marsden, 2021); in addition,

the education policies linked to fundamental British values are considered dogmatic, rendering the values "illiberal" and expression of "uncontested truth" (Revell and Bryan, 2018, p. 15).

The implementation of fundamental British values (that is, the school's approach to "active promotion") is policed by Ofsted (The Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills) and other supervising bodies (such as the Independent Schools Inspectorate, ISI), because independent schools are also subject to the policy (DfE, 2014). For example, in the Annual Report for 2020-2021, Ofsted concludes that "some" independent schools do not teach about fundamental British values and that "these issues are almost never found in state-funded faith schools" (Ofsted, 2021, p. 40); however, the report does not explain the link between teaching *about* the values and actively promoting them (which is what the policies demand). In contrast, in 2015-2016, Ofsted found that "in a small number of schools, although British values such as respect and tolerance were being taught, pupils were not acting in accordance with these in their school and community life, for example in their behaviour towards each other in playgrounds or towards their teachers" (Ofsted, 2016, p. 116), thus implying that *teaching the values and about them* may not be enough. Similarly to the 2020-2021 findings, the 2016-2017 report found mostly the independent schools falling short of expectations, particularly "weaker faith schools" (Ofsted, 2017, p. 45) or "conservative religious schools" (p. 15), such as the "Al-Hijrah School in Birmingham" (ibid.). The Report claims that "the British values of democracy, tolerance, individual liberty, mutual respect and the rule of law are the principles that keep society free from the radical and extreme views that can often lead to violence" (p.16), and that "the effective functioning of British society depends on some fundamental shared values as well as a culture of mutual tolerance and respect" (p. 8), but the report fails to give evidence for this claim. Ofsted then recommends "good promotion of British values through the development of tolerance and understanding among learners from diverse backgrounds" in schools in order for them to be judged "good or outstanding" (ibid., p. 59).

Since the fear of inspection (Ehren, 2018) makes schools and teachers jump through ("increasingly convoluted") hoops (EducationSupport, 2018), the pressure on "getting it right" is very high; the competition among schools, encouraged by Ofsted grading, reflects descriptors of neoliberalism: competition and external accountability (Vincent, 2019b). The rationale behind the heavy-handed approach from the government (Baxter, 2015; Sutton, 2015; Gupta, 2017), which included downgrading schools in Ofsted inspections (Phillips, 2014; Baxter, 2015), was to prevent the radicalisation of young people in the UK, which, according to the government, drives them to extremism. However, this view has been repeatedly criticised – for example, as Mumisa (2014) points out, not all forms of radicalisation lead to extremism and terrorism, and Versi (2015) asks where the line between free speech and extremism is. In addition, the terms radicalisation, extremism, and terrorism are conceptually fuzzy and the policies struggle to define them clearly (Richardson, 2014).

To illustrate this point, definitions from the Prevent Strategy (HM government, 2011) will be examined. The Prevent Strategy (ibid., p. 108) recalls the definition of terrorism from the Terrorist Act 2000:

> "an action that endangers or causes serious violence to a person/people; causes serious damage to property; or seriously interferes or disrupts an electronic system. The use or threat must be designed to influence the government or to intimidate the public and is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause."

This is an interesting definition as it does not exclude a government from being labelled a terrorist organisation. The Prevent Strategy defines extremism as "vocal or active opposition to fundamental British values", including "calls for the death of members of our armed forces, whether in this country or overseas" (ibid., p. 107). On page 19, the Prevent Strategy claims that "the line between extremism and terrorism is often blurred" (ibid., p. 19), even though it is quite a leap from "vocal […] opposition to fundamental British values" to causing "serious violence to a person […] to influence the government […] for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause".

Radicalisation is defined in the Prevent Strategy as "the process by which a person comes to support terrorism and forms of extremism leading to terrorism" (ibid., p. 108), which implies that there are different forms of extremism, even though the Prevent Strategy 2011 only refers to Islamist and right-wing extremism and moves away from the term "violent extremism" ("We avoid using the phrase here", p. 25, even though it appears 35 times in the body of the text). In addition, the Prevent Strategy is not very clear about the relationship between the concepts of terrorism and extremism, stating that "some people who have engaged in terrorist-related activity here have previously participated in extremist organisations" (ibid., p. 20), suggesting that *some people* are *radicalised* in extremist organisations, yet, "this is not always so. Some people are recruited into a terrorist organisation and radicalised at the same time" (ibid.); thus *coming to support* extremism and terrorism happens simultaneously. Therefore, the Prevent Strategy does not provide satisfactory explanations of the terms, the relationships between them, or the process of radicalisation. Miller (2018, p. 19) states that "there is no single pathway to terrorism", according to the report of "the government's own agency MI5". Quatermaine (2018) adds that the definitions of terrorism, extremism, and radicalisation in government policies might be going against each other.

The government sees schools as its agents and in an ideal position to fight extremism (Revell and Bryan, 2018; Miller, 2018). The assumption of the government is that every teacher identifies with British values; however, it is not clear why only four values defined above have been chosen and why other values that had been introduced by different governments over the years (which will be discussed in Chapter II, Literature review) have not been included. Also, it is not at all clear that there is indeed a "shared understanding of 'Britishness' and also British values" (Maylor, 2016, p. 325) among teachers in general. Such assumptions have also obviously generated much criticism.

1.2.2 The role of teachers under fundamental British values education policies

According to the government (HM Government, 2020d), one must hold qualified teacher status (QTS) to teach in English maintained schools or non-maintained special schools; QTS is optional in independent schools, free schools, and academies (UCAS, 2020). Anyone who meets the eligibility criteria can train as and become a teacher (HM Government, 2020d).

In addition, the government recognises teacher qualifications from other parts of the UK, the EU and the EEA, and gives advice for teachers who gained their qualifications in some Commonwealth countries, such as New Zealand, Australia, and Canada, and even in the USA (ibid.). It can be assumed that these teachers bring a variety of values, reflecting various cultures; however, they still have the duty to (above all?) actively promote fundamental British values in order to prevent radicalisation of pupils.

According to Biesta (2011, p. 12–13), citizenship education suggests that "good citizenship will follow from individuals' acquisition of a proper set of knowledge, skills, values and dispositions". However, citizenship should be a practice of identification and society as a whole is responsible for citizenship learning (ibid.). In addition, there is no satisfactory and exhaustive answer to what drives people towards radicalisation and terrorism (Miller, 2018). Therefore, does the active promotion of four "British" values prevent this type of radicalisation and would it be possible to prove a causal relationship?

As stated above, the active promotion of fundamental British values is supposed to prevent young people from becoming radicalised and drawn to extremism. The policies see schools as a major influence in the socialisation of young people and in shaping their ideas and opinions about the world, even though educational institutions are usually only one of several factors (Giddens, 2008). Besides politicisation of the teaching profession (Panjwani, 2016), the literature criticises values policies for blatantly securitising the profession (Lander, 2016; Elton-Chalcraft et al., 2017; Lander

and Farrell, 2017; Habib, 2018; Farrell and Lander, 2019). Furthermore, education also becomes racialised (Elton-Chalcraft et al., 2017; Lander and Farrell, 2017; Farrell and Lander, 2019).

Securitisation means that schools and teachers become agents of the national security agenda, as "educators are being asked to identify and refer those students (and perhaps colleagues) who are *at risk* of radicalisation" (O'Donnell, 2016, p. 56). Schools are made responsible for detecting potential future terrorists, and teachers have become "de facto representatives of the Home Office" (Revell, 2018, p. 192). Not only do the policies add to teachers' responsibilities, but they also assume that teachers and schools are well equipped to recognise signs of radicalisation, without defining clearly what radicalisation is and how to recognise it (O'Donnell, 2016). Furthermore, official government statistics suggest a disproportional emphasis on Muslim communities in England and Wales which were identified as being at risk of radicalisation. For instance, in 2015-2016, 65% of all referrals to the Prevent/Channel Programme were due to concerns related to Islamist extremism and approximately 1/3 of the referrals came from the education sector (Home Office, 2017). The statistics thus imply that Muslim pupils are more likely to be viewed as opposing fundamental British values – since extremism is in the Prevent Strategy defined as "vocal or active opposition to fundamental British values" (HM Government, 2011). This indicates that a religious (Muslim) identity is racialised, as the religious identity is used to create a hierarchy similar to racial hierarchy (Selod and Embrick, 2013). Lander and Farrell (2017) also warned in their BERA blog post that "the promotion of FBV ran risks of racializing religious identity" (similarly Lander, 2016). Muslims are "rejected from whiteness" (Selod and Embrick, p. 649), and this is done regardless of their ethnic origin.

However, more current statistical data show a massive decline in referrals arising from concerns related to Islamist extremism / Islamist radicalisation – by 28% between 2019-2020 and 2020-2021, and by 79% since 2016 (Home Office, 2021). At the same time, there is an increase in the number of referrals relating to right-wing extremism, and also in the category labelled "mixed, unstable or unclear ideology", explained as "instances where the ideology presented involves a combination of

elements from multiple ideologies (mixed), shifts between different ideologies (unstable), or where the individual does not present a coherent ideology yet may still pose a terrorism risk (unclear). This also includes individuals that may be vulnerable out of a sense of duty, or a desire for belonging and those obsessed with massacre or extreme/mass violence without targeting a particular group." (ibid.) This category can thus theoretically hide referrals of Muslims by not making their religious identity explicit.

1.3 Purpose

In my research, I intended to find out how non-English teachers conceptualise fundamental British values and what "other" values they bring into their schools. For the purposes of this study, non-English teachers are defined as teachers who were born outside England, which includes other parts of the United Kingdom too, do not have English origin, and do not identify as English. I decided to focus my research on non-English teachers teaching in England because I fit in this category and was curious how other non-English teachers think and feel about fundamental British values. In the light of my own perceptions, I was curious whether or not they feel alienated by fundamental British values policies and the narrative around them, and whether they would consider their identity as being racialised. This intention originated from my own feelings and whether they were legitimate. Are we as non-English teachers being alienated by such education policies? This research also intended to explore how the identities of non-English teachers are racialised by fundamental British values policies and discourse, applying Critical Race Theory, particularly the idea of "racial mobility": Barrett and Roediger (1997, p. 404) explain how "white people became white", meaning European immigrants to the U.S., such as Greeks who were upon arrival considered "non-white" or "half-black", or Italians who were labelled the "Chinese of Europe", thus demonstrating how these European migrants were racialised and then de-racialised. This suggests that "race" is socially constructed rather than a biological fact, which is one of the main themes of Critical Race Theory

(Delgado and Stefancic, 1997 and 2017; Gillborn, 2005; Solorzano and Yosso, 2016; Parker and Lynn, 2016). Since most of my participants were "white" people (White other and White Irish), my research aimed also to examine whether a non-English identity is racialised despite a "white" origin, thereby demonstrating that the meanings of "race" are constructed around any differences "within different political, social, and economic contexts" (Selod and Embrick, 2016, p. 648).

There has been some research conducted on how teachers struggle with implementing fundamental British values, on their fears, and on the opinions of Muslim teachers – as fundamental British values and policies around them are often perceived as anti-Muslim due to circumstances in which these policies came about (Panjwani, 2016; Farrell and Lander, 2019). There has also been some research on "how to" literature (how to promote fundamental British values in various subjects) (Revell and Bryan, 2018). Interestingly, when searching for "FBV" on the Google web search engine, the first entry highlighted by the engine referred to Ofsted instead of government policies. This potentially implies that the most important purpose of promoting fundamental British values is, practically speaking, for a school to score at least a pass in an Ofsted inspection. According to UK census data (HM Government, 2021), "85.7% of all teachers in state-funded schools in England were White British (where ethnicity was known)", 3.8% White other, and 1.5% White Irish. However, the data does not include teachers in independent schools, sixth form colleges, or further education colleges, and also excludes teaching assistants (ibid.). Considering only state-funded schools, the number of non-British (which excludes Welsh and Scottish) teachers constitutes over 14% of all teachers in England. This is a significant number of teachers whose voices are not explicitly researched. Interestingly, according to the 2011 census (HM Government, 2020c), 80.5% of the population of England and Wales identified as White British, 0.9% as White Irish, and 4.4% as White other, which makes the last the only known White group underrepresented in the teaching profession (3.8%).

There is not much information on the religious identity of teachers, however, a "daily survey app for teachers", Teacher Tapp, surveyed four thousand of their users in July 2019 regarding their religion

and found out that 61% considered themselves “to belong to no religion” (Teacher Tapp, 2019b). The rest identified mostly as Anglican, Catholic, or other Christian denomination (ibid.). Of course, the surveyed sample is a very small group of teachers and thus it is difficult to generalise the data.

Similarly, data on the political affiliations and voting preferences of teachers are scarce. The same survey app, Teacher Tapp, collected data on how teachers voted in 2017 elections; based on the responses, 60% of the users voted for Labour, followed by 13% for the Liberal Democrats, and 12% for the Conservatives (based on responses from 2,500 teachers, September 2018), or 56% for Labour, 14% for the Conservatives, and 13% for the Liberal Democrats (based on responses from 3,317 teachers, February 2019) (Teacher Tapp, 2019a).

Arguably, to the best of my knowledge, no research focusing explicitly on non-English teachers has et been conducted – that is research on people who do not identify as English, do not have English origin, and were born and raised outside England, and, therefore, individuals that have been – possibly – exposed to different values during childhood, particularly their formative years (that is, early childhood, 0-8 years; UNICEF, 2013).

Overall, the impact of fundamental British values policies on non-English teachers should be researched because these teachers have been ignored as a minority by the government and researchers alike. In order to assess what these impacts are and to decide what change is necessary, all groups should be given a voice. Only then can change be properly informed and democratic – according to life history (Goodson, 2003).

Life history is “an account of one person’s life in their own words, elicited or prompted by another person” (Munro, 1998, p. 8). According to Munro (1998), the interviewer asks their participant to tell their life story. Life history is a collaborative process in which the researcher uses their knowledge to place stories into context and in which an understanding of the stories emerges during conversations with participants (Goodson and Gill, 2011, p. 42-43). Life history helps to uncover how collective identities (on different levels) are constructed or created via stories (Harnett, 2010; Bheenuck, 2010;

Goodson and Gill, 2011). We tell our stories a certain way, and we alter them depending on context (Goodson and Sikes, 2001), and life history helps us understand why and thus discover "reality" as politically and socially constructed (Goodson and Gill, 2011).

The theoretical lenses of Critical Race Theory applied in this study are meant to unravel how fundamental British values policies and the duties stemming from them racialise non-English teachers. According to Giddens (2008, p. 487), racialisation means that groups of people are labelled "as constituting distinct biological groups on the basis of naturally occurring physical features"; however, as explained above, being a European has not always necessarily meant being considered "White"; in the context of American immigration, Barrett and Roediger (1997) found that southern and eastern Europeans in particular were considered "temporary Negroes". Similarly, Noel Ignatief, in an interview for Race Traitor magazine (in Delgado and Stefancic, eds., 1997), gave an example of the Irish, who were treated as a "race" by Britain (yet eventually became "White" in the U.S.). In addition, Selod and Embrick (2013, p. 648) refer to experiences of the Irish and Jews in the U.S. and "de facto racism", as these groups were "denied the privileges associated with whiteness". Therefore, it can be concluded that *some* groups can be racialised, depending on the interests of the privileged group.

Critical Race Theory was selected for its versatility; as race is a socio-politically constructed category (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017; Parker and Lynn, 2016), it is fluid; who is considered "White" and "non-white" does depend on several indicators, usually political rather than ethnic. Therefore, in the case of fundamental British values and the current xenophobic environment in post-2016 Britain, aimed against all or certain (non-White) groups of people living in Britain (Veugelers, de Groot and Stolk 2017), we can perhaps categorise non-British (or even non-English) teachers as non-white in certain contexts. As Taylor (2016), an Afro-American academic, explains, there are normative categories of whiteness and blackness, which have very little to do with ethnicity or skin colour. The categories of whiteness are school achievement, middle classness, maleness, beauty, and

intelligence; the categories of blackness are gang, welfare recipients, basketball players, the underclass (Taylor, 2016, p. 16-17). This idea can be applied also in the British context: “White” is also associated with middle classness, Christian affiliation, better education, manners, and a dry sense of humour (Daley, 2014, calls British national identity “the most un-solemn, unselfconscious, unobtrusive [...] in the known world” and “the key to being genuinely British is not to take being British too seriously”); “Black” (non-white) is associated with a lack of manners, non-recognition of the class system, gangs and crime, the receipt of welfare, and the ‘stealing’ of jobs to name but few stereotypes about foreigners and non-white Britons (according to a linguistic analysis of articles from the London Times and the Sun; the words associated with Eastern Europeans were mostly negative and included *radical*, *influx*, *large-scale immigration*, *unemployment*, *crooks*, *gangsters*, *child benefit*, *cheap labour*, *illegal workers*, *underqualified* (doctors and nurses), *poverty-stricken*, *vagrants*, *drink drivers* to name but few; Rozenfeld, 2011). Current stereotypes about people coming from Europe (keenly perpetuated by British tabloids such as The Sun and Daily Mail) indicate the existence of “conceptual blackness”, as Taylor (2016) calls it. As a White person, yet non-English, I feel discomfort calling non-English White Europeans “Black”, as it denies the experience of people of colour (PoC) and pretends that both experiences are the same or similar. At the same time, all these groups can be perceived as equally foreign by white Britons. As stated above, Barrett and Roediger (1997) illustrate this on the example of earlier U.S. immigration policies, which applied categories such as “temporary Negro” or “not-yet-white-ethnic”.

Critical Race Theory was chosen to demonstrate how the category of “others” is construed and how (ideological) identities are imposed on people and racialised. These imposed identities are more visible in “times of economic stress and anxiety” (Bell, 2016), such as during and after the Brexit vote in 2016 and possibly during the post-Covid19 recession.

1.4 Positioning the self: On the edge of whiteness

The title of this section was inspired by two articles: Parker's (2020) *On the edge of Britishness* and Breen and Meer's (2019) *Securing whiteness?* Breen and Meer (2019, p. 598) use the expressions "on the margins of whiteness" and "on the fringe of white respectability"; it is where "the white working class, white immigrants and white women" are positioned. This is also where I am – or was – positioned when I was a teacher in England.

I have been struggling with my local identity since I first moved abroad in 2010 to study in Germany. For a short while, my national identity mattered, as I suddenly became a foreigner in a country that was a historical enemy of my home country, the Czech Republic. This experience broadened my views, through interaction with local and international students and through living in a generally liberal environment.

When I relocated to the UK in 2012 to complete my second Master's degree, my national identity mattered once again, as I felt that I was denied "the propertied right of individualism" and was recognised only as member of collective (Vaught and Castagno, 2008, p. 104). Yet, the longer I lived in England, the less my national identity mattered to me, the less this identity made sense to me. My local identity is linked to the EU – I am and have always been proud of my EU citizenship and the more I travel, the more important this identity is to me. In addition, being a teacher and being part of the *Sunlit Uplands School* (codename) community has also been an important part of my identity.

However, I come from a culture that does not value teachers and their work, as demonstrated by the low salaries of teachers in the Czech Republic, which are almost 25% lower than the GDP per capita (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2021, p. 46), and by the fact that only 16% of teachers believe that the teaching profession is valued in society (even though this figure has increased by 4% since 2013), according to the OECD Teaching and Learning International Survey (Schleicher, 2020). Therefore, I often keep my "teacher" identity hidden when visiting my home country.

The year 2016 brought yet another change to my identity perception, due to the Brexit referendum. Anti-EU and anti-immigrant sentiments had made my "foreign" identity more prominent. After the 2016 referendum, I felt ostracised by the British/English public; I felt more vulnerable to verbal attacks from strangers; I felt alienated, and I avoided contact with the English public as much as I could. I avoided social situations and practically stopped frequenting pubs, theatres, and other public places to minimise the possibility of confrontation. Fear of accusation of being a parasite, and the loss of a sense of belonging and of feeling at home in the UK overshadowed all aspects of my life. I had became more sensitive to any signs of "othering" even at work. I started to expect it everywhere.

One of the moments when I felt that I was othered was when my school introduced the three priorities in 2019 – High Expectations, Caring Culture, English All Ways. The last one is a play on "always" and "in every way", implying that students should only use English when studying here; it replaced the previous "Speak English to me" badge and "Speak English" award card. The audacity and yet subtlety of the expression fuelled my hurt and anger, though my feelings were impossible to explain to my English colleagues, as I also understood that English was our working language, and the students expected – and paid for – their English skills to improve so they could attend a university in the UK or other English-speaking country. And yet, it subtly implied that English is THE language, perhaps superior to other languages, and denied the staff and students the part of their identity linked to (the use of) their native language. At the same time, I mostly refused to use any other language when working, partly because of my inability to swap between my languages without interference and partly for the perceived close link between my identity as a member of the school community and use of the English language. It was – and is –, therefore, a complicated and sensitive matter to me.

The values I consider important are freedom, equality, dignity, and the rights of individuals. They overlap with EU values (the Lisbon Treaty, Article Two: human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality,

the rule of law and respect for human rights; EUR-Lex, 2016) and fundamental British values (democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs). These values I see as democratic values.

The values I intentionally and consciously practise in my classrooms are respect (for each other, for different views and ideas, for personal goals), tolerance (of contrasting views – which is the maximum I can sometimes muster when teaching international politics), dignity (everyone deserves to be treated with dignity and we all have the same intrinsic value), equality, and equity.

I worked at the *Sunlit Uplands School* (codename) from 2013 until 2021, before I relocated to an international school in India. The *Sunlit Uplands School* is an international college in Southeast England and offers a variety of programmes for students from the age of 13 up to sixth form. Virtually all students are boarders and foreign nationals, with only a handful of UK citizens, often foreign-born. The active promotion of fundamental British values is most prominently linked to the PSHE curriculum at the school, which has continually eveloved in order to adjust to its international student body; for example, the school no longer buys materials created for British schools, which are not the best fit for international students. Indeed, such materials may even lead to the opposite effect and alienate the students by excluding them from the narrative. In the light of this, the school environment and leadership remain dynamic, and the school develops a new mission statement every couple of years.

When fundamental British values were first introduced (or when I first heard about them), we had an INSET (whole school training) in which we were instructed to promote them and implement them (somehow) in our practice. I pointed out that calling them "British" might not work well in our environment but perhaps the message was not conveyed clearly to the White English leadership team and my concerns were dismissed as nonsensical. For the purposes of formal observations, we had to outline links to SMSC (spiritual, moral, social, and cultural education) in our lesson plans – but not explicitly to fundamental British values. Besides this, our practice was never scrutinised in this

regard and we were given freedom to implement the policy in our own way. The major change occurred in Personal Tutor lessons (pastoral care), which, from that point, had to include an introduction to fundamental British values as a specific lesson. Also, several notice boards around the college were filled with posters showing how students understood fundamental British values – mostly because of a looming ISI inspection.

When I became more confident and felt more secure in the job, I initiated conversations with my colleagues on the topic of fundamental British values and it came as a surprise that many felt the same, particularly those teachers who, like me, did not identify as English. I also realised that certain interpretations of fundamental British values occasionally undermined the values promoted in international education programmes which are designed for an international clientele, such as the universalism of human rights or multiculturalism.

My biggest personal issue with fundamental British values is calling them "British" to start with; does it mean that they were invented in Britain or that they apply only in Britain? Does it imply that "British" values are better than those of other nations? Am I excluded, as a foreigner? Am I not part of this society because I was not born here? Can I not identify with these values in the same way a British person can? Can I call these values human values? How am I expected to promote these values when I myself am excluded from the narrative – like my (international) students are? Are the values aimed against foreigners, or is their alienation a by-product? The exclusionary nature of the values and the narrative around them have affected me the most.

My second issue with the idea of fundamental British values is why the four values defined by the government were regarded as all encompassing? On what basis were they chosen? Where is equality or dignity? More to the point, what is meant by them, particularly by "tolerance", "democracy" (does it refer only to voting?), and "rule of law" (or is it "the rule of law"? It is not an easy concept to explain). If I teach about democracy, different types of democracy, the state of democracy worldwide (like the Democracy Index published every year by The Economist Intelligence Unit) and the

advantages and disadvantages of democracy, am I promoting fundamental British values, or just teaching a syllabus? Do I have to say explicitly that democracy is superior to other forms of government? And how do I explain to students that they are "tolerated" here in the UK as people of a different faith, instead of teaching them that all human beings have the same intrinsic value?

During my research on policies linked to fundamental British values for one my modules during the taught part of the EdD programme, I had the opportunity to critically examine some of them (e.g., April 2019 Guidance, DfE, 2019) and I grew increasingly more confused with the advice to schools linked to religions. As I understand it, if the UK were a secular country, this would not even appear in the policy; yet, because many of the policies were initially aimed against Muslims, the government got into the difficult position of having to explain how promoting religious views (bearing in mind that no religion can be discriminated agaisnt) is not contrary to the promotion of fundamental British values.

1.5 Research issues

This chapter has so far explored the background to the issue of teaching fundamental British values and related policies. It was outlined how a racist incident, the Trojan Horse affair of 2014, led to a change in education policies, now requiring the active promotion of fundamental British values. One of the major issues underlying this change is that it was not aimed at society as a whole, but against certain minority groups living in the UK.

The racialised origin and context of the values invite critical analysis, thus Critical Race Theory will be used for the analysis, as the groups at which the policies are aimed were racialised by the policies. Since the role of teachers in preventing the radicalisation of young people by promoting the values is viewed as vital by the government, the experiences of teachers are relevant to understanding the concept of fundamental British values. My focus is on non-English teachers, because they (we) are

excluded from the narrative of the "Britishness" of the values and yet, at the same time, expected to "actively promote" them in practice. Therefore, the life histories of non-English teachers teaching in England will be analysed in this thesis.

This chapter outlined the context of fundamental British values and why they are considered a racialised concept; therefore, one of the research issues is how non-English teachers understand and make sense of fundamental British values. The concepts of democracy, (the) rule of law, liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs (DfE, Nov 2014b) are complex, and perhaps reflect individualist Western views (Slethaug, 2007). In addition, the adjective "British" may be interpreted differently (of British origin, exclusively British, for British people, for Britain?).

The second research issue regards the personal or cultural values of non-English teachers and the alignment of these values with fundamental British values. If fundamental British values are inherently British, the assumption would be that non-English teachers (who do not identify as British either) identify with different values. However, if the fundamental British values are conceptualised in a broader sense (Western, democratic, or even universal values that are currently considered most relevant to British society), non-English teachers can hold the same values (but probably not call them "British").

The third research issue regards non-English teachers' experiences with promoting fundamental British values; I was curious whether they are part of a hidden curriculum, or whether the teachers teach them explicitly as "fundamental British values". How do they contextualise them in their subjects? How do they "sell" them to their international students, and do they do it with the intention of preventing the radicalisation of foreign students?

The method, as stated above, is life history, thus these issues will be explored in conversations with the participants.

Chapter II: Literature review

As explained in the previous chapter, this thesis examines the conceptualisation of values and fundamental British values in particular, applying Critical Race Theory to unravel how fundamental British values policies defend white supremacy and racialise the identities of non-English teachers. In this chapter, literature on Critical Race Theory, fundamental British values, and values education will be reviewed. Literature on life history will be closely examined in the chapter on methodology.

2.1 Preliminary analysis: How common are the topic areas?

Topic / entry	Google	Google Scholar	JSTOR	ERIC
Life History "Life history method" "Life history methodology" "Life history research"	 28,100 15,700 124,000	 3,430 1,630 9,090	(no inverted commas) 786,195 213,072 1,313,253 ("" 660!)	(no inverted commas) 825 241 1,877 (life history research in education: 233,676)
CRT "Critical Race Theory" "Critical Race Theory" in education "Critical Race Theory" in education UK	 1,290,000 760,000 406,000	 66,900 58,400 28,200	(no inverted commas) 240,636 147,495 25,825	(no inverted commas) 2640 86,580 8,958
Values education "values education"	 1,200,000	 41,600	702, 712 1,994	59,111 7,085
FBV "Fundamental British Values"	138,000,000 112,000	3,420,000 1,470	159,661 32 (!?)	16 37

Table 1: Preliminary analysis

To begin my research, I first looked at how common the topics of life history, Critical Race Theory, values education, and fundamental British values are on Google, Google Scholar, in JSTOR, and ERIC. Without inverted commas, the return is a very high number (e.g., values education over 2 billion), but large part is irrelevant. Inverted commas reduce the number of irrelevant responses, but not all. Interestingly, Google Scholar, which is a web search engine that specifically searches scholarly

literature, returned much lower numbers compared to JSTOR; but JSTOR (Journal Storage), a digital library of academic journals, books and primary sources, does not respond well to the use of inverted commas (e.g., for life history research or fundamental British values, JSTOR search returned only 32 entries). Unlike Google and Google Scholar, JSTOR returns very specific numbers. Similarly, ERIC (Education Resources Information Center), an online database of education research, responds unexpectedly to searches; for instance, the database returned only 58 results for *fundamental British values*, but 51,577 results for *fundamental British values in education*, which makes searching in the database unintuitive.

Google Scholar offers a very easy way (compared to JSTOR) to limit returns to decades, showing the popularity of "life history research" in different decades, which grew (from 20) in the 1970s to 354; in the 1980s to 651; in the 1990s to 945; in the 2000s to 2,660; and the 2010s to 4,330 sources. This indicates increasing interest in life history since the 1970s. Searching for "life history" in education returns similar numbers: the four decades from 1950 to 1990 (that is four decades) return a lower number than 1990s alone, and interest continues to rise in the new century (2000s: 97,800; 2010s: 99,300). This surge supports the claims made by Goodson and Sikes (2001) and Goodson and Gill (2011) about the growing popularity of the methodology. It did not matter how I refined the search ("life history research" education), it still showed a massive increase since 2001. Life history will be discussed in depth in the Methodology chapter (Chapter III).

The table also shows the surprising popularity of Critical Race Theory in education in the UK, since 2016 in particular, which was also the 'Brexit vote' year. UK literature on Critical Race Theory is dominated by David Gillborn of the University of Birmingham. The same year also sees surge in fundamental British values literature, by and large the most popular topic out of the four.

Due to the amount of literature on the topics, I often relied on its relevance, as identified by the databases, to begin my research. Next, once I found particularly intriguing articles with arguments I wished to explore, I used the articles' bibliography to guide my further research, which was especially

successful with the most recent articles and publications, as they better reflected the state of current research. Comparing lists of references revealed seminal literature on the topic. In addition, attending training sessions provided by the Research Development Programme at Canterbury Christ Church University (which were conveniently online due to the pandemic) often pointed me to relevant literature or confirmed my direction.

2.2 Critical Race Theory

The theoretical framework of this research is provided by Critical Race Theory. Because my research focuses on non-English teachers teaching in England whose identities are (often) racialised in the given society and because the context of fundamental British values makes it a racialised concept, I will be using the views of Critical Race Theory on racism, the process of the racialisation of identities, and how to challenge the dominant ideology and achieve social justice.

Critical Race Theory is "mainly a theory, a critical one at that" (Leonardo, 2013, p. 602) and a critical post-modern theory (Ortiz and Jani, 2010, p. 176), but it also "has become an intellectual industry", "an analytical lens", "a racial hermeneutic of sorts" (Leonardo, 2013, p. 602). Ortiz and Jani (2010, p. 176) describe it as "a paradigm to critique and enhance the manner in which the subject of diversity is conceptualised and implemented in social work curricula, in the classroom, in the institutions, in the construction and application of a research method or question". Delgado and Stefancic (2017, p. 3) refer to "the critical race theory (CRT) movement" as "a collection of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power".

Most of the literature reviewed explains the origins of the theory and its links to critical legal studies (e.g., Delgado and Stefancic, 2017; Taylor, Gillborn and Ladson-Billings, eds., 2016). Critical Race Theory emerged in the USA in the 1970s and built on critical legal studies, particularly the ideas of "legal indeterminacy" ("not every legal case has one correct outcome") and the notion that

favourable precedents tend "to erode over time, cut back by narrow lower-court interpretation, administrative foot dragging, and delay" (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017, p. 5). The second foundation of Critical Race Theory is radical feminism and its "insights into relationships between power and construction of social roles" and (often) invisible patterns of domination (ibid.). According to Chadderton (2013), Critical Race Theory is a response to critical legal studies. As a result of its closeness to legal studies, the theory originally focused predominantly on law-related issues (Dalgado and Stefancic, 2016) and often recalls early immigration to the U.S. (Barrett and Roediger, 1997; An interview with Noel Ignatiev of *Race Traitor* magazine, 1997), as outlined in Chapter I, and civil rights legislation (Ladson-Billings, 2016), which is linked to the idea of social justice (explored in section 2.2.8).

Due to the nature of the theory, all the literature reviewed explains what white privilege is and how it is expressed in everyday life (white privilege is explored in section 2.2.2 and white supremacy in section 2.2.5); my focus was on education, especially in Britain (Gillborn, 2005, 2006; Cole, 2012; Taylor, Gillborn and Ladson-Billings, eds., 2016; Crawford, 2019); however, I also read literature not directly concerned with this field (e.g. Delgado and Stefancic, 1997, 2017; Chakrabarty, Roberts and Preston, eds., 2016; Crawford, 2017). Around 70% of the literature reviewed is of British provenance, the rest American.

2.2.1 "Race" as a social construction

The central concept of Critical Race Theory is "race" – a complex, muddled concept, one of those we think we understand but cannot clearly explain. The idea of "race" is usually connected to one's skin colour and ancestry, but most importantly to power and power distribution (whiteness as a "hegemonic structure", Preston and Chadderton, 2012). In Critical Race Theory, race is a socio-politically constructed category rather than a biological fact (Delgado and Stefancic, 1997 and 2017; Gillborn, 2005; Solorzano and Yosso, 2016; Parker and Lynn, 2016). According to Solorzano and Yosso

(2001, p. 4), “race can be viewed as an ‘objective’ phenomenon until human beings provide the social meaning”. The literature reviewed agrees that it is not scientifically possible to identify members of one race; as Ignatiev states, “No biologist has ever been able to provide a satisfactory definition of race that is a definition that includes all the members of a given ‘race’ and excludes all others” (An interview with Noel Ignatiev of *Race Traitor* magazine, 1997, p. 607). The “invention” of “races” is not “a neutral recognition of difference, but […] an index of perceived worth, a ranking of people as allegedly superior or inferior, intended to justify unequal treatment” (Saperstein, 2017, p. 28). Therefore, racial identity is often assigned as a basis for discrimination.

