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**Tolerance and mutual respect in three secondary schools in  
England: how teachers of Religious Education working with 11-  
14 year olds construct and promote these concepts**

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## Abstract

### **Tolerance and mutual respect in three secondary schools in England: How teachers of Religious Education working with 11-14 year olds construct and promote these concepts.**

Rebekah Ackroyd

My research stemmed from a policy statement from the Department for Education (2014, p. 5) asking all teachers in England to “promote the fundamental British values [FBV] of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs”. Drawing on but moving beyond existing research which has examined the securitising and nationalistic connotations of FBV, my research provides an original close analysis focused on mutual respect and tolerance. As a former Religious Education (RE) teacher, my experiences of the complexity of promoting mutual respect and tolerance led to intellectual curiosity about whether and how RE teachers critically construct and promote these two concepts.

Working from a social constructionist epistemological stance, I have explored mutual respect and tolerance from the perspective of seven RE practitioners who work in three secondary schools with contrasting pupil demographics in England. The data comprises semi-structured interviews and document analysis of the schemes of work of Key Stage 3 (ages 11-14) RE. Data analysis used critical discursive psychology, a form of discourse analysis, to facilitate nuanced and critical insights.

The analysis identifies how using a pedagogical bricolage approach enables a more critical promotion of mutual respect and tolerance which responds to the political and practical problems raised by the requirement to promote FBV. The bricolage is underpinned by a frank and honest classroom environment and a positionally aware teacher. Classroom discussion and real-life examples are identified as significant but sometimes knotty moments for promoting mutual respect and tolerance. In order to use this pedagogical bricolage, recommendations are made for the importance of RE

teachers having the opportunity to critically reflect on the range of possible constructions of mutual respect and tolerance. The need for RE teachers to have a thorough understanding of RE pedagogy is also identified.

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## Author's Declaration

I, Rebekah Ackroyd, declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

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## Chapter one: Introduction

### 1.1 Introduction

Reflecting on my experiences as a teacher of secondary Religious Education (RE), tolerance and mutual respect were constant companions in the classroom but under-explored in conversations with colleagues and in my own thinking. Mason (2018, p. 11) argues that research should stem from the researcher's intrigue with an intellectual puzzle; a topic or question that is not neutral, but which seems to need exploring. In this chapter I set out the origins of my intellectual puzzle and provide key contextual information. My intellectual puzzle originates in a policy statement from the Department for Education (2014, p. 5) asking schools and teachers to promote a set of fundamental British values (FBV) including "mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs"; I explain the origins of this statement in section 1.2. In 1.3 I then expand on how my experiences as an RE teacher are at the heart of my intellectual intrigue with this policy statement. This is followed in 1.4 by an overview of how the RE curriculum in England is designed, which contributes towards explaining my rationale for focusing on RE at key stage three, hereafter abbreviated to KS3 (pupils aged 11-14). This leads to the formulation of the research questions in 1.5 along with an overview of the anticipated contributions of my research, which seeks to explore how RE teachers construct and promote mutual respect and tolerance in the context of KS3 RE.

### 1.2 Context: Origins of fundamental British values

My interest in mutual respect and tolerance originates in their inclusion in a statement of FBV, which has been present in part two of the Teachers' Standards since 2011 (Department for Education, 2011, p. 14). The Teachers' Standards detail the levels of teaching practice and professional conduct to which all teachers in England must adhere. One requirement of their conduct is to "not undermin[e] fundamental British values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect, and tolerance, of those with different faiths and beliefs". This was followed by the release of additional, non-statutory guidelines from the Department for Education (2014, p. 5) requiring schools to "actively promote" FBV as part

of their obligation, as set out in section 78 of the *Education Act 2002*, to promote pupils' spiritual, moral, social and cultural (SMSC) development. On this, Eade (2018, p. 71) notes the change to active promotion arguably implies schools should take a more active approach. However, FBV did not originate in education policy but in a policy entitled Prevent (HM Government, 2011a, p. 34) which details part of the UK's counter-terrorism strategy. It is consequently important to understand how pivotal historical events informed the development of FBV.

On 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001 (often referred to as 9/11), al-Qaeda terrorists hijacked four planes on domestic flightpaths in America. Three planes were flown into the tower block buildings of the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon in the United States of America. This resulted in then President, George W. Bush, declaring a 'War on Terror', and many western countries, including the UK, reassessing their own preparedness against acts of terrorism. One response to this from the British government from 2003 was the development of a fourfold counter-terrorism policy entitled CONTEST (HM Government, 2011b, p. 6). One of the four approaches was entitled Prevent and focused on how to stop people becoming terrorists (HM Government, 2011b, p. 10). Following terrorist attacks on 7<sup>th</sup> July 2005 (sometimes called 7/7) when four British men detonated bombs on the London underground and buses killing 52 people (Rodgers, Quarashi and Connor, 2015), the emphasis on Prevent increased (Quarashi, 2018, p. 2). A report from the Intelligence and Security Committee (2006, section 108) into 7/7 notes that whilst the possibility of so called 'home-grown' terrorists perpetrating attacks in the UK had been acknowledged, going forwards more should be done to counteract this threat. Revell and Bryan (2018, p. 10) and Farrell (2023, p. 27) note that 7/7 thus marked the beginning of FBV becoming a prominent part of counter-terrorism strategy, through which the role of education in anti-terrorism has been elevated.

From 2001, Jerome and Clemitshaw (2012, p. 22) identify a growing focus on discussions of Britishness resulting from these terrorist attacks, riots in the north of England, concerns about Islamist fundamentalism and the number of immigrants arriving in the UK. Revell and Bryan (2018, p. 68)

argue that this discourse of Britishness, which I explore further in 2.2.3, was particularly shaped by David Cameron, British Prime Minister from 2010-2016. Speaking at a security conference in Munich in 2011, Cameron argued that “state multiculturalism [has] encouraged different cultures to live separate lives” and highlighted what he framed as a problematic “hands-off tolerance”, in which views or actions which are contrary to “our values”, such as forced marriage, had not been confronted or condemned. As a tool against radicalisation and Islamist extremism, Cameron (2011) advocated for a much less “passive tolerance [...] and a much more active muscular liberalism”. He also proposed “actively promoting” a set of values to which all citizens could subscribe, rather than a live and let live attitude towards difference. Farrell (2023, p. 40) argues that this speech is significant in making explicit New Labour’s implicit suggestion that “extremism, multiculturalism and passive tolerance” are responsible for domestic terrorism.

Cameron’s rejection of state multiculturalism is not isolated, with Joppke (2004, p. 243) noting a growing shift away from multiculturalism in Europe and Australia, and Modood (2013, pp. 10-20) charting the rise in critiques of multiculturalism in the UK and Europe. Heath and Demireva (2014, p. 162) characterise these rejections of state multiculturalism as comprising three elements. Firstly, ethnic groups are identified as living “parallel social lives”. Secondly, in these communities, people are seen as maintaining ethnic values and habits, which may be contrary to the norms of wider society, culminating in mistrust and tensions between the majority and minority. Thirdly, the absence of identification with wider society and separateness of communities is felt to create “fertile soil for radicalisation”. On this last point, Ragazzi (2016, p. 274) identifies the turn from multiculturalism as closely connected to fears about the possible links between multiculturalism and home-grown terrorists, such as those involved in the 7/7 bombings described above.

The implications of Cameron’s rejection of state multiculturalism are far reaching. For instance, in his dissection of the Munich speech, Klug (2015) argues that it reveals a racist and colonialist agenda. Klug (2015, p. 75)

contends that Cameron advances the argument that people should be “willing to become white – white in the sense of thinking like us [...] being like us”. Other scholars point to the rejection of state multiculturalism as resulting in a particular stigmatisation of the Muslim community, through the construction of Muslims as a suspect community (Kundnani, 2009; Pantazis and Pemberton, 2009; Choudhury and Fenwick, 2011). The concept of a suspect community, Pantazis and Pemberton (2009, p. 647) argue, draws on a concept from Hillyard’s (1993, cited in Pantazis and Pemberton, 2009, p. 647) work on terrorism in Ireland. Informed by Hillyard, a suspect community is a sub-group which is “singled out for state attention as being ‘problematic’”. Members of the group may be targeted not only because of suspected wrongdoing but “because of their presumed membership to that sub-group”. Writing about the construction of Muslims as a suspect community, Ragazzi (2016, p. 275) further argues that whilst there has been widespread recognition of how the rejection of multiculturalism positions Muslims as a suspect community, academic analyses should additionally identify the ways in which Muslim communities have become involved in policing themselves.

It is this rejection of state multiculturalism which underpins the turn towards the advocacy for a set of FBV and the subsequent arrival of FBV in education policies. On this point, Revell and Bryan (2018, p. 20) observe how concerns about the “destabilising effects” of multiculturalism explored above culminated in the identification of a set of core values to foster national cohesion. Following Cameron’s speech, extremism became defined as “active opposition to fundamental British values including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and the mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs” in the revised Prevent policy (HM Government, 2011a, p. 34). Michael Gove, then secretary of state for education, then released the new Teachers’ Standards (Department for Education, 2011, p. 14), which included the requirement that teachers should not undermine FBV, with the definition of FBV coming directly from the one of extremism in Prevent (Richardson and Bolloren, 2014, p. 10). The irony of Cameron’s rejection of passive tolerance, alongside a new requirement for teachers to

uphold tolerance for diverse views as part of their professional standards is not lost on Revell and Bryan (2018, p. 75) who argue this illustrates the issues at stake. In the context of RE, Farrell (2023, p. 95) additionally points to how the rejection of multiculturalism creates a tension for RE teachers whose role is to teach about worldviews and religions, including non-liberal perspectives. They must consider how to fulfil policy requirements alongside fairly representing the worldviews they teach. Whilst one option is to teach “liberal versions” of religions, Farrell suggests this results in difficulties for truly upholding the concept of democracy and a more meagre curriculum. I return to these issues in section 2.2.4.

Overall, the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and 7/7 and realisation a terrorist threat could be posed by people “born and bred in Britain” (HM Government, 2011a, p. 1), have all contributed to the emphasis on preventing young people being radicalised, and FBV being identified as a tool through which this could be achieved. Jerome, Elwick and Kazim (2019, p. 822) comment on how in under 10 years, Prevent has “extended its reach”, moving from a focus on violent extremism to one of extremism being defined in relation to FBV, thus creating an “integral link” between FBV and Prevent. In particular, teachers, alongside other professionals who work in communities, are positioned as able to report potential ‘radicals’ (Ragazzi, 2016, p. 728). This is a move which Thomas (2020, p. 19) suggests was “internationally unprecedented”. He highlights how after the introduction of the *2015 Counter-Terrorism and Security Act*, Ofsted inspections included a consideration of the extent to which schools had implemented FBV. The embedding of FBV within the Teachers’ Standards (Department for Education, 2011, p. 14) and school inspection framework consequently works to ensure compliance with the guidance (Jerome, Elwick and Kazim, 2019, p. 822) and it is this which has led Elton-Chalcraft *et al.* (2017, p. 29) to characterise teachers as positioned as “state instruments of surveillance”. This encroachment of FBV from counter-terrorism policy into education policy forms the political context for my study. In 2.2, I build on this further by reviewing literature which illuminates the political and

practical problems which the requirement to promote FBV creates for RE teachers.

### 1.3 Personal positioning

Before beginning my doctoral research, I taught secondary school (pupils aged 11-18) RE full time and did some part-time teaching during my PhD. As an RE teacher, the requirement for teachers to promote “mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs” (Department for Education, 2014, p. 5) intrigued me. There were several reasons for this, which form part of the rationale for my study. Firstly, looking closely at the final line of the statement of FBV which states schools and teachers should promote “mutual respect and tolerance *of those with different faiths and beliefs* [emphasis added]” (Department for Education, 2014, p. 5) I noted a cohesion with the subject content of RE. RE regularly focuses on teaching pupils about the beliefs and practices of religious and non-religious people. The cohesion between FBV and RE has also been noted by Farrell (2016, p. 285) who suggests the documents on FBV have “direct relevance to RE practice and implications for RE professionals”. Given the links to RE, I therefore became interested in how RE teachers might interpret mutual respect and tolerance and the topic of how, in pedagogical terms, they might promote the concepts.