Those racialised identities are arbitrary and imposed from the outside and serve one main purpose – to exclude some from the rights and privileges of the White majority and “show the superiority or dominance of one race over another” (Solorzano and Yosso, 2016, p. 127). This implies that self-identity can be overruled by identity assigned. It is perhaps prudent to emphasise that this thesis is not meant as an attack on White English people; as Gillborn (2016, p. 45) reveals, “critical scholarship on whiteness is not an assault on white people per se: it is an assault on the socially constructed and constantly reinforced power of white identifications and interests”.

Concepts of “conceptual whiteness” and “conceptual blackness” (Taylor, 2016) or the identity of “not-yet-white” (Barrett and Roediger, 1997) groups are relevant to this thesis, as they can be applied to how non-English teachers believe they are perceived in England, using their personal and professional experiences (Solorzano and Yosso, 2016). The idea of conceptual whiteness/blackness, as Taylor (2016) uses it, implies racial mobility; race is a fluid category used by White elites in ways that benefit them (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017). Taylor (2016, p. 17) explains: “as an African American female academic, I can be and am sometimes positioned as conceptually White in relation to, perhaps, a Latino, Spanish-speaking gardener”. According to Saperstein (2017, p. 27), we decide how to “classify” people based on “whether they do the things people of a particular race are expected to do”. Saperstein further explains that some “races” or forms of “racial categorization” are

more likely to change than others (ibid., p. 3) and that "some racial origins would facilitate mobility while others would constrain it" which might be affected by "certain political or economic conditions" (ibid., p. 5).

The idea of racial mobility allows me to use the terms "White" and "non-White" to emphasise the externally-assigned, racialised identities of non-English teachers; I am hesitant to use the term "Black" unless speaking about a person of African or Caribbean descent, who I imagine faces more severe discrimination than a non-English Caucasian person, even though Gillborn (2015, p. 284) claims there is no "hierarchy of oppression".

2.2.2 Identities

"Racial" or "raced" identities, according to the literature reviewed, are mostly assigned to minority or minoritised groups (Breen and Meer, 2019; Ali, 2020; Milton-Williams and Bryan, 2021); however, the category of Whiteness is also problematised as an "attempt to homogenise diverse white ethnics into a single category" (Leonardo, 2002).

In my research, I utilised Taylor's (2016) concepts of conceptual Whiteness and Blackness to emphasise the dichotomy. This division refers to how people are perceived in certain contexts, not according to their skin colour or ethnic origin. I also use the terms minoritised, raced, and racialised people or groups.

According to Selod and Embrick (2013, p. 647), the term racialisation is used to refer to the application of "racial categories to individuals from colonized nations" by colonialists/imperialists. However, nowadays, the concept "reflects the changing meanings of race within different political, social, and economic contexts producing a more expansive and complex discussion of race" (ibid., p. 648). The authors claim that racial meaning can be given to any difference – thus, even racially White people, such as the Irish or Jews, can be assigned racial meanings and denied White privilege / White

identity (ibid., p. 647). Parker (2003, p. 187) uses term *racialism*, referring to “attitudes, actions of stereotyping, discriminatory policies, unequal distribution of resources”. Breen (2018, p. 31) clarifies that Critical Race Theory “is fundamentally concerned with the systematic marginalisation of racialised minorities in contemporary social contexts”. The term *racialised groups* therefore refers to people who share a certain identity, such as religious, ethnic, or “racial”, and are assigned racial meanings (Selod and Embrick, 2013) by the dominant group and simultaneously “rejected from whiteness” (ibid., p. 652) and its privileges. However, the concept of racialisation has been criticised for becoming “too broad” and incorporating “a myriad of differences, such as gender or sexuality, that are not inherently racial” (ibid., p. 647), but such criticism, according to Selod and Embrick, “privileges biological definitions of race” (ibid., p. 648).

The term *raced* is used synonymously to *racialised*; according to Tate (1997, p. 236), “people are ‘raced’ based on certain characteristics and for different reasons” because race is “a social construction” rather than “a natural cultural artifact”. Tate refers to “raced education”, “raced people”, the “raced representation of law and education”, and “raced cultural forms and orientations” (Tate 1997, p. 196, 202, 235, 236).

The term *minoritised* people, used for example by Gillborn (2013) and Milton-Williams and Bryan (2020), refers to the unequal distribution and access to power between the “White power-holders” and minorities (Gillborn, 2013, p. 479). The authors of the article *Categorisation and Minoritisation* (Selvarajah, Deivanayagam, Lasco et al., 2020, p. 1) encourage the use of the term “minoritized,” as it “describes intersectional forms of discrimination, and acknowledges the active processes involved in differential allocations of power, resources and ultimately health”. The emphasis is on “active process” (ibid., p. 2) and the allocation of power. Individuals and groups, including “numerical majorities, whose collective cultural, economic, political and social power has been eroded through the targeting of identity” (ibid., p. 3), are minoritised – the article points out that “people associated with Asia, a global majority” are minoritised too (ibid., p. 2).

The UK government refers to “ethnic minorities” (all groups except the White British group) in their data collection on ethnicity in England and Wales (HM Government, 2021). They avoid using the term non-white because “defining groups in relation to the white majority was not well received in user research” (ibid.), which is a relevant point. However, in my research, I use the term non-white to highlight the existence of people who do not enjoy white privilege or all aspects of it.

Furthermore, the term ethnic minority is “not neutral” and does not necessarily refer to “population size” – a numerical minority can become a cultural majority, for instance white people in South Africa (Selvarajah, Deivanayagam, Lasco et al., 2020, p. 2).

The term “people of colour” is sometimes used to label a group of non-white people, “any race that isn’t white” (Eddo-Lodge, 2018, p. xvi), without measuring them against “white”; however, it also implies that white is not a colour, thus that non-white people are “colourised”; in addition, it also groups a variety of people with a variety of backgrounds into the same group, thus somewhat homogenising the experiences of all non-white people.

I opted to use capital letters (White/Black) when referring to the dichotomy of the “haves” and the “have nots” related to power distribution. However, when referring to conceptually Black people, I often use the term “non-white” instead, to highlight the distinction (as stated above), and also because I am not comfortable referring to the mostly light-skinned/White participants of my research as Black, as none of them had been subjected to the same treatment as *actually* Black people. However, I am aware that the selected vocabulary is problematic, and it is not possible to *get it right*. For example, the once popular term BAME (Black, Asian, and minority ethnic) is no longer used as widely, since it places different minoritised groups together, but explicitly mentions some (Black and Asian), and also highlights “perceived differences and non-White identity” (Selvarajah, Deivanayagam, Lasco et al., 2020, p. 1). The HM Government website *Ethnicity facts and figures* (HM Government, 2021) explains that the term BAME or BME (black and minority ethnic) “can mask disparities between different ethnic groups and create misleading interpretation of data”. Thus

based on a recommendation of the Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities, the website refers to specific ethnic minority groups instead. The acronym BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, and People of Colour) is more popular in the U.S., highlighting "two groups who face the greatest discrimination and long history of oppression in the US context", like "BAME highlights the two largest non-White groups in the UK" (Selvarajah, Deivanayagam, Lasco et al., 2020, p. 1-2).

In their research, the HM Government (2021) also does not capitalise the terms for ethnic groups (such as black and white), though it is not explained why (also, most of the *Ethnicity facts and figures* website is still not consistent with this policy). In addition, the website also recognises that some ethnic groups are also nationalities (such as Bangladeshi or Chinese), and therefore, to avoid confusion, chooses to write about, for example, "people from the Chinese ethnic group" (HM Government, 2021). The government (HM Government, 2020c) recognises 18 standardised ethnic groups living in England and Wales, grouped into 5 ethnic groups (Asian; Black; Mixed; White; Other) – here, it gets quite confusing what "ethnic group" actually means, and thus, where the ethnic boundaries are. Some of my White research participants would fit under *White Irish* and *White other*, or some perhaps both, since the division outlined by the HM Government is based on self-identification in the census (ibid.).

However, it is not relevant to my research how the participants identify themselves in the census; I start with the hypothesis that their identities are racialised in public discourse and/or in the context of their professional practice. Thus, being *White Irish* or *White other*, despite falling under the ethnic group of 'White', would not provide enough protection (white privilege) from racialisation compared to *White English* which is a sub-category of *White British*[1].

[1] The HM Government Ethnicity facts and figures website is not fully consistent in their vocabulary (e.g., referring to the largest White group as 'White British' or 'White English, Scottish, Northern Irish or British', which can be perhaps confusing to the Northern Irish, as there is the White Irish category too, unless they also identify as British. However, the terminology reflects the evolution of our sense of identity and contemporary research on identity.

Critical Race Theory was also selected because it recognises that a human person has multiple identities – "potentially conflicting, overlapping identities, loyalties, and allegiances" (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017); hence being a teacher and being non-English would not deny the participants of my research other identities or mean that those identities are the most relevant to them. Critical Race Theory investigates how "patterns of subordination intersect" (Crenshaw, 1995) and explores the experiences of people falling into different identity categories such as race, gender, ability, and class.

2.2.3 Intersectionality

Intersectionality refers to the combination and interconnectedness of race, gender, class, and other factors. The term, coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw, allows researchers to explore how individual characteristics, such as gender, class, race, or age, intersect or overlap, creating unique and compounding experiences of discrimination (Crenshaw, 1995). Intersectionality, as a concept and as an approach to analysis, can help us to understand social exclusion and oppression, as it "points to the complex nature of power" (Harris and Leonardo, 2018, p. 5).

The reviewed literature often focused on experiences of black women, in particular (e.g., Mirza, 2015; Taylor, Gillborn and Ladson-Billings, eds., 2016; Delgado and Stefancic, 2017), as their experiences reflect "a hierarchy of oppression" (Bhopal, 2020, p. 807); that is, "intersectionality calls attention to social identities that are consistently treated as marginal or invisible because they are conceptualized as mere subsets of broader, larger, or more 'significant' assemblages." (Harris and Leonardo, 2018, p. 5). As Mirza (2015, p. 2) states, black and ethnicised women are "simultaneously positioned in multiple structures of dominance and power as gendered, raced, classed, colonized, and sexualized 'others'."

However, "intersectional analysis' strength is also its weakness, mainly that it demands too much complexity and sophistication from writers and readers" (Harris and Leonardo, 2018, p. 15). This

shows that the application of intersectionality may be a useful tool to unpack the complexity of discrimination and privilege, but can also lead to “oppression Olympics”, a term which Harris and Leonardo (2018, p. 5) explain as “the desire to have one identity (usually one’s own) or form of subordination acknowledged as more important or fundamental than others”. Bhopal (2020, p. 814) warns researchers to be aware “of our own prejudices”.

According to Bhopal (2020, p. 808), intersectionality is “a useful approach to analyse how overlapping or competing identities affect the experiences of individuals in society”. It is not possible to explain “discourses of inequality” by any one single factor; intersectionality is useful because it “analyses how competing factors work to produce different outcomes of power relations” (ibid.).

The recognition of “a hierarchy of oppression” (Bhopal, 2020, p. 807) is vital in order to understand – and ultimately remove – systemic inequities, because “dismantling one form of hierarchy necessitates an equally robust assault on other forms of subordination” (Harris and Leonardo, 2018, p. 18).

Despite the overlapping forms of discrimination, Gillborn (2015, p. 284) draws attention to the “primacy of racism”, meaning that “racist inequity is influenced by numerous factors (including gender, class, dis/ability)” but that racism is the primary concern for critical race research.

Yet, according to Marxist critics of Critical Race Theory (Cole 2012, Cole and Maisuria, 2007), it is the class struggle that correctly reflects current societies and a focus on racism only diverts attention from the “real” oppression – that is, the oppression of the working class. Among the reviewed literature, there is also a “discussion” between Cole and Gillborn, which helped me to understand Critical Race Theory better; however, I see little point in a debate between those two theories that identify the roots of discrimination in very different areas; how would they ever become reconciled? Critical Race Theory recognises the intersectionality of race and class (and other factors) and the relationship between these two is “the relationship between racism and economic oppression”, as Delgado and Stefancic (2017, p. 13) state. In relation to fundamental British values and related

policies, the intersection of race and class, in particular, is observed, limiting white supremacy to white middle-class supremacy (Vincent, 2019; Pattison, 2020).

Moreover, being subjected to discrimination does not prevent one from using racist narratives. Narkowicz (2023) explored this phenomenon in her research on the Poles living in London; she concluded that the Poles are positioned "on the peripheries of whiteness" and that their "in-betweenness" – that is, being White, and yet not White enough – allows them "to racialize other groups while simultaneously experiencing racial exclusion in the UK" (Narkowicz, 2023, p. 1534). Thus, her research participants were "experiencing rejection from whiteness" and at the same time were employing "racist narratives" (ibid.). This "in-betweenness" demonstrates that whiteness is "fluid, shifting and, as some argue, permeable" (ibid., p. 1535); Narkowicz's conclusions thus support the claim made by Saperstein (2017, p. 5), that "some racial origins would facilitate mobility". However, the "in-betweenness" also demonstrates how "a hierarchy of oppression" (Bhopal, 2020, p. 807) is connected to various identities, which intersect and interact to create unique forms of discrimination and privilege.

2.2.4 The ordinariness of racism

According to Solorzano and Yosso (2001, p. 4), racism is an ideology of racial superiority and white privilege which justifies the "social meaning applied to race". According to Eddo-Lodge (2018, p. 89), racism is "prejudice plus power"; however, Kendi (2019) claims that even those with (significantly) less power can be racist towards the power-holding group. He defines racism as "a marriage of policies and ideas that produces and normalizes racial inequities" (ibid., p. 17-18). This definition challenges the dichotomy of powerful (Whites) – powerless (Blacks) implied by Critical Race Theory, however, even Kendi acknowledges that negative impacts are mostly felt by the Blacks. As Eddo-Lodge (2018, p. 89) puts it, "there simply aren't enough black people in positions of power to enact racism against white people on the kind of grand scale it currently operates at against black people".

However, one does not need to be White "to actively reinforce and act in the interests of whiteness" (Breen and Meer, 2019, p. 598); Black people can promote rules and policies that are anti-Black (Kendi, 2019). Eddo-Lodge (2018, p. 71-72) illustrates this on a fictional story (based on statistics) of a Black boy/man living in Britain:

> "There isn't anything notably, individually racist about the people who work in all of the institutions he interacts with. Some of these people will be black themselves. But it doesn't really matter what race they are. They are both in and of a society that is structurally racist, so it isn't surprising when these unconscious biases seep out into the work they do when they interact with the general public. With a bias this entrenched, in too many levels of society, our black man can try his hardest, but he is essentially playing a rigged game."

Literature on Critical Race Theory highlights the ordinariness of racism (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017). Niemonen (2007, p. 161) argues that "racism today is subtle and invisible. Its invisibility lies in its normality." It is also why racism is persistent. Racism being *ordinary* in our (Western) societies is also the conclusion to which Ezekiel (1997, p. 588) arrived during interviews with members of far-right organisations: "My most depressing finding was the degree to which ordinary people are perfectly happy to believe nonsense, as long as it makes them feel good." Most depressing, indeed.

Another topic relevant to the current context is the link between racism and times of economic anxiety when "racial hostilities increase" (Bell, 2016, p. 31). The 2008 financial crisis and subsequent austerity measures have had a negative impact on both economy and poverty rates; according to the United Nations special rapporteur on extreme poverty, Phillip Alston, the British government's "radical social re-engineering" increased poverty in the UK (Alston, 2018), yet the public and the media (such as The Sun or Daily Mail, owned by White conservative males, called by Crawford, 2019, p. 438, "White-British media") have rather blamed foreign workers for stealing jobs from the locals (implying White Britons). These media feed on the economic insecurity of people and perpetuate stereotypes about foreigners and non-white British, thus racialising these groups. As explained

above, any group, any difference can be racialised, depending on the interests of the power-holding elite.

In addition, the Critical Race Theory literature challenges the idea of colour-blindness (Ledesma and Calderon, 2015; Parker, 2003). Eddo-Lodge (2018, p. 83) explains that "colour-blindness does not accept the legitimacy of structural racism or a history of white-racial dominance". According to Bonilla-Silva (2006), the main issue is that the colour-blindness only masks racism; by claiming that we "do not see race", we choose not to see racism – "not seeing race does little to deconstruct racial structures" (Eddo-Lodge, 2018, p. 84). Open, legal racism was replaced with "racialized discourse" which has "taken on the ideology of a color-blind interpretation of law and political, social, and economic relations" (Parker, 2003, p. 187). In addition, racism is being minimised, suggesting that "discrimination is no longer a central factor affecting minorities' life chances" (Bonilla-Silva, 2006, p. 29). According to Leonardo (2002, p. 36), "post-modern racism assumes the guise of tolerance", which is the central controversy at play with respect to the application of fundamental British values policies, these aiming to promote respect and tolerance, yet in actuality dividing society into "discrete ethno-religious groups" (Ragazzi, 2015, p. 157). The review thus suggests that I should start with the premise that the system is racist.

2.2.5 White supremacy

According to the literature reviewed, many authors feel uncomfortable about the British presumption of superiority or the idea that the British somehow occupy the "moral high ground" (Vincent, 2019, p. 4), ideas implicit in the notion of fundamental British values. This discomfort often arises from recalling the myth of a glorious British past and the general lack of critical reflection on this past (particularly the empire and colonialism) (Owen, 2014; Revell and Bryan, 2018), recognised

and discussed in liberal/left-wing media (such as The Guardian[2]). Fundamental British values are, from this point of view, perceived as a defence of white supremacy in British society (e.g., Revell and Bryan, 2018; Elton-Chalcraft et al., 2017; Crawford, 2017a, 2017b).

Some authors, such as Vincent (2019) and Pattison (2020), go even further, claiming that fundamental British values policies reflect not only white, but white middle-class supremacy. This view exposes the more-or-less voiced assumptions that, first, "white, nuclear, quasi-Christian, conventionally-educated, regularly-employed" "idealized mainstream families" (Pattison, 2020, p. 15) are representative of British values, and, second, that Muslim families and the White working class are in "particular 'need' of 'British values'"(Vincent, 2019b, p. 125).

Furthermore, Cole and Maisuria (2007, p. 95–96) struggle with the term white supremacy, because according to their interpretation, it "homogenises all white people together in positions of class power and privilege", which suggests agreement with the concept of White middle-class (and potentially upper-class) supremacy.

However, as Crawford (2019) points out, the focus on a racialised poor White working-class group (boys) diverts attention from disadvantaged pupils of a minority ethnic background, victims of institutionalised racism[3]; Crawford warns how statistics (which are never value-free, according to Critical Race Theory), including statistics on student attainment, are manipulated and misrepresented to perpetuate and legitimise racism. According to Critical Race Theory, this is an example of interest divergence, a concept that "highlights the psychological wage that poor whites draw from their sense of racial superiority despite continued economic marginalisation", a wage which (White) elites use to "divert attention from the unequal distribution of resources and power"

[2] Gopal, P. (Jul 6, 2019), Britain's story of empire is based on myth. We need to know the truth; (Jul 28, 2017), The British empire's hidden history is one of resistance, not pride; Younge, G. (Feb 3, 2018), Britain's imperial fantasies have given us Brexit; Parry, M. (Aug 16, 2016), Uncovering the brutal truth about the British Empire
[3] The article discusses how "the 'White working class' has been discursively constructed as a distinctly disadvantaged racial group under siege" and "the new oppressed" due to their educational under-achievement, even though it is the "children in particular minoritised ethnic groups [who] continue to bear the brunt of racialised systems" (Crawford, 2019, p. 424)

(Adjogatse and Miedema, 2021, p. 6). This both racialises and victimises White working-class pupils (ibid.; Crawford, 2019). Interest divergence then affects policy-making in education, including fundamental British values, promoting the interests of White elites, and reproducing and reinforcing "White hegemony" (Crawford, 2017a, p. 204), because "White power-holders perceive an advantage in pursuing even greater race inequalities in society" (Gillborn, 2013, p. 487).

2.2.6 The challenge to the dominant ideology

Critical Race Theory challenges the dominant ideology (Solorzano and Yosso, 2016) and is suspicious of the liberal agenda (Bell, 2016). "Liberal interest" is explained by Vaught and Castagno (2008, p. 107) as "working within existing structures, and assuming that those structures are just and equitable". The dominant ideology is represented by government policies, in my context specifically by the (i) the *Teachers' Standards*, which require teachers to "uphold public trust in the profession and maintain high standards of ethics and behaviour" by, among others, "not undermining fundamental British values" (DfE, 2011, resp. 2013, p. 14); (ii) the *Independent Schools Standards* 2019, which require independent schools to actively promote the values and have "a clear strategy for embedding the fundamental British values" (DfE, 2019, p. 18); and (iii) *Improving the spiritual, moral, social and cultural (SMSC) development of pupils* – in independent schools (DfE, 2013 and 2014a), linking fundamental British values to SMSC, and *Promoting fundamental British values as part of SMSC in schools* – in maintained schools (DfE, 2014b). Specifically, the *Improving the spiritual, moral, social and cultural (SMSC) development of pupils* policy underwent a change between 2013 and 2014 – "from a requirement for schools to ensure that principles are promoted which encourage pupils to 'respect' the fundamental British values, to a requirement to ensure that the proprietor 'actively promote' the values" (DfE, 2014a, p. 6). This change may be linked to the Trojan Horse affair of 2014, thus demonstrating how the government, viewed from the perspective of Critical Race Theory as "White power-holders" (Gillborn, 2013), is willing to "placate the poor Whites" (ibid., p.

480) and perpetuate the "patterns of inequality" (Richardson, 2015, p. 40) because they "perceive an advantage in pursuing even greater race inequalities in society" (Gillborn, 2013, p. 487). The aim of these policies is then, according to the literature reviewed, to maintain the status quo and avoid structural changes (Vaught and Castagno, 2008).

According to Jay (2003, p. 7), there is a hidden curriculum of hegemony legitimising and maintaining "state power" through the socialisation of children in schools and "by acculturating students to the interest of the dominant group". Those who possess white skin have "the power to shape the norms and values of society" (ibid., p. 6); this would make fundamental British values *white British values*, which is supported by the views of Crawford (2017a), Vincent (2019), and Pattison (2020) and others writing on fundamental British values.

2.2.7 The centrality of experiential knowledge

According to the literature reviewed, Critical Race Theory highlights the centrality of the experiential knowledge of people of colour (Tate, 1997; Solorzano, 1997; Solorzano and Yosso, 2016; Housee, 2012). The theory is to provide a voice and audience to marginalised people in order to build a counter-narrative (Housee, 2012; Milton-Williams and Bryan, 2021) to the mainstream narrative (dominant ideology). These voices are often referred to as counter-voices (Housee, 2012) or counter-stories (Berry and Candis, 2013), and the process as counter-storytelling (Ledesma and Calderon, 2015; Solorzano and Yosso, 2016; Parker and Lynn, 2016; Milton-Williams and Bryan, 2021). Examples of Critical Race Theory research built on experiential knowledge are research on the attitudes of teachers towards whiteness and white privilege in the U.S. by Vaught and Castagno (2008), Breen's (2018) research on Muslim schools in the UK, and Breen and Meer's (2019) research on the securitisation of Muslims in education related to fundamental British values.

The experiences of teachers with fundamental British values not examined through the lenses of Critical Race Theory are explored in the research of Szczepek et al. (2020) on the promotion of values in Arabic complementary schools in England, Panjwani's (2016) research on the views of Muslim teachers on fundamental British values, and in Struthers' (2016) article *Teaching British values in our schools*, in which the author questions why *British* values and not universal values underpinning (universal) human rights are to be taught in schools – this because fundamental British values are subversive, discriminatory and perpetuate anti-human rights sentiment.

Similarly, Maylor (2016) researched the positions of teachers on teaching fundamental British values, echoing the worries of the teachers (*I'd worry about how to teach it*), because teachers picked up on the assumptions of the policies that there is a "shared understanding of 'Britishness' and also British values" (p. 325) and that "minority ethnic communities do not share liberal democratic values and, as such, [that] what is required is forced assimilation in adopted British values" (p. 317). Maylor concludes that diverse societies such as British society require diverse values.

Therefore, a variety of (critical) voices are represented in the literature reviewed, demonstrating different conceptualisations of fundamental British values. These experiences show certain commonalities; however, as Dixson and Rousseau (2005) point out, there is "no single common voice for all persons of colour". Also, some research focused on White teachers and their positions towards the policies, which occasionally showed signs of institutionalised racism promoted by the teachers (Maylor, 2016; Vincent 2019b).

2.2.8 The commitment to social justice

According to Solorzano and Yosso (2016), social justice is at the heart of Critical Race Theory. The theory aims to expose white superiority deeply "ingrained in [U.S.] political, legal and educational structures" (Taylor, 2016). The fundamental British values policies reflect such superiority in the UK,

according to the literature reviewed, starting with the Trojan Horse affair of 2014 (explained in Chapter I, section 1.2.1) (Jones, 2014; Rosen, 2014; Forrester and Garratt, 2016; Elton-Chalcraft et al., 2017; Crawford, 2017a; Revell and Bryan, 2018). In addition, the literature reviewed indicates that the inequalities intensify during times of economic hardship (Gillborn, 2013; Bell, 2016). Alston's UN report on the UK (Alston, 2018, p. 1) scathingly criticised the "the world's fifth largest economy" for its level of poverty: "For almost one in every two children to be poor in twenty-first century Britain is not just a disgrace, but a social calamity and an economic disaster, all rolled into one". Alston observed during his visit that "the costs of austerity have fallen disproportionately upon the poor, women, racial and ethnic minorities, children, single parents, and people with disabilities" (ibid., p. 18), supporting the argument suggesting a correlation between economic slump and the intensification of inequalities.

According to the Critical Race Theory literature, social – and racial – justice can be perhaps achieved by convergence of interests of powerful Whites and racialised groups. Interest convergence was one of the main topics in the literature on Critical Race Theory reviewed for this thesis. Taylor (2016, p. 4) explains that "the interests of Blacks in gaining racial equality have been accommodated only when they have converged with the interests of powerful Whites", or as Ladson-Billings (2016, p. 27) puts it, "civil rights legislations in the USA always benefited Whites". The concept of interest convergence appears in other reviewed literature, such as Delgado and Stefancic (2017) and Gillborn (2009), in the context of demonstrating how progress (towards racial equality and racial justice) has been possible to achieve.

However, some Critical Race theorists point out that the victories of civil rights movements – an outcome of interest convergence – were often short-lived and not that impressive (Gillborn, 2013). Rather, what is more common is the divergence of racial interests (ibid.). Gillborn (2013, p. 480) defines interest divergence as "a situation where White people imagine that some benefit will accrue from the further marginalization (sic) and oppression of racially minoritised groups". The concept

indicates, if not elucidates, how policies are made to “placate poor Whites by demonstrating the continued benefits of their whiteness” (ibid., p. 480), as explained here in section 2.2.5, and to increase greater racial inequalities – the “even greater exclusion and oppression of minoritised groups” (ibid., p. 488) from which the White powerholders directly benefit.

Still, it can be argued that interest convergence may be possible due to ‘White fragility’ (Ali, 2020). The term refers to the “vulnerable persona” of White people (Leonardo, 2002, p. 31), which despite being “born of superiority and entitlement” is “triggered by discomfort and anxiety” (DiAngelo, 2019, p. 6) and is “always an inch from being exposed as bogus” (Leonardo, 2002, p. 31). Both Whites and Blacks / non-Whites would thus benefit from “neo-abolitionism”, a movement to “dismantle discourses of whiteness” (Leonardo, 2002, p. 31), which would lead to (greater) social/racial justice.

In the case of fundamental British values and related policies, the common interest is *national security* (as outlined in the Prevent Strategy, HM Government, 2011), yet expectations for White and non-White (particularly Muslim) groups differ (Breen and Meer, 2019; Ali, 2020). The education policies are part of a broader Prevent Strategy which is part of the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act (Veugelers, de Groot and Stolk, 2017; HM Government, 2011); this wider political and security context justifies why schools have little autonomy regarding their approach fundamental British values (Veugelers, de Groot and Stolk, 2017; Bowden, 2015). Some of the literature reviewed emphasises this aspect and criticises how teachers have become “instruments of the state” (Elton-Chalcraft et al., 2017; Panjwani, 2016), discussed here in Chapter I, section 1.2.2, in relation to securitisation of the teaching profession.

In the case of non-English teachers, interests would either converge in their role as teachers (becoming the instruments of the state in the name of security), or alternatively diverge when native Whites imagine some benefit coming from the marginalisation of minoritised groups – such as in the context of ‘Brexit’ and increased (White) nationalism often aimed against people of (real or perceived) foreign background living in the UK; as Veugelers, de Groot, and Stolk (2017, p. 155)

observed in their report on teaching values in Europe, “developments in England appear to be quite nationalistic in their outlook”. Arguably, the fundamental British values policies reflect such an outlook.

2.3 Fundamental British values

Most prominent topics in the reviewed literature on fundamental British values were ‘Britishness’ and British identity in the 21st century, the origins of fundamental British values (and the Trojan Horse affair), and the relation between fundamental British values and the professional knowledge of teachers. Almost a third of the literature reviewed investigated (at least one of) these topics. Slightly lower numbers of studies explored the links between fundamental British values policies and liberalism or neoliberalism, a (possible) relation between the (lack of) promotion of fundamental British values and radicalisation, and fundamental British values and ‘othering’. Other recurring topics in the literature reviewed were the issue of social cohesion (contrasted with the promotion of fundamental British values) and Muslim values. Literature on these topics is reviewed in the following sections.

2.3.1 What is a ‘value’?

Before delving into the literature on fundamental British values, literature exploring the concept of a *value* will be reviewed. This section explores literature on values education that does not focus on fundamental British values specifically. The purpose of this section is to investigate what a “value” means – that is, to unpack the concept.

Values education is also called value, character, moral, personal and social, civic, or democratic education (Veugelers and Vedder, 2003; Berkowitz, 2011); this potentially broadened my search for

literature on values in education; however, the list does not indicate whether the popularity of the terms is time-dependent (with the exception of using religious education as a synonym for values education, which, according to Etherington, 2013, p. 190, happened “in the past”).

In the literature reviewed, values are often divided into categories; Crick (2003) uses categories of procedural, political, and moral values; Veugelers and Vedder (2003) distinguish between moral and regulative values (such as order and structure in work); Halsted and Taylor (2005) discuss liberal, spiritual, moral, environmental, democratic values and values of arts and health education; and finally Tomlinson (1995) uses the categories of humanistic values, spiritual values, and moral values. This demonstrates the complexity as well as conceptual fuzziness of the “values” concept.

Slethaug (2007) explores what he calls cultural values and divides them into “Western,” which are individualistic, such as personal freedom, individual rights, success in life, and “Eastern,” which are communitarian or collectivist, such as an orderly society, stability, hierarchy, respect for authority and the elderly. Even though the West-East divide reminds me of the Cold-War mentality, I decided to use the list in my interviews, as it covers a range of values and would help the participants when I ask them about their personal and cultural values.

When different categories of values are used in the literature reviewed, those are usually defined to explain how the categories differ from each other; for example, Etherington (2013, p. 191) defines moral values as “effectively laden beliefs concerning the rightness and wrongness of matters which are intrinsically potentially harmful and are universal and unalterable in their prescriptivety”, as opposed to personal and social-conventional values, which are not universal.

The literature reviewed mostly equates values in education with moral values (e.g., Tomlinson, 1995; Veugelers and Vedder, 2003; Haydon, 2006; Veugelers, de Groot and Stolk, 2017). Veugelers, de Groot and Stolk (2017) focus on the moral values of democracy and tolerance in their report on teaching common values in Europe, thus implying that these two values are common in education systems across Europe – it is actually an EU education policy to promote democracy, tolerance, and

non-discrimination, agreed by EU education ministers in 2015 (European Education and Culture Executive Agency, Eurydice, 2016). Other moral values that appear in the reviewed literature include justice and solidarity (Veugelers and Vedder, 2003), peace, love, respect, tolerance, cooperation, and freedom (Etherington, 2013). Crick (2003) prefers the term *procedural* values, such as freedom, toleration, fairness, respect for truth, respect for reasoning, which overlap with the above-listed *moral* values. Some authors use the term *liberal* values in relation to values education (Archard, 2003; Kymlicka, 2003; Halstead and Taylor, 2005).

In order to unpack the issue of values in education, the most obvious question to ask is what teachers understand under the term "value". Interestingly, the term is defined explicitly only rarely in the reviewed literature. The word implies judgement, probably normative/moral judgement, but the concept is quite fuzzy; values differ from morals, virtues, habits (Berkowitz, 2011) and reflect cultural practices and norms (Etherington, 2013). Using some of the fundamental British values as an example, democracy is a form of government, but it is also considered a normative value (Lundström, 2004). As such, it is a complex concept to define (ibid.). On the other hand, the rule of law, another fundamental British value, is usually not considered a "value" but rather an ideal (Waldron, 2016), in the closest normative term. I did not ask the participants to unpack the concepts of values explicitly; however, they are asked about their personal and/or cultural values and whether and how those have changed during their lives, thus demonstrating how they understand the concept of value.

Among the literature reviewed, there are several articles on values in international education, mostly discussing whether there are international values in education. According to James (2005), there are no universal values in education. Also, Cambridge and Thompson (2004) see the curriculum in international schools as promoting "Western" values which reflect capitalism ('meritocracy', competition, individualism) rather than finding intersection among various "cultural" values. Slethaug (2007) is not that sceptical about the opposition between the "Western" and "Eastern" values, as he does not see them as mutually exclusive. Tomlinson (1995) considers it a "moral

responsibility" of teachers to promote "humanistic values", implying that those are universal, applying to all humans. It is a question whether the more "international" experience teachers have, the more "universal" values they promote; are differences more visible, more obvious for them, or is it more obvious what values are shared internationally or even universally? As some of my participants had such "international" experience, I was curious whether they pick on that.

Only one report included a reference to fundamental British values, the report on teaching common values in Europe. The part about the UK (Veugelers, de Groot and Stolk, 2017) evaluates the promotion of fundamental British values, but also notices that values education in the UK serves a broader agenda of promoting state ideology; yet, tolerance (particularly towards immigrants) has declines since the 2016 'Brexit' vote. This is supported by the findings of Farrell (2019), who examined "a highly racialised" (p. 1) and "racialising post referendum environment in education" (p. 3) and referred to the statistics on hate crime, stating that "in the weeks that followed the referendum there was a spike in hate crimes directed at migrants, racial minorities and the LGBT community" (p. 2).