My teaching experiences also led me to critically reflect on the potential challenges of promoting mutual respect and tolerance, which I expand on in 3.4. Teaching RE had shown me that this is not always straightforward, particularly when moments of disagreement arise. My experiences resonated with findings in the literature. For instance, Von Der Lippe (2019, p. 2) notes that RE can include topics which may be deemed controversial, such as ritual male circumcision (Evans, 2019). Iversen’s (2019, p. 322) work in Norway on constructing safe spaces in RE classrooms also provides an exemplification of the intricacies of promoting tolerance. He cites an example of a teacher who wanted to create an “LGBT-positive” (Lesbian, Gay, Bi and Transgender) classroom but found this challenging, because doing so would expose other pupils to the risk of “anti-immigrant or anti-Muslim attitudes”. This highlights the potential complexities of requiring RE

teachers to promote tolerance and mutual respect in classrooms where pupils have opposing belief systems. As Richardson and Bolloten (2014, p. 11) note, government guidelines neither address the question of where the limits of tolerance lie nor who should determine this. The absence of precise guidelines, combined with my reflections on my teaching experiences led me to wonder about how the construction and promotion of mutual respect and tolerance “works” (Mason, 2018, p. 12) in practice for other RE teachers. Consequently, I specifically identify my intellectual puzzle as “mechanical” because I am engaged in exploring “how something works or is constituted” (Mason, 2018, p. 12), and I expand on this in 1.5.

#### 1.4 Context: Contemporary RE in England

To expand on my rationale for focusing on teachers of RE, I now provide contextual information about how the RE curriculum is designed and explain why it varies between schools. I explain why the legislative system for determining the RE curriculum, as well as conflicting ideas about the purpose of RE and the extent to which values education should be the aim of the subject, may result in variations in how different teachers promote mutual respect and tolerance, issues which I unpack further in 2.4.2.

Debates about the purpose of RE are not new, with Christopher (2020, p. 85) charting its origins in the subject of Religious Instruction in 1944, which became RE, which I expand on in 2.4.2. Section 25.2 of the *Education Act 1944* made RE a compulsory subject for pupils, and RE remains statutory for pupils aged 5 to 19 in England. The national curriculum, which details what pupils in England must study and the standards they should attain was introduced as part of the *Education Reform Act 1988*. It is divided into five key stages, relating to age groups. RE is not part of the national curriculum but is a compulsory subject because it forms part of the basic curriculum schools are required to teach. As RE is not in the national curriculum, processes exist for determining the RE curriculum at the level of the local authority.

In each local authority area, a Standing Advisory Council on RE (SACRE) comprised of a range of representatives, produces guidelines which are

used to inform a locally agreed syllabus (LAS). The syllabus is reviewed every five years (*Education Act 1996*). Section 375.3 of the *Education Act 1996* establishes that the content of the LAS should “reflect the fact that the religious traditions in Great Britain are in the main Christian whilst taking account of the teaching and practices of the other principal religions represented in Great Britain”. This system means that schools in different geographic locations will follow a different LAS. The existence of different types of schools within England introduces a further level of variability regarding the extent to which a school must follow the LAS. For example, voluntary aided schools may provide RE in accordance with their trust deed, whilst academies may follow a LAS or create their own syllabus (*Education Act 1996*). This means each RE department creates their own schemes of work in accordance with their school type and LAS.

My study will focus on three RE departments in different local authorities to enable me to take into consideration the localised nature of RE curriculum design explained above. This will allow for considering how the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance might be shaped by local contexts. A further focus will be on RE taught at KS3 (pupils aged 11-14). KS3 refers to the first three years of secondary education in England. This is because there are no national examinations for pupils in this key stage. Therefore, rather than teaching an examination syllabus, schools design and teach their own curriculum based on the LAS, which as Stern (2018, p. 70) observes can result in high levels of variation, both between and within schools. Focusing on KS3 will hence enable me to explore potential variations in how mutual respect and tolerance are constructed and promoted by teachers within different RE departments.

### 1.5 Purpose of the study and research questions

I have already explained that I identify my research topic as a mechanical puzzle (Mason, 2018, p. 12) because I am interested in the processes of interpretation and how it works for RE teachers to promote tolerance and mutual respect from a pragmatic and pedagogical perspective. Specifically, my research examines two, related, puzzles.

The first aim of my study is to explore how RE teachers construct mutual respect and tolerance: the constitution of the concepts in Mason's (2018, p. 12) terms. Given the origins of mutual respect and tolerance as FBV in Prevent (HM Government, 2011a), as set out in 1.2, the requirement to promote them raises political and practical issues, which I expand on in 2.2. In 2.2, I explain how the absence of government definitions about the meaning of FBV does not necessarily result in open and critical constructions of the concepts (Bamber *et al.*, 2018, p. 437; Vincent, 2019a, p. 27). My study consequently explores whether RE teachers construct mutual respect and tolerance as FBV and whether their constructions respond to the political and practical problems raised by FBV. It additionally examines to what extent their constructions of the concepts are critical by considering which theoretical understandings and ideas they draw on in their constructions, and which are neglected.

Secondly, I am interested in the puzzle of how the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance works, in pedagogical terms, from the perspective of RE teachers when they teach pupils in KS3. In particular, I seek to draw on but move beyond existing research about the requirement to promote FBV (Department for Education, 2014, p. 5) and explore whether and how pedagogical approaches from RE might represent a means of more critically promoting mutual respect and tolerance, given the political and practical problems raised by the requirement to promote them.

As I will examine in 2.4, RE has a rich pedagogical history and the RE teacher may choose from a multitude of pedagogical approaches (Stern, 2018, p. 67). Freathy *et al.* (2017, p. 430) have proposed characterising RE teachers as "pedagogical bricoleurs", namely as drawing on a wide range of pedagogical approaches to inform what they do in their classroom practice. Here, they draw on Denzin and Lincoln's (1994, p. 3) understanding of a bricolage as "a complex, dense, reflexive, collage-like creation". Whilst existing research from Farrell (2016, p. 295) and McDonnell (2021, p. 391; 2023, p. 237) has identified a potential role for RE pedagogy in enabling a more critical engagement with FBV, my study develops this proposal further. It does so through examining in detail how RE teachers in three

different schools talk about how they promote mutual respect and tolerance. The study aims to identify how their approaches to promotion link to different constructions of the concepts and to set out which features of existing RE pedagogy in-service RE teachers draw on. The aim is to identify a pedagogical bricolage for RE which provides a critical response to the requirement to promote mutual respect and tolerance as FBV.

These areas of exploration are pursued through the following two research questions:

**RQ1.** How do teachers of Religious Education (RE) construct the concepts of tolerance and mutual respect?

**RQ2.** How do teachers of Religious Education (RE) talk about the promotion of tolerance and mutual respect in terms of their pedagogy with pupils in key stage three (pupils aged 11-14)?

#### 1.6 Chapter summary

This chapter has identified the inspiration for my research in a statement from the Department for Education (2014, p. 5) requiring schools and teachers to promote a set of FBV including “mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs”. It has outlined how, in the context of a rejection of state multiculturalism, FBV originated in counter-terrorism policies (HM Government, 2011a, p. 34) but, crucially, later became part of the Teachers’ Standards (Department for Education, 2011, p. 14). The two mechanical puzzles (Mason, 2018, p. 12) of the research questions at the centre of my study were then set out alongside an overview of the aims of the research, which seeks identify how a pedagogical bricolage approach might enable a more critical promotion of mutual respect and tolerance in RE.

## Chapter Two – Literature Review

### 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present a review of the literature on mutual respect and tolerance and their promotion in RE. The chapter is structured in three parts. First, I explore the political and practical problems raised by the requirement to promote FBV. I then look at how mutual respect and tolerance might be constructed before lastly exploring how they could be promoted, drawing especially on RE pedagogy.

The first part (2.2) develops issues raised in section 1.2 regarding the status of mutual respect and tolerance as FBV, with their origins in Prevent (HM Government, 2011a). These include the issue of Islamophobia, the question of whether Prevent has had a chilling effect on classroom discussion and the controversiality of labelling of a set of values as British. Next, I look at literature which considers how schools and teachers have enacted the requirement to promote FBV. Most of this literature focuses on whole school implementation but some looks at individual school subjects, including RE, and particular attention is paid to these studies because this is the focus of my own research. Overall, I consider to what extent existing research finds the promotion of FBV, and particularly mutual respect and tolerance, to be critical and explore why critical engagement with FBV might be challenging.

In 2.3 I examine more closely how mutual respect and tolerance might be constructed. It is important to note that this thesis is not a purely semantic exploration of mutual respect and tolerance, but an empirical educational study undertaken from a social constructionist standpoint, which I expand on in 3.3. By this, I mean that I hold that the meanings of tolerance and mutual respect are “built up during interaction” and may vary between “time and place” (Bryman, 2016, p. 30). For this reason, in 2.3 I draw on insights from both a range of political philosophy theorists including Forst (2013), Rawls (1971), Darwall (1977) and Dillon (2018) as well as empirical research about the construction of mutual respect and tolerance. The purpose of this section is to develop a conceptual framework of how mutual

respect and tolerance might be constructed, rather than a rigid typology, providing an interpretive tool for exploring my participants' constructions of the concepts in chapters 4 and 5.

In 2.4, I return to the issue established in 2.2 of the paucity of evidence of FBV being promoted more critically in schools to consider how, in pedagogical terms, mutual respect and tolerance might be promoted by RE teachers. In particular, I examine how RE pedagogies might enable a more critical engagement with the concepts. The section begins with an examination of what is meant by pedagogy and the pedagogue, and what it means for a teacher to adopt a critical pedagogical position, drawing on the work of Freire (1996 [1972]) and Shor (1992). Here the concept of the RE teacher as a "pedagogical bricoleur" (Freathy et al., 2017, p. 430) introduced in section 1.5 is also expanded on. This is followed by an examination of RE pedagogy and close analysis of three pluralistic RE pedagogies: Critical RE (Wright, 2003), the conceptual enquiry approach (Erricker, 2010), and interpretive RE (Jackson, 1997), including examining the role of dialogue and discussion. The underlying theoretical standpoint of each pedagogy is presented along with an account of the approach. The discussion additionally draws on empirical studies which highlight how these RE pedagogies might enable or limit the critical promotion of mutual respect and tolerance. The overall aim of 2.4 is to develop a rich tapestry or pedagogical bricolage (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p. 3) of how RE teachers might more critically promote mutual respect and tolerance.

## [2.2 Mutual respect and tolerance as fundamental British values: practical and political problems](#)

In 1.2 I established that FBV originated in Prevent (HM Government, 2011a), and I explored the context of David Cameron's rejection of state multiculturalism. I additionally noted how Jerome, Elwick and Kazim (2019, p. 822) observe that since 2011, Prevent has "extended its reach" through the integral link between Prevent and FBV, and by FBV becoming embedded within multiple education policies. In what follows, I examine the implications of this link between Prevent, FBV and education. I look in more detail at critiques of Prevent and the requirement to promote FBV in

schools, firstly considering concerns that the policies contribute to Islamophobia. Next, I examine arguments that Prevent and FBV have had a chilling effect on conversations in classrooms and explore the implications of links between Prevent and safeguarding. Lastly, I explore the theme of Britishness. Overall, the aim is to establish the problems, both political and practical which the requirement to promote FBV raises, but also to highlight examples within the empirical literature of when teachers and schools resist and respond critically to FBV.

### 2.2.1 Islamophobia

In 1.2 I established that the rejection of state multiculturalism has been seen by some as resulting in the stigmatisation of Muslims. A critique of Islamophobia has also been levied at Prevent (Elwick, Jerome and Kazim, 2019, p. 825; Thomas, 2020, p. 12) and at the requirement that schools and teachers promote FBV (Crawford, 2017, p. 199). Regarding Prevent, Thomas (2020, p. 12) identifies two distinct phases of Prevent 1 (2005-2011) and Prevent 2 (2011 onwards) and observes that Prevent 1 exclusively focused on working with young Muslims. Prevent 1 was critiqued for how it contributed to a securitisation of society (Thomas, 2020, p. 15). For example, Kundnani's (2009, p. 6) report identifies how it stigmatised and targeted Muslim communities, resulting in the construction of "the Muslim population as a 'suspect community'". Whilst noting that not all responses to Prevent 1 were negative, with some Muslim communities using the funding to develop community resilience against the influence of extremism, Thomas (2020, p. 22) nonetheless argues that the most widespread critique of Prevent 2 is that it "re-doubled the targeting and stigmatisation of young Muslims that was inherent to 'Prevent 1'". This suggestion is supported by Elwick, Jerome and Kazim's (2019, p. 825) review of 27 pieces of literature published between 2015 and 2019 on schools' responses to Prevent and FBV. In this, they identify the theme of Islamophobia as one of the key issues highlighted across the body of empirical studies, which I now turn to explore further.

One large scale, mixed methods study into schools' and teachers' experiences of Prevent by Busher *et al.* (2017, p. 54) includes data from a

national online survey of 225 school and college staff, and from semi-structured interviews in 14 schools with 70 professionals. They found that there was agreement that Prevent addresses all types of extremism but also a “strong and recurring theme” across the data analysed that Prevent might “fuel feelings among Muslim students of being stigmatised”. In the survey data, this was particularly the case for Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) participants, with 76% saying Prevent made Muslim students “more likely or considerably more likely, to feel stigmatised” as compared to 55% of White British participants (Busher *et al.*, 2017, p. 54). Likewise, Vincent’s (2018, p. 231; 2019a; 2019b) large scale case study research into the promotion of FBV uses data generated in four primary and five secondary schools, supplemented with interviews with senior leaders in eight additional schools and observations at four training events about FBV. Vincent finds that leaders of non-Christian, and especially Muslim, faith schools, feel particularly targeted by the FBV policy requirements. For example, a headteacher of a Muslim primary school highlighted how they had scrupulously ensured they could provide evidence of how they were promoting FBV, in a way they felt leaders of other schools would not be so concerned about.

Smaller scale research on FBV also supports the argument that the policy disproportionately targets Muslims. For instance, Panjwani’s (2016, p. 337) questionnaire with 39 responses from Muslim teachers identifies that whilst the Prevent and FBV policies use neutral language, participating teachers also strongly felt that they were rooted in suspicion of the Muslim community and being used to alienate young Muslims. In spite of this critique, participants did not feel that the FBV themselves conflicted with Islam. Similarly, Green’s (2017, p. 245) research with 16 British Muslims aged 16-18 in Tower Hamlets found that, like for Panjwani’s teachers, the young people identified with being British, as well as Muslim and found little conflict within these identities. However, there were mixed results in terms of how they felt other people perceived their identities, with some participants feeling British society did not recognise them as British. One focus group also explicitly discussed the promotion of FBV in their school,

where they felt Islam was perceived as threatening. This was experienced by the young people as pressure to be more secular, which Green (2017, p. 248) argues results in messaging that Britishness and Islam are “separate and incompatible”.

It is notable that Prevent has additionally been framed as part of schools’ safeguarding responsibilities and that this also has links to Islamophobia. The Department for Education (2023, p. 6) define safeguarding in education as referring to preventing harm to children, protecting them from maltreatment and enabling them to succeed with the best outcomes. All staff have a duty to report any concerns about the welfare of a child. The statutory safeguarding policy specifically identifies the risk of radicalisation and extremism, defined again in this policy as being in opposition to FBV, as a particular safeguarding issue which staff should be alert to and ready to flag up (Department for Education, 2023, p. 148). One benefit of this inclusion of Prevent within safeguarding has been high levels of teacher confidence in implementing the duty (Busher *et al.*, 2017, p. 23). However, not all see this positively. Lundie’s (2017, p. 19) report identifies how the emphasis on securitisation has reshaped the delicate and trust-based relationship between teachers and the communities they exist in. Elsewhere, Lundie (2019, p. 323) notes that Prevent, unlike some other aspects of safeguarding like sexual exploitation, simultaneously marks a child not just as at risk, but as a risk to other people. Others like Hart (2021, p. 193) have gone further in suggesting that it is essential to resist the positioning of Prevent as part of safeguarding by recognising how it can harm students. He argues teachers should acknowledge the difference between the process followed for other safeguarding concerns, which are centred on the best interests of the child, compared to Prevent referrals which can result in police interrogation. There are 17 case study examples of instances where schools and teachers examine and critique children’s actions under Prevent in the Open Society’s (2016) report which lends weight to Hart’s claim that Prevent can be experienced as discriminatory by children and their families.

Building on the theme of resisting Prevent as part of safeguarding and understanding Prevent and FBV as disproportionately targeting Muslim pupils, Hart's (2021) work also comprises a practical resource, informed by critical race theory and using ideas from Freire's (1996 [1972]) critical pedagogy, which aims to help teachers to interrogate their positionality, Whiteness and power when complying with Prevent and promoting FBV. Hart (2021, p. 192) suggests that there are opportunities for teachers to disrupt the Prevent duty through critically engaging with it and FBV, whilst still legally complying. For example, teachers could ensure Muslim students can speak freely about their experiences of racism and use texts authored by Muslims in lessons. Teachers can also take up opportunities to critically engage with the values within FBV by pointing out to students how Muslim students might not experience the values justly. For example, regarding respect for those of different faiths and beliefs, teachers could share that Muslim students have been reported for wearing Islamic clothing. Crucially, Hart observes that these forms of critical engagement can be undertaken by individual teachers, requiring no support from senior leaders.

### 2.2.2 Chilling effect

Closely linked to the possibility of Prevent stigmatising Muslims, is the risk it has a chilling effect on conversations in classrooms because it impacts on young people's confidence to freely express their views (Thomas, 2020, p. 27). This concern has been flagged up by articles in the press (Adams, 2016; Grove, 2016) as well as within the academic literature (Ramsay, 2017, p. 148; O'Donnell, 2016, p. 62). Eade (2018, p. 77) identifies the chilling effect as the "most worrying" aspect of FBV. He suggests it relates not only to whether young people might be wary of introducing controversial topics because they fear being identified as at risk of radicalisation, but also to the possibility of teachers being reticent to explore divisive topics. Eade arguably has grounds for concern, with Revell and Bryan's (2016, p. 351) study of 60 school leaders showing that primary school leaders were concerned about teachers sharing views in class which might be "radical in tone", even when they do not directly undermine FBV, suggesting teachers may have cause to censor what they say in the

classroom. Eade (2018, p. 77) contends this results in a contradiction, inhibiting free speech when openness is precisely what is needed to enable exploration of the “simplistic, binary views” which underscore the appeal of radicalisation. This suggestion is supported by Panjwani (2016, p. 338) who identifies the need for an alternative, non-securitising, response to extremism from education which preserves the academic aims of “free enquiry and critical thought” and enables pupils to learn to trust and be skilled in “non-violent, discourse-based politics”.

Whilst noting the potential risk of the chilling effect, Busher, Choudhury and Thomas (2020, p. 48) found a more mixed picture in empirical data gathered as part of a mixed methods study about staff perceptions of Prevent 18 months after its introduction. The data includes an online survey of 225 staff and semi-structured interviews with 70 teachers. Although participants identified instances of pupils’ self-censoring and fearing to vocalise their thoughts, interviewees also highlighted examples of how schools had revived and initiated activities focused on fostering discussion about politics, peace and conflict (Busher, Choudhury and Thomas, 2020, p. 48). Examples included assemblies, curriculum drop-down days, debating clubs and including new content within the curriculum. Some participants also identified how Prevent had highlighted the importance of exploring topics previously deemed taboo. In some instances, teachers saw Prevent as providing opportunities to engage pupils in critical reflection about their beliefs, for example, by providing a chance to explore why racist comments were made (Busher, Choudhury and Thomas, 2020, p. 49). These findings were substantiated by the survey in which only 12% of respondents felt Prevent had resulted in less open discussions and 41% stated it had led to more open discussions about extremism, intolerance and inequality. However, interestingly, it was notable that BME respondents were less optimistic than white British respondents about the capacity of staff to mitigate against the negative impacts of Prevent.

Faure-Walker’s (2019, p. 372) research unpicks this tension about whether Prevent has worked to chill or encourage debate within classrooms. Citing an example from his own form class, he notes that from 2014, pupils told

him that they no longer engaged in political debates for fear of being reported. Drawing on theoretical insights from Alexander (2017), Faure-Walker (2019, p. 376) establishes that Prevent limits “genuine dialogic encounter”. This refers to the idea of an interaction which changes people and in which new knowledge can be created, rather than one in which pupils provide predictable and rehearsed responses such as expressing objection to travel to Syria. Furthermore, Faure-Walker (2019, p. 376) finds that genuine dialogues would represent the opportunities for exploring and moderating the extreme views with which Prevent is so concerned, as Eade (2018, p. 77) observed above. In response, Faure-Walker (2019, p. 379) suggests that active opposition to oppressive policies which invade classrooms may be a necessary part of pedagogy in the context of the global war on terror. What this pedagogy might look like in the context of RE is something I return to in 2.4.

### 2.2.3 Britishness

Another body of research on Prevent and FBV has examined the labelling of the values as British (Elwick, Jerome and Kazim, 2019, p. 827). As indicated in 1.2, the turn towards Britishness is linked to Cameron’s (2011) rejection of state multiculturalism. Revell and Bryan (2018, pp. 19-20) chart how until 2008, the concept of Britishness was in decline, with just under a third of adults in the UK defining themselves as British. Through a substantial documentation of historical events and policies, Revell and Bryan identify how between 1996 with the start of New Labour and the 2011 Prevent duty, the concept of Britishness was not static, with different values being identified as British. The FBV identified in Prevent can though be characterised in terms of a major shift from definitions of Britishness centred on cultural motifs to the “language of civics and political values” (Revell and Bryan, 2018, p. 34). It has already been shown that identifying a set of values as British stigmatises and securitises British Muslims. In addition, Gillborn (2008, p. 71) observes that the history of Britain is “inextricably bound up with racism”. It is this which leads Germaine Buckley (2020, p. 27, emphasis in original) to analyse how the requirement to promote FBV sits alongside a History curriculum which fails to recognise

"Britain's history of brutal colonialism, undemocratic military rule [...] and marked *intolerance* for local languages and traditions". This highlights that it is not only the labelling of certain values as British which is controversial but additionally shows contradictions regarding whether the identified values like mutual respect and tolerance can be considered commensurate with the actions of Britain's colonial past. Given this problematic identification of a set of British values, I consequently explore what existing research has found about the implications of this. As the inspiration for my research lies in the inclusion of FBV within education policy (see 1.2), I begin by closely examining the presentation and construction of FBV in education policy.

Richardson and Bolloten (2014, p. 10) observe that the values included within the FBV can be interpreted in different ways and that difficulties in understanding what is meant by FBV have been "compounded by the unclear punctuation" which varies between policy documents. Here, they refer to variations in the positioning of punctuation in articulations of FBV. For example, they notice that between the Prevent duty (2011a, p. 34) and the Teachers' Standards (Department for Education, 2011, p. 14) there are slightly different presentations of the final part of the FBV on which this research centres. Whereas the former states "the mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs", the latter refers to "and mutual respect, and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs". Similarly, Vincent (2018, p. 239) observes different understandings of FBV, with some "decoupling 'mutual respect' and 'tolerance'", as here in the Teachers' Standards (Department for Education, 2011, p. 14). This is important because, as Richardson and Bolloten (2014, p. 10) comment, "[c]onceptual and grammatical clarity" is crucial in matters pertaining to education and when requirements are made of schools and teachers which could have implications for their reputations. Moreover, the presentation of FBV leaves unanswered questions, including where the limits of tolerance lie, the issue of "'different' from what?" and the reason the wording was changed (Richardson and Bolloten, 2014, p. 10).