According to Critical Race Theory, economic stagnation leads to racial inequalities and racial hostilities (Gillborn, 2013; Bell, 2016), nationalism, and isolationism (Stronach and Frankham, 2020). Thus, the UK, going through an agonising prolonged economic recession and slow recovery (Office for National Statistics, 2018), identified via its elites culprits in the EU, immigrants (Travis, 2016), and Britons of a non-white background (even though Benson and Lewis, 2019, p. 2224, claim that "for British People of Colour racialization and racism are business as usual"), exploiting the racialised concept of fundamental British values even further.

The literature reviewed shows a clear link between citizenship, citizenship education, and values education. For example, Archard (2003) investigated the complex and uneasy relationship between culturally diverse Britain and citizenship education which should focus on autonomy, equality, and individuality, and claimed that "citizens are created" (p. 89), probably in classrooms. This view is

challenged by Biesta, who insists that a focus on how citizenship is taught in schools omits how citizenship is actually learned, which is “in and through the processes and practices that make up everyday lives of children, young people and adults” (Biesta, 2011, p. 1); we also cannot “learn *for* political existence” because “political existence is not based on any particular readiness” (Biesta, 2013, p. 117). Another point Biesta (2011, p. 14) makes is that “there is no guarantee that what young people learn is identical to what is being taught”, which is a relevant point to consider when teaching as a profession is used to underpin the security agenda of the state, for instance to prevent radicalisation of young people.

However, citizenship education is compulsory up to KS4 (Year 11), not in the sixth form (where my participants mostly teach); PSHE (Personal, Social, Health, and Economic education) and SMSC (Spiritual, Moral, Social, and Cultural education) are linked to citizenship, but are not the same. The *Sunlit Uplands School* (codename) does not offer Citizenship classes, only PSHE (part of Personal Tutor sessions) and SMSC is a required part of the teaching of every subject. In addition, the school is an *international* school, which means that most students are citizens of another country (not the UK); thus, their duties as citizens may differ. At the same time, students are guided to become responsible *global citizens* (which was part of the school’s mission), which complicates any *citizenship* education even further. Therefore, I did not explicitly ask the participants about the link between values and citizenship, but left them to make the link themselves.

It can be inferred from the reviewed literature that teaching values, character, and citizenship education can be part of SMSC, which according to the Department for Education derives from “section 78 of the Education Act (2002), which requires [maintained] schools, as part of a broad and balanced curriculum, to promote the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society” (*Promoting fundamental British values as part of SMSC in schools: Departmental advice for maintained schools*, DfE, November 2014, p. 3), though this is obligation only for maintained schools. For independent schools, the obligation stems from *The Independent*

School Standards (DfE, April 2019), which supersede previously published guidance on SMSC for independent schools from November 2014. The document does not refer to any law (unlike the one on maintained schools); however, it clarifies that SMSC is required “to ensure that pupils’ development in non-academic terms will enable them to play a confident, informed role in society, have a fully developed value system, and be able to interact with other people in a positive way” (DfE, 2019, p. 18). It can be inferred that the idea of the government is for schools to promote values through a whole school ethos (Starkey, 2018) rather than in a separate class where they can be discussed and critically explored.

In contrast to the four fundamental British values, the Crick report (*Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools*; Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998, p. 44) contains a list of 17 “values and dispositions”:

concern for the common good	determination to act justly
belief in human dignity and equality	individual initiative and effort
concern to resolve conflicts	civility and respect for the rule of law
a disposition to work with and for others with sympathetic understanding	commitment to equal opportunities and gender equality
proclivity to act responsibly: that is, care for others and oneself; premeditation and calculation about the effect actions are likely to have on others; and acceptance of responsibility for unforeseen or unfortunate consequences	willingness to be open to changing one’s opinions and attitudes in the light of discussion and evidence
practice of tolerance	commitment to active citizenship
judging and acting by a moral code	commitment to voluntary service
courage to defend a point of view	concern for human rights
concern for the environment	

Table 2: The Crick report - values and dispositions

It can be argued that some of the values (and dispositions) listed in the Crick report would fall under one or more fundamental British values, and thus the four values are a convenient shortcut. For instance, “concern for human rights” may fit under the value of democracy and individual liberty,

even though not all human rights are liberties (freedoms); “commitment to active citizenship” overlaps with democracy, as might “commitment to equal opportunities and gender equality”. But on the other hand, one may also claim that “the rule of law” is also part of “democracy”. In the Crick report, democracy, the rule of law, freedom and rights are considered “key concepts”, not values (ibid., p. 44). In addition, the *convenient shortcut* suggests that the values are perhaps not intended for critical evaluation, but rather for memorising and uncritical acceptance.

Overall, the literature on values raised more questions than it provided answers.

2.3.2 The origins of fundamental British values education policies

To fully comprehend what is problematic about the notion of fundamental British values, it is necessary to understand the context that led to its creation and related policies. In 2013, the Department for Education published advice for independent schools to “encourage pupils to respect specified fundamental British values” (DfE, Nov 2013, p. 4), which was changed in November 2014 to “proprietors are now required to ‘actively promote’” fundamental British values (DfE, Nov 2014a, p. 3); the policy for maintained schools *Promoting fundamental British values as part of SMSC in schools: Departmental advice for maintained schools* (DfE, Nov 2014b) also includes this wording (“actively promote”). All schools in England, maintained and independent schools, academies, universities, and even nurseries (Richardson, 2015), now have a duty to “actively promote” the four values. Why the change?

In early 2014, the Trojan Horse affair unfolded, an alleged Islamic takeover of several schools in Birmingham; the investigation came to the conclusion the conspiracy was in fact a hoax. However, the affair brought to light the existential fear of “the Muslim, the quintessential modern bogeyman lurking in our midst, who may appear to be law abiding, but can become a terrorist monster at any moment”, as Saeed (2018, p.45) colourfully puts it. For instance, in 2008, a report on preventing

violent extremism (Audit Commission and HMIC, 2008) observed that "councils were labelling the local Muslim community as being a problem and vulnerable to violent extremism" and a similar report from 2010 summarises: "We remain concerned by the number of our witnesses who felt that Prevent had been used to 'spy' on Muslim communities" (Communities and Local Government Committee, 2010). Therefore, the response to the Trojan Horse affair reflected existing racism towards Muslims living in Britain and led to a nationwide discussion on questions of diversity and common identity in the UK.

According to Richardson (2015, p. 40), the affair justified for many the inequality and exclusion faced by Muslim communities, which is why it was gratefully received by "a network of think tanks, journalists, funding organizations, and right-wing politicians" and (White) public alike. The mainstream British media is a valuable source of information on this case (BBC, 2015; Shackle, 2017), as are a variety of academic articles (Holmwood, 2017 and 2018; Lander, Elton-Chalcraft and Revell, 2017; Struthers, 2016; Vaughan, 2014) and several books published so far (Habib, 2017; Revell and Bryan, 2018; Vincent, 2019b), explaining how the affair unfolded and eventually inspired the government[4] (Department for Education specifically) to implement policies instructing all schools to actively promote a set of four values seen as fundamental to British society in the 21st century (DfE, Nov 2013; DfE, Nov 2014).

Understanding the origins of fundamental British values and related policies is not only contextually relevant, but also justifies the use of Critical Race Theory as the most appropriate theoretical lens, as the context of the emergence of the policies make fundamental British values a racialised concept; the 'Trojan Horse affair' of 2014 demonstrates how certain groups are racialised in the UK; that is, how a group is assigned a racial identity by the dominant group.

[4] Richardson (2015, p. 39) also explores the idea that the government felt compelled to act due to upcoming elections (in May 2015): "To maintain its legitimacy and therefore to stand a chance of re-election a democratic government needs to give a convincing and inspiring lead on issues of national identity and narrative, and to signal that it understands the population's anxieties and can be trusted to deal with them."

2.3.3 The main criticisms of fundamental British values

A large part of the literature reviewed viewed the government's response to the affair as a "kneejerk reaction" (e.g. Vaughan, 2014; Bowden, 2015; Lander, Elton-Chalcraft and Revell, 2017) but also acknowledges the struggle to capture "British identity" (Jones, 2014; Rosen, 2014; Richardson, 2015; Maylor, 2016; Panjwani, 2016; Elton-Chalcraft et al, 2017; Lander et al, 2017; Habib, 2017; Starkey, 2018; Revell and Bryan, 2018; Stronach and Frankham, 2020).

Most of the criticism of the fundamental British values project revolves around two main points: what constitutes a value that is (inherently and exclusively) British, and what the values tell us about British identity (Bowden, 2015). There is mostly a consensus among the authors of the reviewed literature that there is no value that would be exclusively British (Bowden, 2015; Forrester and Garrett, 2016; Veugelers et al., 2017) and the criticism extends to accusing the government of romanticising British history (particularly the era of the British Empire and the Second World War) to pursue their agenda reinforcing white privilege in Britain (Jones, 2014; Rosen, 2014; Forrester and Garratt, 2016; Elton-Chalcraft et al., 2017; Crawford, 2017a; Revell and Bryan, 2018). Rosen (2014) calls the values "parochial, patronising and arrogant", Revell and Bryan (2018) illiberal, Quartermaine (2018, p. 38) "vague and abstract", Struthers (2016, p. 104) "hasty and ill-conceived", and Vincent (2019b, p. 4) a "deeply flawed project". Crawford (2017a, p. 199) refers to them as "fundamentally (white) British values", implying that some people are "denied the privileges associated with whiteness" (Selod and Embrick, 2013, p. 648) and that the values reflect "white hegemony" (Preston and Chadderton, 2012, p. 87), as Critical Race Theory sees it.

So, what does it mean to be British in the 21st century and how do fundamental British values reflect or contribute to British identity? As this thesis attempts to explore the perceptions of teachers who do not identify as British (or more specifically English), it is an intriguing area – how the Britons perceive themselves as distinct from the "others". Partly due to its colonial history, Britain is now a

“multicultural, multilingual and multiethnic” country (Lander, 2016), a situation which has contributed to the current “identity crisis” outlined above.

2.3.4 Fundamental British values and the values of the “others”

Do values of the “others”, meaning people who are perceived as “others” due to their ethnic background, “race”, religion, even class, but living in England, differ significantly from the fundamental British values? If fundamental British values are conceptualised as White Christian middle-class values, the “others” would be non-White (particularly Black or Middle-Eastern), non-Christian (particularly Muslim), working class – or all three – people living in England.

Panjwani (2016) conducted a study focusing on Muslim teachers, since the policies are seen as anti-Muslim due to their context, and found that there is no incompatibility between fundamental British values and the teachers’ conception of Islamic values. The study revealed, in the words of the teachers themselves, that Muslim teachers were both “suspected of terrorism” by the government policies and “anti-extremist watchdogs” (ibid., p. 337), which supports the point made by Abbas, Awan, and Marsden (2021, p. 13) on government policies constructing Muslims as a “suspect community”.

Shortly after, Saeed (2018) conducted research on fundamental British values and the perceptions of Muslim students, showing how the political discourse framed Muslim youth as both dangerous and vulnerable, and how it increased a sense of insecurity in these students. Mumisa (2014) also warns that the Prevent strategies marginalise and exclude politically active young Muslims. Since both the Prevent Strategy and education policies on fundamental British values are viewed as anti-Muslim, the focus of research on Muslims (both teachers and students) is understandable.

Meanwhile, research utilising the views of Muslims, research utilising views of “English” teachers indicates that some White teachers worry about how to teach fundamental British values as

intended by the policies (Maylor, 2016), because teaching fundamental British values may “foster discrimination and subversive treatment of minority groups” (Struthers, 2016, p. 100), while some teachers use the values to promote their own racist views (Vincent, 2019b).

The notion of compatibility of religious values with fundamental British values is contested by the National Secular Society. The society (National Secular Society, 2014) welcomed the ‘active promotion’ of fundamental British values as a “key to contributing to mutual understanding and a cohesive society”, but mostly to challenge religious privilege (the motto of their organisation), because, according to their campaigns manager, “some religiously-led schools” teach “illiberal views”; in addition, the society criticises the DfE guidance for such schools, because, on the one hand, “they cannot promote discrimination on the basis of 'belief, opinion or background,'” and yet, on the other, “they will not be forced to advocate teachings that conflict with their own beliefs”, thus implying that religious values overrule fundamental British values in some situations, even though that would be against the policies (National Secular Society, 2014).

However, according to the data from interviews with Church school leaders conducted by Bowie and Revell (2016), Christian values are “morally and ethically more demanding than British values” (p. 9), “universal” (p. 10), and “timeless” (p. 10); some responses referred to fundamental British values as Christian values “in a secular context” (p. 10).

Therefore, religion (a racialised category) is not necessarily a factor in the issue of fundamental British values; it is the interpretations of values by individuals and communities that lead to the (in)compatibility of fundamental British values with their personal, cultural, or other values.

2.3.5 The neoliberal roots of fundamental British values

Values are political and temporary, according to Revell and Bryan (2018), and it was the neoliberal agenda of the government that led to the introduction of fundamental British values (Lander, 2016).

Venugopal (2015) describes neoliberalism as “a deeply problematic and incoherent term that has multiple and contradictory meanings”; however, according to the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, neoliberalism is “a politico-economic doctrine that embraces robust liberal capitalism, constitutional democracy, and a modest welfare state” (Vallier, 2021). Neoliberalism has led to the marketisation of education, according to Revell and Bryan (2018), making education a commodity, “a product in the market”, and eroded trust in teachers (p. 98).

Vincent (2019b) equates neoliberalism with competition, external accountability, and diversification and considers current policies as a reflection of liberal version of nationalism (also Vincent, 2019a). This view is similar to the one expressed by Kymlicka (2003), who explored values in diverse, pluralist societies which are liberal and “institutionalized in national political communities” (p. 47); however, Kymlicka questions whether boundaries of citizenship are also liberal.

The government’s neoliberal agenda in the form of fundamental British values policies contributes to the change of the role of the state from “welfarism to securitism” (Kapoor, 2013, p. 1040) and enables the policing of groups and individuals. There has been a diversion from the “discussion on racism and material inequality” to “adherence to ‘British values’” (ibid., p. 1031), “a dogma of shared values, identity and belonging directed indiscriminately at (non-white) citizen and non-citizen alike” (ibid., p. 1036). This is referred to as racial neoliberalism (Kapoor, 2013; Lander, 2016), which “is premised on hegemonic constructions of whiteness as the default ‘norm’” (Lander, 2016, p. 8). Whiteness is the “standard for human” and it is assumed that “the white reference point” is universal (DiAngelo, 2019, p. 16); being White is to have an “unracialized” identity (ibid., p. 42). Kapoor (2013) explains that neoliberal de-racialisation (the pretence that racial marginalisation – social, economic, political – is over and that “we have entered a ‘post-race’ era”, ibid., p. 1031) is actually just a practice of avoidance and hides institutionalised racism – “race operates from an altered, less obvious and more hidden place than it once did” (ibid., p. 1034).

2.3.6 Fundamental British values and teachers' professionalism

Regarding the link between fundamental British values policies and teachers' professionalism, the reviewed literature mostly discussed the lack of trust in teachers and education in general and the increased politicisation and control of the profession (Elton-Chalcraft et al., 2017; Revell and Bryan, 2018), referred to as "governmentality" – resulting in teachers becoming "the subjects of a form of power specifically associated with neoliberal societies" (Farrell, 2019, p. 7).

In addition, there are more pressures on teachers, according to Goodson and Choi (2008, p. 6), since "teacher professionalism [is] an area of concern which has been increasingly tied up with educational quality and global competition at the turn of the twenty-first century"; thus, demands on teachers have increased together with control, yet trust in teachers has decreased.

Fundamental British values policies assume new tacit knowledge on the part of teachers – that is, that they understand fundamental British values and are able to deliver them to their pupils/students *in the right, intended way* (Maylor, 2016). As Elton-Chalcraft et al. (2017, p. 40) explain, "there is an implicit assumption that pre- and in-service teachers will know how to promote such values and indeed be able to articulate them clearly to children and young people without seeming to indoctrinate or promoting jingoism in schools and classrooms." Similarly, Revell and Bryan (2018, p. 90) observe that the Prevent Strategy and related policies introduced new forms of 'legitimate' teacher knowledge, according to which teachers are also expected to be able to "make judgements about the stage of radicalisation a pupil is at in order that the pupil is referred to the Channel Programme" (p. 99).

Another area that appears in studies that conducted interviews with teachers, which is of particular interest to this thesis, is the misconceptions and (wrong) assumptions teachers hold and bring to their practice, such as racist/racial stereotypes (DiAngelo, 2019). Maylor (2016, p. 324), for instance, observed that "some teachers brought uninformed views about particular ethnic groups to the classroom". Vincent (2019b), when working on her book *Tea and the queen? Fundamental British*

values, schools and citizenship, came across teachers who saw themselves as moral agents, which is potentially dangerous, especially if they single out certain groups (such as pupils from Muslim or working-class families) that are in their opinion at higher risk of radicalisation. This view is supported by the conclusions of Saeed (2018) that Muslim youth is perceived as both dangerous and vulnerable (to radicalisation). In my interviews, I aimed to avoid leading questions; however, I wondered whether a specific group of students would be singled out in stories and anecdotes from my participants' teaching practice.

2.3.7 Fundamental British values and the prevention of radicalisation and extremism

The reviewed literature questioned whether the active promotion of the four values – democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs – can prevent the radicalisation of pupils (Revell and Bryan, 2018), as intended by the government. There is no easy answer to the question of how education affects radicalisation and extremism, as shown in the collections edited by Panjwani, Revell, Gholami and Diboll (2018) and Baker-Beall, Heath-Kelly and Jarvis (2015). Furthermore, active promotion of the four values looks like an attempt to apply an easy, yet not well-conceived solution. And yet, it is not clear from the policies what is meant by the terms *extremism* and *radicalisation* (Quartermaine, 2018; Revell, 2018; here discussed in section 1.2.1). According to Revell and Bryan (2018, p. 56), the government explains radicalisation as "the process by which individuals become extremist" caused by the attractive "narrative of extremism", which corresponds with what Kundnani (2015, p. 14) calls "evil ideology" – and demonstrates that we do not really know what draws people to extremism: "there is no single pathway to terrorism" (Miller, 2018, p. 19). Some authors also criticise the fact that the government has abandoned the concept of non-violent extremism (Revell, 2018).

Radicalisation is not easy to define or detect (Kundnani, 2016); in addition, counter-radicalisation policies risk becoming counter-productive because they “produce and reinforce a division of society into discrete ethno-religious groups” (Ragazzi, 2015, p. 157). According to Stronach and Frankham (2020), the introduction of fundamental British values is an illusory solution to a real problem; they call the construct(s) “a homeopathic delusion”, highlighting its perceived “magical” properties to cure a perceived external threat – that is, the radicalisation of young British Muslims by groups promoting extremist ideologies. Despite the “flowery” Shakespearian language, the article offers an insight into the political discourse that gave rise to “Fundamental British Values constructs” (Stronach and Frankham, 2020, p. 10).

Due to the increasing securitisation of the teaching profession (Panjwani, 2016), schools and teachers are under pressure to “get it right”, meaning, to teach fundamental British values correctly (e.g., Maylor, 2016). Unfortunately, the “how to” literature (such as Salter and O’Shaughnessy’s British values: Getting it right in a week, 2018) has also generated criticism from academics, mostly for being uncritical and thus missing the point (Revell and Bryan, 2018), which I fully agree with: the book was unimaginative, mostly promoting “debate” as the most important “element that you may teach” (Salter and O’Shaughnessy, 2018, p. 8) and opening the introduction with reference to Ofsted, suggesting that promoting fundamental British values is mostly important for passing inspection; links between classroom activities and individual values were artificial (for example, linking Bonfire Night to the rule of law, and making musical instruments to individual liberty). In addition, the advice on how to recognise radicalisation would send many adolescents to the Channel Programme since signs of radicalisation include “a loss of interest in friends”, a “high need for belonging or a sense of identity, often coupled with low esteem” or “changes in dress” (ibid., p. 70).

According to HM Government (2018), the Channel Programme[5] is “a confidential, voluntary multi-agency safeguarding programme that supports people who are vulnerable to radicalisation”. The

[5] Now Channel and Prevent Multi-Agency Panel (HM Government, 2020a)

2010 report of the Communities and Local Government Committee explains that the "*Channel* process identifies an individual's risk of vulnerability to becoming violently extreme and their influence on others" but recognises that "much of the anxiety about 'spying' and 'intelligence gathering' under *Prevent* was connected to [this programme]" (Communities and Local Government Committee, 2010).

Overall, the literature reviewed established that fundamental British values are racialised due to their social context. The literature concluded that the current climate and policies do not encourage open debate that would challenge the extremist views of pupils and engage them in critical debate. Some of my interview questions prompted participants to reflect on their experiences with promoting fundamental British values, both positive and negative, and one hope being to get at least anecdotal evidence regarding "open debate" – whether the participants felt discouraged or wary about holding open debates in class.

2.4 Research questions

The literature review above established the key themes of Critical Race Theory which will be used for analysis of the life histories of the participants, namely "race" and identity construction, intersectionality, the centrality of experiential knowledge, and the commitment to social justice (Gillborn, 2015; Solorzano and Yosso, 2016; Delgado and Stafancic, 2017).

It also highlights that any group can be raced/racialised when it suits the interests of the power-holders (White elites). The interests of the "haves" and the "have-nots" can converge or diverge, when it serves the powerholding elites (Gillborn, 2013). However, interest convergence can bring about progress towards social justice (Gillborn, 2009; Taylor, 2016; Ladson-Billings, 2016; Delgado and Stefancic, 2017).

The literature review also establishes that white supremacy is reflected in education policies, including those on fundamental British values (Gillborn, 2016). The review locates the origins of fundamental British values in racism and white supremacy, which makes the values a raced concept (Lander and Farrell, 2017; Lander, 2016), which is why I believe that Critical Race Theory provides a valuable theoretical lens and is suitable for my research. The fundamental British values is not a policy to protect the people of the UK from home-grown terrorism, but a policy to defend and perpetuate white supremacy in British society (Revell and Bryan, 2018; Elton-Chalcraft et al., 2017; Crawford, 2017a, 2017b). Teachers are expected not only to be complacent, but also to become agents of the security agenda of the state (Revell and Bryan, 2018; Miller, 2018), which is the purpose of promoting the values in schools. Despite the emphasis on the role of education in preventing radicalisation, we actually do not know how people are radicalised, as there is no universally recognised single path to radicalisation and violent extremism (Kundnani, 2015; Miller, 2018). The policies are more concerned with the radicalisation of (young) Muslims in the UK, a focus which racialises religious identity (Lander and Farrell, 2017) and alienates Muslims living in the UK by targeting them as both vulnerable and dangerous (Saeed, 2018). The policies are based on the belief that people of non-Christian faiths and foreigners may hold different values from the four values specified in the policies and that this poses a risk to British society.

Moreover, the review reveals that the way to combat institutionalised racism is to seek and give voice to marginalised groups – that is, without actively providing space for alternative voices (counter-storytelling), racism will prevail (Solorzano and Yosso, 2016; Parker and Lynn, 2016; Milton-Williams and Bryan, 2021). The status quo needs to be disrupted in order to achieve social justice.

Therefore, in order to answer my research questions, i.e.:

a. What values do non-English teachers teaching in England hold?
b. How do these teachers make sense of the fundamental British values?

c. What are the relations between the personal/cultural values of these teachers and fundamental British values?
d. How do these teachers promote values in their practice?

it will be necessary to analyse the life histories of non-English teachers, which will provide the counter-stories and give the teachers both space and an audience to talk about their experiences and to make sense of them through dialogue. Critical Race Theory emphasises the legitimacy of alternative narratives, "a challenging account of preconceived notions of race" (Parker and Lynn, 2016) and a way to understand the experiences of non-English teachers teaching in England.

The literature reviewed offers a range of items considered as values, but the concept of a *value* remains fuzzy. For the purposes of this thesis, a list of values from Slethaug (2007) will be used to help the participants to start exploring their values (if needed). Therefore, values will be treated as reflecting cultural practices and norms (Etherington, 2013) and individual dispositions alike.

Finally, the literature review presented several studies on exploring teachers' attitudes toward fundamental British values (Maylor, 2016; Panjwani, 2016; Struthers, 2016; Breen and Meer, 2019; Farrell and Lander, 2019; Vincent, 2019b; Szczepek et al., 2020); however, I did not uncover any research focusing on non-English teachers teaching in England.

Chapter III: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the selected methodology, life history; but first, ontological, epistemological, and axiological considerations will be outlined, because they inform methodology.

The aims of the interpretivist position – which I am taking – are understanding, interpretation, meaning; "the ontological assumptions of interpretivism are that social reality is seen by multiple people and these multiple people interpret events differently leaving multiple perspectives of an incident" (Mack, 2010, p. 8). This ontological position recognises socio-political reality as socially constructed in interaction. I am becoming comfortable with the existence of multiple interpretations of the same phenomena (such as fundamental British values) based on unique and individual perceptions of the research participants. I also accept that any "truth" emerging from a particular conversation may be only temporary, bound to a certain time, place, and individual.

According to Niemonen (2007, p. 161), research must contribute "to political projects that eliminate racism", which life history research does through giving voice and audience to marginalised groups (Dhunpath, 2000). This is a fundamental reason for selecting the life history methodology. Marginalisation is an intentional act of exclusion; marginalised groups are often racialised too. Critical Race Theory rejects the "realness" of race – race is not an objective reality (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017); Critical Race Theory literature considers race to be a socio-political construct (Parker and Lynn, 2016) and since race cannot be biologically defined, there is no scientific evidence to prove its existence. The concept serves the social and political interests of certain groups and subject other groups to racialisation – that is, being seen as a member and having characteristics of a 'race', not as an individual (Ali, 2020). However, racism is treated in Critical Race Theory literature as "real", since the effects of racism can be observed and experienced by those who are subjected to it.

In this view, racism is “an ontologically based, pervasive, and ever-changing phenomenon” (Niemonen, 2007, p. 170).

Creation of the category of race justifies exploitation and oppression; it does not matter whether the social and political reality is objective or intersubjective; what matters is that racism persists and has become ordinary (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017). However, it would be more difficult to defend the argument that this reality – the existence of race – is purely subjective. Generally, Critical Race Theory is not so interested in ontology though, because it is the axiological argument that takes primacy, regardless of the ontology.

Axiology “delves into that which is deemed good and […] that which is branded unworthy” (Gormley, 2005, p. 99). It is the part of research philosophy focusing on values and their nature and “is the driving force propelling all research effort” (Gormley, 2010, p. 99).

For Critical Race Theory, the theoretical frame of my research, the axiological argument is more important than ontological and epistemological arguments; the purpose of both Critical Race Theory and life history research is to contribute to social change and reform, social justice, and – in the case of the Critical Race Theory – the elimination of (institutionalised) racism. Both life history methodology and Critical Race Theory revolve around the experiences and stories of individuals, thus complementing each other.

Life history is a qualitative research method using interviews to collect life narratives (Goodson and Gill, 2011). Life histories are constructed in the interaction between the researcher and the interviewee (ibid.). Unlike classical (semi-)structured interviews, life history interviews grant participants the freedom to tell their stories in forms that reflect their culture(s) (Goodson and Sikes, 2001) and explore how their lives have been affected by social structures and their personal agency (Waller, 2010). Life history is intended to be a collaborative process where an understanding of the stories emerges from the conversations of the researcher with the participant; it allows the researcher to examine the participants’ professional practice in the context of their lives,

communities, and institutions (Dhunpath, 2000). In addition, life history acknowledges social contexts and wishes to contribute to social change (Waller, 2010).

3.2 Justification

Life history is the ideal methodology to apply to answer the research questions because it provides a range of different, very personal perspectives, focuses on “subjectivities” (Goodson and Sikes, 2001, p. 14), and operates with “multiple realities” (ibid., p. 39). Bheenuck (2010, p. 81) says that “stories are a reminder of what we all have in common”. The stories are narrated in forms reflecting our cultures (Goodson and Sikes, 2001, p. 46), and the researcher’s interpretation deconstructs the structures; personal stories and their analyses and interpretations demonstrate “how lives are led under the dual influence of social structures and personal agency”, as Waller (2010, p. 66) observes. Life history not only “asserts and insists that ‘power’ should listen to the people it claims to serve” (Goodson and Sikes, 2001, p. 8), thus calling those in power to account, but also exemplifies “wider processes of social change” (Waller, 2010, p. 58). Goodson (2003, p. 55) claims that a focus on teachers’ work provides “a wide range of different perspectives [...] about new moves to reform, restructure and reconceptualize schooling” and that “a new crisis of change and reform will be generated”; this illustrates the significance of life history in general, and the life history of non-English teachers teaching in England in particular, as these voices have been left outside any narrative constructed around fundamental British values.

Because the aim of this research is to find out how fundamental British values are conceptualised by non-English teachers, narrative methodologies appear to be the ideal way to collect data, since participants can share their narratives mostly on their terms and make sense of their views, beliefs, and lives through the narration. Life history gives participants space to tell their life histories and contextualise their values, exploring from where these values come, whether and how they have changed during the participants’ lives, and what affected them, including the impact of living and

teaching in England. Life histories are then interpreted and presented by the researcher. Life history as a methodology provides rich qualitative data, allowing me to examine how the research participants conceptualise fundamental British values in the context of their life histories and to understand what values the research participants hold and bring to their practice.

Other methodologies that were considered for this research were ethnography, biographical and narrative research. All these methods overlap and/or the terms are used interchangeably (Ojermark, 2007). Pole and Morrison (2003, p. 16) define ethnography as “an approach to social research based on the first-hand experience of social action within a discrete location, in which the objective is to collect data which will convey the subjective reality of the lived experience of those who inhabit that location”, which is also my intent. The authors view life history as a form of ethnography which “offers special and unique insights into individuals’ lives” (ibid., p. 39). Similarly, Dhunpath (2000) views life history and biographies as modes of narrative research which “emphasizes personal stories and narratives, the intensely individual nature of each person’s experience and people constantly remaking themselves as an active, ongoing social project” (p. 545). What makes life history unique, is the critical approach aiming to “locate the teacher’s own life history alongside a broader contextual analysis” (ibid., p. 549).

Therefore, life history methodology was chosen for this thesis because the life histories of non-English teachers can shed some light not only on how non-English teachers teaching in England conceptualise fundamental British values, but also on how the social and institutional context affects their life histories. The approach was selected as a method of data collection to contextualise the experiences of non-English teachers teaching in England. Life history is the best method to learn about the lives of teachers, since “our lives are intrinsically narrative in quality” (Dhunpath, 2000, p. 545).

The life history approach is directed by a theoretical framework – in my case, Critical Race Theory. The theory concerns itself with racism and how “race” is constructed; this allows me to analyse non-

English teachers' views on and conceptualisations of fundamental British values in their own words and interpret them from the perspective of Critical Race Theory. These interpretive methods allow me to explore complex interrelationships of identity/identities, values, and professional practice in education. Its holistic nature is one of the advantages of life history (Munro, 1998; Dhunpath, 2000; Milton-Williams and Bryan, 2021).

The significance of using life history as a methodology is that it contributes to a better understanding of the lives of non-English teachers teaching in England by exploring their values and interpretations of British values and what impacts it has on their professional practice. Such understanding not only broadens general knowledge about the lives of teachers whose identity does not include "being English", but can also contribute to improving policies regarding the promotion of values in England. After all, research "is about furthering understanding, increasing the universal sum of knowledge and making 'better' sense of whatever it is that is being studied" (Goodson and Gill, 2011, p. 48). Educational research should "empower individuals to theorize about their own professional practice as they attempt to improve the quality of their own and others' learning" (Dhunpath, 2000, p. 544). In addition, to the best of my knowledge, no similar research has been conducted on non-English teachers teaching in England and their views on fundamental British values.

3.3 History of the life history methodology

The life history method emerged in the 1920s and became initially popular as it "disrupts the normal assumptions of what is 'known'" and because it "insists that 'power' should listen to the people it claims to serve" (Goodson and Sikes, 2001, p. 7-8). However, after peaking in the 1930s (Goodson and Gill, 2011), this method was replaced in popularity by other qualitative methods, such as participant observation, and later abandoned for lacking 'objectivity' (Goodson and Sikes, 2001). Only with the move from "objectivities to subjectivities" (ibid., p. 8) or a "narrative turn" (Goodson and Gill, 2011, p. 18) in the social sciences, was there a resurgence of the life history method in the 1980s

(ibid.). However, teachers had rarely been subjects of life history research – Goodson (2003, p. 49) calls it "a sadly neglected genre until recently". His explanation is that teachers were portrayed in research in the 1960s and 1970s as "villains" and in the 1980s as "victims" (Goodson, 2003). So, what led to this relatively recent shift towards life history research relating to teachers? One explanation offered by Goodson (2003) is the increase of administrative control over teachers. A significant focus of the literature on life history is on the political and administrative control over teachers and the methodology allows for the inclusion of teachers' perspectives in order to inspire reforms (Munro, 1998; Goodson and Sikes, 2001; Goodson, 2003).

3.4 Conceptual confusion

Goodson and Gill (2011, p. 22) distinguish between "life history" and "life story". Life history is an "account of a life", and life story is an "account of person's story of his or her life" (ibid.). According to Atkinson (2014, p. 6), "the life history typically removes, at least in part, the voice of the storyteller, putting the narrative more in the voice of the researcher, while a life story more often retains the voice of the storyteller, often in its entirety". However, others, such as Kakuru and Paradza (2007), use the terms interchangeably (life stories / life histories) or life history is explained and applied as a method of collecting life stories.

3.5 Advantages of the life history methodology

According to Kakuru and Paradza (2007), one of the advantages of life history research is that it humanises the research subject and shows culture as lived. The authors also claim that the better the researcher knows the participant, the deeper the exploration of the situation. The list of advantages of the method includes narrowing the gap between the participant and the researcher (ibid.), due to the interactive nature of the interviews and probing questions. However, the researcher still has

more power than the participants, because it is the researcher who forms the research questions, selects participants, guides the interviews, uses the data for certain purposes, analyses them a certain way, and draws conclusions independent of the participant (ibid., p. 294).