Taking inspiration from Richardson and Bollothen's (2014) approach and looking at documents published subsequently to their paper reveals further inconsistencies. For instance, the guidance on promoting FBV as part of pupils' SMSC development (Department for Education, 2014, p. 5) includes a comma before mutual respect, which arguably functions to suggest a distinction between the other values and mutual respect and tolerance. More recently the latest Inspection Handbook (Ofsted, 2019) which sets out the criteria used by Ofsted inspectors to judge the quality of schools, includes two different presentations of the statement of FBV in sections 225 and 269, with the shifting of a comma again resulting in uncertainty about whether mutual respect and tolerance are intended to be understood as separate or connected values. As well as variable presentations, there is no explicit guidance on how FBV should be interpreted. The advice on how schools and teachers should promote them is also limited and the Department for Education (2014, p. 6) detail a total of five bullet point examples of how schools might promote FBV.

Having established that there is a lack of guidance within education policies about how FBV should be constructed and promoted, I now examine what empirical studies have found about how FBV, mutual respect and tolerance are being interpreted and promoted by schools and teachers. As mentioned above, Vincent (2018; 2019a; 2019b) has conducted a large multiple case study of nine schools. Vincent (2019a, p. 23) identifies four commonly used approaches, which are neither "completely discrete" nor necessarily adopted singularly. The approaches are: "Representing Britain, Re-packaging, Re-locating within school values, and Engagement with FBV". The first three comprise more superficial approaches to the promotion of FBV, whilst the latter is a less commonly seen, more critical approach; I now explore each in detail and make comparisons to the findings from other, smaller-scale studies.

Representing Britain refers to how schools take a "highly visible" (Vincent, 2018, p. 232) approach of using display boards and posters to list FBV or to show representations of symbols linked to Britain, such as pictures of the Queen. This finding is supported by Moncrieffe and Moncrieffe (2019, p. 68)

who, in their study of 27 display boards from primary schools, observe the images most commonly show “white British majoritarian perspectives” on British identity, which maintains “the power of exclusive monocultural white British identities”. As Vincent (2018, p. 233) notes, such an approach does not serve to “problematiz[e] the British values themselves”. The approaches of re-packaging and re-locating FBV are closely connected, both comprising ways schools have “absorb[ed] the FBV policy” (Vincent, 2019a, p. 23). In re-packaging, schools rebrand existing practices as a means of proving FBV are being promoted, for instance through emphasising how a school council provides opportunities for democracy. Re-locating denotes how FBV are relocated “as school values” (Ibid., p. 24). Revell and Bryan (2016, p. 349) for instance found that school leaders had absorbed FBV into school ethos and values’ statements. Absorbing FBV can also involve schools explicitly teaching FBV through mechanisms like character education. Character education is an area of education which focuses on developing pupils’ resilience, virtues and moral character and listening skills in debates with others (Department for Education, 2019, p. 7). The concept of adopting FBV as part of whole school values is similarly identified by Mcghee and Zhang (2017, p. 938) who find that schools absorb the promotion of FBV into their school ethos. Jerome *et al.* (2020, p. 163) do note a small moment of resistance regarding the Britishness of FBV because they are sometimes relabelled as ‘our’ or ‘school’ values. Lastly, Vincent (2019a, p. 24) identifies that some secondary schools engage with a more critical exploration and evaluation of the values. This might, for example, entail an evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of one of the FBV. However, Vincent found that this practice was not “systematically” used by any schools in her study; absorbing FBV was the most common approach. This highlights the lack of a more critical approach to the promotion of FBV and raises the question of to what extent the teachers in my own study critically engage with constructing and promoting mutual respect and tolerance.

Looking specifically at the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance as FBV, Vincent (2019a, p. 27) cites one example pertaining to the promotion of tolerance and (mutual) respect; it is noteworthy that the term ‘mutual’ is

sometimes omitted in scholars work in this field. This is the case in this part of Vincent's paper, which could reflect the absence of the qualifier in the schools in her research. Writing about how FBV were used by some schools to "address prejudicial attitudes that the children brought from home", Vincent (2019a, p. 27) finds that teachers focus "on teaching 'tolerance' and respect to those they see to be most in need of it". This refers to a tendency for some teachers to see pupils from white British working-class backgrounds as having particular prejudices for example towards Islam. Yet, except in an interview with the Headteacher of one school, she found no evidence that teachers saw Muslim families as in need of the same "focused emphasis on British values". This builds on Vincent's (2019a, p. 24) identification of a lack of critical engagement with FBV being common. It additionally highlights the question of who teachers position as the subjects and objects of tolerance and mutual respect, which my study seeks to consider.

As well as these larger scale studies, other research has looked at how FBV might be promoted in relation to individual subject areas. This is significant for my study which focuses on RE because of Vincent's (2018, p. 233; 2019, p. 19) observation that across her case studies, participants agreed about the "low status and limited lesson time" available for critically discussing FBV because subjects like RE, which do support discussion, are not seen as important. Along similar lines, writing about the tensions between promoting FBV and Citizenship education, Starkey (2018, p. 152) finds it to be significant that the Department for Education did not suggest that FBV should be promoted through Citizenship "where they could be discussed and debated" but through a whole school ethos. Starkey argues this represents a coercive governmental approach, in which tolerance comes to signify an "ideological commitment to reduce political debate and impose normative views of citizenship". He additionally proposes that a poorly constructed policy of promoting FBV might conflict with children's rights to develop respect for their own cultural identifies and values under article 29 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989; Starkey, 2018, p. 160).

Also looking at the links to Citizenship education and focusing on student teachers, Bamber *et al.* (2018) examine the influence of a scheme of global citizenship education on student teachers' understandings of FBV. Four themes of comfort, compliance, criticality and critical being were identified (Bamber *et al.*, 2018, p. 441). Comfort and compliance echo Vincent's (2019a, p. 23) concepts of representing, re-packaging and re-locating FBV in schools. They were seen through student teachers and schools being indifferent towards FBV or the values being incorporated within assemblies. There were also instances of teachers "indulging the intolerable", which Bamber *et al.* (2018, p. 443) observe represents an uncritical promotion of tolerance which forecloses spaces for action by failing to challenge views and by silencing discussion. Whilst some participants were more critical, social, cultural and professional factors restricted them, including teachers feeling limited by their own subject knowledge. On this point, Maylor (2016, p. 326) identifies a role for teacher education developing student teachers' skills for critically promoting FBV. He suggests it is important for student teachers to have a thorough knowledge of the diversity within the UK and awareness that pupils' identities in relation to Britishness might be fluid. In Bamber *et al.*'s (2018, p. 444) study, there were though some signs of a more critical engagement with FBV, seen when participants engaged with the nuance of tolerance, for instance by recognising that being tolerant or respectful was not synonymous with being kind. Under the label of critical being, Bamber *et al.* (2018, p. 445, emphasis in original) identify "pedagogical approaches that educate *through*, rather than *about* or *for*, FBV". These involve allowing pupils to explore their ideas, teachers and pupils reflecting on questions and engaging in dialogue about the purpose of education and drawing on resources wider than the FBV policy itself. Dissonance was a key part of this, including times when teachers themselves experienced discomfort, which led them to reflect on the experience and introduce new topics for their pupils. For tolerance specifically, Bamber *et al.* (2018, p. 446) describe a critical approach as one where the rights of others are recognised and there is openness and curiosity.

Sant and Hanley's (2018) study of 11 student teachers of English also takes a more pedagogical focus by examining whether four pedagogical practices from Hand and Pearce (2009, cited in Sant and Hanley, 2018, p. 323) focused on education about national identities correspond to student teachers' political understandings about the nation. Of the four approaches of: avoidance, promotion, rejection and problematisation, Hand and Pearce (2009, cited in Sant and Hanley, 2018, p. 323) suggest problematisation is the only viable option for a critical approach because it involves the teacher taking a neutral stance, inviting discussion and presenting open questions. However, Sant and Hanley (2018, p. 333) found that whilst 3 student teachers were willing to take a problematising stance, they did not do so by being neutral. Instead, participants talked about introducing the concept of FBV, generating debate with pupils about the concepts and acknowledging the existence of a range of discourses on Britishness. Elwick, Jerome and Kazim (2019, p. 832) identify how the worldviews of teachers can be identified in some studies, including this one, as shaping teachers' responses to FBV. A further point of note from Sant and Hanley's (2018, p. 334) study is that whilst participants identified how the content taught in English might comprise citizenship education, they did not identify how pedagogical practices such as an "open classroom climate" might contribute (Sant and Hanley, 2018, p. 334). Sant and Hanley suggest that further discussion about how different pedagogies may contribute to promoting democracy and tolerance would be beneficial. This is one area to which my thesis seeks to contribute, by focusing on how pedagogical approaches from RE may enable a more critical promotion of mutual respect and tolerance. I therefore now look at the existing small but important body of research on the promotion of FBV within RE.

#### 2.2.4 FBV and Religious Education

As noted in 1.2, the context of the rejection of state multiculturalism and the ensuing directive for teachers to promote FBV can be seen as creating tensions for RE teachers. Farrell (2023, p. 95) observes that the requirement to promote FBV presents a particular dilemma for the RE teacher because of the conflict between the "homogenising shared values

discourse of FBV” and the “demands of pluralistic RE”. Farrell’s analysis of data collected through group and individual interviews with student and in-service RE teachers during 2015, using a Foucauldian framework, highlights how many RE teachers avoid being “passive dupes” (p. 213) of the FBV policy requirement. Instead, they forge more critical responses, which as noted in 2.2.3, are often absent from promotion of FBV at the whole school level (Vincent, 2018, p. 233). For example, some RE teachers reframe and appropriate the requirement, removing the label British. Others use RE as a space to explore moral issues linked to FBV, or critically engage with what it means to promote the rule of law, when RE might sometimes involve questioning the law. Farrell (2023, p. 212) additionally finds that his participants are committed to faithfully representing religions and to permitting free speech and truth telling, which could be seen as a way of responding to the risks of the chilling effect of FBV and Prevent (see 2.2.2). In his 2016 analysis of part of the same dataset, two focus groups with 11 student teachers of RE, Farrell (2016, p. 291) also notes how the process of the focus group discussion itself is also important in enabling a shift from an initial uncritical acceptance of the terms of FBV to “ruptures appear[ing]”, as participants began to recognise the securitising aspects of FBV.

Another aspect of Farrell’s (2023, pp. 207-208) analysis focuses on the differences between Muslim RE teachers’ experiences of FBV as compared to their white colleagues. He argues that the Muslim RE teachers experience FBV as a disciplinary power. The requirement to promote FBV is divisive and racialising, forcing teachers to take up multiple subject positions as members of the suspect community of Muslims (see 1.2) whilst simultaneously being the tools of state surveillance and marginalisation as enactors of the FBV policy in schools. However, as noted above, there are signs that these teachers adapt and appropriate FBV. A separate analysis of this data by Farrell and Lander (2019, p. 473), focused on 8 Muslim RE teachers, also highlights teachers concerns that FBV contribute towards exacerbating the feeling that some pupils are targeted by “the forces of a dominant white society”. There were however signs the teachers sought to “reconfigure” the statutory requirements to promote FBV within the

discourse of RE, creatively adapting policy in their own teaching, such as by shedding the nationalistic overtones of FBV or by engaging pupils in more nuanced critical discussions of issues like fundamentalism (Ibid., p. 478). Farrell and Lander suggest that the teachers were able to do so because they recognise that multicultural RE is incompatible with civic nationalism and because their disciplinary backgrounds of Theology, Philosophy and Religious Studies provide a “pluralistic and critical underpinning” which enables a critical repositioning and reappropriation of FBV.

McDonnell’s (2021; 2023) research also highlights the potential which pluralistic RE affords for enabling a more critical engagement with FBV. Her study of 5 RE teachers using a life history methodology illustrates the variety and complexity of their responses to FBV (2021, p. 390). However, McDonnell suggests that as RE, PSHE and Citizenship Education teachers, participants were already deeply committed to values education and so proactively found ways to “accommodate FBV within their practice”, often being creative with this. For example, two participants adopted more pluralistic and multicultural approaches to promoting FBV, such as exploring contested views of Britishness and illustrating the diverse manifestations of FBV in society. Others drew on older pedagogic principles such as non-directive discussion, approaches from ‘Philosophy for Children’ and exploring religious role models. McDonnell (2021, p. 391) argues that this research lends further support to the identification that pluralistic RE might enable a more critical response to FBV and advocates for further research with RE teachers, given the space which they occupy in relation to FBV. This builds on a point which Farrell (2016, p. 295) makes, in his proposal that pedagogical models of RE such as Robert Jackson’s (1997; 2004) interpretive approach and Clive Erricker’s (2010) conceptual enquiry approach are suitable models for helping teachers and pupils to engage with complex issues like terrorism. Farrell argues that these represent critical approaches which offer valuable alternatives to the “anodyne phenomenological” styles of teaching which have been widely used in RE (Farrell, 2016, p. 295). However, this requires teachers to be politically aware of how issues of race, class and post colonialism have resulted in the

production of the extremism the FBV discourse is designed to counter, under the guise of democracy.

McDonnell's (2023, p. 237) study with 8 RE teachers further contributes to this growing picture of the potential of pedagogical approaches from RE as an alternative means of engaging with FBV, as part of what she describes as a new policy landscape of values education. McDonnell (2023, p. 234) finds that participants draw on RE pedagogies and religious identities to reappropriate FBV. For example, one teacher invited a visitor to class to share their ideas on Britishness with the aim of challenging pupils' ideas, which McDonnell suggests can be understood as drawing on Jackson's (2004) interpretive approach of using insider accounts. There were also signs that teachers identified the benefits of the criticality which RE could provide, with McDonnell observing the tradition of this within Wright's (2003) Critical RE approach. For McDonnell (2023, p. 237) this is not just critical thinking skills but a broader criticality which fosters "curiosity, human development, and mutual understanding".

#### 2.2.5 Summary of 2.2

This section has highlighted the breadth of theoretical papers and empirical studies about how FBV have been interpreted and promoted by schools and teachers. Collectively, they identify the problematic, political and securitising implications of the requirement to promote FBV. These include the risk of Muslim young people being stigmatised by FBV, conversations being chilled and the arguably insidious incorporation of Prevent and FBV within safeguarding. Several of the empirical studies have a focus on policy enactment (for example Vincent, 2019a, 2019b, 2018), whilst a small number adopt a more pedagogical analytic focus (Bamber *et al.*, 2018; Sant and Hanley, 2018). In these cases, the analysis is not based on subject specific pedagogy but draws on theoretical ideas about citizenship education. In the studies of RE and FBV, the potential of RE specific pedagogies for enabling a more critical engagement with FBV is identified, with Farrell (2016) and McDonnell's (2021; 2023) work highlighting some initial examples of what this might look like. There is however scope for a more thorough and explicit exploration of what RE pedagogy might offer for

the promotion of FBV in terms of enabling a more critical engagement with the concepts. In section 2.4 I return to examine what this more critical approach might look like in pedagogical terms in RE. Prior to this, I turn to look at the construction of mutual respect and tolerance in greater detail.

### 2.3 Constructing mutual respect and tolerance

As outlined in 2.1, this section develops a conceptual framework of possible constructions of mutual respect (2.3.1) and tolerance (2.3.2). This is used in chapters four and five to explore my participants' constructions. The rationale for this section is twofold. Firstly, working from a social constructionist stance, constructions of mutual respect may vary between contexts and people (Bryman, 2016, p. 30) and so it is important to consider the possibilities which exist. Secondly, as established in 2.2.3, there is ambiguity about the meaning of the terms included within FBV, including mutual respect and tolerance, which are the focus of this study. As Mansfield (2019, p. 45) notes, individual interpretation of FBV is possible because the Department for Education (2011; 2014) do not say what they mean. However, as seen in 2.2, existing research finds that this openness does not necessarily equate to open interpretations of the concepts. On the contrary, there are signs that they are simplistically constructed, with the possibility of a range of constructions of tolerance being unacknowledged (Bamber *et al.*, 2018, p. 437) or constructed as applying to some pupils and not others (Vincent, 2019a, p. 27). This section therefore aims to provide a broader reading of potential constructions of mutual respect and tolerance, informed by insights from theoretical and empirical literature. By considering in detail the potential constructions of the terms, moments of contradiction within or between the concepts, and asking where the limits of tolerance and mutual respect might lie this section seeks to critically engage with the concept of mutual respect and tolerance.

I begin in 2.3.1 by exploring constructions of mutual respect before turning to tolerance. It should be noted however that the boundary between mutual respect and tolerance is not absolute. For instance, as observed in 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, it is unclear whether the Department for Education intend them to be interpreted as separate concepts. In the theoretical literature there

are also moments where the line between respect and tolerance is unclear. Writing primarily about tolerance, Scanlon (2003, p. 193) observes it provides a solution to the presence of disagreement in society and suggests it would be preferable to “have these disagreements contained within a framework of mutual respect”. Here, he refers to a collective recognition of the right of other people to hold alternative viewpoints about how society should be. Heyd (1998, p. 12) also connects the two, observing that tolerance is a “sub-category of respect” because both consist of a moral attitude towards another person. In respect, the actions and viewpoints of the other person are disregarded. In tolerance, the bestower exercises restraint in not prohibiting actions they object to. Another perspective comes from Anker and Afdal (2018, p. 49) who note a classic division between tolerance and respect in philosophical theoretical literature entails respect being “seen as a more active phenomenon than tolerance”. However, they caution against distinguishing between the concepts “a priori”, which I take to mean prior to engaging with empirical data.

Throughout 2.3 I seek to identify moments of overlap between mutual respect and tolerance and to relate the discussion to the statement explored in 2.2.2 from the Department for Education (2014, p. 5) requiring schools to promote “mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs”. As respect (rather than mutual respect) is more widely discussed in the literature, I begin by establishing that constructions of respect are often concerned with persons, with reference to Kant (1981). I then look at two concepts of respect from Darwall (1977, pp. 38-39) entitled recognition and appraisal respect. Lastly, I ask what it means for respect to be mutual, drawing especially on the work of Rawls (1971) and Gutmann and Thompson (1990).

It is noteworthy that the phrase from which my research stems is one of FBV (Department for Education, 2011, p. 14), highlighting the need to consider whether mutual respect and tolerance are indeed values. Dillon (2018, section 1.1) identifies that respect can be understood as “an attitude or feeling” and “simply as behaviour”. Here Dillon examines how for an action to truly be respectful it must stem from a respectful attitude. For

example, a pupil who dislikes their teacher might behave respectfully by listening for a lesson, as they want their detention revoked. The pupil manipulates, but does not respect, the teacher. Similarly, Williams (1998, p. 22) argues that apparently tolerant behaviours can be present without being accompanied by the attitude of tolerance. Forst (2003, p. 73) concurs, emphasising the need to distinguish between attitudes and behaviours with regard to tolerance, and additionally proposing that it is citizens' attitudes which are key. Hence in the following discussion, whilst the theoretical literature often focuses on tolerance and mutual respect as attitudes, it is important to bear in mind that teachers in my research may also discuss them as behaviours.

### 2.3.1 Constructing mutual respect

#### *2.3.1.1 Constructions of respect*

Turning to how respect and mutual respect might be constructed, Dillon (2018) observes the wide-ranging discourse on respect in day-to-day life; respect is discussed in relation to laws, objects, animals, other people and oneself. Despite this variety, Dillon notes that discussions about respect are particularly oriented towards the concept of respect for other people because of Immanuel Kant's influence on Western philosophy. Writing in 1785 about moral philosophy, Kant formulated the categorical imperative, a deontological theory about how we should act. This means that what is right should be determined by adherence to a set of rules, rather than by looking at the consequences of the action. In the categorical imperative, Kant (1981, p. 36) argues people should never be treated purely as a means to an end, but as ends in themselves. This means respect is shown to people because of their inherent value as persons and not because showing respect will lead to benefits for oneself. Johnson and Cureton (2022, section 1) explain that underscoring the Categorical Imperative is Kant's belief that every person possesses "self-governing reason", meaning the capacity to make rational decisions; on this basis everyone deserves equal respect. Williams (1962, p. 115) furthermore proposes this means respect is owed to people not because of "any empirical characteristics" but because persons possess free rational will. Respect here could also involve trying to see the

world from the point of view of other people. Noting that the phrase “*those of different faiths and beliefs*” in the Department for Education’s (2014, p. 5, emphasis added) statement of FBV arguably implies promotion of mutual respect and tolerance in the context of individuals’ faiths and beliefs, rather than in relation to organised religions, the Department for Education could be understood as following the Kantian trend of focusing on respect for people. To explore what this might mean further, I look at the work of Darwall (1977) who delineates two kinds of respect: appraisal and recognition.

Dillon (2018, section 1.2) suggests that Darwall’s (1977, pp. 38-39) identification of recognition and appraisal respect has become “widely regarded as the fundamental distinction” between different forms of respect. Recognition respect refers to the idea of giving “appropriate consideration or recognition” to a feature of the object of respect when determining how to act (Darwall, 1977, p. 38). The feature considered could comprise something being the law, someone being a judge or the object of respect being an aspect of nature (Ibid., p. 40). The feature of the object that is given consideration might even be personhood itself. Hence Darwall (1977, p. 45) suggests the Kantian idea of respect for persons is recognition respect. This is because the fact someone is a person is acknowledged and given appropriate consideration in deciding how to act towards them. A helpful further point is found in Hudson’s (1980, p. 71) writings, where he notes that this type of Kantian respect is absolute in the sense that there is no evaluation of the person; they are either respected or they are not. Hence in the statement ‘Jack respects Jill’ no consideration is given to Jill’s character; respect is given purely on the grounds of Jill being a rational person.

Darwall (1977, p. 38) additionally argues that the term respect may be employed in a different way altogether, which he terms appraisal respect. Here, respect denotes “esteem or a high regard for someone” (1977, p. 39). Darwall (1977, p. 38) provides examples of having appraisal respect for “someone’s integrity [...] someone’s good qualities on the whole, or for someone as a musician”. When the term respect is used in the appraisal

sense it is used to refer to someone's excellence as a person in terms of their characteristics, or to show esteem for them when they are engaged in activities like sport or music. Unlike respect as recognition, it does not require the bestower of respect to alter their behaviour. Also, although appraisal respect can be held for persons it does not rest on personhood alone. Instead, it involves looking at whether the individual has the positive characteristics of a person, for example integrity, generosity or a good sense of humour (Ibid., p. 46). It is thus appraisal respect which is drawn on in statements such as 'I respect John more than Jacob' because in this instance an evaluation is made of John's characteristics. However, Darwall notes that it is nonetheless possible for recognition respect for all persons to also be present at the same time.

Considering the statement from the Department for Education (2014, p. 5) asking teachers to promote "mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs" in light of Darwall's (1977) arguments raises the question of how respect is being used here. One interpretation could be that respect is used in the Kantian and recognition respect sense of respect as owed to all persons, on the recognition of their personhood. If so, the Department for Education could be requiring schools and teachers to promote mutual respect for all persons, regardless of their faiths and beliefs. However, this would be to ignore the inclusion of the statement "with different faiths and beliefs". An alternative reading of the type of respect implied here would be to understand it as appraisal respect in that it suggests an evaluative aspect; someone's faith and beliefs are recognised and esteemed, and they are shown respect on these grounds.