The involvement of the researcher is deepened by the collaborative work on making sense of events; according to Kakuru and Paradza (2007), life history gives meaning to life events. Dhunpath (2000, p. 544) argues that life history makes "individuals more consciously aware of the social and ideological roots of their self-understanding". This awareness can perhaps lead to conscious choices in professional practice and contribute to the pursuit of social justice (Ledesma and Calderon, 2015). Life histories are seen as authentic (Dhunpath, 2000; Kakuru and Paradza, 2007) – people tell their stories in their own words and the research explores how people experience the world (Dhunpath, 2000). The stories do not need to be factually accurate to be authentic, according to Dhunpart (2000); what matters is the meaning of the stories to the participant. Often, "multiple voices, perspectives, truths, and meanings" (Kakuru and Paradza, 2007, p. 288) are represented and the life history methodology "presents rich opportunities for individuals to re-examine and reconstruct their perceptions of personal experience" (Dhunpath, 2000). This refers to the epistemological foundations of the life history methodology, the existence of multiple interpretations, realities, and truths. Stories are data and the researcher offers an interpretation through their writing, not reality (Goodson and Sikes, 2001, p. 48).

The intersection of contexts (context "refers to the physical, institutional environment as well as the social, cultural, and interpersonal environment, [and] includes significant others as parents, mentors, colleagues, and peers", Dhunpath, 2000, p. 546) on the individual, community, and institutional level allows me to apply Critical Race Theory and unpack the issue of values – personal, cultural, fundamental British – which are relevant to individuals, communities, and institutions. As Goodson (1992, p. 241) says, "the story of my life is always embedded in the story of those communities from

which I derive my identity". Munro (1998, p. 9) refers to this as "dialectical relationship between the self and society", which the life history methodology allows us to explore.

Historical dimension is also often mentioned in the literature (Munro, 1998; Dhunpath, 2000), but it is not clear whether it refers to personal history (since the focus is on "life history"), or history of a society, institution, community, etc.

Regarding its use in research in education, the life history methodology provides a perhaps better insight into education, as it gives voice – and audience – to practitioners which often offers a counter-narrative to the dominant narrative of "those administering the system" (Dhunpath, 2000, p. 550). Counter-storytelling is also a preferred method of Critical Race Theory (Milton-Williams and Bryan, 2021; Ledesma and Calderon, 2015). Life history methodology examines "how individual experiences play into the broader scope of reality and how individual lives are shaped by society" (Milton-Williams and Bryan, 2021, p. 43), demonstrating the complexities of those interrelationships – life histories are "complex stories made up of substories, themes, and experiences from the lives and contexts of others" and "linked to the environment created by the internal and external factors that shape human lives" (ibid., p. 52).

What can be advantageous for the life history method is when the researcher is an "insider", as they share a certain identity or identities with the participants, such as gender, class, race, sexuality (Merrill and West, 2009). This allows the researcher to use their "own experiences of marginality – of feeling like an outsider and being ignored – to understand other's lives" (ibid., p. 117). Being an insider may make participants more comfortable about divulging certain information; however, the decision on what to reveal should always stay with the participant (Kakuru and Paradza, 2007).

On the other hand, being an outsider may lead to the participants' willingness to discuss sensitive topics and issues, according to Kakuru and Paradza (2007), who conducted research on HIV in Uganda and Zimbabwe and, in this context, outsiders were associated with assistance. Bheenuck (2010) explores the insider/outsider discussion further, pointing out that her ethnicity and shared

history with the participants made her an insider, yet, as an academic (researcher) she was also perceived as an outsider. This related to my situation – to a certain extent, I shared an identity with the participants with respect to profession, place of employment, and status as an outsider in England; and, at the same time, as a researcher, I was an outsider eliciting life histories from the participants.

3.6 Limitations of the life history methodology

There are some obvious and less obvious limitations of the life history methodology. These can be divided into six categories: self-censorship and lack of authenticity, richness of data and sample size, who owns the life histories, the purpose of autobiography, extracting data, and the researcher's bias.

3.6.1 Unauthentic data and self-censorship

One reason for self-censorship could be the desire to avoid potential negative consequences. Another reason for the alteration of life stories is the possible eagerness of participants to please the researcher (Goodson and Sikes, 2001, p. 7). It is recommended to set down the rules, and the work expected from the participants to avoid this (ibid.). In my research, a certain eagerness to answer all questions as fully as possibly was observed. Several times participants expressed their worry that they might not be very helpful with their responses. However, I did not observe any attempt to "fix" answers to please the researcher.

Another issue with authenticity is that stories change – we alter our stories depending on the context, and "what we judge to be appropriate, politic or useful" (Goodson and Sikes, 2001, p. 42). Dhunpath (2000, p. 544) claims that "educational research has to focus on the self as a living contradiction", implying that our stories change not necessarily in a logically consistent manner. In addition, story-telling and narrative forms are affected by our cultures and "can be told from various

perspectives and in a range of styles" (Goodson and Sikes, 2001, p. 42). Some of the participants of my research were natural storytellers and could illustrate their points with very specific examples from their lives; their stories were engaging, but also *appropriate* and *useful* in the context of the interviews. Since I had the advantage of knowing the participants before conducting the research, the stories selected were in character. However, considering the size of the sample, it is not possible to even guess whether or to what extent the participants' cultures affected their story-telling and narrative forms. This leads me to the next limitation.

3.6.2 Size of the sample

The life history approach inevitably works with small samples (Gill and Sikes, 2001). Due to the nature of the data collection methods – interviews, observations, journaling – it is not practicable to have many participants. Dhunpath (2000) questions how rich data can actually be obtained from life history research. However, other researchers indicate the "saturation" of data after five or six participants (Goodson and Sikes, 2001; Woods, 1985). The most important criterion is "the richness of data" (Goodson and Sikes, 2001, p. 23).

3.6.3 Ownership

Who owns the life histories? Life history research may give "audience to marginalized voices" (Dhunpath, 2000, p. 550), but it can also be the researcher's voice interpreting somebody else's story. According to Dhunpath (2000, p. 550), "narrative research is dedicated to celebrating the voices of the silenced" but it can also "appropriate another individual's life for [the researcher's] own purposes"; for these reasons, he calls narrative research "extremely contentious" (ibid., p. 548). We assume that the stories are told in participants' voices, but "the telling occurs through the mediation of a researcher who has a vested interest in the story" (ibid., p. 549). Therefore, the extent to which

life history methodology gives voice to the marginalised, the traditionally excluded (Ledesma and Calderon, 2015), the voiceless, and the powerless to initiate change for social justice is questionable.

In contrast, a researcher might attempt to mute their own voice consciously "to maintain geniality in the relationship" (Dhunpath, 2000, p. 549). There seems to be a thin line between maintaining the authenticity of the data and not "betraying" the participants, and researcher's data analysis.

3.6.4 The unclear purpose of the use of autobiographies

Goodson and Gill (2000, p. 35) pose the question of whether researchers' biographies are used to make researchers' biases explicit, or whether they are a form of "vanity ethnography" and reflect a "desire for self-publicity," or whether they are indended to prevent criticism. I do not have an answer to this; it can possibly be all of the above. There is also the issue of "fairness" – the participants bare themselves for the research, so it is only fair for the researcher to subject themselves to the same scrutiny. Therefore, my own life history was included in section 1.4., Positioning the self.

3.6.5 Making participants talk

Life history research depends on the willingness of participants to share the stories of their life, but mostly the parts relevant to the research. Kakuru and Paradza (2007, p. 289) used a list of "probe questions" to encourage participants to talk, but unfortunately those "proved to be of limited use". Often, the interviews start with "tell me the story of your life" (Milton-Williams and Bryan, 2021; Munro, 1998). However, these stories might be irrelevant to the focus of the research, and also, according to Woods (1985, p. 20), "being too non-directive can cause anxieties" in participants. Therefore, I decided to alter the question and first explore how the participants came to be teachers, similarly to what Merrill and West (2009) recommend ("Please tell me about your learning life

history”, p. 119). This limited the scope of the stories. However, the limitation of this approach is that such questions can lead to “disappointing, brief, or even terse results” (ibid., p. 120). Responses of my research participants were satisfactory, led in some cases to the clarification of questions, and were, overall, a good start to the interview.

Kakuru and Paradza (2007, p. 290) point out that people’s interpretations of their life histories evolve and the ways stories are told are affected by particular circumstances and even by how the researcher elicits them – “some episodes or circumstances have more biographical relevance than others”. Therefore, probes that evolve from individual narratives are more effective than a generalised list of questions, which was my experience during the interviews.

Furthermore, it is recommended for the researcher to share their own experiences, which positively contributes to the relationship, “takes the starkness out of the spotlight on the teacher”, and generally makes the process more interactive (Woods, 1985, p. 20). There were some opportunities to do so during the interviews, and the interviewees even asked questions occasionally, seeking confirmation (of their experience), or a point of view; generally, however, most participants did not struggle with the “spotlight”, perhaps due to the established relationship.

However, according to Kakuru and Paradza (2007), participants may not be willing to disclose some information. Or, on the other hand, they may be too open. Both events might prevent further probes, which might silence some voices and marginalise the narrator (ibid., p. 291). Additionally, the researcher may label some topics as sensitive or overestimate or underestimate knowledge (ibid.). I experienced such an issue during some of the interviews (or parts of interviews), when knowledge was assumed (by either the researcher or the participant), or when some points remained unexplained, even though, in hindsight, they would have deserved more exploration.

Another potential disadvantage of the life history method is that the interview can be derailed by the participant (Kakuru and Paradza, 2007). But this depends, at least partly, on the dynamics of the relationship between the participant and the researcher. In addition, participants may deliberately

conceal information, but this decision should be respected by the researcher – participants have the "right to decide on what information to divulge, or leave well alone" (Kakuru and Paradza, 2007, p. 292).

3.6.6 Bias

Researchers inevitably have biases; according to Kakuru and Paradza (2007, p. 293), these biases need to be made explicit, which is also the purpose of "research biographies" (Goodson and Sikes, 2001, p. 35). An example of bias given by Kakuru and Paradza (2007, p. 293) is women researching women, which has many advantages, though such research is also "prone to specific biases, blind spots, and other limitations". They warn of researcher bias and the tendency of researchers to overstretch.

Before I began the interviews, my hopes were that the data collected would support my views on fundamental British values; however, the interviews themselves went mostly in a different direction, pointing towards appreciation of the openness of British/English society rather than a critique of government policies and the securitisation of teaching profession. However, the probing questions did aim to guide the participants towards examining the "Britishness" of the values.

Data collected using the life history method can be low in validity (Woods, 1985; Kakuru and Paradza, 2007); it is therefore recommended to triangulate. This requires the convergence of different methods of data collection, such as other people divulging information about the participants, revealing inconsistencies in the stories. However, as Dhunpath (2000, p. 544) says, the self is "a living contradiction" and educational research "should acknowledge the essential fallibility of the human being". In my research, there was no need to triangulate the data as my focus was on the conceptualisations of values.

3.7 Life history and Critical Race Theory

Both life history research and Critical Race Theory aim to identify those who have been denied a voice – an opportunity to tell their life histories and experiences in a society. Both aim to create a space where people can tell their stories in their own words, on their own terms. However, as life history is a research methodology, ultimately, the stories serve the purposes of the researcher and the research. Critical Race Theory undergoes a similar struggle when applied – are all voices represented in the Critical Race Theory research, or only those that provide "useful" data?

According to Critical Race Theory, giving people voice empowers them; the life history methodology gives them an opportunity to make sense of their stories in certain contexts. The empowerment of participants takes place via theorising about their professional practice (Dhunpath, 2000). According to Kakuru and Paradza (2007), life history not only empowers the participants, but is also therapeutic.

The life history methodology and Critical Race Theory thus complement each other; however, they seem to be rarely used together in research in education (exceptions being for example Milton-Williams and Bryan, 2021, or Solorzano, 1998).

3.8 Ethical considerations

Goodson and Sikes (2001, p. 25) warn that, for the paeticipants, there can be "unintended consequences with implications going far beyond the data that are collected". This cannot be fully avoided; thus, the researcher needs to inform the participants about such perils. On the other hand, this can potentially lead to hyperawareness and self-censorship. In my research, ethical issues were tackled by the consent form and the participant information sheet (Appendices A and B). At the beginning of the interview, the ethical considerations were repeated, and the participants had an opportunity to ask for clarification. In addition, the participants had the right to withdraw from the

research up to a date when it was estimated that the data would be incorporated into the analysis (approx. two months after the interviews), and after which it would no longer be possible to remove them. Participants also received the transcripts of their interviews and had the right to correct or remove any part (Woods, 1985; Merrill and West, 2009; Milton-Williams and Bryan, 2021). Interestingly, only one participant chose to do so. I can only speculate whether the lack of corrections was due to the relationship of trust established between the researcher and the participants, or whether it was due to a lack of interest or time on the part of the participants.

Furthermore, I had to consider the protection of data. The transcripts of the interviews were kept on my laptop which is protected by password and facial recognition software. The names were removed from the transcripts and replaced with code names.

All participants were given a sheet with an overview of the purpose of the research; what data would be kept and what would be anonymised; how to withdraw from the study and the deadline for a withdrawal request; and the risks of being identified based on association with the researcher (Appendix B). Even though I have since left the *Sunlit Uplands School* (codename) and moved abroad, this information is still easy to obtain on some social media profiles. Permission from the principal of the school was also obtained – the permission was easier since I was still employed there. Therefore, the participants were my colleagues at the time of the interviews.

In addition to these considerations, there was still one dilemma: “what to reveal and what to leave unsaid” (Waller, 2010, p. 67). Even though the participants understood that any part of the interviews could be used in this thesis, I had to consider the potential impacts of using the data in the context of this thesis on the participants, their reputations, and also my relationships with them. Due to existing friendships, I was hesitant to interpret the data in a way that would show any participants in a bad light. However, I tried to stay true to the data and the purpose of my research.

3.9 The techniques of life history

Goodson and Sikes (2001, p. 20) make a bold statement that the life history methodology is "good for those who are incurably curious, who are interested in, and fascinated by, the minutiae of others' lives"; thus, the methodology requires the researcher's interest in the lives of others. Another skill expected from the researcher is the ability to "listen attentively and beyond what is actually being said" (ibid.) or to "cultivate the art of good listening" (Woods, 1985, p. 20), to be attentive to the context, emotions, tone, and situation (Merrill and West, 2009), and to "ask pertinent questions in a non-threatening manner" (Goodson and Sikes, 2001, p. 20). In short, a range of soft skills is necessary for successful data collection.

Goodson and Sikes (2001, p. 19) conclude there is not "one, 'proper' way of doing life history research". It can be in the form of multiple sessions, followed by journal and reflection entries (ibid.), or just a couple of interviews. Woods (1985) recommends three to ten meetings, each at least one hour long. However, this is quite excessive and demands a lot of time from both the researcher and the participants, thus reducing the chances of finding willing research participants.

Goodson and Sikes (2001) suggest five techniques of data collection: interview-conversations; group work; timelines; journals / diaries / personal writing; and documents (e.g., syllabi, reports, agenda, memos, letters). In my research, I opted for interviews, partly because there was insufficient time to collect data using multiple techniques, and partly to avoid being overwhelmed by the amount and variety of data. Considering the focus of the research, interviews seemed the best means of gathering data on values, as I wanted to know how the teachers make sense of (British) values.

Goodson and Gill (2011) explain in detail in their book *Narrative pedagogy* how the research process works, focusing on four stages:

1. selecting research participants;
2. setting the scene for interviews and building trust;

3. the interview (or interviews); and
4. developing life history.

However, the process itself is far from smooth, straightforward, and linear; the reality of the life history method is messy (Goodley, Lawthom, Clough, and Moore, 2004).

3.9.1 Selecting research participants

The sample size of participants is typically “quite small”, but usually more than one participant, particularly in education (Goodson and Sikes, 2001, p. 23). However, Milton-Williams and Bryan (2021) worked with only one participant, a Black male teacher, to explore Black male pedagogy. The sample can be, according to Goodson and Sikes (2001), selected on the basis of convenience or purposive sampling. Goodson and Gill (2011, p. 37) explain that due to selective bias, the researcher might choose participants they like, with similar experiences, and whose storylines resonate with the researcher’s, meaning that the researcher is “effectively telling their own story”.

I selected five participants, as recommended in Goodson and Sikes (2001). All five participants were my colleagues and some of them I had known from joining the *Sunlit Uplands School* (codename) in 2013.

The school, here coded as *Sunlit Uplands School*, was an international independent college in South East England. It was a fee-paying, mixed-gender boarding school, for ages 13+, had a sixth form, and, pre-pandemic, hosted over 400 students from over 60 countries. Only a few students were British citizens. The staff was also international; however, most teachers were British.

I selected the participants on the basis of my previous knowledge of their (national) identities / background. The recruitment process consisted of direct contact, emails, and phone calls to selected candidates asking for assistance with my research. Due to the pandemic restrictions in place (e.g., a maximum of 5 people in shared spaces such as the staffroom, social distancing, and self-isolation

when symptomatic), it was not always possible to approach potential participants in person. When the candidates expressed their interest in participating after the initial contact, a formal email explaining the purpose of the research and containing participant information as well as a consent form were sent to candidates' work emails (Appendix A and B). Dates and times of the interviews were arranged either via email or instant messaging.

The five teachers I selected were of non-English origin, coming from Europe, North America, Asia, and Australia. All participants worked in the same school (codenamed *Sunlit Uplands School* in this thesis) with me, thus being a sample of convenience. Convenience sampling is based on availability and "has clear logistical and resource benefits in terms of travel, cost, and time expenditure" (Waterfield, 2018, p. 2). I knew that the participants I approached were not English; I already had established relationships with them and thus did not have to build trust first. Also, access to such a sample would be least affected by further pandemic/lockdown measures, due to the availability of existing ways to stay in contact with the participants, such as via video communication tools.

However, the disadvantage of such sampling is the inclusion of "certain biases, such as sampling error and undercoverage" (Weterfield, 2018, p. 2). It can be argued that my sample lacked enough diversity in terms of subjects taught (only humanities and social science teachers were represented, as teachers of Maths and natural sciences occupied a different building on campus and were out of my reach at that time).

Moreover, teachers should "genuinely" volunteer to participate in the research, to avoid "an element of pressure" (Woods, 1985, p. 14); I opted for a direct approach and contacted the teachers with a request which might not have matched Woods' idea of "genuine volunteering".

The sample – of convenience – available to me with minimal restrictions (due to the Covid-19 pandemic), allowed me to explore the phenomenon of fundamental British values and their conceptualisations in depth, and in the unique environment of an international school. However, this

also meant that the generalisability of the findings would be limited, though it is a question whether such generalisability is actually desirable.

3.9.2 Setting the scene for the interview and building trust

Interview-conversations are the most commonly used strategy due to the dialogical nature of life history research (Goodson and Gill, 2011), and are defined as “conversations with the *purpose* of eliciting the information that the researcher wants” (Goodson and Sikes, 2001, p. 28). Interestingly, Munro (1998, p. 8) also uses the word “elicit” – participants give an account of their lives, in their own words, but it is “elicited or prompted by another person”. Life history is, according to Goodson and Gill (2011, p. 22), an “account of a life”, but it is requested, edited, interpreted, and presented by a researcher. Munro (1998) distinguishes between interviews and less formal conversations, but both can be used in life history research.

Goodson and Sikes (2001) recommend the researcher to share their own experiences to establish a relationship of trust with participant(s). To establish the relationship of trust, there needs to be a level of informality for the “teachers [to] feel sufficiently free and relaxed to be themselves” (Woods, 1985, p. 14). Even though analysis of the life history data is “highly subjective”, it may depend on the relationship between the researcher and the participant and “the quality and depth of interpersonal exchange” (Atkinson, 1998). Therefore, the relationship between the researcher and the participant affects both data collection and data analysis.

The development of trust between the researcher and the participant(s) more likely leads to “quality data” (Goodson and Sikes, 2001, p. 20). On the other hand, Goodson and Sikes (2001, p. 25) also point out that participants may be hesitant to reveal certain information “when they are already in some sort of relationship with the enquirer”. Younes (2020) concluded that the way the participants perceive the researcher affects the data they provide; at first, establishing relationships with the

researcher is more important than the research questions or the purpose of the study. Of course, the complications faced by, and implications of Younes's research in Syria during the civil war are incomparable to my research and its impact on my participants. However, any research involving live participants can have impacts on their lives and careers, positive or negative. Therefore, I had to consider several questions.

Establishing relationships with the participants was a crucial part of the research – the life history methodology would not work otherwise. According to Goodson and Gill (2011), life history is a way of making sense of our experiences, of how our narrative is created through exploring the discourse. The way we tell our stories is time- and space-bound; at a different time, with somebody else, we might tell the stories differently. To share their stories, the participants needed to trust me that I could walk the path of discovery with them. This process was easier since I had had relationships with the participants prior to the interviews as we had worked in the same school; some of the relationships had become close friendships over the years. In the following chapter dedicated to analyses of the responses I will attempt to disclose the relationships as truthfully as I can. Conversely, established relationships can affect the data collection process in a negative way. According to Goodson and Sikes (2001), the participants may want to "please" the researcher, respond to the questions in a way they think the researcher wants them to, or fail to withdraw from the research when they become uncomfortable and instead provide dishonest data.

3.9.3 The interview

All interviews with my five participants took place within a period of one month, starting with the pilot interview at the beginning of June 2021. Due to delays with the ethics form (the delays were on my side), I received approval from the ethics committee at the end of June; it gave me a limited time to complete the remaining interviews, as I was moving abroad in July (which is why some of the interviews were conducted from a hotel room).

I conducted two interviews with each participant. They could choose whether to divide the interviews between two days, or conduct consecutive interviews, with a short break between them. All five participants opted for doing both interviews consecutively, some of them without a break. The disadvantage of this approach is that there is no reflection on the previous set of questions, no development or clarification of points made previously. The advantage of the approach is minimising intrusion into participants' lives and demands on their time, which teachers do not tend to have in abundance. This increased the chances of getting answers to all my questions. The longest interview lasted 90 minutes, the shortest was 45 minutes.

Duration and locations of the interviews:

Interview	Duration	Location 1. Interviewer 2. Interviewee	Medium
Interview with Arthur	1 hour 22 minutes	1. Classroom 2. Classroom	In person (recorded on Zoom)
Interview with Emily	1 hour 9 minutes	1. University library 2. Home	Zoom
Interview with Grace	47 minutes	1. Hotel room 2. Home	Zoom
Interview with Ava	1 hour 30 minutes	1. Hotel room 2. Home	Zoom
Interview with Oliver	1 hour 29 minutes	1. Home 2. Home	Zoom

Table 3: Duration, place, and medium of the interviews

The reviewed literature on life history methodology contained very little information on how exactly to proceed with interviews – how to set the scene (although some advice is provided by Goodson and Gill, 2011), whether and how to do the small talk before the interviews, and how important these things might be for the process of data collection, etc. For someone who is socially awkward, such advice would be helpful. Therefore, it was fortunate that I knew the participants well already.

An important condition of the life history interview is to let the participant talk, to allow them "to be in overall control of the ordering and sequencing of their life stories" (Goodson and Gill, 2011, p. 39). According to Atkinson (2014, p.11), "the execution of the interview, whether structured or not, will vary from one interviewer to another". But most interviews used in life history are one-on-one and semi-structured (Lanford and Tierney, 2019); what makes this methodology different is the level of trust built with the participant, when "the researcher may even choose to share personal reflections and experiences" (ibid., p. 12). In addition, "a life historian may even need to be prepared to concede control over the narrative, as the participant will possibly want to guide discussions in an unanticipated direction" (ibid.).

Goodson and Gill (2011, p. 39) recommend letting the first interview "flow" in order to facilitate "long, intense and meaningful" answers; the interview starts with a very open question focusing on a certain aspect of the participant's life ("tell me about your life as a teacher"). The second interview then moves from the "singular narrative" to a "grounded conversation" (Goodson and Gill, 2011, p. 40).

Having a set of twelve questions made my life history interview rather like a semi-structured interview. The purpose of the life history approach is to give participants space to tell their stories in their words and on their terms (Goodson and Gill, 2011). However, since my interest was in values and views on fundamental British values, it was not practicable to let the participants "just talk" about their lives. The questions were intended to guide the life story-telling in a certain direction, which seemingly defies the purpose and intentions of the life history methodology. However, as stated above, there is not "one, 'proper' way of doing life history research" (Goodson and Sikes, 2001, p. 19) and different techniques can be employed to collect data *relevant* to the research question.

All five participants were asked the following questions:

Interview I: Background	Interview II: British values at the workplace (classroom)

• Tell me the story of your life (as a teacher). (probing questions:)
  ○ When did you become a teacher in England?
  ○ What did you do before?
  ○ How did you find out about the job?
  ○ What is your job as a teacher now? (e.g., secondary, subject, leadership role etc.)
• What are your personal and/or cultural values?
• How have your values changed during your life?
• How has living and teaching in England changed your values (if at all)?
• When you joined the teaching profession in England, were you told about fundamental British values?
  ○ If not: When did you first hear about fundamental British values (in the school context)?
• How do fundamental British values align with your personal or cultural values?
	• How do you promote values in your practice?
	• What support has your school provided to you to promote fundamental British values in your practice?
	• How do you understand and interpret fundamental British values, particularly in the context of your practice?
	• How do you promote fundamental British values in your practice?
	• What are your positive experiences of living and promoting fundamental British values in your practice (if any)?
	• What are your uncomfortable experiences with promoting fundamental British values in your practice (if any)?
	• What support could be provided to non-English teachers to promote fundamental British values?

Table 4: Interview questions

In addition, further questions emerged from the interviews, including encouraging probing questions (*Tell me more*).

Furthermore, in anticipation of the participants' difficulties with questions about personal and cultural values, I compiled a list of values from the reviewed literature: personal freedom, individual rights, success in life, orderly society, stability, hierarchy, respect for authority and the elderly, justice, solidarity, peace, love, respect, tolerance, cooperation, fairness, respect for truth, and respect for reasoning (Slethaug, 2007). I offered the list to the participants when they were unsure what would count as a value.

Life history allows participants to share their stories and thus gives them a voice – and an opportunity to be heard. But perhaps more importantly, it helps them to make sense of the stories

(Goodson and Gill, 2011). Goodson and Gill (2011) emphasise the collaborative and reciprocal nature of life history research, when the researcher and the participant work together to make sense of the experiences.

However, whose voice is represented in the research? Atkinson (2014, p. 6) claims that life *history* removes the voice of the storyteller and allows the researcher to communicate the story, unlike life *story* which "retains the voice of the storyteller"; the role of the researcher is to become "a respectful, honoring, active, empathic listener/guide" (ibid., p. 18).

With the assistance of the Critical Race Theory, life histories can be reproduced and interpreted from different perspectives – not only as a history of political and administrative control (Goodson, 2003), but also of raced identities and institutionalised racism. Life histories capture only small parts of participants' lives, parts of their identity (or identities), and are based on the subjective and partial nature of their personal and professional experiences (Munro, 1998), which Goodson and Choi (2008, p. 6) refer to as the "uniqueness of personal trajectories in the institutional contexts" and "shared patterns of teacher professionalism".

My research questions refer to "non-English teachers"; thus, to an identity. When I formulated the research questions, I began to think how to identify as "non-English"; whether it is possible to identify as "not someone or something". Fortunately, the message seemed to be clear to the participants – unless addressed, they did not find the "non-" identity confusing. However, whatever term I use, there is still an element of othering (adding a prefix "non" – non-white, non-English, non-British, etc.) or it implies that "white" is the standard – White and non-White people; English (= White) and non-English (non-white or not-fully-white) – and that everything else is compared to this standard. As Eddo-Lodge (2018, p. xvi) explains, "[non-white is] a moniker that brings with it a suggestion of something lacking, and of a deficiency". Thus, "White" is considered an invisible racial identity (Ali, 2020).

The idea of England (if not indeed the whole of Britain or the UK) being a country of "White" people is based on an image resulting from a national myth, a constructed national identity associated with whiteness (Parker, 2003; Parker, 2020). Why would anyone expect Britain – a former empire ruling around 25% of world's population – to be predominantly White? Should not "Britannia" inherently mean multi-ethnic, multinational, multicultural, as a result of its history? Ali (2020) touches upon this issue in her article about Prevent's racialised borders, explaining the link between "colonial amnesia" and "white ignorance".

Ali (2020, p. 4) criticises the Prevent Strategy for being racist; she claims that the "raced discourse" of the policy racialises and visibilises the individual "as a racial subject who embodies particular characteristics". The education policies obliging schools to *actively promote* fundamental British values embed this racialisation of certain individuals and groups in educational institutions. These racialised populations are then seen as a "collective" (Ali, 2020), unlike the Whites, who not only are protected from policing by their property of whiteness, but also "believe they are individuals and not a racial group" (Leonardo, 2002, p. 45).

Identities and values are interlinked, thus how teachers identify themselves affects (or may affect) the values they bring to their practice and their conceptualisations of the values considered British and fundamental.

3.9.4 Developing life history

Working with life history data requires the recording of data and its subsequent transcription and analysis of the data. To record the data, the video communication app *Zoom* was utilised, as it not only offers an option to (video)record the interviews, but also transcribes them. Even though the transcriptions were highly inaccurate, it was of great help as it shortened the time necessary for transcribing each interview to a couple of hours. The *Otter* app, a real-time transcription app, was

also used for two interviews, in addition to *Zoom*; however, the app could not distinguish between the speakers and the (in)accuracy was approximately the same as with the *Zoom* transcription. In some cases, it took repeated listenings to understand some parts and specific words.

According to Elliott (2005, p. 57), transcription is always incomplete, as it is difficult to preserve "some of the additional meaning that was conveyed" by the participants by the means of, for example, the "use of intonation, pauses, rhythm, hesitation and body language". I decided to use simple transcription, and even delete some of the fillers ("uh", "um"), repeated words, word fragments, and other disfluencies (particularly "you know"), as they distract from the content, and instead focus attention on the form. My aim was to explore how the participants conceptualise (fundamental British) values, not their idiosyncrasies and language proficiency, which is a particularly sensitive issue when using non-English native speakers for research.

Analysis of the data collected consisted of "fitting the evidence and information into a framework of some kind", using classifications, categories, models, typologies, and concepts (Goodson and Sikes, 2001, p. 34). In this research, the statistical and qualitative data analysis software *NVivo* was utilised. This software helps the researcher to organise the data using codes and attributed values, "such as age and gender to compare different groups in your data" (QSR International, 2021).

The purpose of life history methodologies is, according to Waller (2010, p. 58), to show "how apparently personal stories can illustrate wider processes of social change" and "how lives are led under the dual influence of social structures and personal agency" (p. 66). The social change (within a social structure) examined in this research is linked to changes of values in England. However, since the participants did not identify as English, they were – at least partly – also affected by the social structures of other societies and changes within those structures.

Goodson (2003, p. 52) emphasises the work of teachers as "politically and socially constructed"; thus, the purpose of the life history methodology is to help the research participants unpack these constructions. Therefore, the interview questions were structured in such a way as to allow the

participants to ponder where their values originated, whether and to what extent they have internalised the values of England / English society, and how far these values correspond with fundamental British values. This is significant for educational research because teachers "do bring their values into the classrooms" (Milton-William and Bryan, 2021, p. 54). The purpose of the life history methodology is often portrayed in literature as contributing to reform – without including the life histories of teachers, vital perspectives would not be provided, and "it is likely that a new crisis of change and reform will be generated" (Goodson, 2003, p. 55).

In relation to my research questions, life history is an ideal method because life histories provide a narrative, a story, and stories help us make sense of the world (Goodson and Gill, 2011). The teacher and the researcher work together to achieve that; thus the "the eventual 'findings' are a product of the interaction between them" (Woods, 1985, p. 13).

The real names of the participants were changed and replaced with some of the most popular, *white-sounding*, girl's and boy's names in England (Office for National Statistics, 2020). The reason for changing the names was not to obscure the national/ethnic identities of the participants, but to prevent attention being diverted from the responses and to prevent stereotyping. Even if George has the same opinions on fundamental British values as Ali does, our perception of the information might be different because of attitudes and bias. Therefore, nice, neutral, "white" English names were selected.

My research participants came from different backgrounds, ranging from multicultural, to religious, to minority culture, to dominant culture. They came from different continents, covering Europe, Asia, Australia, and North America. Some came to England for educational reasons, most followed their spouse here. Some hold a British passport. Some are English native speakers.

The table below summarises the main identities of the participants, based on my prior knowledge and their responses.

Interviewee	Gender	Nationality	Ethnicity (5 groups)[6]	Ethnicity (18 groups)[7]	Complex ethnic/national identities
Interviewee 1 *Arthur*	Male	Italian	White	White other	
Interviewee 2 *Emily*	Female	American	White	White other	Dual citizenship USA / UK
Interviewee 3 *Grace*	Female	Chinese	Asian	Asian – Chinese	Chinese Indonesian (minority) + UK citizen
Interviewee 4 *Ava*	Female	Australian	White	White other	Of Irish background + UK citizen
Interviewee 5 *Oliver*	Male	Irish	White	White Irish	Northern Irish (not British), UK and Irish citizen
Researcher	Female	Czech	White	White other	EU citizen
Total	Female: 4 Male: 2		White: 5 Asian: 1	White other: 4 White Irish: 1 Chinese: 1	

Table 5: Identities of participants

There were many similarities in the responses of the participants. All interviewees displayed pride regarding their profession and considered it a reputable job. They all appeared to be proud of their professional achievements and seemed to enjoy their current jobs, specifically teaching in the sixth form. All had additional responsibilities, besides being a classroom teacher. All five participants enjoyed and appreciated having creative freedom to design their lessons.

Grace

[6] HM Government (2020c): Asian, Black, Mixed, White, Other

[7] Ibid.: Asian – Bangladeshi, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, Asian other; Black – Black African, Black Caribbean, Black other; Mixed – Mixed White/Asian, Mixed White/Black African, Mixed White/Black Caribbean, Mixed other; White – White British, White Irish, White Gypsy/Traveller, White other; Other – Arab, Any other

Grace had never taught anywhere else but in England. She had changed careers when she first arrived in the UK from her home country, Indonesia, following her husband, in search of a safer life. Grace was the only participant that was not Caucasian and came from an ethnic minority in her country of origin. Grace displayed the attitude described by Goodson and Sikes (2001) aiming to please the researcher and provide answers that she perceived as valuable to the research. Grace kept apologising for not being very useful for the purposes of the research, which was perhaps also a demonstration of respect for authority – one of the "Eastern" values (Slethaug, 2007) – selected by Grace as her personal/cultural value. Grace's interviews were also the shortest – as I sensed some discomfort coming from Grace and slight hesitance to perhaps share "too much", Grace was asked only a few probing questions to encourage more development of the answers. Grace was also the only participant who explicitly acknowledged her struggles to find a "good" job (referring to a white-collar position) in the UK.