Building on the potential significance of this and writing about inter and intra-religious respect, theologian Volf (2016, p. 122) comments that many religious people aspire "for affirmation of the excellence" of their religion. This means people do not seek respect just based on their humanity but also in relation to significant aspects of their identities such as religious beliefs. Volf (2016, p. 123) suggests three ways to show appraisal respect to other religions. Firstly, by "honouring its integrity", this includes not destroying significant physical sites connected to the religion, as well as

valuing the ways in which it is similar and different to one's own religion. Secondly, by "critically engaging with its truth claims". This means that even when one disagrees with the truth claims of a religion, they are considered worthy of engaging with and seriously evaluated. Thirdly by being willing to "recognise its positive moral effects" (Ibid., p. 124). Here Volf observes that even when truth claims of the religion are disagreed with, it may still be possible to "appreciate the positive moral effects" on adherents' lives. If, after considered evaluation, it is not felt possible to show respect under any of these three criteria then Volf (2016, p. 125) suggests it should still be possible to show respect to them as persons, which would leave the possibility of tolerating, or rejecting, their beliefs and practices. This once again highlights a possible link between recognition respect and tolerance, showing how the concepts may be combined.

Taking this debate about appraisal and recognition respect into the context of RE, Barnes (2015, p. 56) argues that an emphasis on respect for beliefs, rather than recognition respect of personhood has been historically dominant but proposes this results in a type of RE that fails to promote respect for others. This is because promoting respect for beliefs means that instances where a belief is disagreed with can become misconstrued as disrespect. In addition, Barnes (2015, p. 57) also contends that RE which removes the "hard edges" of disagreement between religions and suggests that there is a broad consensus of agreement between them results in the misrepresentation of religions and possibility of adherents feeling that their beliefs are not respectfully or realistically represented in educational settings. In response, Davies (2015, p. 71) asks whether Barnes' proposal of RE centred on recognition respect is practically possible because it requires someone to be respected when their beliefs are not. Following Volf's (2016, p. 122) thinking it can also be asked whether such a respect is even desired by religious adherents. Davies proposes that focusing on recognition respect is "extraordinarily difficult" when dealing with exclusivist religious perspectives such as someone believing that all other religions are false. Utilising recognition respect here would require enacting Carter's (2013, p. 201) concept of opacity respect. That is to say, not taking account

of any features beyond personhood when determining whether someone should be shown respect. However, Davies asserts that this may be practically challenging in RE. One topic my study explores is the question of whether my participants construct respect in RE as recognition or appraisal respect, and the related issue highlighted by Barnes and Davies of whether they identify the limitations of these modes of respect in RE.

#### *2.3.1.2 Constructions of mutual respect*

Thus far I have considered respect as connected to personhood and examined two major distinctions in discourses about respect between recognition and appraisal respect. I now consider the qualifier of 'mutual' because this is the precise form of respect stipulated by the Department for Education (2014, p. 5). As mentioned in 2.2.3, this concept has not been as widely explored in the literature, with some scholars omitting the term 'mutual' (Bowie, 2017, p. 536; Vincent, 2019a, p. 27) and other empirical research in schools focusing on tolerance and respect (Donnelly, 2004a; Donnelly, 2004b; Anker and Afdal, 2018), but not mutual respect. My research aims to contribute to addressing this gap by providing empirical insights about how RE teachers construct and promote mutual respect.

Philosopher Rawls (1971, p. 12) poses a thought experiment and asks what principles people would select for the basis of society if they were behind a "veil of ignorance". This refers to the idea that those choosing the principles are ignorant of their own and each other's positions in society, intelligence, wealth or other key features. Rawls (1971, p. 14) argues that from such a position, individuals would choose principles according to justice as fairness, providing equal distribution of core rights and duties, as well as ensuring that social or economic inequalities exist only if they have benefits for everyone. Whilst much of Rawls' writing explores justice as fairness at an institutional level, he additionally considers what principle would be needed at an individual level, one being the duty of mutual respect (Rawls, 1971, p. 337). Rawls suggests this entails showing someone respect because they are a "moral being" who has a sense of justice and conception of the good. This appears similar to a Kantian conception of respect as based on personhood (see 2.3.1.1). Rawls also identifies several ways mutual respect

might be shown. These include being willing to see something from someone else's viewpoint and supporting actions with reasons. Lastly, Rawls (1971, p. 338) suggests mutual respect can be shown by people being willing to "do small favours and courtesies" for others because this shows awareness of other people's feelings.

Writing about how to resolve moral disagreements, Gutmann and Thompson (1990, p. 65), like Rawls, identify mutual respect as a helpful principle for individuals to hold. They suggest that, like tolerance, mutual respect refers to "a form of agreeing to disagree" but it goes beyond tolerance in "requir[ing] a favourable attitude toward, and constructive interaction with, the persons with whom one disagrees" (1990, p. 76). Focusing specifically on the reciprocal nature of mutual respect, Gutmann and Thompson (1990, p. 77) suggest it necessitates adherence to two principles. Firstly, democratic citizens should act in accordance with the beliefs they espouse, a form of moral integrity. This also entails people holding their positions because they are moral ones, and not shifting their viewpoint to gain an advantage. Secondly, when engaging with viewpoints that are disagreed with, it is important to state the reasons the stance is disagreed with, in line Rawls' (1970, p. 338) thinking above. However, Gutmann and Thompson (1990, p. 80) propose that in addition, people must be open to the possibility of modifying their own view or even accepting the position of the other party. The conception of mutual respect proposed by Gutmann and Thompson (1990, p. 76) is identified as a form of appraisal respect, meaning it entails a positive appraisal or evaluation of someone.

The topics of reciprocity and recognition highlighted by Gutmann and Thompson (1990, p. 77) have also been picked up by other scholars who identify these as key features of mutual respect. Somerville (2009, p. 140) for instance points to how "mutuality involves acts of exchange", meaning mutual respect is a form of mutual recognition. Mutual respect can therefore be conceived of as relational. This idea is supported by empirical philosophical research undertaken by Anker and Afdal (2018, p. 55) in primary schools in Norway exploring "students' practices of respect". Anker and Afdal (2018, p. 57) argue against understanding respect primarily as a

linguistic concept and instead propose it is comprised of material practices and interactions in the classroom. Anker and Afdal (2018, pp. 55-56) identify three modes of respect pupils' use. Firstly, respect as a possession which "mirrors status" refers to a form of respect which can be won and lost, for instance through wearing branded clothing. Secondly, respect as positioning in which pupils enact respect "as fear or insults" but also use this to regain respect in situations where they feel they have been treated unfairly. The third mode of respect which "rests on a mutual aspect" is identified by pupils as the real or correct mode. This mode of respect is "relational and emphatic" and involves someone who shows respect being respected themselves in response. It also comprises being listened to, being met with openness and engaging with differences reflexively. Anker and Afdal (2018, p. 57) suggest that this conception of respect can be seen as overlapping with "tolerance as openness", a concept which I return to below, but mention here to highlight a possible link between some constructions of respect and tolerance.

### 2.3.2 Constructing tolerance

#### 2.3.2.1 A note on terminology

In the literature the terms tolerance and toleration are both used, with King (1976, p. 13) observing that whilst tolerance can be used to refer to "physical discomfort" and toleration to "intellectual discomfort", this is rarely consistently applied in practical usage. This is supported by Galeotti (2001, p. 273) who notes there is no clear distinction between the two, although she observes that tolerance is often preferred for discussions of attitudes between people and toleration in discussions of political principles. In my thesis I use the term tolerance because this is the term employed by the Department for Education (2011, p. 14; 2014, p. 5) in the statement of FBV. I additionally favour tolerance for the reasons noted here by Galeotti (2001, p. 276) because, based on this statement of FBV, I identify the object of tolerance and mutual respect as individuals of different faiths and beliefs. My research is not primarily a study of legal tolerance, but tolerance as a moral attitude between individuals. When focusing on tolerance regarding the ethics of people's attitudes towards each other, Heyd (1998,

p. 10) moreover argues that tolerance can be considered “as a virtue of individuals relating to other individuals”. Following Vogt’s (1997, p. 17) point that there are not absolute divisions between tolerance in the political and personal moral spheres, I draw on literature from the field of political philosophy, because this represents some of the most extensive debates about the nature of tolerance. However, I focus on scholars who relate their discussion to tolerance as an interpersonal attitude between citizens, rather than toleration at the level of the state. I also explore the possibility of tolerance being a virtue or disposition (Gardner, 1993) work and identify key findings from empirical studies in education on tolerance.

#### *2.3.2.2 Constructing tolerance*

Forst (2013, p. 17) delineates an overarching concept of tolerance from a range of potential conceptions of tolerance. Basing his ideas on King’s (1976) discussion, Forst (2013, pp. 17-23) identifies tolerance as comprising three elements: objection, rejection and acceptance. The objection component requires that we feel dislike, disapproval or disgust for something. Mendus (1989, p. 8) agrees this objection component is essential within any construction of tolerance in her assertion that tolerance “arises in circumstances of diversity”. This is expanded on by Cohen (2004, p. 74) who explains tolerance as requiring objection to something; without diversity “there would be nothing to oppose”. In the context of my research, it is the diversity of faiths and beliefs which is specifically of interest; tolerance becomes significant because of objection to another person’s faith or beliefs.

The nature of the objection component is contested. On the one hand, Nicholson (2012, p. 160) proposes tolerance should stem from someone’s “moral disapproval” of something. He suggests that dislike provides insufficient grounds for tolerance; there is no place for appeal to feelings in matters of tolerance. This is contested by Warnock (1990, p. 125) who argues that we can talk of tolerance in relation to things which are disliked. Warnock draws on the example of disliking her daughter’s boyfriend wearing a suit and sandals, refraining from commenting on this and even going so far as to express joy at their announcement of marriage. She

suggests, in contrast to Nicholson, that this example would also fall within the remit of what constitutes tolerance. Warnock (1990, p. 126) contends that a clear distinction cannot be drawn "between the moral and the non-moral". Instead, she distinguishes between a "strong and weak sense" of tolerance. A weak sense of tolerance refers to the idea of putting up with things which are disliked, whilst a strong sense signifies putting up with things which are "immoral" (Ibid., p. 127). However, Warnock does acknowledge that whilst extreme instances can be easily demarcated, other situations may not be so readily distinguishable.

The objection component is regarded by some, including Leiter (2010, p. 940) and Vogt (1997, p. 2) as the defining characteristic of tolerance; indifference towards the other does not lead to the attitude of tolerance. This is supported by Forst (2013, p. 19) and Cohen (2004, p. 71) who agree that tolerance cannot stem from indifference because indifference does not amount to disapproval or dislike of something. For example, I do not engage with tolerance if I merely do not mind whether my Muslim colleague gets an extended lunchbreak on Friday to attend prayers at the Mosque. For this to count as tolerance, Leiter (2010, p. 940) argues I must be "actively concern[ed]" about what someone else believes. This can be further illustrated with reference to Williams' (1998, p. 20) distinction between tolerant attitudes and tolerant practices. An apparently tolerant practice might arise from not really caring about my colleagues' Muslim faith and extended lunchbreak; I do not prohibit them from leaving work to go to the Mosque. However, if I dislike or disapprove of their being a Muslim, my attitude is no longer neutral indifference and my behaviour now that of genuine tolerance because the objection component has been fulfilled. Williams (1998, p. 22) argues that it is only when someone's attitude is more than indifference that tolerance can be considered a "value". Following Williams' thinking raises the possibility that the requirement for teachers to promote FBV (Department for Education, 2014, p. 5) means that, to truly promote tolerance, teachers should focus on promoting tolerant attitudes, not just behaviours.

The second component of tolerance is the need for there to be genuine potential for the bestower of tolerance to accept the belief or object of tolerance (Forst, 2013, p. 20). Simply put, Carter (2013, p. 196) identifies that the acceptance component provides our reason for abstaining from intervening with the object of toleration. King (1976, p. 52) though notes that the acceptance component "comes in varying degrees". This is significant because complete acceptance of the belief or object of tolerance would mean tolerance was no longer necessary. The level of acceptance therefore spans from non-interference at the one end, to some form of association with the object of tolerance at the other.

The third component of tolerance noted by Forst (2013, p. 23) is the need to identify on what grounds the issue would be deemed intolerable and hence rejected. This amounts to identifying the "limits of toleration" (Forst, 2013, p. 23; King, 1976, p. 55). In contrast, Carter (2013, p. 196) and Mendus (1989, p. 9) prefer power to rejection for the third component. Carter (2013, p. 196) proposes this can take the form of the person having either the "actual power to interfere" or the "subjunctive power", meaning that they would intervene if they could. Carter (2013, p. 207) suggests power is preferable as the third component because rejection is not a feature of tolerant practices. For example, "we do not say, 'our government really showed its tolerant nature when it rejected the freedom to incite racial hatred'". I understand this as meaning that tolerance requires someone having the power to act to intervene. This means the government would need to have the power to prevent racial hatred. In this sense, Carter's (2013, p. 196) subjunctive power is potentially problematic because it could be possessed in circumstances where the person would be unlikely to be able to actually enact the power.

Prior to considering individual conceptions of tolerance, it is noteworthy that Horton (1994, p. 11) identifies as a paradox regarding how the overall concept of tolerance presented thus far may be contradictory. Horton asks whether it could be correct to tolerate something that is morally wrong. Whilst identifying pragmatic reasons why this might be permissible, such as not being certain the action is morally wrong and the possibility that what is

morally wrong is culturally relative (Proudfoot and Lacey, 2010, p. 349), Horton (1994, p. 13) suggests that most significant is the need for tolerance to exist concomitantly with freedom and autonomy. I take this to mean that preventing something which is disapproved of might also result in limiting someone else's freedom to choose. In relation to my research, this highlights the possibility that teachers may promote tolerance for beliefs which others find morally dubious or even wrong because they seek to also promote freedom of expression. The question of whether anything should not be tolerated is also debated by Popper (2012 [1945], p. 581) in his paradox of tolerance. Popper asks whether people who are intolerant should be tolerated. If they are tolerated without limit, Popper contends that ultimately "the tolerant will be destroyed and tolerance with them". As a result, Popper suggests that society should retain the right to be intolerant of intolerance. Whilst advocating for rational argument as the preferred means to resolve disagreement, Popper acknowledges that this will not work if people are forbidden from listening to it. Overall, these paradoxes highlight the need to consider whether the teachers in my study are aware of the possibility of tolerating the intolerant and to explore what their grounds for doing so might be.

Having explored the overarching concept of tolerance, I now discuss four conceptions of the concept identified by Forst (2003, p. 73; 2013, p. 26). I also draw on insights from Anker and Afdal's (2018, p. 53) empirical research into teachers' accounts of tolerance and Gardner's (1993) discussion of tolerance as a disposition. It is noteworthy that these constructions are not deemed mutually exclusive by Forst (2013, p. 26). I discuss Forst's (2017, section 2) conceptions in order of the level of "mutuality of recognition" they require, meaning the latter conceptions necessitate people affording each other a higher level of acknowledgement of their intrinsic worth and, as I shall explore, could even be considered forms of mutual respect.

The first construction of tolerance put forward by Forst (2003, p. 73), termed the "permission conception" denotes when a majority who possesses the power to intervene with a minority "gives qualified

permission" to a minority to adhere to their beliefs. In return, the minority must "accept the dominant position of the authority (or majority)". Forst argues this conception is found in historical instances of tolerance such as the Toleration Act of 1689, wherein English Protestant nonconformist Christians (but not Catholic Christians) were awarded their own churches and a greater level of freedom to worship. Forst notes that this conception of tolerance continues to shape our ideas on tolerance today. Forst's permission conception fits with Cohen's (2004, p. 72) identification that tolerance is not simply enduring something that you dislike or disapprove of. In the case of the Toleration Act of 1689, the majority did have the power to intervene. This is seen in the fact that parliament's tolerance of nonconformist Christians aided them in their fight against Catholicism and did not arise merely as a result of a resignation to enduring the existence of the nonconformists.

Secondly, Forst (2003, p. 74) identifies a slightly different way that people might engage in non-interference as a "co-existence conception" of toleration. This can also be known as "mutual tolerance". By this, Forst refers to a pragmatic solution to difference whereby two groups of equal power recognise tolerance as preferable to the alternatives. However, because this relies on their power status remaining equal, trust is unlikely to develop. Whereas the permission concept could be conceived of as a vertical construction of tolerance, Forst (2017, section 2) suggests a co-existence construction results in a "horizontal" construction of tolerance, whereby both groups are simultaneously the object of tolerance. However, the mutual element here does not entail the identification of something of intrinsic worth in the other party being simply an acknowledgement that co-existence is a practical solution to difference.

Looking at the question of how tolerance is constructed, in their study in Norwegian primary and lower secondary schools about how teachers understand tolerance, Anker and Afdal (2018, p. 49) find that teachers have a "more expansive account" of what tolerance involves than is articulated in philosophical literature. Anker and Afdal (2018, p. 54) found that sometimes teachers conceived of tolerance as "endurance" referring to

avoiding interfering with something that is disliked or disapproved of. Anker and Afdal note this is broadly in line with the academic discussions of the concept, as can be seen here in relation to Forst's (2003, pp. 73-74) permission and co-existence conceptions. Tolerance as endurance refers to tolerance as a "last resort, a way to handle difficult differences". In addition, Anker and Afdal (2018, p. 54) find that teachers also use a mode of tolerance as "openness" which is more "expansive" because difference is not seen as threatening but as creating possibilities. From this position, tolerance "means engagement with difference" in order to "open up for diversity". I understand this conception of tolerance as a more positive reaction to the thing disagreed with. Importantly, Anker and Afdal note that all teachers in their study use both modes of tolerance, as well as one other mode which I discuss below, depending on what is appropriate to the situation. Whilst this more expansive account of tolerance is not present in Forst's first two conceptions of tolerance, Forst (2003, p. 74) does offer two other models of tolerance, which arguably do encapsulate it.

Forst's (2003, p. 74) third conception of tolerance is entitled a "respect conception". This arises when, despite holding conflicting views about what is good or morally correct and living culturally different lives, people mutually respect "each other as moral-political equals". As part of this, all people have equally recognised "rights and liberties". The respect conception of tolerance may be achieved through a model of what Forst terms "formal equality", meaning a separation between the state and private lives. Forst highlights France as an example, where the wearing of Islamic headscarves is not permitted in public schools. Alternatively, "qualitative equality" recognises that the formal equality model may favour certain people's beliefs and practices which are more compatible with a distinction between a public and private life (Forst, 2017, section 2). For example, Modood and Calhoun (2015, p. 12) identify that religions which require believers to observe piety in public spaces, such as through the wearing of particular clothing, have until more recently been absent from British society for a long time. A formal equality model thus may favour the dominant Christian and non-religious positions held by the majority of the

British population (Office for National Statistics, 2012, section 3). A qualitative equality model in contrast works on the basis that someone's "distinct ethical-cultural" identity is "respected and tolerated" because it is understood as important to that person (Forst, 2017, section 2). This model of tolerance shows how there may be connections between the concepts of tolerance and respect. It also highlights how tolerance can be constructed more positively as seeing the value of someone else's beliefs to that person, perhaps more in line with the idea of tolerance as openness identified by Anker and Afdal (2018, p. 54).

One yet more expansive account of tolerance is proposed by Forst (2003, p. 75). He suggests that an even "fuller [...level] of mutual recognition" is possible in an "esteem conception" of tolerance. Here, it is not simply that the other person is regarded as a moral equal, but additionally something of merit is found within their beliefs. For example, whilst disapproving of halal slaughtering because sometimes animals are not stunned and this leads to suffering, one might also think that the practice being a ritual based on scripture involving the blessing of the meat to be something which one can find merit in. Forst notes that the admiration of others' beliefs must comprise "reserved esteem" otherwise one would accept this belief rather than one's own position. These latter two conceptions of tolerance go beyond the permissiveness of Forst's first two constructions to allowing the identification of something of genuine value in someone else's beliefs. As the third and fourth of Forst's constructions entail a greater level of "mutuality of recognition", there is a reciprocal component whereby parties treat each other as equals. This reciprocal feature resonates with some of the discussion in 2.3.1.2 on mutual respect and again highlights how, in some conceptions, tolerance might be seen, as in Heyd's (1998, p. 12) terms, as a "sub-category" of respect. Following this line of thinking, these later two conceptions of tolerance could be understood as reflecting a connection between mutual respect and tolerance as one possible reading of the Department for Education's (2011, p. 14; 2014, p. 5) statement of the requirement to promote "mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs".

Above I mentioned that Anker and Afdal (2018, p. 54) identify one further mode of tolerance, which they entitle tolerance as “not be[ing] prejudiced”. This refers to tolerance as a characteristic of someone or as “a virtue”. This means tolerance is not conceived of as passive non-interference, but as “part of the description of the teacher’s character”. It comprises not just choosing and justifying particular actions but can moreover be expressed as emotions and through people’s bodies. Citing an example of a teacher in their study who described always sitting down on the floor with a pupil who wanted to speak to them, regardless of whether the pupil also did so, as a means of signalling recognition of the “power asymmetry” between them, Anker and Afdal suggest that this mode of tolerance can be seen in actions, emotions and empathy. Forst does not identify this conception of tolerance as a virtue or characteristic of someone, but I now consider others who have done so.

In their paper, Anker and Afdal (2018, p. 54) describe what tolerance as a virtue may look like but do not explain the broader concept of a virtue. Carr (2015, p. 48) clarifies that the concept of virtue originates in Aristotle’s work. Specifically, Aristotle is concerned with *phronesis* or moral wisdom meaning the “promotion of production of good character” rather than abstract knowledge about what it means to be good (Ibid.). This means a shift in focus “from right action to virtuous character” (Carr, 2015, p. 49). From this stance, the focus of education is on aiding the development of children’s virtuous characters. One scholar who has explored this in the context of tolerance is Gardner (1993, p. 90) who distinguishes between what he terms “dispositional” and “deliberative” tolerance. Gardner (1993, p. 89) critiques whether someone who must frequently “count to twenty or bit[e] his lip” can really be called a tolerant individual. When someone acts tolerantly in a given situation, Gardner (1993, p. 91) suggests this comprises deliberative tolerance whereby, after weighing up a number of possibilities, someone decides to refrain from interfering on this occasion. On the other hand, drawing on terminology from Aristotle, Gardner suggests a second understanding of tolerance when someone who is tolerant “has a settled disposition”; it is a character trait of the person.

Writing about the implications of this for education, it is notable that Gardner (1993, p. 94) does not identify how teachers might promote dispositional tolerance. However, he does suggest teachers should be aware of the potential benefits of developing both modes. Critiquing the promotion of deliberative tolerance in education, Gardner (1993, p. 95) notes that whilst debating an issue may enable the teacher to encourage pupils to be less sure about their position, promoting deliberative tolerance does not encourage pupils to change their attitude or prejudice. For example, encouraging a deliberative tolerance of a Jewish person's choice to eat kosher food may not do anything to address the underlying disapproval or dislike of this choice.

### 2.3.3 Summary of 2.3

In this section I have reviewed a range of theoretical and empirical literature as a means of critically engaging with the topic of how mutual respect and tolerance might be constructed. I began by considering the concept of mutual respect and highlighted the prominent discourses of recognition and appraisal respect (Darwall, 1977) before asking whether their application in the context of RE was desirable or practical (Barnes, 2015; Davies, 2015). In 2.3.2, I examined an overarching concept of tolerance and highlighted a range of potential conceptions of the concept, as well as considering paradoxes of tolerance (Horton, 1994; Popper, 2012 [1945]) regarding whether the intolerant should be tolerated. Throughout 2.3, working from a social constructionist epistemology, the intention was to develop a conceptual framework of how mutual respect and tolerance might be constructed. This is significant for my study because, as shown in 2.2, there is an absence of explicit guidance from the Department for Education (2011; 2014) regarding how mutual respect and tolerance as FBV should be constructed or promoted. Having examined their potential constructions, I now turn to the issue of how they might be promoted in RE.