Arthur

Arthur was a Caucasian male, born and raised in Italy. He came to England to complete his university studies and do postdoctoral research, and later returned (from the U.S.) following his wife. Arthur was in an intercultural marriage. He was trained as a teacher in Italy, but never taught there. He was also trained to be a teacher in England. He had taught in two English-speaking countries (US and UK), mostly local students – however, of a variety of backgrounds. Arthur had thus been exposed to different cultural values via the environment and his students.

Interviews with Arthur were longer and responses more developed. Arthur shared stories relevant to the issue, but it was also apparent that there were certain issues on his mind, particularly regarding his "pale-male-stale" status; White male privilege was acknowledged several times during the interviews.

Ava

Ava was a Caucasian female and an English native speaker (Australian). She – like Grace – had never taught anywhere else but in England and predominantly international students. She – also like Grace – had changed her career after coming to the UK, following her husband, and having children.

Similarly to Arthur, Ava had illustrating stories to share. Ava did not need prompting; she was a natural storyteller. In the interviews, Ava referred to differences in values and attitudes between her country of origin (Australia) and England, as well as differences within the UK, particularly between England and Northern Ireland. Ava's family originally came to Australia from Ireland.

Emily

Emily was a Caucasian female and an English native speaker (American). She had an extensive experience with teaching abroad and had lived in different cultures in many countries, thus interacted with different (cultural) values. Emily had come to the UK with her English husband. She was very culturally aware and demonstrated a deep interest in international education. She developed her responses particularly regarding teachable moments – turning any situation into an experience from which students could learn. She shared many stories, illustrating her points.

Oliver

The second male participant of the research was also Caucasian born and raised in the UK, but not England. Oliver was a native English speaker (Northern Irish). He had years of experience teaching abroad, on three continents, teaching international students. Therefore, Oliver was exposed to a variety of cultural values, coming with the environment and the students.

Oliver was most concerned with inequality, in different contexts, but particularly the abuse of power by the current political establishment in the UK. Oliver did not stop at just pointing out how different rules seem to apply to different groups, but was genuinely worried as it increased the chances of violent conflict – something he had experienced.

3.10 Methods of data analysis

To approach analysis of the data, I mostly relied on two sources: Merrill and West's (2009) *Using biographical methods in social research* and Elliott's (2005) *Using narrative in social research: qualitative and quantitative approaches*, as they both contain more detailed overviews of how to work with narrative data. However, there is other literature I consulted.

Goodson and Choi (2008) in their study on teacher professionalism proceeded in "cycles" of data analysis. The first cycle consists of categorising and "writing up the informant profiles", because categorisation is "the foundation of a holistic understanding of the informants' personal and professional lives" which "involves inter-subjectivity between the researchers and the researched" (ibid., p. 12). For my research, brief profiles and overviews were written – as presented above (section 3.9.4); however, I wrote them when I was already in the second cycle.

The second cycle focuses on "constant comparison" (Goodson and Choi, 2008, p. 13) to "see inter-subjectivity across the cases" and reveal "diversities" (ibid., p. 16). The transcripts provided by the Zoom and Otter applications were imported into the NVivo software, which made it easier to link themes (codes) and evidence (responses) and to see how much data I had for each theme. This second stage/cycle was even less straightforward than the first one and continued well into writing up Chapter IV (Data and analysis). Overall, it was a messy process, which required me to keep returning to the interviews and reconsider themes. At one point, I deleted all my themes from the

NVivo, and started anew, as the number of themes increased to 50 and they were overlapping in terms of description and content.

The third cycle involves synthesis to "explain the similarities and differences" (Goodson and Choi, 2008, p. 23). This actually led to finalising what to include in the participant profiles. During the third cycle, I relied not only on transcripts, but also on notes I had made during the interviews and my research diary. As Merrill and West (2009, p. 131) suggest, the researchers should "refer to field notes and research diary" when analysing the data.

Similarly, Sadam, Jõgi, and Goodson (2019, p. 16) suggest working in stages:

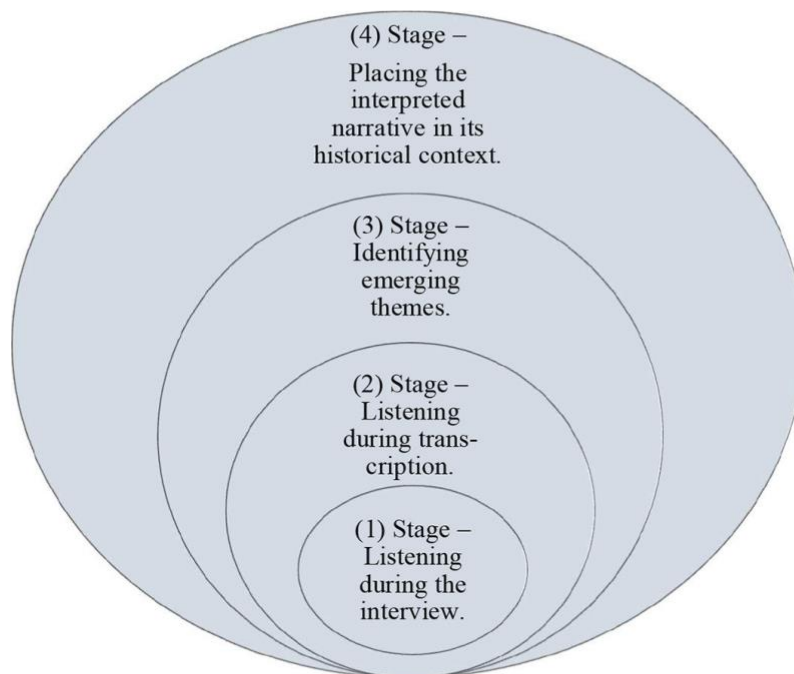

Figure 1: Stages of empirical data analysis in the process of portrayal (Sadam, Jõgi, and Goodson, 2019, p. 16)

This approach highlights the importance of careful (repeated) listening to the interviews in order to identify themes.

Merrill and West (2009, p. 129), on the other hand, say that data analysis can start at any point, even "during interviews". In addition, there is no strict/clear division between "the stages of doing research", such as "interviewing, analysing, writing up", as these cannot be separated (ibid., p. 128-129), which has also been my experience. Furthermore, Merrill and West (2009, p. 131) recommend

reading transcripts as soon as they are done, identifying “key concepts, words, themes”, re-reading and listening to the recordings repeatedly, coding the transcript, and considering whether and how the data relate “to existing theory”. The Zoom/Otter transcripts required thorough proofreading and repeated listening to the recordings; there were sections where I could not decode what the participants were saying, either due to the use of expressions I was not familiar with, or because words were pronounced differently than I expected (two of my participants were not native English speakers and nor am I); interestingly, I could suddenly understand these parts after “abandoning” the recordings for several weeks. I also started making notes regarding topics that appeared repeatedly and themes identified by other research, in the context of themes in Critical Race Theory. This description illustrates why it is difficult – and perhaps not desirable – to separate the stages of research.

Merrill and West (2009) encourage researchers not to despair when themes are not immediately obvious and to continue reading, working with, and thinking about the data – themes will start to emerge. However, themes do not just “emerge” – they are a result of intentional work with the transcripts, and it is the researcher’s intention and purpose which leads to a set of themes, often informed by the literature.

Working with biographical data can be tricky, as “there is no ‘correct’ way of analysing [them]” (Merrill and West, 2009, p. 129). Similarly, Elliott (2005, p. 44) warns that there is no such thing as “the” definition of narrative analysis and that there are many different approaches and techniques used in research. Working with biographical and narrative data is a “profoundly interpretative act” (Merrill and West, 2009, p. 129), following a hermeneutic tradition “which emphasises the evaluative dimension” of the evidence/data (Elliott, 2005, p. 43-44). Goodson and Gill (2011, p. 43) emphasise that in the life story approach, it is the researcher alone, without the participants, that works with the stories, listens to and re-reads them over and over, interprets and makes sense of them in the light of existing theories: “The analysis and theorisation belong to the researcher and the academic

world.” Does this process not disempower the participants? As “researchers are seen as people with powerful rationalising intellects” most participants “rarely disagree with the interpretation and theorisation” (ibid.). The relationship between the researcher and the researched is thus not equal.

Life history is a collaborative process in which meanings emerge from conversation, a “dialogic exchange” (Goodson and Gill, 2011, p. 44). During the interviews, some participants invited a more dialogic approach while some preferred mostly to focus on their stories, and, yet, the process of narrating their stories led to reflection and attempts to make sense of their experiences – also from the perspective of values (personal, cultural, shared, British). However, the final interpretation and analysis of their stories remained in my hands, which would also happen with Goodson and Gill’s (2011) life history approach, in which the researcher uses the data for their own purposes.

Understanding context is relevant to the research in order “to develop understanding of social groups, classes, and cultures and the structural relationships between them” (Goodson and Gill, 2011, p. 46). The interrelationship between life history, narrative, and context is that “life history work underlines the importance of placing the life narratives in their historical contexts” (ibid., p. 40).

Besides the wider (social and personal) context, the context of the interviews *per se* is also relevant to the analysis, as “the conditions in which the life history was produced might have influenced the account” (Elliott, 2005, p. 46). My interviews were mostly conducted via Zoom, from my home, the university library, or a hotel room, while participants were mostly at home; one interview was conducted in person in a classroom during a break between lessons (but recorded on Zoom). There was an issue with sound on my side when the participants were unable to hear me, and I had to resort to typing the questions in the chat. On the one hand, this limited interactions on my side and the dialogical nature of the life history; on the other hand, it allowed the participants to focus on their stories and to proceed at their pace without being prompted.

The most popular approaches to the analysis of biographical and narrative data focus on the content or the form (the structure), according to Elliott (2005). When it comes to analysis focusing on content, there are three options:

- Provide no analysis and let the life history "speak for itself" (Elliott, 2005, p. 46).
- The holistic approach: identify "common elements", creating a "collective story" (ibid., p. 47-48).
- The categorical approach: "discover patterns and regularities" (ibid., p. 47); the analysis focuses on the content itself, not on what meanings the narrator makes of the events (ibid., p. 48).

My approach focused mostly on content (not form) and identifying common elements, as well as differences, to uncover how the participants understood and conceptualised values. What seems to be vital for life history analysis, according to Merrill and West (2009, p. 130), is a "humanistic approach" or "humanistic foundations" of social science research; that is, the participants are "at the centre of the process". The participants are "active creators of their worlds" and at the same time are "being created by them" (Merrill and West, 2009, p. 130).

Elliott (2005) refers to "identity as narrative", "narrative identities" (p. 123), and "the narrative construction of identity" (p. 43); such identities are "shaped in interaction and through discourse (ibid., p. 43), "the product of an interaction between the cultural discourses which frame and provide structure for the narrative and the material circumstances and the experiences of each individual" (ibid., p. 123). Research participants use narration to make sense of their experiences (Elliott, 2005). The researcher then tries to make sense of this activity. Jackson (2015) refers to such work as "double hermeneutic", making sense of making sense: the researcher makes sense of the participant making sense of their experiences. The hermeneutic approach "emphasizes the importance of empathizing with the subjects of research and developing a detailed understanding and appreciation of how they make sense of the social world", says Elliott (2005, p. 49).

My analysis of the interview data thus had many layers: identifying patterns, similarities and differences, taking context into consideration; the role of researcher; and the dynamics of the relationship between the researcher and the participant. In addition, I had to constantly reflect on the process – What is important and what is unimportant in relation to the research objectives? (Merrill and West, 2009)

Chapter IV: Data and analysis

4.1 Introduction

The table below provides summary of the information about the participants, including the researcher.

Participant	Country of origin	Other experiences abroad	Subject(s) taught when interviewed	Age	Ethnicity
Grace	Indonesia	n/a	Sociology	In 50s	Asian
Arthur	Italy	History lecturer in the U.S.	Sociology, History	40	White
Ava	Australia	n/a	English as second language	60	White
Emily	USA	English as second language – several countries (wished not to disclose the names)	English as second language	In 50s	White
Oliver	UK / Northern Ireland	Türkiye, France, Australia	Economics, Business	In 40s	White
Researcher	Czech Republic	Studied in Germany	International Relations/Global Politics, History	40	White

Table 6: Participants overview - country of origin, experiences abroad, subjects taught, age, and ethnicity

This chapter is organised around the main themes identified in the interviews and the reviewed literature. The dominant topic of both the interviews and Critical Race Theory is identity, identity construction, and raced/racialised identities, thus these areas will be explored first to establish what the “non-English” identity of my teachers means. Other themes identified in literature on Critical Race Theory and the life history methodology explored here are justice and experiential knowledge. The sections that follow are organised around the themes identified in the interviews that are linked to my research questions. The topics discussed by the participants were personal and/or cultural values, how their values have changed during their lives, and whether their values align with

fundamental British values. The participants also addressed the question of the "Britishness" of fundamental British values. The issue of the promotion of values is explored in three parts: how the school promotes fundamental British values, what support the school provides to teachers, and how teachers promote values in their practice. The longest section explores how the teachers understand the individual values.

4.2 NVivo analysis of qualitative data

As outlined in the previous chapter, section 3.10, Methods of data analysis, the life history methodology is more concerned with a wider (socio-political) context and the purpose of life history research than with the exact method of data analysis. However, it is possible to proceed in stages/cycles of analysis (Goodson and Choi, 2008; Sadam, Jõgi, and Goodson, 2019), though the process may be more chaotic, with stages overlapping (Merrill and West, 2009), which was closer to my approach.

To organise my primary data, I used NVivo software. I imported transcripts of the interviews and then coded them using nodes. The nodes were themes identified in the interviews. This process required repeated reading of the transcripts – when there was any remaining text with no node assigned, I re-read it and attributed a node to it. This led to adding new nodes and changing the names of nodes; some nodes were removed when I considered them not relevant enough to my research questions. Some nodes I found interesting (intra-civilisational conflict, for instance), but were not relevant enough to explore on their own and were rather used for the explanation of other themes (personal and cultural values, how teachers promote values). This process was frustrating and messy, and I also resorted to using print-outs and post-it notes. This made the coding more "visible" to me, as I could spread all papers around me and see them all at the same time, unlike in the NVivo program. Different colours of post-it notes were on occasion more helpful than NVivo coding. It is difficult to estimate how many times I read the transcripts – Grace's interview, for

instance, was short and easy to code. The interviews with Arthur and Oliver were more complex, and I spent more time reading and re-reading them; those were also the interviews I returned to more times.

Below is the list of themes (nodes) with the number of references and the sections of this thesis where they appear. The table also illustrates which themes were developed into their own sections – based on the richness and relevance of the data. It also shows that the number of references does not necessarily reflect how rich the data is.

Name	Description	No. of references	Section in the thesis
Identity	Constructing identities – self, Englishness/Britishness	18	4.3 Identity construction: Being "non-English" in England
Colonialism	Theme – British colonial history, impact of	3	4.3.2 Colonial roots of hierarchisation
Age	Category – intersectionality	1	4.3.3 Intersectionality
Class	Category – intersectionality	1	4.3.3 Intersectionality
Liberal, liberalism, neoliberalism	Mentions of	4	4.4 Becoming more "liberal": Experiential knowledge and the commitment to social justice
Justice	Justice and fairness – including social justice	9	4.4 Becoming more "liberal": Experiential knowledge and the commitment to social justice
Personal or cultural values	Participants' values	6	4.5 Personal and cultural values
What is value	How the term value is unpacked	2	4.5 Personal and cultural values
Change in values	How the personal values have changed during participants' lives	5	4.5.1 Changes in values in life

Name	Description	No. of references	Section in the thesis
Alignment of values	Alignment of personal/cultural/ professional values and fundamental British values	5	4.6 Alignment of personal/cultural values and fundamental British values
Regional differences UK	Differences in values within the UK	8	4.6.1 On the "Britishness" of fundamental British values
Introduction to FBV	How the FBV were introduced to the participants	4	4.7.1 How the school promotes fundamental British values
School's support	How the school supports teachers in promoting FBV	7	4.7.1 How the school promotes fundamental British values 4.7.2 Support for non-English teachers
Support needed	What support should be given to non-English teachers to promote FBV	7	4.7.2 Support for non-English teachers
Promoting values in practice	How the participants promote values, including FBV, in their practice	12	4.7.3 How teachers promote values
Teachable moment	Opportunities to teach or practise values	3	4.7.3 How teachers promote values
Experiences with promoting FBV	Positive and negative experiences with promoting FBV in participants' practice	5	4.7.3 How teachers promote values
Democracy	Fundamental British value – interpretation of	5	4.8.1 Conceptualisations of the fundamental British values – The value of democracy
Rule of Law	Fundamental British value – interpretation of	7	4.8.2 Conceptualisations of the fundamental British values – The value of the rule of law
Respect and tolerance	Fundamental British value – interpretation of	5	4.8.3 Conceptualisations of the fundamental British values – The value of tolerance and respect

Name	Description	No. of references	Section in the thesis
Individual freedom	Fundamental British value – interpretation of	4	4.8.4 Conceptualisations of the fundamental British values – The value of individual liberty
Western	Mentions of the West	5	4.7.2 Support for non-English teachers 4.6.1 On the "Britishness" of fundamental British values
Conflict - intra-civilisational	Conflicts within a "civilisation" or a cultural unit	3	4.5 Personal and cultural values 4.7.3 How teachers promote values
Xenophobia	Mentions of fear or hate of foreigners	2	4.6.1 On the "Britishness" of fundamental British values 4.3.1 Conceptual whiteness and conceptual blackness 4.3.3 Intersectionality
Background	Life history – how the participants became teachers in England	6	4.1 Introduction 3.9.4 Developing life history

Table 7: Nodes

The following two charts show the number of items coded and the number of coding references. For example, I identified the theme of "identity" in interviews with all five participants (number of items coded) and there are 18 coding references in total (in all interviews). This is a simple way to view what themes appeared in most or all interviews and how prominent they were.

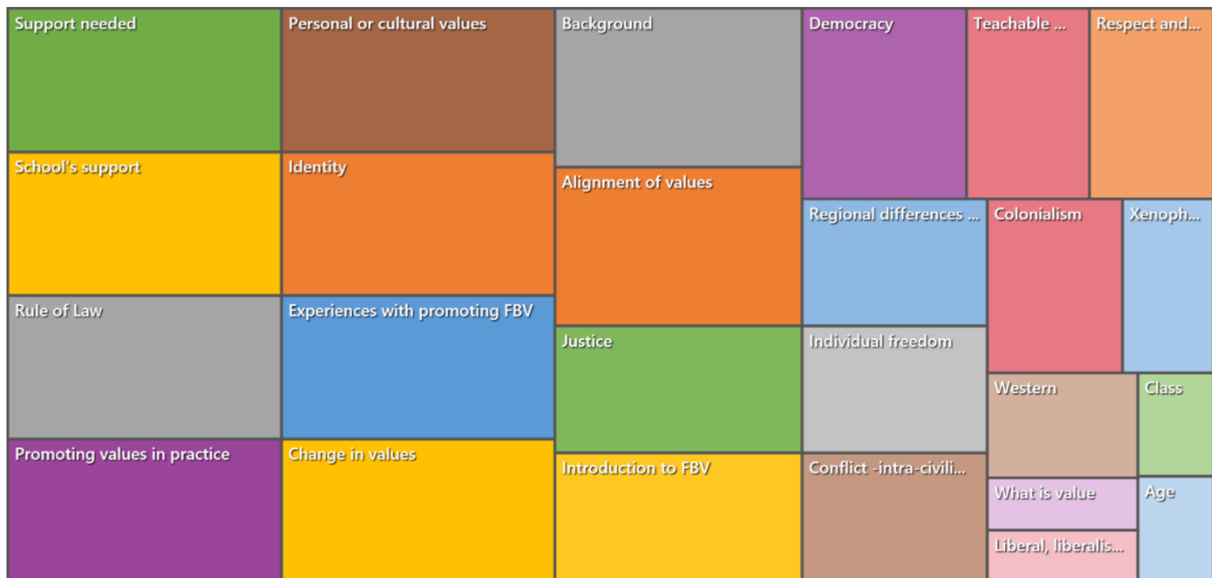

Table 8: Hierarchy chart, compared by number of items coded (max.5)

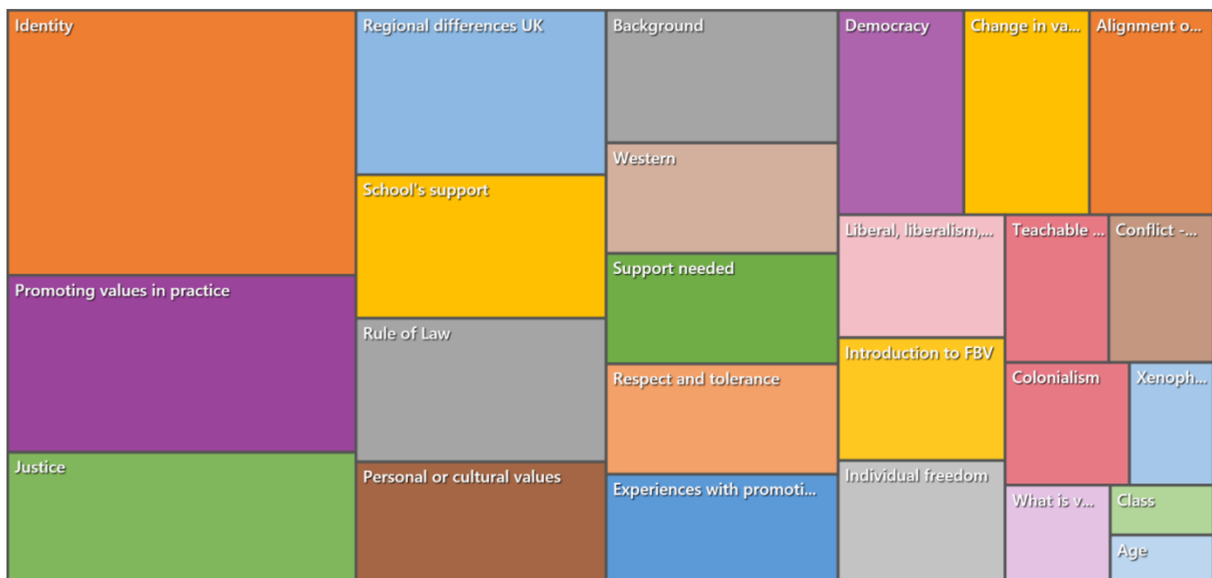

Table 9: Hierarchy chart, compared by number of coding references

There is also no need to swap between the tables, as tapping on any of the themes reveals the number of coding references and items coded.

Table 10: Screenshot of the hierarchy chart

The explore diagrams (below) are a simple way to see how rich in themes the individual interviews were – the dots/bubbles refer to themes (nodes). The total number of themes is 25; the richest in themes was the interview with Arthur (22 out of 25 themes), then with Oliver and Ava (both 19), 15 themes were identified in the interview with Emily, and 13 with Grace. The explore diagrams can be found in Appendix C.

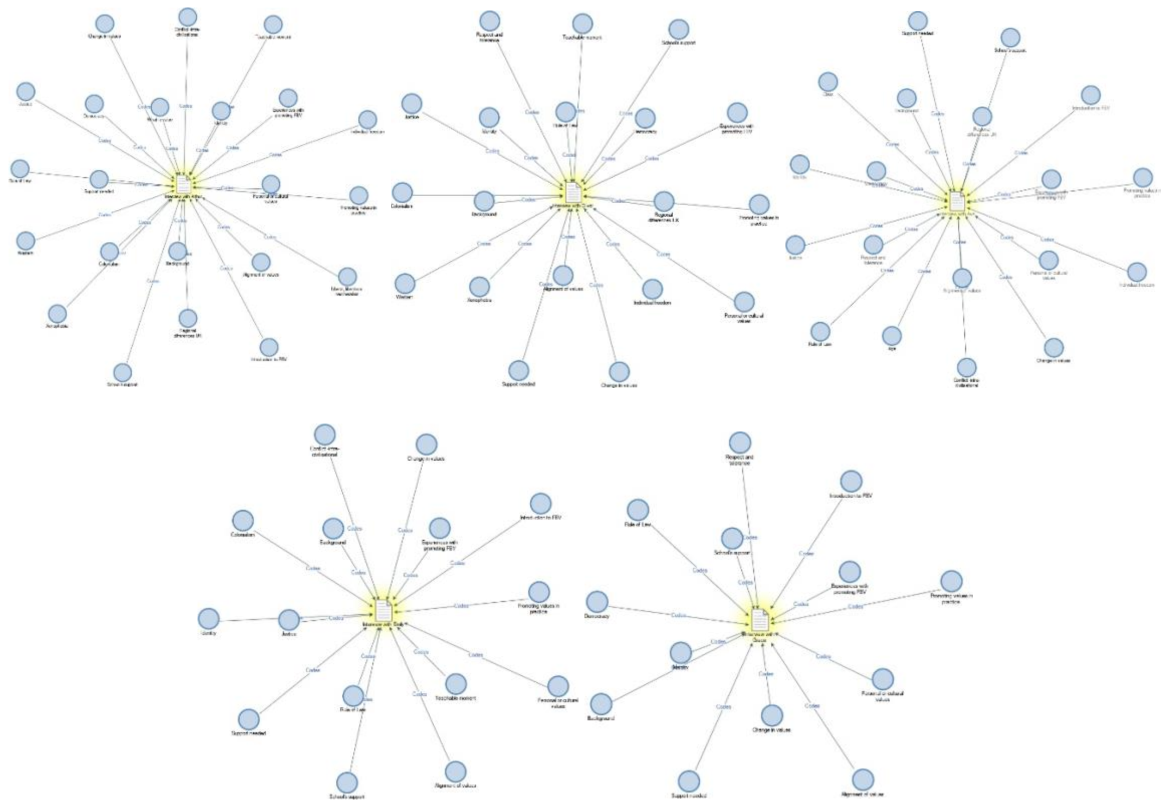

Table 11: Explore diagrams

Although I identified 25 themes in the interviews, there were no explicit or not sufficiently explicit mentions of many themes identified in the literature reviewed, such as race and racism or Islamophobia. The following sections are thus a mixture of themes extracted from the interviews and the literature, starting with two themes identified in the literature on Critical Race Theory, life history, and fundamental British values: identity and justice.

4.3 Identity construction: Being "non-English" in England

One of the major themes identified in the data was identity – 18 times across all 5 interviews. Identity can be understood as the construction and understanding of self in relation to others, or *the Other* (Burkitt, 2011). People are likely to have multiple identities which are "potentially conflicting, overlapping identities, loyalties, and allegiances" (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017). Heywood (2014, p. 187) defines identity as a "relatively stable and enduring sense of selfhood; identity may be personal

(unique to an individual), social (shared with a group), or human (shared with all people)". During the interviews, participants referred to their national or ethnic identities (social identities) even without prompting – calling themselves "White", "Italian", "Irish/Irishman", "American", "Australian". However, as Elliott (2005, p. 43) says, identities are "shaped in interaction and through discourse". One participant, Emily, disclosed that her sibling told her "You are not American anymore" during her recent visit to her native U.S., referring to how she has changed, even though she could not see any significant change herself.

Some participants were not conflicted about their national identities – Arthur identified himself repeatedly as a "pale, male, and stale" Italian person, and the Irish identity was important to Oliver (often placed in contrast to British identity). However, what had changed for them were their worldviews; all participants talked about their becoming a person different from who they were before they moved abroad and accepted that the environment had had a significant impact on their personal identity.

Emily's identity appeared to be particularly complex and perhaps confusing to her. As stated above, she was told by her family member that she was "not American anymore"; and several years ago, when she was looking for a job in England, she was told that she was "too international" for the job, whatever that means.

Ava, despite living "in England basically [her] whole adult life", is "told that [her] outlook and approaches can be very Australian". However, she sees herself different from her childhood Australian friends with whom she is in touch, as their mindsets are narrow, according to Ava:

> "I do find myself quite shocked, for example, with my childhood friends from Australia and how narrow they see the world… I do get quite shocked by how narrow people's mindsets are when I'm over there and I think, is that how I would be?"

Some of the participants became naturalised British citizens. Yet, none identifies as British. The closest would probably be Oliver, who comes from Northern Ireland. Oliver acknowledges that Northern Irish society is divided on identity lines: “two identities, two tribes”. He does not see an issue with having both identities (British and Irish); however, he recognises that the issue is political and due to the political leadership, it is not possible; which is why respect is a vital value to practise, according to Oliver, as lack of respect led to the Troubles.

According to Parker (2020), the author of an article on constructing the local and national identities of St Helenians, one can hold a hybrid identity – different national and local identities. The author explains that “national identity can be fickle, undependable and even dispensable” (ibid., p. 245). British identity was understood as national identity, and St Helenians held British citizenship between 1673 and 1981, and have again held it since 2002; St Helenian identity is then constructed as a local identity. The ease of removing British citizenship from an entire nation shows, according to Parker (ibid., p. 246), that “the British national identity was an artificial construct and one which was associated with whiteness”. Unlike St Helenians, my participants actively sought British citizenship, but this can be revoked by the government (Webber, 2022). And still, the “imperial nostalgia” (Ali, 2020), according to which “Britain has always been a democracy, the British people have always been tolerant and the Rule of Law has always existed” (Revell and Bryan, 2018, p. 18-19), is not only a dominant narrative in the UK, but also shapes perception of the UK abroad.

Emily, who was hired together with her husband as “a married teaching couple” and taught British English in a country which was a British colony at one point in history[8], was “expected to create a safe ‘British’ environment” which reflected the expectations of students (clients): “When people pay to come to a British-focused school in their own country, they do expect a kind of British environment” – “it was quite a romanticized view of Britain, despite their colonial, you know, difficulties that they may have had dealing with British people in the past”. Therefore, how we

[8] When revising the interview transcript, Emily removed names of countries and companies.

perceive ourselves and how others perceive us both affect (but perhaps not always equally) identity construction.

4.3.1 Conceptual whiteness and conceptual blackness

As explored in Chapter II, being “Black” is not only about skin colour, not in Critical Race Theory. Taylor (2016) refers to “conceptual whiteness” and “conceptual blackness”. She states that the terms “White” and “Black” “indicate a particular political and legal structure rooted in the ideology” (ibid., p. 3). This is supported by other Critical Race theorists, such as Milton-Williams and Bryan (2021) who conducted life history research with a Black male teacher who served as a role model for his Black students and counters the stereotype of Black males being “thugs”. However, as stated above, it is not only about skin colour – any “foreign” element can be perceived as conceptually Black[9].

When I started my research, one of the first issues was language – what term to use to refer to the participants as a group. In the end, most of the participants identified as White, mostly because they are White (Caucasian) and have interacted with people of colour, either in the UK or other countries, and recognise the difference in treatment of White and non-White people.

The term “white supremacy”, according to Cole and Maisuria (2007, p. 95–96), “homogenises all white people together in positions of class power and privilege”, which is problematic. Even White foreigners in England are put in different categories – depending on whether they come from the “West” (a cultural, not geographical category), particularly English-speaking countries, or the “East” (such as Central and Eastern Europe). The Polish and the Romanians, in particular, have been

[9] The UK tabloids are full of handy examples: Eastern-Europeans portrayed as gold-diggers (*'I want a fresh start': Romanian widower, 28, of British vicar, 81, says he was chased by gold-diggers as he reveals plans to sell husband's luxury flat and splash out on new house and car*, Daily Mail, May 28, 2021), migrants dehumanised by being referred to as insect (*Footage reveals how easy it is for migrants to board lorries bound for Britain: Men are among 'hundreds' seen swarming trucks destined for the UK*, Daily Mail, July 21, 2014; Katie Hopkins referring to migrants as “cockroaches” in the article *Rescue boats? I’d use gunships to stop migrants*, the Sun, April 17, 2015).

subjected to racialisation, and "although they exercise their right to free movement granted to all EU citizens by the EU Treaty, 'Eastern Europeans' are nevertheless seen as 'migrants'" and "reported on as nameless figures" (Połońska-Kimunguyi, 2022, p. 7). These groups can then only exist on the periphery of whiteness.

Barrett and Roediger (1997) researched the names used for European migrants to the U.S. between the end of the 19th century and the 1920s; terms such as "temporary Negros", "not-yet-white ethnics", nonwhite, or half-black were on the list. The reference to "black" and "white" appears here, because, according to Delgado and Stefancic (1997), 'race' is usually portrayed as binary, such as Black/White. The immigrant groups to the U.S. – of Caucasian people nonetheless – were racialised upon arrival (even though some, such as the Irish, were already racialised by their colonial power, Britain). With racialisation comes stereotyping, and thus "conceptual blackness".

My research participants acknowledged what "foreigners" (real or perceived) face in the UK. Oliver reminded me of explicit racist incidents during football matches, expressing his disappointment particularly with English fandom. Arthur expanded on xenophobia in Britain, and the use of slurs ("Johnny Foreigner", "Polish vermin", "Paki"), referring to UK society as "very xenophobic" with a tendency to place "blame" onto foreigners.

However, generally, the participants felt excluded from such a narrative; thus, the category of conceptual blackness was not as applicable as I had expected.

4.3.2 Colonial roots of hierarchisation

Hierarchisation was a prominent feature of colonialism – for instance, France, as a colonial master, called "Europeanised" Africans *Evolue* – evolved. They were perceived by the French (and France is not the only colonial power which did this) as more than other Black people, but not equal to Whites. In some places, such hierarchy, linked to access to resources, including power, had led to deep

divisions that transcended colonial times, to protracted social conflicts, and to genocide. (Kenyon, 2018)

The idea of *evolving* is also behind the fallacy of *hard work*; the myth that hard work always leads to financial success and that, therefore, poor people are *lazy*. If they do not want to be poor, they would work harder – implying that poverty is a choice. This is of course countered by the *reality* of poverty; in the UK itself, one of the richest countries in the world, the fifth largest economy (World Bank, 2021), some of the poorest have more than one job and yet, do not make enough money to even pay rent (JRF, 2021).

In addition to assigning blame to victims of inequality and structural racism, people who are perceived as *foreign* by the White majority are expected to assimilate, blend in, and be grateful. This was also reflected in some of the responses of my participants; Ava, for instance, used the word "integrate" twice, and Arthur referred to his *adaptation* to environment.

Ava made an observation that people of foreign or non-White origin are more likely to be accepted when they integrate into the middle class; this implicitly suggests that minorities and groups who are discriminated against may be regarded as blameworthy, as they did not integrate enough. However, even when integration is attempted, it can be prevented by racism. Ava pointed out that in her middle-class village, there is no Black household, indicating how difficult class mobility is for non-White people:

> "I live in quite a small-populated village, a quite affluent village, well-educated middle class, and we have got three gay households. But it wasn't until a couple of weeks ago that somebody pointed out how weird it is that we've got three gay households, but no Black households. So, I'm not (*inaudible*) to that, but I just find that is quite – is that the demographic of where we are living? Or is that the demographic of how society in middle England works? That it's easier, that if you are gay to integrate into society, more so than, say, if you are Black. And to my shame I didn't even recognize that there weren't any Black

> people. So, I don't know what that says about me, not noticing it. Or if it says, you know, like I said about the – how we are as a society."

Ava also recalled the visit of an Australian friend who expected tensions and "anti-Muslim feeling" because "that's the sort of impression they get in the media in Australia", but "they didn't recognize any racial tensions, prejudices, and how for their experience that people were integrated". Integration seems to be perceived as a positive thing and the key to harmonious co-existence.

Hierarchy and hierarchisation have a long tradition and explain at least partly how the racialisation of groups has evolved. Arthur (who is a History teacher) placed racism in the historical context of colonialism, the plantation system, and segregation, linking discrimination to economic rights. This also explains the historical context of values and their temporariness:

> "For instance, when you study what happened at the beginning of the colonisation of America, with the plantation systems, it was very interesting, the study of how the political constitution of the colonies and then the republic developed in terms of who is entitled to some political rights and who is not. And it was very interesting to show them [students] that the White colonist had a specific point of view, that would not be just bluntly racist, but to understand, it's mostly linked to their economic rights, to enjoy political rights in Britain, therefore their political rights in the U.S. were based on the economic and social system of plantation and segregation and otherwise it couldn't be any different. Of course, this doesn't justify it, but it forces people to understand this point of view and explains why some people reach the conclusion that you can discriminate based on race. They mostly understand that it explains that discrimination is not based on race, but that it is expressed through race, but it's a different form of discrimination, motivated by other factors. So, this shows them – I think they got the understanding that these values are formal, then they had to be embedded in a society and live in a specific period of time, specific material circumstances, that the values themselves do not consider."

This interpretation of the plantation system and the origins of racism in the U.S. downplays racial discrimination, as it explains racialisation as a consequence of social development in Britain and racism as an economic necessity. There is a "relationship between racism and economic oppression" (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017, p. 13), but discrimination is not "expressed through race", as Arthur said, but is based on racialized identities. The category of "race" is "a socially constructed category created to […] show superiority or dominance of one race over another" (Solorzano and Yosso, 2016, p. 127); races are "categories that society invents, manipulates, and retires when convenient" (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017, p. 9). What the example can explain is how racism has become institutionalised.

Colonialism was also mentioned by Emily several times. For instance, colonialism has affected what language is spoken in a country ("English is one of the main languages in that country because of colonialism") and also created romanticised views of the UK "despite their colonial … difficulties". This indicates that the "single narrative of the nature of Britishness" has been effective: "In this scenario Britain has always been a democracy, the British people have always been tolerant and the Rule of Law has always existed" (Revell and Bryan, 2018, p. 18-19).

Emily could see this in practice: students expected to be exposed to a "British" culture, including the opportunity to be heard and to have ideas and experiences considered as important, even though it was a cultural challenge to them. Emily takes advantage of this (romanticised) image of the UK and has made it her mission to empower young people in this way, as, in Emily's view, it is also relevant to their academic success at British universities.

However, this can be perceived as patronising, since it portrays one culture as somewhat better than the other. In addition, as Emily said, "selling British English" has become "a lucrative thing", bringing economic benefits.

To overcome the hierarchisation of cultures, Emily strives to “to see people as unique individuals” regardless of their origin, to practise respect for individuals, making the values universal (applied to all human persons regardless of their origin).

The issue of cultural differences was also raised by Ava. She shared a story about a Nigerian student who struggled to understand the lack or at least the low(er) level of corruption in the UK compared to Nigeria when it came to the distribution of Covid vaccines:

> “One of my Nigerian students was a bit cross because her father had arranged for her to have a Covid jab, but she couldn't have it, because she was having to get on the plane to come to the UK. So that meant that she was having to come to the UK, this cesspit of Covid, without a jab. And she was asking ‘how come that you were getting a jab?’, and she said ‘because of the family contacts?’. So, for her, this idea that we were in the UK, having this – it didn't even matter if you were the royal family, it didn't matter who you knew, this was how it was, the age 70 plus, and it was going down, down, and that concept, she could not get her head around. That, you know, how could some eighty- … they're not important. Now, for her that is actually a British value, which is a very positive value that we discussed, and that was about the differences between the two. Because she's used to the thought that money and status wins you privileges. Okay, it does, even in Britain, you’d be lying if you say it doesn't, but when it comes to the big things, like something like this -- She did understand towards the end.”

Corruption was also mentioned by Emily. She taught in Muslim-majority countries and views the “British” influence (when she worked for a British company abroad) as positive, providing a space void of corruption, highlighting that it was an unusual place for the students in that particular country, as it also allowed the mixing of men and women.

However, these views are also problematic, playing into the stereotypes portraying Western democracies as corruption-free and developing countries as ridden with corruption. This perpetuates the “first world – third world” hierarchy, and “justifies” racial discrimination.

Therefore, the role of colonialism was partially problematised, not necessarily considered as “evil”; on the other hand, some responses referred to former colonies in a negative way, in contrast to “superior” (e.g., less corrupt) Britain, without further exploring the issue of colonialism and its legacies. The responses provided some insight into racial hierarchy and racialisation as well.

4.3.3 Intersectionality

One of the key terms in Critical Race Theory is *intersectionality*. This term, introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw, describes how individual characteristics such as gender, class, race, or age, intersect or overlap creating unique and compounding experiences of discrimination (Crenshaw, 1995).

Of the five research participants, three are female. None of them referred to their gender in their responses. However, male participants, Arthur in particular, acknowledged their male privilege. None of the female participants came to England as single people; children of two out of the three female participants were born in England. These two participants, Ava and Grace, were mothers before becoming teachers in England. Therefore, these participants first had to adjust to their new country in their unpaid roles as wives and mothers. The three other participants, one female and two male, had become parts of teams of professionals, thus having access to more people – more potential support and more exposure to English culture.

Ava sees the deep roots of division in British/English society in the existence of social classes; according to Savage et al. (2013, p. 246), “social class divisions in the stratification of British society” are prominent. With respect to class/social mobility, it is possible to establish links to education. Education is the means to move to a higher class (“conventional routes through education”, ibid., p.

240). Yet, it is the educated White British elites that demonstrate a staggering ignorance and racism, especially when trying to prevent people in need from seeking refuge in the UK (the new Nationality and Borders Bill of 2021 being an example), even though this violates the right to seek asylum listed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 14.1, The United Nations General Assembly, 1948), and the Refugee Convention (The United Nations Refugee Agency, 1951 and 1967), both of which the UK signed, and the latter ratified.

However, racism and xenophobia can be found across social classes, as shown by my experience. The following critical incident took place shortly after the 'Brexit' referendum of 2016. I was aggressively addressed in a pub by a White middle-aged (seemingly) working class man, who heard me ordering at the bar, thus hearing my accent. He turned to me and without a greeting or a smile asked me: "What do you do?" The tone immediately changed from hostile to friendly after my response (that I am a college teacher); subsequently, he asked me about my education and what I was teaching at the sixth form. It was not the most pleasant of experiences, but I was relieved that it turned out to be merely bizarre and not dangerous. My White English female colleague later downplayed the event as a clumsy attempt of flirting. As Breen (2018, p. 33) observes, "racism has become so nuanced that it evades detection in mainstream society". Thus, Critical Race Theory starts with "the premise that racism is a normal and endemic component of our social fabric" (Lopez, 2003, p. 83), challenging the idea that racism is an "individual and irrational act in a world that is otherwise neutral, rational, and just" (p. 69).

According to Taylor (2016), the normative category of whiteness (in the U.S.) includes maleness, school achievement, middle classness, beauty, and intelligence. The normative category of blackness is characterised by gangs, welfare recipients, basketball players, and the underclass. With the exception of Grace, whose university degree is not recognised in the UK, which prevents her from pursuing a higher degree, all the participants meet the *school achievement* characteristic. All can be considered *middle class*, due to their occupation and education (Savage et al., 2013); it also further

explains Grace's desire to secure a *good job*, as she called it; a *good*, respectable job would move her from the category of *blackness*.

Some of my participants were also facing language barriers, which according to Crenshaw (1995), is a structural problem limiting opportunities. Two participants learned English as an additional language. Language is generally considered part of a culture; thus, a language barrier can increase the cultural barrier and inhibit understanding of a new culture. The other three participants, though, did share stories about language issues too – since British English, or the English dialect used in the area, differs from their *native* English. It can be concluded that all participants are recognisable as being *foreign* from their accents, if not their choice of words or syntax.

Only one of the participants, Grace, is not Caucasian. She did not talk about her experiences as a person of colour beyond her struggles to find a "good job" and improve her social status. According to Crenshaw (1995), immigrant women of colour are most likely to be "socially and economically the most marginal" (p. 1250) and face more structural problems that limit their opportunities.

When it comes to age, the participants were between 40 and 60. However, some have been living in England for decades, for example Ava said that she has "lived in England basically [her] whole adult life". Besides referring to age as a factor in changing personal values, the participants did not talk about or imply the significance of age. Therefore, there was not enough data to explore how the category of age intersects with other categories.

However, some of the responses indicated a complex "hierarchy of oppression" (Bhopal, 2020, p. 807). Similarly to Narkowicz's research, my participants can also be seen as positioned "on the peripheries of whiteness" (Narkowicz, 2023, p. 1534). She observed that her participants "focused disproportionate attention on Muslim women and their dress" (ibid., p. 1546). Similarly, Arthur selected examples of initiating a discussion with a female Muslim student about her scarf and of the allowed attire of female teachers in Jewish schools in London. According to Narkowicz, these are "racially prejudiced narratives" (ibid., p. 1543), perpetuating "mostly negative, highly racialised and

stereotypical views" (ibid., p. 1544). Thus, my participants, despite not considering themselves racist and being aware of systemic racism, still occasionally employed the "racist narrative" (ibid., p. 1535).

Here, "intersectionality can be used to unmask the racism in education, to shine a light on our own role as academics and to highlight the obvious and visible, but also to highlight the underlying and so-called 'invisible' aspects of racism" (Bhopal, 2020, p. 813-814). Teachers should see "themselves as members of the community" (Ladson-Billings, 1995, p. 478) and "systematically include student culture in the classroom as authorized or official knowledge" (ibid., p. 483).

4.4 Becoming more "liberal": Experiential knowledge and the commitment to social justice

What I drew from the stories shared is that my participants invest considerable effort in treating students equally: everyone is allowed and encouraged to voice their opinions. Equality is one of the main constructs used in Critical Race Theory. Dixson and Rousseau (2005) distinguish between restrictive and expansive views on equality – equality of process (treating students equally) and equality of outcomes (equal results). My participants focused mostly on equality of process; (academic) results were not discussed or even mentioned by the participants. However, considering the overall data provided by the *Sunlit Uplands School*, almost all students progress to university, implying there may be "equitable educational outcomes for all students" (Dixson and Rousseau, 2005, p. 20).

Arthur linked the concept of equality to neoliberalism:

> "Equality is complicated because it's part of the rule of law and democracy. Equality as absence of discrimination, an individual right; but broader social equality – most people who subscribe to sustain and believe in the British values actively are neoliberal, but they will

never put their money into the state to create conditions of equality, so it depends on what remains."

Arthur's understanding corresponds with Vaught and Castagno's (2008) findings from their research on teachers' attitudes towards whiteness and white privilege as well as Ragazzi's (2015) interpretation of neoliberal communitarianism. According to Vaught and Castagno (2008, p. 107), teachers believe that it is the liberal interest "working within and relying upon existing structures, and assuming that those structures are just and equitable". Ragazzi (2015, p. 167) claims that neoliberal communitarianism "promotes free choice, social and political entrepreneurship, performance and a moral duty to assist the government in providing services to the public – including security". But this "formal equality" only "protects and perpetuates the property vested in Whiteness" (Vaught and Castagno, 2008, p. 107) and maintains status quo. Since most of my participants are White, they benefit from this formal equality.

However, unlike in academic literature (such as Kapoor, 2013, Ragazzi, 2015, Venugopal, 2015, Farrell, 2019, Vincent, 2019b), my participants do not consider "liberalism" as a negative notion – that is, those who referred to the UK/England as a liberal place. For Arthur, Ava, and Oliver, liberalism is about tolerance, respect, freedom, equality, acceptance of the existence of different points of view, and being open-minded. The process of becoming "more liberal" was explained by Arthur: his journey from having a "provincial" (Italian) to a "multicultural, cosmopolitan" mindset happened thanks to being exposed to different cultures when he started living abroad (US, UK) and in more multicultural environments. Similarly, Ava referred to people in her home country, Australia, as having "narrow minds" which she could see only due to living in England and being exposed to different views and values.

Oliver admitted that as an Irishman he would be inclined to see "the bad side" of English society, in the context of British colonialism and partition, but, as he says: "when you live here, you're always open to seeing how good people are here and how diverse it is and how people have opportunities."

In comparison, “parts” of Northern Ireland are “a bit backwards”, according to Oliver. He has also experienced various environments during his work abroad (Türkiye, France, Australia), which has had an immense impact on him: “working abroad, living abroad, certainly does open your mind, you're meeting so many different people and the job that I've been lucky enough to do or be involved with link me with different nationalities and great people all over the globe”.

This idea that travelling makes people more accepting is also promoted by the EU Commission and is behind the Erasmus Programme (student exchange programme of the European Union) – “Education, training, youth work and sport are key to promote common European values, foster social integration, enhance intercultural understanding and a sense of belonging to a community, and to prevent violent radicalisation” (European Commission, 2018, p. 5); my first experience of living abroad (in Germany) was thanks to the Erasmus Programme and it changed my views and the course of my life – similarly to Ava, I saw the illiberal views held and perpetuated by my fellow citizens, and realised the need for common values and the acceptance of others.

Arthur, Oliver, and Ava expressed the wish that their students undergo a similar path of broadening their minds and worldviews. On the other hand, travelling did not change Emily’s views and values to a large extent; she claims that her core value has always been “respect”. She does not believe her values have changed during her many stays abroad, as she comes from a multiracial family and was exposed to the necessity of liberal values (such as social inclusion and justice) early in her life.

Regardless of their experiences, all participants discussed how they help their students to open their minds, which often comes in the form of challenging their views. Most of the stories illustrating such challenges involved Muslim students: Oliver recalled his experience with male Muslim students who did not want to attend a Christmas service in the Cathedral (which led to a discussion engaging students in critical thinking); Arthur challenged a female Muslim student regarding her freedoms of choice (which led to a discussion on freedom of choice and cultural influence, even though this particular incident singled out a female Muslim student and her attire, which may imply that Arthur

"[echoed] familiar tropes around […] women's rights" when talking about Muslims; Narkowicz, 2023, p. 1546). A conclusion that can be drawn from these experiences was summarised by Arthur: "the one who has bad ideas – and when I say bad ideas, let me qualify. Bad ideas [are] ideas that really differ from the British values, such as discrimination, intolerance. So, when there are those ideas, you really realise that a person at least is engaged in the discussion, struggles to be independent." This further supports the idea that being exposed to different cultures and worldviews makes people more tolerant and respectful.

4.5 Personal and cultural values

The participants were asked to explain their personal and cultural values. To alleviate the pressure on the participants to quickly come up with several values, they also had access to a list compiled from the literature reviewed: *personal freedom, individual rights, success in life, orderly society, stability, hierarchy, respect for authority and elderly, justice, solidarity, peace, love, respect, tolerance, cooperation, fairness, respect for truth, respect for reasoning* (Slethaug, 2007). In some cases, the list gave impetus to further elaboration on personal values; in the case of the interview with Arthur, the list led to a more detailed discussion on what counts as a value, which I hoped would happen more in the interviews, but I did not force it. The only participant who struggled to talk about their personal / cultural values beyond this prompt was Grace, possibly due to the language barrier or anxiety caused by her wish to please the researcher (Goodson and Sikes, 2001) and provide "correct" answers.

The term "personal and cultural values" led to limited discussion. Arthur claimed that "personal and cultural [values] are different", however, they are interlinked in his explanation:

> "It's very sad but I'm pale, male, stale in culture. My specialisation is early modern European history. When I went to grammar school, I was trained in Latin and foreign languages, mostly English and French, nothing else, so I don't have any knowledge or any deep knowledge of

> extra-European cultures and it's that traditional one, basically, very much so. And personal values, they are linked to this."

For Ava, personal values overlap with professional values, as one cannot be authentic in their professional role when these values are not congruent.

Below is the list of values explicitly stated by the participants in the interviews:

Participant	Value
Arthur	Individual freedom, respect, tolerance, intolerance of intolerant ideas, diversity and difference
Emily	Respect, seeing people as unique individuals, self-acceptance, tolerance
Grace	Respect, tolerance, love, peace, friendship
Ava	Respect, tolerance, solidarity, kinsmanship (kinship), individual rights, justice and fairness
Oliver	Equality, respect, anti-discrimination, justice, individual rights, citizenship, openness, democracy

Table 12: List of personal/cultural values

The most frequently expressed value was respect: respect for others and oneself, respect for individual freedom, respect for faith or lack of faith, respect for authority and the elderly, and respect for intellectual and moral integrity. Most of the participants also reflected on how they promote respect in their practice and how they expect students, their colleagues, the school, and wider public to *live* this value.

For instance, Emily said that the most important personal value is respect. She claimed that this has not changed throughout her life and has only become more prominent. She lives by this value. Closely linked to respect for others is the value of "seeing people as individuals". Place of origin is not important for Emily, as it only leads to stereotyping. Respecting people for who and what they are, their (own) identity is a vital personal value for Emily.

Ava outlined the value of respect in terms of respect for oneself, respect for others, respect for intellectual and moral integrity. She was also the only participant that talked about solidarity –

solidarity and *kinsmanship* (kinship). According to Ava, it is not possible for communities to exist without such ties. Ava was also the only participant who referred to her community in the place where she lives. She feels very much part of this community and embraces many values by which the community lives. She reflected on *class*, being relatively wealthy to afford living there, the lack of ethnic diversity, but the acceptance of gay (middle class) people. Ava mused whether it is a racist or classist issue; according to government data, poverty is unequally distributed among people of colour: Pakistani (31.1%), Bangladeshi (19.3%), and Black (15.2%; includes Black African, Black Caribbean, and Black other) people are most likely to live in the "most deprived 10% of neighbourhoods" in the UK (HM Government, 2020b). Unsurprisingly, White people are least likely to live in these neighbourhoods (9%; ibid.). Therefore, the categories of "race" and class intersect here.

Arthur referred to his personal values as the "values of the Enlightenment". It may be worth mentioning that Arthur studies and writes (and publishes) on the Enlightenment. He specified these values in terms of individual freedom, respect, tolerance for different beliefs or lack of belief, and intolerance of intolerant ideas. This is an intriguing point – *intolerance of intolerant ideas*. When some individuals or groups promote intolerance towards other groups, should these views be tolerated? The policy *Independent Schools Standards* (DfE, April 2019) for instance refers to the issue of same-sex marriage – one can disagree with it, but has to accept that it is legal, thus one must respect the rule of law.

> "The standard will not be met if, for example, the PSHE curriculum […] were to facilitate debate on same-sex marriage, but teaches pupils that the parties to such a marriage do not merit the protection which the legal status of marriage or civil partnership affords in law – although teaching that the faith position of the school is that marriage is only between a man and a woman is acceptable." (p.10)

Therefore, according to this policy, one can hold intolerant views, but cannot lie about the law. But how does this promote tolerance and respect? In addition, the issue even with liberal views, values,

and norms is that promoting them may be by illiberal means, as "these concepts, practices and traditions are presented as uncontested truths" (Revell and Bryan, 2018). To overcome these illiberal means, most participants emphasised the importance of respecting, or at least tolerating other people's views, but also of being open to discussion. The possibility of discussion was a recurring theme in the interviews.

Grace, as stated above, focused predominantly on the Eastern values: respect for authority and the elderly, peace, love, respect, tolerance, and the respect for truth (Slethaug, 2007). Many of these *Eastern* values do not differ from *Western* values, namely respect and tolerance. However, as Grace pointed out, *Eastern* values are more focused on community rather than on individuals; as Grace explained, individual liberty is not something she necessarily focuses on. For Grace, her ethnic group experiences in her country of origin are due to a lack of rights – it is not safe to be too *visible*; thus, *individual liberty* does not exist and is not as desired as safety is – both personal and group safety[10].

The value of friendship was also explored in the interview with Grace. She values friendship the most – she wishes to make no enemies, and harmonious relationships are very important to her. Another of her values is societal status, as she has experience of discrimination due to her origin – both in her home country and her "adoptive" country. Being respected is, in this view, earned. This status is also linked to monetary value – but it is easy to sneer at such values when one has never experienced poverty or the humiliation of being looked down at.

Oliver agreed with the full list of values presented, including the Eastern values of respect for authority and the elderly, hierarchy, cooperation, justice, truth, reasoning, and success in life (Slethaug, 2007). However, Oliver placed emphasis on respect and equality of opportunity. Growing up in a conflict environment (Northern Ireland), he realised that the lack of opportunity resulting from inequality exacerbates and perpetuates the stereotypes and grievances groups hold against

[10] The overview of the situation of the Chinese ethnic in Indonesia can be found for example here Chinese - Minority Rights Group (2018).

each other. He also touched upon gender (in)equality and racial (in)equality, linked to the value of anti-discrimination, but did not elaborate, which potentially implies that these forms of inequality are not that important to him.

In addition, Oliver also values “trying to be better citizens and people”. No other participant reflected on this. The idea of citizenship, highlighted in the literature (Archard, 2003, Biesta, 2013, Vincent 2019b), seemed to be of lesser importance to my research participants. There is no tension between being a “good citizen” and having a cosmopolitan outlook in Oliver’s responses. Being a good citizen has nothing to do with overt nationalism and everything to do with the values of respect, equality, individual rights, and justice, according to Oliver. This can be linked to Ava’s views on the importance of community ties; however, in Oliver’s view, the community is as large as a nation compared to Ava’s village-size community. Nevertheless, both participants implicitly connect one’s responsibilities towards a community and the benefits received from membership in that community, regardless of how the membership has been acquired (by birth or by settling in a place).

Only Arthur disagreed with some of the items on the list of values, claiming that those “are not values”, such as dignity, peace, or love. When discussing “respect for the elderly”, Arthur remarked that it can be considered a value, “but if you live in Brexit Britain where overwhelmingly the elderly people voted against the young people, so sometimes it may not be”, meaning that sometimes it is difficult to respect the elderly.

4.5.1 Changes in values in life

Despite the directness of the question (*How have your values changed during your life?*), not very rich data was collected. Most participants (except Oliver) believed that their personal values had largely remained the same, only that some had become more important or prominent. Yet, as the interviews progressed, the participants could identify some changes linked to their experiences.

Oliver, on the other hand, immediately reflected on his international experience (teaching abroad) which had made him more open-minded. Via meeting and interacting with people, he had learnt from others and used this experience to broaden his mind:

> "I think it has because I've travelled abroad; working abroad, living abroad certainly does open your mind, you're meeting so many different people and the job that I've been lucky enough to do or be involved with, link me with different nationalities and great people all over the globe. I've always found myself very lucky to learn from them and have conversations about them and see that – what we have in common, as much as anything; we've talked about values, the fundamental values of treating people with respect, which is important, and I've always seen that regardless of religious differences or different ways of doing things or beliefs, it's still these fundamental values, always being there and I've always looked for that in people… I've always felt lucky enough to learn from that, to be involved in that."

In contrast, it has been living in England that has made Ava more *liberal*. She expanded on her answers by comparing the attitudes and behaviours of her Australian compatriots with those of the English people she has encountered. Ava also admitted that her respect for others had developed and grown during her life, as had her sense of justice and fairness. She did not clarify whether this was primarily in the UK, but Ava has lived in England almost her entire adult life. However, she considered age as the main factor in personal development.

This view was shared by Grace. Earlier in her life, Grace valued material possessions as most important: "I used to think that material is very important, but not anymore. Of course, it's still important but it's not the main thing, I guess, now." She associates the change with her age, not her culture.

Oliver and Arthur have mostly been affected by living abroad and in England. Oliver enjoyed working and living abroad which gave him the opportunity to meet "many different people" and he also

appreciates how diverse England and London are. Arthur said: “Going around the world, living in Britain, living in the U.S., living in London, more importantly, that’s where you meet different cultures, you come to really experience multiculturalism or cosmopolitanism”. He admits that his experiences have led him to rethink his behaviour due to the process of “adaptation” to new environments: “the fact that you directly experience the presence of different cultures, different ethnicities and different traditions on an everyday basis, it really compels you to revise your own ideas”. Arthur spent a significant portion of the interview explaining to me the influence of experiencing and meeting different cultures, but also how he found in himself more tolerance and understanding.

Arthur described his home country, Italy, as follows: “I come from a country which is culturally – they like to think of themselves, looking at the past, big country, big culture, but it is very provincial”. As Italy is in his view quite homogenous (“90% Catholic country”), his travelling to different countries, meeting people and talking to them made him realise what discrimination is; Arthur calls it “indirect experience”. He concludes, because he is “pale, stale, and male”, he does not “realise” what many people experience in their everyday life: “If you are a (White) male, you don't realise that many things.” This is why it has been eye-opening for him to travel and live abroad and to befriend people of various backgrounds: “it’s the process of indirect experience of stuff and discussion with people from different cultures, brings you to see something that you can only theoretically understand but you don't experience.”

It can be concluded that some participants observed a change in their values due to age – becoming more open-minded and accepting of different views – without reflecting on specific experiences in their lives, while others viewed travelling, living and working abroad, and contact with people from different cultures as formative experiences.

4.6 Alignment of personal/cultural values and fundamental British values

Overall, the responses of my participants support the findings of Janmaat (2018), who analysed data from the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study regarding young people's attitudes towards fundamental British values: there is very high support for fundamental British values, regardless of the ethnic origin of respondents. My data indicate that the participants' values align with fundamental British values. All research participants expressed positive attitudes towards the four fundamental British values and their personal/cultural values did not clash with them.

According to Arthur, it is impossible not to agree or disagree with fundamental British values "because they are so vague"; however, he adds, "it really depends on their interpretation". Similarly, Ava expressed "full alignment" but highlighted that fundamental British values are very generic and are open to interpretation.

Arthur claimed that the UK has certain cultural values that have become institutionalised – or institutional values, which are carefully selected fundamental British values. They reflect the current state of development of British society, originating from the Enlightenment. Revell and Bryan (2018, p. 7) similarly claim that a specific set of values is political and temporary: "there are only the values that particular government or policy documents at specific times insist are British."

The only exception to full alignment was Grace; individual liberty clashes with her culture, where personal liberty is not pursued. There is a cultural barrier, affected not only by traditional East Asian culture but also by the minority status of her community and consequent mistreatment. Being safe is more important than individual liberty – not being involved, due to lack of political rights and representation, and wishing to be left alone, as Grace explained to me. This view suggests that it is not possible to apply the values universally (specifically the rule of law, democracy, freedom). This view is obviously problematic and would support the belief in the incompatibility of the values of different cultures; furthermore, such a view may defend white supremacy in British society (Revell and Bryan, 2018) and "incite or perpetuate intolerance towards minority groups" (Struthers, 2016, p.

90) as a result of this perceived incompatibility of values. On the other hand, tolerance and respect were identified by Grace as her cultural values, implying that these may be considered universal.

4.6.1 On the 'Britishness' of fundamental British values

Discussion on the "Britishness" of the values was more engaging and provided a variety of answers; some of these were identified in literature on fundamental British values, such as the agreement among the participants that there is nothing fundamentally British about the values. According to my participants, these values are either generically Western liberal (or even universal), or they do not reflect local cultures enough and thus are not even applicable to the whole of British society.

The latter view is held by Ava, Oliver, and Arthur. Ava said that different Britons have different fundamental values, and the division reflects social stratification (classes) and regional divide. Ava believes that the UK is culturally diverse, but religious views are very rigid and prevalent in some parts. She supported this view by means of a story about division in her (extended) family regarding positions on the EU referendum of 2016: those who came from the Midlands were in favour of the UK leaving the EU and those from the south were against Brexit. This came as no surprise to Ava. Ava's observation is supported by the analysis of EU referendum results: the West and East Midlands "saw the highest share of the vote for Leave", 59.3% and 58.8% respectively (Uberoi, 2016). But Ava believes that this regional divide also reflects the class divide in English society; this is also supported by statistics, as some of the lowest income areas are in the Midlands (Office for National Statistics, 2021).

However, when it comes to the division of the UK into the four countries, the values may differ, regardless of class, according to Ava. She shared another story of hers, when she attended a wedding in Northern Ireland and how their values (particularly regarding 'family issues' – living together before marriage, abortion, homosexuality) differed significantly from those in England: "Huge

cultural differences, different values”, with Northern Ireland being more conservative. There is thus a certain intersection of class and local identity, but different identities may become dominant in the case of certain issues, such as planned parenthood or sexual orientation.

Regional differences in values were also explained by Oliver. He stated that “someone down in Kent is not like someone in Liverpool. Someone in Newcastle is not the same as someone down in Essex or Cornwall. They all have their own little idiosyncrasies and version of what it means to be English, they can have their own experiences.” Here, it can also be observed that in Oliver’s view, fundamental British values are rather fundamental English values, as he only talks about regions in England.

When asked how values in England differ from values in Northern Ireland, Oliver reflected on the religious and political divides (which are closely connected there), “with [some] people seeing themselves very much as British, therefore they see that part of these British values to be part of their identity, really. But at the same time, British identity over here might be a lot different in terms of social attitudes on conservatism. It’s the deal: the rule of law and individual liberty, I guess, may be slower over there, it's not as diverse as England is.”

Arthur supports the idea of regional divide, but he sees it as a form of xenophobia (“Scottish vs Northern Irish, English vs Northern Irish, Welsh vs English etc.”). This implies that there is no common identity for the UK, that the identity of each part of the UK is created in relation to others, *against* others.

The opposite view, that the values expand beyond the UK’s borders, was explained by Arthur: “These values are not quintessentially British, they are so generic, they can apply to most of the Western democratic liberal countries.”

Despite coming from a “Western democracy”, however, Ava claims that “there's a heck of a lot of difference” between the UK and Australia, with both having different values. However, when we

looked at the list of fundamental British values, Ava pointed out that democracy, the rule of law, and individual liberty are practically the same in both countries. According to Ava, the main difference is in tolerance and respect, as those are more advanced in the UK: “there's more tolerance in the UK … and the respecting and also tolerance of other different faiths and beliefs… And I find that the majority of people I know in UK are tolerant.” This was also confirmed by her “very good Australian friend and her husband [who] came and they were surprised by how tolerant England was, Britain was”. This suggests that there is something uniquely British about the values or the role they play in British society.

As stated above, Oliver refused to call the set of values “British”. Research on the perception of fundamental British values confirms that this is one of the main criticisms; one of Vincent’s (2019b, p. 99) respondents said, “I don’t call it British values”, and Panjwani’s (2016, p. 337) research among Muslim teachers found that the issue with the values was “mainly the use of the adjective ‘British’”.

Besides that, however, Oliver has no problem with the set or its promotion. However, he also says that the label does not matter – they can be called anything. Thus, the adjective *British* is redundant; they are values of people; a person should respect others regardless of their origin. For Oliver, these values are human rights and are universal – or at least not “just ascribed to Britain”.

However, Oliver is aware that not all states and societies practise these values, giving examples of human rights abuses in China or Russia – implying that those states promote different values. According to Oliver, tolerance is the minimum students should understand – I might not agree with your views, but I understand that you have the right to hold them. According to Oliver, Britain has a lot to offer to them to advance their personal development: “Any country like the UK for all those problems still advance them that way. So, the British values are very important.” In this view, it is the role the values play in citizenship education what makes the values valuable – “trying to be better citizens and better people”, as Oliver said.

When looking at what *British* values would be, Arthur explained how states need institutional values. According to Arthur, one of the “cultural values” of the UK is xenophobia, but not racism (“not very much”), because the society needs to blame someone for the issues they are facing. However, Arthur also believes that “it is unquestionable that this is an open society. If there is any, this is the closest one to an open society. And therefore, they have really citizenship those values here. Definitely. These values have citizenship in this place, they have home.” UK society is “institutionally open”, a society “in which these rules are embedded in the function of the state. There are active policies against discrimination, active policies promoting respect for democracy, etc. etc.” Despite the monarch being both “head of the state and head of the church”, compared to the U.S., which has secularism “written in the Constitution”, the UK is a more secular country than the U.S., according to Arthur. This is how he illustrates the openness of the state and the society which is reflected in its “institutional values”, but it also shows the paradoxical nature of the society, which can be both xenophobic and open.

Oliver and Ava agreed that English society is an open society; however, they question the role of institutions, particularly the government. They both believe that despite all the issues – “despite recent things from the government and that jingoism, that nationalism that can seep in very quickly”, as Oliver puts it – English people are open-minded or broad-minded and the fundamental values are lived here. Hence, there is a dichotomy: on one side there is the establishment, the government, the mainstream media, and on the other side are the “ordinary” people of this country. Even though there are “narrow-minded” people here too, in general, Oliver and Ava see England as living liberal values. Many people coming here have been given opportunities and this in return has benefitted the UK, the NHS, business, and sports; this, according to Oliver, has “made the country what it is”. Which is why it worries Oliver “maybe more than slightly” that the government is “right-wing-led”, leaning towards populism and xenophobia, creating and exploiting divisiveness, “where it can manipulate and exploit people's weak identities, and what does it mean being British or English, in that sense”.

This is an intriguing point Oliver makes about weak identities. According to Asari, Halikiopoulou, and Mock (2008, p. 1), “a strong national identity […] is prerequisite to a stable and functioning multicultural society”. But, as Maylor (2016, p. 325) claims, one of the features of fundamental British values is the “assumption that there is shared understanding of ‘Britishness’”, which suggests that there is no strong national identity. This is a consequence of Britain’s problematic history, which impacts how the British see themselves: “the Empire was one of the most shameful episodes in British history, yet at the same time constitutes one of the best examples of a common historical experience associated with Britishness” (Asari et al., 2008, p. 25). The issue with British identity is that it is often associated with whiteness: “if ethnic minorities in Britain think that British people are solely white and Christian, then such minorities might think it strange to think of themselves as British. And if many in England think that England is a white and Christian nation, they may think that ethnic minorities cannot be English” (Uberoi, 2018, p. 51-52). And these weak, racialised identities can be easy to exploit, as Oliver pointed out; nationalist rhetoric increases the division between ethnic groups, as there is a positive association between nationalism and ethnic identity and a negative association between nationalism and civic identity, according to Ariely’s (2020) research on measuring nationalism, patriotism, and national identity.

From the responses of the participants regarding the ‘Britishness’ of the fundamental British values, it can be concluded that the values, on one hand, are not uniquely British, but broader (Western or even universal), and on the other hand, do not reflect diversity within the UK and variety of the values held here, which is summarised in the table below:

<table>
<tr><th>Not British</th><th>Uniquely British</th></tr>
<tr><td>The values are universal values</td><td rowspan="3">The values are British only, as these may not be practised equally in other countries, including other Western liberal democracies.</td></tr>
<tr><td>The values are Western liberal values</td></tr>
<tr><td>The values are not British enough, as they do not reflect all variants of ‘Britishness’ due to the regional/local differences within the UK.</td></tr>
</table>

Table 13: How 'British' are the fundamental British values?

4.7 Promoting fundamental British values

4.7.1 How the school promotes fundamental British values

As stated previously, the duty to actively promote fundamental British values was introduced in late 2014 (DfE, Nov 2014a, 2014b). Some participants struggled to recall how they learnt about the fundamental British values. Some were able to recall the Prevent policy, as it "became a huge part of every teacher's responsibility", as Emily said.

According to Arthur, the duty was introduced "at that time after the terrorist attacks, when the Department of Education started to introduce the duty to Prevent and so all that stuff was being rolled out that period of time". However, there were no major terrorist events in the UK in 2014. According to the Vision of Humanity's *Global Terrorism Index* (2022), there were 24 terrorist incidents in the UK in 2014 (with 2 injuries and 0 fatalities), and the Global Terrorism Database (2022) recorded 104 "terrorist events" in the UK in 2014, mostly in Northern Ireland, with 1 fatality and 4 injured. What did happen in 2014 though, was the unfolding of the Trojan Horse affair.

Ava claims that the values are strongly promoted particularly in the PSHE lessons. The school, despite being international, "is still very British in its approaches". A lot of resources for the PSHE provided by the school is "UK generated", Oliver observed, which might be "wrong" in an international school ("As an international school, so-called British values might be wrong there."). These materials are predominantly aimed at the youth who live in the UK with their families, not international students living in a boarding school, usually far away from their families. Most of these provided materials focus on UK/British laws, according to the participants. However, most of the participants believe that personal tutors (who deliver the PSHE sessions) seem to be coming up with their own resources (or adjusting existing sources), to make the compulsory components more accessible to their international students. Overall, the materials provided by the school are deemed inadequate, based on the responses from the participants.

Arthur believes that school-organised events, such as those for the Armistice Day or Diversity week, are “very much perceived as a burden for a teacher” rather than making a real difference or contributing to the development of values.

However, Oliver listed opportunities provided to students by the school, such as the student council, peer mentoring, extra- and co-curricular activities, and training in leadership, which, in a mixed cultural milieu, not only provide opportunities for students to learn to respect different views but also to challenge each other in a respectful manner. The same applies to the staff:

> “You're always mixing with different people, our college is, the one I work in at the minute, you’ve got that in the staff, you know, different nationalities, and yet, they're pulling in the same direction, if you like. You have that openness, and tolerance and opportunities are there.”

This open-minded position may be perceived as naïve, because Oliver chooses to ignore the potential for conflict in a multinational environment and instead decides to see opportunities there.

Overall, the participants’ approach to the promotion of British values using school-sanctioned materials reflects Ladson-Billings’ culturally relevant pedagogy. In his research, “several of the teachers spoke of defying administrative mandates in order to do what they believed was right for students” (Ladson-Billings, 1995, p. 474). Similarly, my participants believed that teaching materials on fundamental British values needed to be adjusted or made anew to “provide a way for students to maintain their cultural integrity while succeeding academically” (Ladson-Billings, 1995, p. 476). Another condition for culturally relevant pedagogy is that “knowledge must be viewed critically” (ibid., p. 481), a condition which the school-provided materials did not meet, according to the teachers. On the other hand, it was also acknowledged that the school provided many opportunities for both the students and staff to learn and practise respect.

4.7.2 Support for non-English teachers

The theme of the school's support for non-English teachers regarding fundamental British values is linked to the previous one, how the school promotes the values. The responses overlap. This section will focus more on what assistance the non-English teachers would like to have received or should have receive from the school to be able to actively promote fundamental British values in their subjects.

Generally, the term "non-English teachers" was understood by the participants, even though Arthur called the term a "little bit vague". For him, there is a difference between "Western and non-Western [teachers], but this is also a generalisation". He explains that the cultural background of a teacher plays a role in their understanding of fundamental British values. However, Arthur is not willing to generalise and prefers to see people as individuals rather than a product of their country of origin. In addition, as the set of values is not "quintessentially British", many in Western-democratic countries would have been exposed to them. Arthur attempts to avoid generalisation based on country of origin explaining that:

> "A Westerner – not a kind of citizenship or ethnicity, a Westerner or someone who has had experience, has lived in – I mean, had an encounter with the 'British' values before, with what we call British values, even not in the form of British values, but in some other form – or not. What do they think is the normal practice in a class? What do they think, I mean – if you have always had experience teaching in gender segregated schools, that can be an issue. If you always taught boys or taught girls, that can be an issue. If you've taught in a religious institution, that can be an issue. Whatever their religion is. It would apply to English people as well, of course. So, it's not a matter of citizenship or ethnicity."

Arthur muses that only when we have had the experience of living and practising the values are we better equipped to actively promote these values. Therefore, the origin of teachers is less important than their *experience*. Arthur is aware of the paradox that confessional schools can dictate to

teachers what (not) to wear (Arthur gave an example of women not being allowed to wear trousers in a Jewish school) and still expect those teachers to actively promote the value of individual freedom – as Arthur says, “it is not what you teach, but what you are practising, that’s what is absorbed and assumed by students”. The values are not something “that can be learnt by heart”: “Perhaps, they will know everything about the concept of freedom, but they would never be able to recognise or practise it”. However, there are limitations to teaching by doing; for example, “no classroom can be democratic”, but there can be “spaces for democracy”, Arthur observes.

Oliver speculates that maybe people who come from other parts of the UK may not need training in fundamental British values as “they’re all pretty sharp there”, meaning that the values are promoted and lived in the UK. Similarly, people from a “Western-type democracy” would not need much training either. However, “maybe if you are from China or places with totalitarian governments and regimes that are quite restrictive about what you can do, and if you're coming to the UK, you need to be trained and supported on that. Absolutely.” This could be interpreted two ways: either, that Oliver assumes that people without lived experience (of democracy) do not understand the values he deems universal, or, simply, that lived experience produces a unique tacit knowledge of the values. This may however be a fallacy, as Maylor (2016, p. 325) explains; the policies are based on the assumption that there is a shared understanding of British values.

Oliver clarifies that training for such non-English teachers would be law-focused (“the Equality Act, legal things like that”). According to Oliver, it is a school’s responsibility to provide training in democracy, liberty, respect, and tolerance. The students also need to learn this, about the place where they “live and study”. Oliver sees the training of teachers, including international teachers, necessary and vital. When asked, Oliver confirmed that he would attend such training too, “to reiterate the message”, create “more awareness”, remind people of “what’s going on” – and to help the UK to actually “live” the fundamental values. But only if they are not called “British”, Oliver adds, “tongue in cheek”.

Grace recalls that when the values were introduced in schools, teachers were encouraged to include them in their lessons, which, thankfully, was not difficult for her subject (Sociology). However, she believes that the school should give more information and remind teachers regularly to implement the values in their lesson plans. Grace also believes that particularly non-English, non-British teachers should be provided with such training, with “updates”, because “I sometimes do not have time to read the news”, implying that good examples of how to live fundamental British values and what behaviour is in opposition to them would be found there.

Ava also has no problems integrating fundamental British values into her subject lessons (English as second language) and encourages students to compare and reflect on the values of where they come from and those of British/English society, which is similar to Emily’s practice (also an English teacher). However, Ava is sceptical about special training for non-English teachers, as it might be perceived as patronising.

Overall, most participants wanted to see more sessions on fundamental British values, to ensure that they are following the policies and also to be able to give examples that can be incorporated into their practice, making it more relevant to their (international) students living in the UK.

4.7.3 How teachers promote values

According to Haydon (2006, p. viii), values “lie behind any educational decision or policy”. Policies, such as the Prevent or the Teachers’ standards, represent the dominant ideology. Neoliberal policies on fundamental British values protect the interests of the White majority by setting borders to “whiteness” – regardless of whether the proclaimed values are actually internalised and lived by the White majority or the powerful Whites. Revell and Bryan (2018) claim that the aim is compliance, which is why guidelines and resources present fundamental British values in “simplistic and formulaic” ways (p. 13) and “lack any critical dimension” (p. 14). Delivering the topic of fundamental

British values properly requires “a level of confidence and knowledge” (ibid., p. 14) of the main concepts (democracy, rule of law, respect, tolerance, liberty), to be able to problematise the concepts in classrooms and guide students to critically engage with the concepts.

Haydon (2006, p. 168) also argues that “to transmit certain values as fixed – when those values may be open to a variety of interpretations – is to be undemocratic”. In addition, Hand and Pierce (2011) recommend in their article on patriotism in schools to teach patriotism as a controversial issue, as a topic in its own right, or when the topic is raised by students. The authors are also very clear that teachers need to understand the topic in depth to correct factual errors, know the arguments but not promote a position, and be able to challenge easy consensus and uncritically held views.

My participants felt relatively confident in delivering – at least some of – the fundamental British values. They claimed that they often take opportunities to promote respect and tolerance in the classroom. As Emily summarised, “I'm always trying to listen to what's being said and look for teachable moments. I know when to dump the lesson on present perfect and really focus on something someone has said, if it actually may be more beneficial to more critical thinking skills.” These *teachable moments* are reflected in responses of other participants; their stories included specific examples of such moments. For instance, Arthur recalled a discussion with a female Muslim student on the extent of free will, Oliver referred to a discussion with Muslim students who were refusing to attend a Christmas service in a cathedral, and Ava remembered a discussion with Nigerian students on tribalism and classism. The participants turned these instances into *teachable moments* and engaged students in a discussion; perhaps they did not manage to change students’ minds, but as Arthur says, “it is not your duty to change people's mind”; what is vital is the possibility of discussion, as that makes students engage with the topic; they have to think about it, express their views and justify them, and listen to alternative points of view.

When it comes to the promotion of fundamental British values, the interviewed teachers usually talked about how they use current events to promote the values, such as during general elections in

the UK or the U.S.; this does not happen only in PSHE lessons, but also in subject classes. Unfortunately, my data can only point towards how values (including fundamental British values) are promoted in the humanities and social sciences, which can perhaps incorporate the exploration of links between the subject and the values more easily compared to Physics, for example. But, according to Haydon (2006, p. viii), all teachers "are likely to be teaching about values some of the time", and as Emily pointed out, it is about "identifying the teachable moment".

Oliver in particular was very forthcoming with a range of recent examples and how he uses the values in class (Business and Economics), which not only helps students to understand the subject concepts and to make sense of current events, but also to consider what values are reflected in the behaviours of different actors (states, companies, individuals, nations, movements, etc.). Oliver says: "I take any opportunity to talk about these things in my lessons", which was echoed in Ava's interviews too.

Arthur explained that he implements the promotion of the values in his practice by helping students understand historical and social contexts. In Sociology,

> "we study social stratification, what makes a social feature a social feature, what becomes so socially significant to distinguish some group from another. We reach a conclusion that class or whatever other factor is usually the end point for social dynamics, which involves access to resources, power etc., which is expressed through one feature and whatever else, but is in reality embedded in a different social reality with other factors playing a bigger role."

In History, he used the example of the colonisation of America and the plantation system to explain how the discrimination was linked to the political rights of White colonists; from this perspective, racism is a historical necessity, a view which trivialises the origins of racism. However, according to Arthur, historical and social contexts give rise to certain values and explain the changes in the values over time. These contexts can also explain how and why "patterns of subordination intersect" (Crenshaw, 1995).

Emily said that she welcomes the duty to teach fundamental British values ("it's nice that it's been made explicit"), even though she claims that "for me, it's quite natural to talk about these things, personally and because I teach language" unlike in, for example, Maths. According to Emily, it is important to discuss the values with students at every opportunity, even if we have to create them – which is what she means by "natural"; Ava confirmed this by stating that in English, the topic of "the British values is quite an emergent one in lessons"; when teaching humanities and languages (which was also recognised by other participants who teach English, Business, Sociology, History), teachers do not find it hard to implement references to the values. Emily thinks that "it is probably to keep it at the forefront of people's minds, it's quite nice that there's actually this separate idea of British values." Additionally, an explicit set of values being taught at schools and discussed in public spaces would make people engage with the values more: "And maybe part of it is the fact that because you have fundamental British values, it also makes British people think about 'am I practising these values myself?'"

Some of the interviewees do not avoid controversial topics in class, such as racism in English football, to help students understand them and to make sense of the world. This particular example of diversity in the England football team, with many players coming from overseas or their families coming from overseas, is used to form a counter-narrative to the racist views on immigration often portrayed in the media and in the mainstream narrative and demonstrates how immigration benefits the UK/England. Oliver gave other examples of controversial topics:

> "When you see the whole Windrush scandal there of people who were invited into the country and faced a lot of discrimination, their generation, how they came through that. Then the current government, and this whole Brexit, the right-wing media grab hold of that, and they start deporting people. You think 'what the hell's going on here?', you just sort of scratch your head, but that's quite worrying and dangerous to have that at the upper end of the government. Or with the quarantine thing, saying one thing and doing another. Actions

> speak louder than words and undermining European Union treaties and the Good Friday agreement and all these things, you think 'hang on here'."

However, Oliver is also aware of the importance of consistency and tradition, using the case of the Royal family:

> "The whole British monarchy, you know, the whole thing has been around for a long time and it's certainly not perfect, but there's enough good within it, the fundamental values of respecting law and liberty in England and respect and all – you don't want to lose sight of that, in this ever-changing world that we're in."

This example indicates that stability (in the form of a family that stands for *Britishness* and is consistent in its public appearance) can help the society to overcome inevitable changes that come with time, such as the pandemic, which create feelings of insecurity in people. Thus, the *establishment* is not all bad, but needs to live and model the values: "You gotta practise what you preach – when you talk about British values of democracy, rule of law, tolerance, there is that, but that has to be worked out, it always has to be – it can't be dismissed or forgotten about" (Oliver). It might be superficial, but it is an important symbol people can identify with or look up to – such as the image of a regal family that stands for respect for law and for others.

However, Oliver still identifies the establishment as the biggest challenge to fundamental British values, i.e., those in power, who disrespect the rule of law, democratic institutions, and equality, and not only in the UK:

> "Really, across Europe as well, the whole nationalism is rearing its head. But I think it's more important never to – to be aware of that and to challenge some of these things out there. Especially, you know, when I want to say the government and talk about agreement deal here, but the rule of law, but these international agreements, yet they would kind of twist a bit, although that's not what we agreed to and the whole proroguing of Parliament, the

whole putting the judges up in certain media outlets as enemies of the people, you're saying 'hang on here', you know that this is 2020, 2021 and these great British values that can be easily undermined or twisted a little bit to their own agenda which I don't like."

Oliver's views resonate with Biesta's (2011, p. 12-13) view on citizenship learning: it is a responsibility of the society as a whole and it is a fallacy to believe that "good citizenship will follow from individuals' acquisition of a proper set of knowledge, skills, values and dispositions".

The values thus become part of a hidden curriculum, rather than being openly identified at all times. This is further illustrated by Oliver's and Arthur's accounts. Oliver claimed that he promotes the values whenever there is an opportunity and "maybe sometimes I do it without thinking. I would never say 'Oh, this is a British value' that we are talking about, it would never be overtly that". Arthur explicitly stated that he promotes values (any values) "in a negative way. Basically, I mean, in a way that is not an active promotion of a specific set of values". This clashes with the wording of the policies; however, in the experiences of the participants, it is significantly more effective than repeating the set of values and making students memorise them. There is plentiful space for students to discuss the values explicitly and critically engage with them, but, in particular, respect and tolerance need to be practised "by creating a space, in which they happen", as Arthur explained.

This sentiment was echoed by Emily, who explicitly refers to them as fundamental British values only during the PSHE class, as it is the requirement. Otherwise, she avoids the term, and rather practises the values or discusses them as concepts. Haydon (2006, p. viii) also states that even though "values lie behind any educational decision" they often "are only implicit".

The participants shared their experiences promoting fundamental British values and identified critical incidents, or as Emily calls it "teachable moments". For example, even though Ava had not observed significant clashes between and among students coming from different countries, she could detect conflicts between those coming "from the same nation, [as] they will have their own camps" and thus these students come with "hidden pressures or biases":

> “For instance, I'm thinking about the Nigerian students, so you know, you've got your two camps there, you've got the one camp who come from professional backgrounds, and you've got the other camp who come from the political backgrounds. And it's through the politics that the businesses and the contracts may also come. Now, it's those students who belong to the political one who may have the British passports, that is how they've got them, they will try to ride roughshod over the others, and that is something which has erupted in some of my classes.”

After telling the students that such behaviour is unacceptable, the following happened:

> “And those kids who are told it’s being unacceptable will then sort of make a complaint. But that doesn’t last very long, oddly enough, they’re the ones I end up being really good friends with. Once they’ve accepted this is actually how it is.”

This anecdote demonstrates how teachers’ professional practice actively promotes values – by means of consistency in teachers’ behaviour which sets boundaries to students’ behaviour (what is acceptable and what is not) and serves as a positive example (teacher becoming a role model). This, however, can also be perceived as an expression of “superiority or dominance of one race over another” (Solorzano and Yosso, 2016, p. 127), of “a ranking of people as allegedly superior or inferior” (Saperstein, 2017, p. 28), considering that Ava selected an example with Nigerian students.

Ava’s position is supported by Oliver, who does not shy away from difficult conversations, such as when his Muslim students were refusing to join the Christmas service in the Cathedral:

> “I welcome that conversation with students and that's in the sense that you're not trying to undermine them. Someone being Muslim is not going to be less of a Muslim going there, in fact, is probably going to be more open and learned about the values of the country they're studying in, and the Christian beliefs that are there for a lot of people. It's that ability for us

to have that conversation around these things because they're young minds. That's why as role models, you're not shutting people down, telling them ‘do this, do that’.”

All participants reflected on how they promote the values by setting an example, modelling behaviour. Arthur calls it promoting values “the negative way” – “you don't really teach it upfront as a dogma, you try to help them practise and benefit from the practice”. Arthur too – like Oliver – refuses to refer to this practice as teaching “fundamental British values”; what is relevant is the practice of mutual respect, “ensuring that the values, not the beliefs, are practised”. Like Oliver, Arthur takes opportunities to encourage discussions; the students listen to each other and take no offense. Arthur believes that it is not possible to instil values in people by teaching a set of rules like a dogma or a formula. For Arthur, changes in attitudes in students are the “most rewarding” to observe.

The policies surrounding fundamental British values are often perceived as anti-Muslim, due to the context – particularly the Trojan Horse affair (Panjwani, 2016; Farrell and Lander, 2019). I was therefore curious whether the participants would refer to the issue of Islamophobia, Islamic values, or Muslims living in Britain. Some of the response reflected on the issue of intolerance among Muslims, particularly Muslim students. Arthur for instance shared an anecdote from his practice when he entered a discussion with a female Muslim student about the purpose of wearing a veil. The interaction proceeded in a discussion on free will: “you think that you want something, because it is something you really want, or is it culturally transmitted to you as praise-worthy?”. The purpose of this interaction was not to question religious customs, but to engage the student in a discussion, according to Arthur, to “have the possibility to have a dialogue”. Arthur claimed that the purpose was not to change their mind per se: “Have you changed their mind? No, you don't need to, it is not your duty to change people's mind. But this just shows that there is a possibility to discuss and that's it.” This is an important observation, because it suggests that radicalisation can perhaps be countered by critical thinking (engaging in a dialogue and considering different views). After all,

resources on fundamental British values highlight the theme that values counter radicalisation (Revell and Bryan, 2018). However, as Kundnani (2015, p. 19) points out, we do not really know how people are radicalised, because how radicalisation is seen in the UK is based on “unfounded and biased assumptions about the social and political history of Muslims in Europe”.

The relationship between education levels and radicalisation is complex. Extremists and radicals are not just un- or undereducated people, quite the contrary in some cases; according to Sas, Ponnet, Reniers, and Hardyns (2020), many of the leaders and prominent members of terrorist organisations such as Al Qaeda or ISIS are university-educated people, some with doctoral degrees. Yet, the British position as demonstrated by the policies highlights the role of education and educators in preventing radicalisation – through the *active promotion* of fundamental British values. It can, however, also be argued that this position is evidence-based; as Sas et al. (2020, p. 4) conclude, research suggests that school environments are “attractive recruitment places” for terrorist organisations (in addition to prisons and the Internet), as the overall number of children enrolled in education is increasing. Therefore, the focus on the role of schools and other educational institutions in counterterrorism can be justified.

According to Arthur, the biggest obstacle to promoting respect is strong religious views. In Arthur’s words:

> “And you feel that you are doing some intellectual violence to that person by really questioning or forcing them to do something they are not used to, they don't value culturally, and therefore, you inevitably think that you're doing some form of brain shaping, if not brain washing.”

That is an intriguing view; according to the Independent Schools Standards (DfE, April 2019), there are no necessary clashes with religion; however, considering that several pages are dedicated to harmonising the promotion of fundamental British values with religious values and views in faith schools and communities (p. 10-12, 21, 29), it is implied that there is a recognised point of friction.

The issue of the origin of fundamental British values and the fear of the Islamisation of English society clashes with the right to religious freedom (Human Rights Act 1998, HM Government, 1998). Since fundamental British values are part of several policies, they are either superior to religious values, or stem from religious values; that is, superior in terms of taking precedence – when there is a clash, British values are to be followed. This view is reflected in the Independent Schools Standards (DfE, April 2019, p. 21):

> "Pupils should be made aware of the differences between the law of the land and religious law. This is not incompatible with encouraging pupils to respect religious law if the school's ethos is faith-based; and the school should not avoid discussion, of an age-appropriate nature, of potential conflicts between state law and religious law, and the implications for an individual living in England."

The latter view, that fundamental British values stem from religious values, is implied by one of the participants, Arthur. He talks about the culture and impact of the Enlightenment, which had led to creation of Western liberal values. These values differ from Islamic values – Arthur referred to Islamic "traditional values which embed inevitably an act of discrimination", therefore it is difficult to tolerate such views and values in a liberal society; the Catholic Church was on the other hand referred to as "welcoming everyone" (Arthur comes from a Catholic country). The view on Islam is supported by Archard (2003, p. 92):

> "The Islamic community will want those beliefs and values that it shares to be passed on to the next generation. That is just what it is for this community to endure. The constitutive values and beliefs are not to be subject to critical scrutiny and endorsed or rejected. They are inherited as the true faith and learnt as such."

However, despite some critical views, Islam was not identified as a major obstacle in the experiences of the participants. As Arthur explained:

> "Very often, much more often than that, is indifference. That is what kills everything; the most unpleasant experience is indifference. And this is something which I have not been able to come to terms with. It is a struggle to make them understand that this is damn relevant for them, it is damn important for them, it's not just another topic or another something they have to learn, it is something that affects their own life - can potentially affect their own life, which they need to be aware of, but the indifference to that is quite… I mean indifferent student is more dangerous than a student who has bad ideas."

Yet, no policy recognises the work of teachers in promoting values to indifferent students – the danger is seen in extreme / radical views, but not in *no* views. What can be seen in the examples above are attempts of teachers to engage students in a discussion; yet the teachers position themselves outside the community of their students, as superior in knowledge and understanding, ignoring the patterns of oppression and exclusion (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Gillborn, 2013). But to critically engage with culturally relevant topics, teachers can encourage "students to use their community circumstances as official knowledge" (Ladson-Billings, 1995, p. 477) and successfully utilise the intersection of culture and teaching (ibid.), without perpetuating and enforcing racial hierarchy.

Overall, the participants did not report any change in their practice due to the policies promoting fundamental British values. The same conclusions were reached by Vincent (2019b, p. 121) in her research: her participants recognised that the values "were already absorbed within the already existing practices of their schools". Also, analysis of data from the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study indicates that "levels of support for FBVs among 23 year olds are already very high and do not differ between the White British majority and various minority ethnic groups" and this was the case already prior to the introduction of government's guidance to schools regarding the obligation to actively promote the values as part of the counter-terrorism strategy (Janmaat, 2018). Therefore, values – including respect and tolerance, individual freedom, democracy, and the rule of law – would

have been promoted by teachers' practice, although often implicitly, even without the controversial policies introducing "fundamental British values".

4.8 Conceptualisations of fundamental British values

One of the interview questions asked how the participants understand and interpret fundamental British values, particularly in the context of their practice. This led to a variety of responses; there were similarities particularly regarding the value of democracy (responses referred mostly to elections), almost universal confusion over the rule of law, and frequent reference to the importance of respect and tolerance. All participants were able to problematise at least some of the four values.

The participants often considered the values universal or nearly universal, but also questioned whether one nation's values should be promoted as superior to other nations' values. This notion of superiority is also a basis for distrust and discrimination, as "the implication is that people living in Britain who have other values [than fundamental British values] are not truly British" (Revell and Bryan, 2018, p. 18). It is thus impossible to form a common civic identity, based on loyalty to the state and its values, as such an implication highlights ethnic differences and encourages nationalism.

The underlying issue of fundamental British values was understood by Oliver, who made a link between the values and identity in referring to "Englishness": "it is still a question what it means to be English, it's questioned more and more". According to Oliver, there are "little English people". A similar point was made by Ava, who said: "Well, many of the English think that they are better than everybody else." This is supported by Revell and Bryan (2018, p. 37), who observed that "there have been […] many versions of Britishness [but] they have all been constructed against the 'other'". These points imply weak identities and as expressed by the participants, these are being exploited by politicians for short-term political gains. However, as Oliver says, "the majority are very broad-minded".

For Oliver, as discussed above, the values are universal, and they are human rights. Emily also referred to the values as human rights: “within my classroom definitely I try to uphold them as kinds of theories, whether they're British or they're just human rights” and “they are made up of classic human rights terms”.

However, for Arthur, these values are not universal. For instance, he sees faith schools as problematic, particularly non-Christian faith schools, as they may promote conservative, non-liberal values incompatible with the values of English society, or fundamental British values. He gives an example of dress codes in such schools: “the dressing of staff members in some of these schools is actively questioned. So, in some Jewish schools in north London women cannot wear trousers.”

Arthur explained his example by linking it to one of the values:

> “I hardly see how a teacher, a woman who cannot wear a pair of trousers can promote freedom or awareness of their own body and their gender rights to girls in a Jewish school. I really doubt how it can happen. Because when you are with them, it is not what you teach, but what you are practising, that’s what is absorbed and assumed by students.”

This quote is interesting for several reasons. First, Arthur sympathises with women working in a Jewish school, who, in his opinion, are denied a personal choice. At the same time, he expresses disdain for the Jewish school. Narkowicz wrote about a similar example: “While Janusz [her participant] talked with a sense of understanding and solidarity at the injustice that the Windrush generation faced, his narrative also pointed to a sense of entitlement that, in his eyes, distinguished him from those immigrants who were also invited but not equally wanted.” (Narkowicz, 2023, p. 1542).

Second, similarly to Narkowicz’s participants who “focused disproportionate attention on Muslim women and their dress” (ibid., p. 1546), Arthur felt compelled to talk about women’s attire.

Here is how Narkowicz summarises the issue: participants “simultaneously critique racial exclusions when they are targeted by it and, in the next instance and perhaps as an antidote, engage in racist behaviour to distance themselves from those less white than them” (ibid., p. 1542). My participant did not feel targeted, but sympathised with those who were, yet, it did not prevent him from engaging in a form of racist narrative, also distancing himself from the “others”.

And third, Ofsted (2017 and 2021), as outlined in the introduction, mostly agrees with Arthur, particularly when it comes to independent faith schools as they are seen as lacking in the active promotion of fundamental British values.

Oliver, on the other hand, welcomes the existence of faith schools: “I do see it as a strength that we still have faith schools […] you have that mix, you have that diversity”. This diversity increases opportunities for the promotion of tolerance and respect.

The participants acknowledged that the values are open to interpretation. Ava stated that her interpretation is “leftist”: “I would align myself with more middle-to-leftish leanings in what I view to be the values and I'm not talking about far left, not at all, I'm just talking about on the pink side.” Arthur sees the openness to interpretation as a strength or advantage of the values, as it makes them easier to implement.

4.8.1 The value of democracy

When it comes to the value of democracy, the participants believed that it allowed even fundamental British values to be criticised. Emily explicitly stated that “you can actually turn it around and criticise the British for when they are not actually following British values”, as such a critique would fall under the value of democracy. Ava pointed out the problem with democracy, the victory of the majority: “there's always going to be somebody who's feeling a bit disgruntled. But at least you have that right to be disgruntled.”

From what the participants shared, it can be inferred that one of the strengths of democracy is that it stands against authoritarianism and totalitarianism. They recognised the privilege of living under a democratic regime and aim to empower others by practising democratic values. This also explains why most of them expressed their disappointment with the UK government breaking their own rules (e.g., during the pandemic) and populist leaders exploiting the fears of people and existing divisions in the society.

When explaining democracy, the participants mostly referred to elections (national, local, for student council) and the electoral system in the UK. Emily told me that she discusses the U.S. electoral system with her students and compares it to that of the UK, "two countries that are generally seen as democratic", to challenge the perception of the uniformity of democracies in some students' views. Students need to be able to understand different perspectives "without seeing them necessarily as right or wrong", Emily said, it "is an important point". This is part of critical thinking skills, and the fundamental British values can offer that, according to Emily, because democracy means the right to express one's opinion and cast a vote and to be respected.

In relation to their teaching practice and school environment, Grace and Arthur recognised that there is very little space to practise democracy in the classroom (Arthur: "no functioning classroom can be democratic"); within the school, students have the right to vote for the student council president once a year. However, most participants promote and practise democracy by enforcing respect for the opinions of others and by encouraging discussion on complex issues.

Arthur added that:

> "there, for students, can never be full democracy, they don't make the law, but their say can be heard. Should be included. And it shouldn't be as many teachers often do a paternalistic approach, I know what is good [for you], and let me decide for you. Because it doesn't work. Especially nowadays, they should be able to make their own mistakes and their own choices.

And I know that you're going to a dead end, but they should go to that dead end, that's part of the game."

4.8.2 The value of the rule of law

The value of rule of law was more difficult to explain for the participants. In some cases, there was a confusion between the "rule of law" and "law". For example, the sentence "the rule of law can be changed by democracy" probably, based on context, referred to law, not the rule of law, while lockdown rules were referred to as the rule of law (e.g., "Only a person who lives on their own could have a bubble, that is a rule of law").

The participants agreed that the rule of law is important in a society, to have justice, peace, and harmony, but they also raised a question regarding "bad law". In addition, many reflected on the recent government scandals and the erosion of the rule of law in the UK.

Here, Oliver made links between the rule of law and democracy: "This current climate of the whole Brexit and […] the current government, it is […] very much challenging that perception of the rule of law, certainly, and I guess democracy, if you like, too, it's been messed around a little bit."

Oliver emphasised that it is important for everyone to follow the law. Including the government. This point was further developed by Arthur, who linked it to the idea of justice: "You ensure that everyone is treated fairly, and the same rule applies to everyone. That's something quite difficult sometimes but is necessary."

These views are based on the belief that the law generally works for everyone and ignore the fact that it can perpetuate inequalities and that the legal system is affected by institutional racism. Even after Macpherson's damning report on institutional racism and the failure of police investigations in 1999, institutional racism continues to plague the police and justice system, particularly "in police

decision making when using law on the street" (Holdaway and O'Neill, 2006, p. 352). Participants' views thus reflect a White privileged position on a "colourblind" system.

According to Ava, compliance is a British trait; she shared an observation made by her Italian student regarding differences in behaviour of the English and the Italians during the lockdowns:

> "the British are very good, they're a controlled group of people on the whole, you know, whereas in Italy they would be just ignoring it because in Italy they'd just be making up their own rules and simply say 'Oh, we don't worry, we're going to just do this', you know. And they won't say something like a British person might say 'nobody's got the right to tell me I cannot hug my granny', whereas the Italians just don't make any comment, they just go and hug granny."

Ava concluded: "we're quite stridently against it, you know, but in the main, we are compliant" – and by "we", she meant people living in Britain (or the UK), implying that the "British value" of compliance has transferred to the general population living here. She also described "the British way of rebelling", which means breaking the rules just a bit ("I'm gonna slink away."). This "British way of rebelling" reminds me of the government's intention to break international law in a very specific and limited way (Reuters, 2020); breaking the rules just a little is apparently not violating the rule of law. However, this does not mean that there were no major law-breaking incidents during the pandemic, according to Ava: "In contrast, you've got people like the anti-vaxxers who are breaking the rule of law."

Compliance as an expected response to policies is also raised by Revell and Bryan (2018, p. 13); according to the authors, compliance is "the dominant theme underpinning resources and guidelines for fundamental British values". Maybe because that is the British way.

The participants generally acknowledged that law changes and should keep changing when needed. Emily referred to Nazi and US camps during the second world war, segregation in the U.S., and

Apartheid in South Africa: “law is something malleable” and “laws aren’t always right”. The laws have to reflect other values, such as respect and human rights, according to Emily. Similarly, Ava talked about the rule of law and Nazi Germany, Stalinism, and fascism, to problematise the concept: “to agree to those laws, well, you would be an idiot”. She concluded that the rule of law should be valued only under “the assumption [that] the law is not an ass”.

Ava admitted that she struggles with the concept as she had not given it much thought, “because we are decent human beings and as decent human beings we abide by the law”, thus there is no need to have it as a “value”, explicitly. This is a problematic point; on one hand, Ava can recognise the issue of “bad law”, but on the other, she claims that following the law makes one a “decent human being”. This is based in a belief that law generally works, equally for everyone. This narrative points to a privileged position, an entitlement that distinguishes her from those who do not “abide by the law”.

For example, Crawford observed that “young Muslims in the nation’s schools are being constructed through a language of disobedience, deviance, and criminality” (Crawford, 2017a, p. 201-202). Similarly, Taylor (2016) refers to normative categories of blackness which are associated with gangs and crime. Therefore, not following the law by (conceptually) Black people is more likely to be perceived as problematic (unreasonable, criminal) than the same being done by (conceptually) White people (reasonable, protesting the “bad law”). Since races are categories that “have little to nothing to do with distinctly human, higher-order traits, such as personality, intelligence, and moral behavior” (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017, p. 9), the categories of “decency” and “criminality” become part of raced identities.

Such views thus may be a reflection of white supremacy. However, according to Cole and Maisuria (2007, p. 95–96), the term “homogenises all white people together in positions of class power and privilege”. And my White participants mostly hover “on the margins of whiteness” (Breen and Meer, 2019, p. 598). On the other hand, even the “Whites without material property nevertheless possess the property of whiteness […] even as they derive so little benefit materially” (Niemonen, 2007, p.

163) and in addition, one does not need to be White to “reinforce and act in the interests of whiteness” (Breen and Meer, 2019, p. 598).

4.8.3 The value of tolerance and respect

Respect, as stated above, was the most mentioned value; this implies that respect may be the most important value to the participants. Besides mutual respect (also expressed as “respect for others”, “respect for each other”), the participants talked about respect for all other values (respect for individual freedom, for democracy, for law and the rule of law, respect for different faiths and beliefs). In addition, respect for oneself as a basis for being able to respect others (“other people’s point of view”, “other views”, “the planet”, “the animals”) was discussed, particularly by Emily. Ava added respect for intellectual and moral integrity, both Grace and Oliver highlighted the importance of respect for the elderly and respect for authority. Furthermore, Oliver talked repeatedly about being treated with respect and treating others with respect.

Only Arthur expanded on the issue of tolerance and problematised the concept using examples of “intolerant views” that cannot be tolerated; thus, tolerance has its limits. He also compared the UK to the U.S., explaining how religious freedom works differently in those states: in the U.S., “it gives (space) to discrimination. It is there. You can discriminate based on your faith; it is acceptable. By law. Which I think is not here – if you look at the phrasing, *mutual respect and tolerance*.” In the U.S., different “cultures are separated”, which is in contrast with the cosmopolitanism Arthur experienced when living in London.

4.8.4 The value of individual liberty

Individual liberty was mentioned several times; however, there was little development regarding what it means to the participants or what they believe it means in society.

Oliver, for example, appreciates that in the UK,

> "you've got that freedom to jump in a car and drive. The opportunities to be where you want to be, to voice your opinions, you're not in any totalitarian regime, you don't have to agree with governments or other people, and you've got that ability to express that. So, that's a fundamental value there."

Ava stated, in relation to personal freedom, that "every freedom is good, but it doesn't really bother me", as she had enjoyed individual liberty also in her country of origin, Australia, as did most of the participants.

Grace, the only participant coming from a "partly free" country, Indonesia (Freedom House, 2022), became increasingly worried during the interview that she was not answering the questions right and that she did not practise the values enough, individual liberty in particular, because it was not her personal/cultural value, as she said. This hesitance may be a reflection of the internalised marginalisation of self, as a result of systemic marginalisation – since she is a member of an ethic minority. No other participant worried about answering the questions "right".

4.8.5 Values and the "Muslim other"

The *Sunlit Uplands School* (codename) is an international school and host students from up to 70 nationalities (arguably). Most students come from Europe, Russia and the post-Soviet republics, and China. The religion of the students is not recorded by the school, but from my experience (2013-2021), there is a significant number of practising Muslim students, mostly coming from North Africa and (different parts of) Asia. According to Saeed (2018), Muslim youth is perceived as both dangerous and vulnerable, which is reflected in the education policies. During my interviews, the theme of Muslim students and Muslims living in England emerged without prompting.

Muslims were explicitly mentioned in the interviews with Arthur, Oliver, and Ava. According to Ava, the UK has seemingly gained a reputation as an Islamophobic country. Ava shared an experience of her Australian friends, who had previously heard about Islamophobia in the UK (or "anti-Muslim feeling", as she refers to it) but who saw no evidence of it during their visit.

This is supported by anecdotal evidence provided by Oliver; he shared his experience of observing a group of Muslim men praying in a park together during a picnic. Oliver aimed to demonstrate how open English society is.

Oliver's story can serve as an example of the compatibility of different religious values. This is supported by Panjwani's (2016) research findings; the research was conducted with "teachers from Muslim heritage" (p. 330) and the main finding was that "they did not see any incompatibility between FBVs and their conception of Islamic values" (p. 329). Even Arthur, who sees Muslim values as not compatible with liberal values, admits that "no culture is innocent" and it is how religions are practised in different cultures that can make them intolerant; Arthur added that anyone should be able to practise their religion and culture within the limits of tolerance.

However, Oliver also observed some lack of tolerance and openness to experience from (non-UK) Muslim students (such as the refusal to attend a Christmas ceremony in the Cathedral). But both Arthur and Oliver enjoy engaging in conversations with students, challenging their views, offering different perspectives and interpretations, to help young people develop their tolerance and respect for others.

On the other hand, this selection of examples with Muslim students – which were selected because of their religious identity – can reflect 'othering'. Similarly, Narkowicz talked about her participant who "believed that Muslims were more 'culturally distanced' from 'us' and positioned himself within the category of unquestionable white Europeanness" (Narkowicz, 2023, p. 1546).

4.8.6 Values and racism

As most of my participants identified as White, they believed that their experiences with racism were mostly "second hand experience", as Arthur put it. He explained how the experiences of his friends gave him an idea of what people of colour are faced with every day. However, he also spent a significant amount of time during the interview illustrating the racism of non-White people within their groups (in India and Eritrea). This seemed to be very important to him, to highlight that not only White people can be racist, as it was a discovery only acquired through experience of living in other states:

> "I remember an Eritrean friend of mine once told me a story about one person from Eritrea. Eritrea has a highland area with a very moderate climate, and then there is a lowland. Those from the highland discriminate against those form the lowland. Because some are ethnically closer to Ethiopians. She told me a story of two people on the bus, one from highland, one from lowland, and they started quarrelling, fighting. And the bus conductor stopped the bus and called a policeman. When the policeman arrived, one said, I don't know if I can use the word, but one of them say that he called me (n-word) in my own language, just a joke expression."

> "When you go to India, you will learn that the caste system is based on colour. The Sanskrit word for cast is colour. You will understand why the Brahmin are usually pale and the non-Brahmins are usually darker. So, there is discrimination there."

These are examples of overt racism, compared to more "subtle and invisible" (Niemonen, 2007, p. 161) racism in Western societies. Furthermore, Arthur conveys a message that "racism exists", normalising its existence (even Black/Brown people are racist) – shifting the attention from systemic inequities that should be addressed in order to achieve social justice.

Regarding racism in England, Ava said that for some “their fundamental British values would be, for instance, we’ve got to do something about the immigration”, which, however, “doesn’t align with the feeling of tolerance and freedom and integrity that we should have.”

Oliver used examples from the news to demonstrate the racial tensions. He recalled a recent incident at a football match where the non-White players were abused by the crowd, referring to a “sort of Englishness, that White superiority thing”, which ignores how the non-English/non-White footballers have enriched English football: “the whole England team in football, you know, eight of them, eight of them came from overseas, their grandparents came from overseas.”

Grace, my only non-White participant, did not discuss her personal experiences with racism in her interviews. However, she recalled a conversation she had with another teacher (White English male) who struggled with the word “Black” when explaining the concept of ethnicity in Sociology. For her, “White” and “Black” are neutral words in this context, but the conversation implied that for the White male teacher, “Black” had negative connotations. She found it peculiar but did not draw any explicit conclusions.

4.8.7 More values?

I asked Arthur whether dignity should be one of the fundamental values and he explained to me the historical context of the values:

> “All the British values are intended in the liberal European tradition, formal value, negative freedom that is freedom from oppression, freedom from the state, freedom from discrimination, freedom from that. But it's not freedom to. So, whatever is solidarity, dignity, fairness etc., outside the tradition can be interpreted very clearly as a source of a diminished freedom or diminished right to my own profit, you take money from my taxes and give it out

> to someone who does not have dignity, my freedom, my right, my property is being diminished. Some people believe so."

Therefore, it is more feasible for the government to select these four values, instead of promoting *positive* freedoms. However, the rule of law requires tax-payers money to be implemented and is linked to the idea of procedural justice (fair process).

Arthur further pondered the selection of the four values, linking it to implementation of the values: "One can always say that there should be some conditions that make the effective implementation of the values possible. It doesn't make any sense having the rule of law if people can't access the judicial system fairly, or people do not have the means or there are no conditions" and called the values "the rules of the game". He continued: "you cannot actively promote, ensure that someone loves someone else, or that someone respects or has admiration and even more, solidarity, is engaged in the wellbeing of someone else. I think that goes beyond the British values." Thus, it is not necessary to add any more values to the list.

4.9 Conclusion

Both life history and Critical Race Theory are concerned with "giving voice" to marginalised, silenced, and oppressed individuals and groups (Dhunpath, 2000; Housee, 2012; Milton-Williams and Bryan, 2021). My group of participants are foreign-born non-English teachers who came to England from their respective home countries. As most of them identify as "White", they do not consider themselves oppressed or silenced. However, their voices are not represented in existing research.

According to Dixson and Rousseau (2005), Critical Race Theory utilises personal narratives to document inequity and discrimination. Stories of marginalised groups provide a counter-narrative to the dominant narrative (Dhunpath, 2000). However, as Dixson and Rousseau (2005, p. 13) warn,

telling the stories is “not enough” and that “the educational experiences revealed through those stories must then be subjected to deeper analysis using Critical Race Theory lens”.

The main research question of this thesis was how non-English teachers teaching in England conceptualise fundamental British values. The other research questions my research raised regard the values these teachers bring to their practice and how, whether and to what extent these values align with fundamental British values.

During the process of the interviews, I could, on occasion, observe how the participants struggled to put their interpretations of values (and what constitutes values) into words, on occasion, and also their excitement in sharing their experiences from the classroom to demonstrate their points. Oftentimes, it appeared that this was the first time they had rationalised their practice of promoting values; this indicates that promoting such values was part of their tacit knowledge.

The narratives of the five participants of my research challenge populist views on both the exceptionality of the values defined as fundamentally British, and on non-English people and their attitudes towards the values as well as English society in general. The participants’ life histories showed that non-English teachers not only actively promote these four values in their practice, but also identify with them.

Chapter V: Conclusion

This thesis aimed to explore how non-English teachers teaching in England conceptualise fundamental British values. For this purpose, five teachers teaching in an independent international school in South East England were interviewed, and the interviews analysed using life history methodology. Critical Race theory provided a theoretical lens to analyse the data. My analysis offers several findings. The personal and cultural values of the participants reflect the values of liberal societies, and, unsurprisingly, align with fundamental British values. They do not consider the four values as uniquely British, but rather conceptualised them as Western liberal values. Regarding the promotion of values, the participants believed that practising the values is the best way to make them effective and meaningful, and to help their students understand and embrace them.

My first research question was "What values do non-English teachers in England hold?" The participants provided a list of values they hold; all participants included respect and most also tolerance. The values are summarised in Table 14.

Participant	Value
Arthur	Individual freedom, respect, tolerance, intolerance for intolerant ideas, diversity and difference
Emily	Respect, seeing people as unique individuals, self-acceptance, tolerance
Grace	Respect, tolerance, love, peace, friendship
Ava	Respect, tolerance, solidarity, kinsmanship, individual rights, justice and fairness
Oliver	Equality, respect, anti-discrimination, justice, individual rights, citizenship, openness, democracy

Table 14: List of personal/cultural values

These values were considered personal or cultural values of the participants. Among them, 3 out 4 fundamental British values were included; only the rule of law was missing. It can be further concluded that tolerance and respect were the values that all participants felt most comfortable talking about, compared to democracy, which was appreciated but not necessarily considered a

value, and particularly the rule of law, which the participants struggled the most to talk about, as it is rather a legal term.

There were other things the participants valued, without explicitly recognising them as values. For example, Grace, the only non-Caucasian participant, reflected on the importance of obtaining a "good job" as it had improved her status in English society, at least from her point of view. Other participants did not explicitly acknowledge their raced status; it might suggest that they do not perceive themselves as *raced*. Racism in England was acknowledged by the participants, but mostly as affecting *others* and seen as an issue that *should* be confronted by the government and the society better, beyond the policies promoting fundamental British values.

Delgado and Stefancic (2017) claim that racism serves White elites but also working-class Whites; according to Niemonen (2007, p. 163), even "Whites without material property nevertheless possess the property of whiteness". Perhaps, this can be expanded to other groups "on the margins of whiteness" (Breen and Meer, 2019), to see how "the property of whiteness" serves them; the white participants were worried about racism in the UK, but not enough to want to disrupt the system to remove systemic inequities and all forms of subordination. Thus, they did not really provide a counter-narrative to the dominant narrative, which is the goal of life history (Dhunpath, 2000).

Besides giving more comprehensive and varied lists of values, the participants sometimes showed acceptance of fallacies promoted by the media, such as the UK having more immigrants than (continental) Europe. This is not a tolerant view and rather reflects the perspective that immigration is a negative phenomenon and that migrants are a threat. This further marginalises and racialises whole communities. Here we can see how the participants, even though they could express some solidarity with other migrants, distanced themselves from this group and positioned themselves as White (Narkowicz, 2023).

My second research question was "How do teachers make sense of the fundamental British values?" The values were conceptualised by the participants mostly in a broader Western liberal sense, or

even more broadly as universal values. This can, however, be a problematic conceptualisation as it can become intolerant of "non-Western" values; thus, instead of being truly universal, it is more of an imposition of Western views and values onto other cultures under the pretense of universalism, or reflects a Western assumption that all cultures are based on the same values. Arthur, in particular, expressed the view that *some* non-Christian religious values were not compatible with Western liberal values.

On the other hand, the values most highlighted by the participants – helping others, overcoming differences, respecting others and their opinions, making people feel that they are being heard, making meaningful connections with others, getting to know others – are not based in Western individualism; and yet, they are not incompatible with Western liberal values. Oliver, for example, focused more on what people have in common, rather than what could be divisive about different cultures.

Some of the implications of what the participants said were uncomfortable. For example, Oliver and Emily agreed that it is important to educate or train people in democratic values when they do not come from democracies themselves, assuming that experiential knowledge is the key to understanding. However, the assumption that people who have never experienced democracy themselves do not understand what democracy is is an expression of (White) superiority. As Ava asked: "Do you think that non-English teachers would welcome guidance, or do you think they would find it patronising?" People may come to the UK in search of a safe space, democracy, and various freedoms. Perhaps, what was meant by the participants was an understanding of the *British style* of democracy, which would imply that there are unique British values reflected in the system.

On the other hand, Grace, who comes from a country in Southeast Asia that is rated "partly free" and discriminates against her minority ethnic group (Freedom House, 2022), acknowledged that she struggled with the concept of individual freedom, which would support the perspective that non-English teachers require additional guidance regarding British values. At the same time, perhaps

ironically, Grace and her husband came to the UK in search of safety and freedom. There is, though, a difference between freedom *to* and freedom *from*, the latter being seen by Grace as more important than the first.

Due to these varied experiences of the White and non-White participants, I regret not having more non-White participants to explore this further. My focus was more on exploring commonalities in conceptualisations of the values. The White participants still provided nuanced responses, showing some understanding of institutional racism and questioning some of the governmental policies and actions; they were able to see and acknowledge their privilege. At the same time, they were perpetuating some racist assumptions, such as ones about Islam.

Some participants were critical of the way the policies present British values; according to Ava, the "big question" is "what makes British values more of greater value than another nation's values?" and that maybe we should not tell people what (or how) their values should be. However, the government's view is that "individuals are drawn to extremism because of the narrative of extremism" (Revell and Bryan, 2018, p. 56) and extremism is defined as "ideas that undermine fundamental British values" (ibid., p. 59). Yet, the policies also allow space for holding contrasting views. For example, the *Independent Schools Standards* states that "teaching that the faith position of the school is that marriage is only between a man and a woman is acceptable" but that the school cannot teach pupils that parties to same-sex marriage "do not merit the protection which the legal status of marriage or civil partnership affords in law" (DfE, April 2019, p. 10). This upholds the value of the rule of law, but the part concerning what is considered acceptable does not exactly encourage respect and tolerance. Do some faith positions undermine some of the fundamental British values, as was suggested by Arthur?

The data from the Prevent/Channel Programme indicate that there was a focus on concerns related to Islamist extremism / Islamist radicalisation, but since 2016, these referrals have declined by 79%, and, simultaneously, referrals for right-wing extremism have increased by 162% during the same

period (Home Office, 2021). Research shows that it is inequality and discrimination that create a fertile environment for radicalisation (Sas et al., 2020). Considering the rising inequality and poverty in the UK (Alston, 2018; Francis-Devine, 2021), the *active promotion* of four values in educational institutions would not be enough to prevent young people from forming or even joining radical groups.

The share of net household income going to the top 1% has almost tripled in the last 40 years and yet the statistics are skewed by a lack of information on incomes of the very rich who attempt to avoid paying higher taxes (Francis-Devine, 2021). Thus, the *real* inequality can be much higher. Sas et al. (2020) claim that there is a relationship between inequality, including unequal access to education, and violence, because inequality creates grievances and those are addressed by violent means. Until the interests of different groups converge, radicalisation and violent extremism stemming from inequality will not decrease.

The third research question was "What are the relations between the personal/cultural values of these teachers and fundamental British values?" The data indicated the participants' strong support for the values of mutual respect, tolerance, and democratic values. The data also supported the view in the literature reviewed that one of the major issues with "fundamental British values" is in calling them "British"; the participants mostly referred to values as liberal or universal values or as human rights. The participants also agreed that the UK (and England, where they lived and worked at the time of the interviews) had a liberal society with liberal values. English society is perceived by the participants as "broad-minded", tolerant, and generally liberal. The society is *living* the liberal values. The participants felt welcomed in England, which contributed to embracing the values of the society.

Only Grace questioned the value of individual liberty, particularly in relation to young students. She seemed to accept that the value existed, did not undermine it, but expressed a concern that she was not promoting it actively, as the policies require.

My last research question was "How do these teachers promote values in their practice?" There was agreement among the participants that values are best promoted by *doing* – that is, practising the values is the best way to help students accept and internalise them. This seemed to be very important to all participants; that they could live these values and live in a society that does the same, which is why when asked how they promote the values, they referred to their actions.

For instance, Arthur said:

> "You can do the best lesson on the British values, but if the lesson is just a talk and show, and you give them the most exquisite, detailed dissertation on the value of freedom and then they have 1 minute to speak their mind, it's very difficult to see how it is being embedded and actively promoted. Perhaps, they will know everything about the concept of freedom, but they would never be able to recognise or practise it. As I said, very often, then the environment makes a significant difference. Because it provides the context of the interaction. You can't tell students 'do what I say, don't do what I do' because they see what you do, and they usually do what you do. Sometimes."

Some of the reviewed literature discussed the fears of teachers that they would teach the values in the 'wrong' way (meaning, not as Ofsted prefers); for example, "I'd worry about how to teach it" (Maylor, 2016) or "these so-called FBV are susceptible to subversive and discriminatory interpretation" and "the guidance is thus likely to incite or perpetuate intolerance towards minority groups" (Struthers, 2016, p. 90). Unlike these findings, most of my participants saw the concept of fundamental British values as a springboard for further discussion, critique, and the development of critical thinking. They actively looked for learning opportunities in their classes to engage students in a discussion and in critical thinking. Therefore, the recommendation is that the government institutions should provide or endorse materials that would facilitate such discussions, instead of presenting the values as "monolithic" (Revell and Bryan, 2018, p. 18).

It can be concluded that teaching the values is not enough or effective, according to the participants. One must practise them, and not only in schools, but in the whole of society, which reflects Biesta's view on democratic citizenship, which is learned "in and through the processes and practices that make up everyday lives of children, young people and adults" (Biesta, 2011, p. 1); the whole society is in this view responsible for citizenship learning.

However, this effort to live and practise liberal values is, according to some of the participants, undermined by the government and political developments in the last few years, which have led to social division and the polarisation of society. The participants acknowledged the existence of "fear" and "distrust" which leads to racism, xenophobia, and Islamophobia, and that these emotions are easy to exploit by populist politicians (including the government), which supports the views propounded in the reviewed literature.

Overall, however, the participants felt welcomed in England and that they can live a good and dignified life here. In order to overcome the social division, the participants highlighted the role of respect and the importance of creating spaces for dialogue, which would be in accordance with fundamental British values.

This embracing of the duty to actively promote fundamental British values as a challenge and turning it into meaningful activities, instead of quiet acceptance of the duty or annoyance over it (sometimes felt), was the biggest surprise of my research. Where I expected criticism, I found attempts to critically engage with the concepts, even though, sometimes, the participants struggled to define the concepts. As Emily concluded:

> "It's easy to criticise. But it's not actually easy to, as I found during this discussion, during this interview, it's not easy actually to put them into simple terms."

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Appendix A. Consent form

CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: How do non-English teachers conceptualise Fundamental British Values in their practice?

Name of Researcher: Katerina Vackova

Contact details:

Address:	Faculty of Education Canterbury Christ Church University North Holmes Road Canterbury Kent CT1 1QU
Tel:	N/A
Email:	k.vackova74@canterbury.ac.uk

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the participant information for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. (If applicable) I confirm that I agree to any audio and/or visual recordings.
3. I understand that any personal information that I provide to the researchers will be kept strictly confidential and in line with the University Research Privacy Notice

4. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw my participation at any time, without giving a reason.

5. I agree to take part in the above project.

—

Name of Participant:	Date:	Signature:
Name of person taking consent *(if different from researcher)*	Date:	Signature:
Researcher:	Date:	Signature:

Copies: 1 for participant

1 for researcher

Appendix B. Participant information sheet

How do non-English teachers conceptualise fundamental British values in their practice?

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

A research study is being conducted at Canterbury Christ Church University (CCCU) by Katerina Vackova.

Please refer to our Research Privacy Notice for more information on how we will use and store your personal data.

Background

The study focuses on how teachers conceptualise values, fundamental British values in particular, in their schools, and whether their national identities affect the process. Since it became educators' duty to actively promote the fundamental British values, a good amount of research literature has emerged focusing on how teachers and students alike make sense of the values. However, there has been little focus on different national (or local) identities of teachers teaching in England.

What will you be required to do?

Participants in this study will be required to participate in a series of interviews, sharing their life histories, exploring them and making sense of them.

To participate in this research you must:

Be a teacher (or teaching assistant) in England

Have a national or local identity / ancestors from a country outside England (i.e. Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland qualify)

Be willing to discuss and explore your life experiences and your professional and personal values

Procedures

You will be asked to take part in interviews (2), virtually (via Zoom/Teams/Skype/Whatsapp – as per your preference and availability).

Feedback

We will work together to make sense of the experiences. You will also have an opportunity to read transcripts of the interviews and clarify/correct any points; the transcripts will be provided within 3 weeks after the interviews.

Confidentiality and Data Protection

The following categories of personal data (as defined by the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR)) will be processed:

- Name, surname; nationality; ethnic origin; beliefs

I have identified that the public interest in processing the personal data is:

- contributing to the discussion about teacher professionalism and fundamental British values, to which this thesis will contribute new knowledge.

Personal data other than national / local identity and ancestry, will be anonymised – including your name and name of the school. However, there is a risk of identification by association you should be aware of.

Data can only be accessed by, or shared with:

- My supervisor, Dr Gemma van Vuuren-Cassar; examiner.

The identified period for the retention of personal data for this project:

- Until after the viva, maximum 5 years, as per GDPR.

If you would like to obtain further information related to how your personal data is processed for this project please contact Katerina Vackova at *k.vackova74@canterbury.ac.uk*.

You can read further information regarding how the University processes your personal data for research purposes at the following link: Research Privacy Notice – https://www.canterbury.ac.uk/university-solicitors-office/data-protection/privacy-notices/privacy-notices.aspx

Dissemination of results

The thesis will be published in the CCCU library and Research Space and presented at a university/postgraduate conference.

Process for withdrawing consent to participate

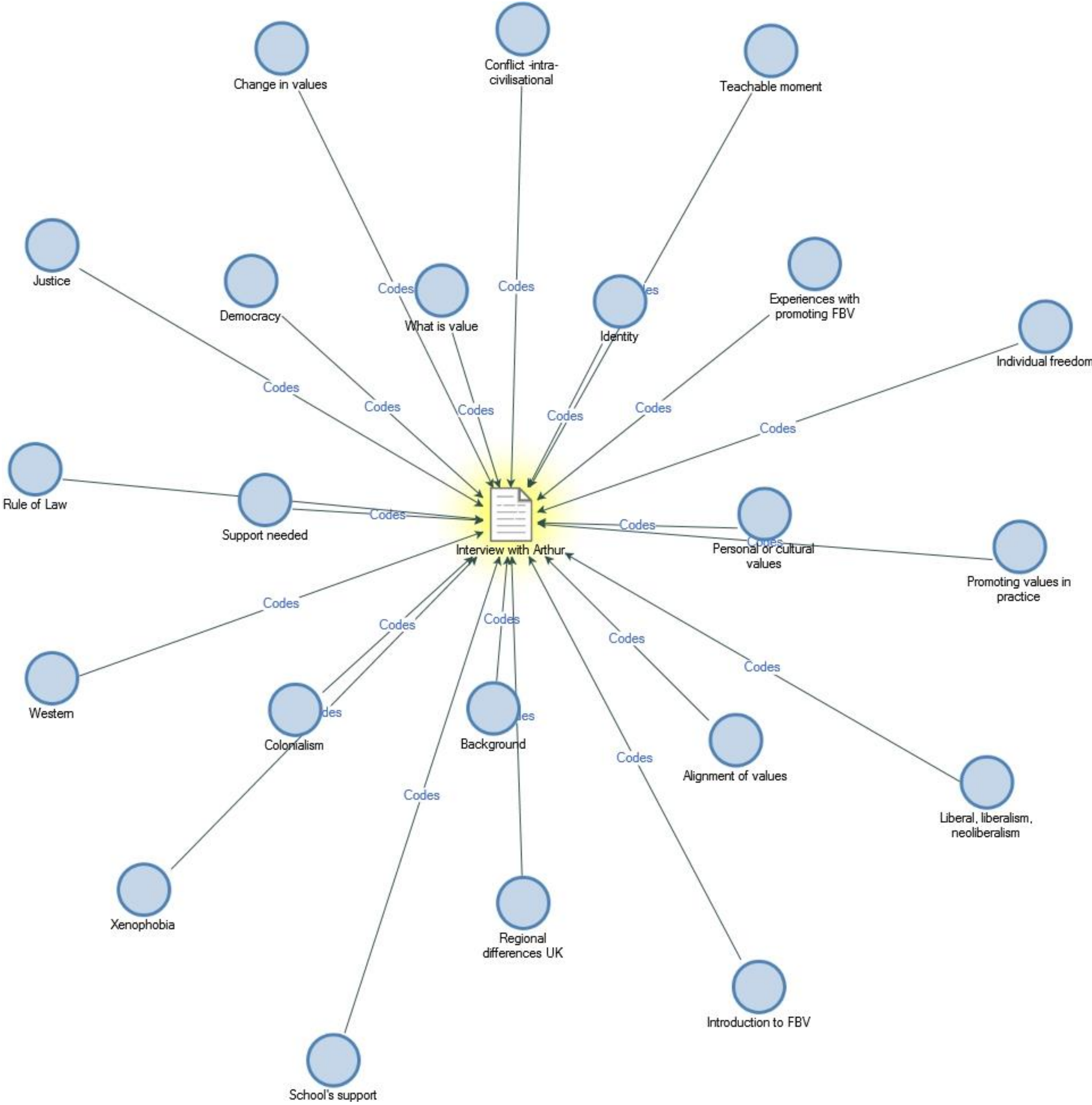
You are free to withdraw your consent to participate in this research project until end of August 2021 without having to give a reason. To do this please contact Katerina Vackova at k.vackova74@canterbury.ac.uk whether you also wish the collected data to be destroyed and/or whether you not longer wish the data to be used in the research.

You may read further information on your rights relating to your personal data at the following link: Research Privacy Notice – https://www.canterbury.ac.uk/university-solicitors-office/data-protection/privacy-notices/privacy-notices.aspx

Any questions?

Please contact Katerina Vackova on k.vackova74@canterbury.ac.uk, Faculty of Education Canterbury Christ Church University, or the supervisor of the thesis, Dr Gemma van Vuuren-Cassar on gemma.van-vuuren-cassar@canterbury.ac.uk, School of Psychology and Life Sciences, Canterbury Christ Church University .

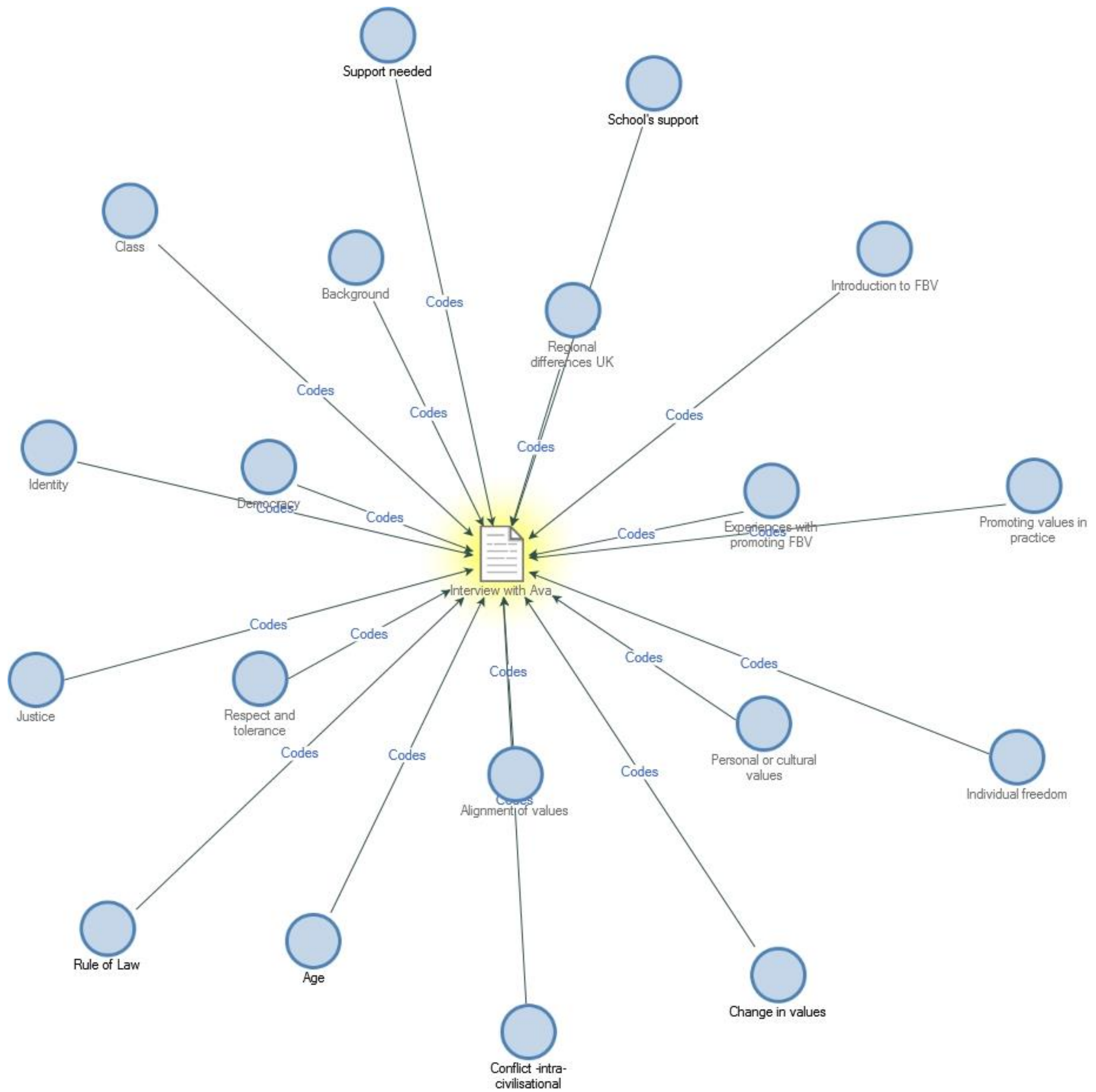
Appendix C. NVivo explore diagrams



Respect and tolerance
Teachable moment
School's support
Justice
Identity
Rule of Law
Democracy
Experiences with promoting FBV
Colonialism
Background
Interview with Oliver
Regional differences UK
Promoting values in practice
Western
Xenophobia
Alignment of values
Individual freedom
Personal or cultural values
Support needed
Change in values
Codes

Respect and tolerance
Introduction to FBV
Rule of Law
School's support
Experiences with promoting FBV
Promoting values in practice
Democracy
Interview with Grace
Identity
Personal or cultural values
Background
Change in values
Support needed
Alignment of values
Codes

Conflict -intra-civilisational
Change in values
Introduction to FBV
Colonialism
Background
Experiences with promoting FBV
Codes
Promoting values in practice
Identity
Justice
Interview with Emily
Support needed
Rule of Law
Teachable moment
Personal or cultural values
School's support
Alignment of values


Support needed
School's support
Class
Background
Codes
Regional differences UK
Introduction to FBV
Codes
Codes
Codes
Codes
Identity
Democracy
Codes
Codes
Experiences with promoting FBV
Codes
Promoting values in practice
Codes
Interview with Ava
Codes
Codes
Codes
Codes
Justice
Respect and tolerance
Personal or cultural values
Individual freedom
Codes
Codes
Codes
Codes
Alignment of values
Rule of Law
Age
Change in values
Conflict -intra-civilisational