### 2.4 Pedagogical approaches to promoting mutual respect and tolerance

In this section, I examine how pedagogical approaches from RE might enable a more critical promotion of FBV, especially mutual respect and tolerance. In 2.2.3 and 2.2.4 I established that although existing empirical

research about FBV finds some teachers in both RE and other subjects engage more critically with promoting FBV (Bamber *et al.*, 2018, p. 444; Sant and Hanley, 2018, p. 333; Farrell, 2016, p. 293; Farrell and Lander, 2019, p. 478), these approaches are not widespread. However, as McDonnell (2021, p. 391) observes, pluralistic RE may provide valuable opportunities to forge a more critical response to FBV, a suggestion other studies on RE and FBV lends support to, but which empirical research has not yet thoroughly explored (Farrell, 2016; Farrell and Lander, 2019; McDonnell, 2023). The aim of this section is consequently to examine what this more critical engagement might look like, in pedagogical terms, in RE. I start by examining what is meant by pedagogy, the pedagogue and critical pedagogy. This is followed by an explanation of the origins and development of pluralistic RE in England, building on the overview of contemporary RE provided in 1.4. I then focus on three contemporary, pluralistic RE pedagogies and consider how they might enable a critical engagement with FBV. Here I draw attention to the ontological and epistemological bases of the pedagogies, as well as considering findings from empirical studies about the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance in RE.

In 1.5 I introduced the idea from Freathy *et al.* (2017, p. 430) that RE uses a pedagogical bricolage and I now expand on this. Grounded in critical and dialogic pedagogy, Freathy *et al.* propose re-conceptualising RE teachers “as ‘pedagogical bricoleurs’ [...] negotiating a complex, dense, reflexive, collage-like curriculum”. Expanding on this, Freathy *et al.* (2017, p. 435) suggest that RE should not rely on a single pedagogical approach but that the rich history of RE pedagogy, as provided in Grimmitt (2000), includes options with different underlying methodological positions. RE teachers should therefore draw on “a repertoire of strategies and practices” rather classroom practice being “structured and delineated” according to any definitive pedagogical approach (Freathy *et al.*, 2017, p. 435). They find support for their proposal in Moulin’s (2009, p. 160) work in which he constructs a new pedagogy for RE and, similarly to Freathy *et al.* (2017), argues that teachers should use a very wide range of pedagogical insights.

In 2.4, starting by considering what it means to adopt a critical pedagogical stance, I then develop a picture of the pedagogical approaches which exist in RE, aiming to highlight how they might enable a more critical promotion of mutual respect and tolerance. I subsequently draw on this bricolage in chapters four and five to inform my analysis of teachers' discussions of their practice. As a reminder, as stated in 1.5, I draw on Denzin and Lincoln's (1994, p. 3) description a bricolage as "a complex, dense, reflexive, collage-like creation" in line with Freathy *et al.* (2017, p. 428).

#### 2.4.1 Pedagogy and the pedagogue: insights from critical pedagogy

Waring and Evans (2015, pp. 26-27) observe that the concept of pedagogy is contested and confused, with its complexity often not captured by the wide range of definitions put forward in education literature. They further note that it is often narrowly and unsatisfactorily defined as the science of teaching. Instead, reviewing a range of definitions, they agree with Beetham and Sharpe (2007, p. 2) who identify pedagogy as "guidance to learn" and construct pedagogy as entailing a connection between teaching and learning. Waring and Evans take this as their starting point for developing a holistic model of pedagogy. Informed by Giroux's (2007, p. 3, cited in Waring and Evans, 2015, p. 28) work on critical pedagogy, they suggest that pedagogy is not a linear process "from knowledge to critical reflection and then action" but should have an active critical learner at its heart. Pedagogy involves interplay between the teacher being critically reflective, considering how learner autonomy can be supported, student beliefs explored and the conditions for learning optimised. All of this must be underpinned by the development of the teacher's professional identity (Waring and Evans, 2015, p. 29).

More broadly, pedagogy can also entail consideration of the wider context in which teaching and learning takes place. This idea is put forward by Alexander (2017, p. 92) in his proposal that pedagogy is not just the act of teaching but involves combining the act with awareness of the "ideas, values and collective histories that inform, shape and explain [it]". Drawing on the work of Freire, which I expand on below, Leach and Moon (2008, p. 3) similarly identify that "pedagogy is a social process which extends to the

political arena". Waring and Evans (2015, p. 27) likewise note the need to take account of the broader context and political agenda, which in turn leads to the need to be critical about which knowledge is valued, how knowledge is conceptualised and how learners are positioned in relation to that knowledge.

To further examine how and why a critical awareness of the political and socio-cultural context is significant with regard to pedagogy, I draw on insights from the field of critical pedagogy. In 1.2, I showed how the political and socio-cultural context was extremely important in the evolution of FBV, their arrival within education policies from 2011 onwards and the subsequent concerns highlighted in relation to this including the chilling effect and critiques of Islamophobia (see 2.2.1 and 2.2.2). Here, I therefore consider how insights from critical pedagogy might enable these issues to be brought into sharper relief, which builds towards a consideration of how RE pedagogy might enable a more critical engagement with FBV. Such a possibility is supported by Kincheloe's (2007, p. 13) argument that, whilst originating in the 1960s, critical pedagogy continues to be relevant today because of how it enables researchers to engage with the complexity of the social world. Specifically, it is a suitable approach to use to provide well informed and creative answers to questions which lead to practical education policy and practice (Ibid.). Critical pedagogy explores wide ranging questions including asking how the knowledge transmitted in schools relates to wider political relationships and asking how schools support or subvert democratic practices. Broadly speaking, critical pedagogues work from the position that "what is unproblematically deemed "a fact" has been shaped by a community of inquirers and sociopolitical forces" (Kincheloe, 2007, p. 13). My research does not seek a singular definition or taken for granted construction of mutual respect or tolerance (see 2.3) and seeks to investigate how the requirement to promote the concepts might be enacted differently by different teachers. Insights from critical pedagogy can consequently aid in probing this topic and help support reconsideration of how RE teachers might construct and promote mutual respect and tolerance.

Kincheloe (2007, p. 12) identifies that critical pedagogy originated Paulo Freire's work during the 1960s in Brazil, which particularly focused on adult literacy. Freire combined liberation theological ethics with critical theory in the context of education. At the centre of Freire's (1996 [1972], p. 53) critical pedagogy is his rejection of what he terms a banking model of education. In this model, the teacher understands reality as "static" and sees their role as depositing fixed, pre-given knowledge into the minds of students. Freire contends that this necessarily involves a hierarchical power dynamic, in which the teacher is construed as the knower and the students as ignorant. In this way, students continue to be oppressed by the societies they live in and do not recognise the dehumanising power of the model. Freire (1996 [1972], p. 60) contrasts this vertical, banking model, with a problem-posing model through which liberation can occur. A problem-posing model is characterised by dialogue and a reformulation of the teacher-student relationship in which teachers also learn. The students become "critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher" (p. 62). From this stance, Freire argues that humans are in the process of becoming and through a process named *conscientização* (conscientization), referring to reflection and action, can become aware of the socio-cultural reality which shapes their lives. In relation to my study, this is significant because it suggests that critically engaging with mutual respect and tolerance as FBV might enable pupils to become aware of the broader context and political and practical implications of FBV, as discussed in section 2.2. Whilst Freire's rejection of a banking model of education has been critiqued for leaving education without content, his later work (2014, p. 71) responds to this by explaining that the teacher's role is to dialogically "re-cognise" the content in relation to the learners in their classroom, taking account of their broader context. This results in teaching which is "a creative act, a critical act, and not a mechanical one".

The matter of how Freirean principles might be applied in practice is taken up by Shor (1992; Freire and Shor, 1987) who particularly examines how Freirean principles might apply in practice and a model of problem-posing be enacted. Shor (1992, p. 201) characterises critical pedagogy as being

“egalitarian, interactive and mutual”. To illustrate this, he draws on the concept of teachers and students both starting a class “at less than zero and more than zero simultaneously”, in both bringing knowledge, experiences, obstacles and language that can help and hinder critical study. The pedagogical and academic knowledge which teachers have is though extremely important. Shor (1992, p. 202) contends that these should be coupled with a deep understanding of what students know, experience and feel in order for teachers to “take the lead” in discovering and creating Vygotsky’s (1962, cited in Shor, 1992, p. 203) zone of proximal development, which Shor recasts as a zone of transformation in which students’ and teachers’ cultures meet. Through mutual communication, in this non-owned borderland, teachers must pose critical problems which are relevant to students’ perceptions, rather than expecting students to enter the teacher’s academic terrain. This highlights what some specific qualities of a critical pedagogical stance might look like: the teacher questions and does not take for granted the socio-political context of learners, they pose problems in the classroom, and see students and teachers as both bringing obstacles and valuable skills to the problems which they explore. It is also rooted in a dialogical approach to teaching. Overall, Shor (1992, p. 203) characterises this approach as a paradigm-shift towards a classroom culture which is truly empowering. This culture results not from imparting particular knowledge to students but from collective work between students and teachers to re-invent a critical culture “on the ruins of the zero paradigm”.

#### 2.4.2 Pedagogy in Religious Education (RE)

Turning to pedagogy within RE, Grimmitt (2000, pp. 16-18), widely regarded as one of the major contemporary writers on RE pedagogy (Stern, 2018, p. 4), agrees with the need to avoid reductive conceptualisations of pedagogy as discussed in 2.4.1. He suggests that as well as encompassing aims, curriculum content and methodology, pedagogy is informed by the teacher’s ideas about how and why learning takes place. Chater (2013, p. 46) supports this conceptualisation of pedagogy in RE, proposing that it comprises features and values from wider society, and involves the teacher’s understanding of the worldviews and experiences of pupils. A

more critical approach is likewise favoured by Baumfield (2012, p. 210), who contends that RE pedagogy is not about the selection of effective teaching methods but should be concerned with the “dynamic interactions between the learner, the subject matter and the implications of the wider socio-cultural interpretations of the purpose of education”. Relatedly, Baumfield argues for not seeing the teacher as an instructor but as a pedagogue who has command over a range of approaches to teaching and learning.

Informed by the work of Grimmitt (2000, pp. 222-223), Holt (2015, p. 20) and Stern (2018, p. 64) argue that constructivism provides the best underpinning theory for pedagogy in RE because it emphasises how, by pupils drawing on their own experiences, they can then explore new ideas and other people’s beliefs. Rooted in the work of Piaget, and later developed by Vygotsky into a theory of social constructivism, constructivism proposes that people make meaning through experiences and dialogue and by building upon what they already know, rather than new understanding developing more passively (Schunk, 2014, p. 231). Holt (2015, p. 25), for example, observes that learning in RE involves actively challenging pupils’ existing mental structures and helping to build frameworks for new ones. For Stern (2018, p. 63) discussion and conversation are crucial aspects of constructivism in RE. This means pupils talking about topics and teachers starting conversations within school which can extend beyond the building. Literature on RE pedagogies identifies a range of possibilities, with Grimmitt (2000, pp. 24-25) examining eight models, Blaylock (2004) reworking these into a slightly simplified overview of six approaches and Stern (2018, p. 67) synthesising the two into a chronological presentation. It is notable that none of these scholars include a confessional model of RE and that phenomenology is seen to provide what Stern (2018, p. 66) calls “a ‘given’”, supporting Miller’s (2013, p. 189) observation that most teachers of RE have been “schooled” in this way of thinking, which I expand on below.

Below I expand on the development of a range of pedagogical approaches to RE, focused on the following six major pedagogical models:

- A phenomenological approach, rooted especially in the work of Smart (1969)
- A human development approach of learning about and learning from, centred on Grimmit's (1987) work
- A spiritual development model focused on learners exploring experiences and spiritualities from different religions and developing their own spirituality, based on the work of Hay with Nye (2006) and Hammond (1990)
- A critical realist, literacy focused approach, following Wright (1993; 2007) and also seen in Cooling's (1994) concept-cracking approach as a specifically Christian example
- An ethnographic, interpretive approach from Jackson (1997)
- A constructivist, postmodern, conceptual enquiry approach based on Erricker's (2000; 2010) work

It is additionally noteworthy in relation to the concept of RE teachers as pedagogical bricoleurs (Freathy *et al.*, 2017, p. 430) that Holt (2015, p. 34) and Stern (2018, p. 66) both agree with Blaylock's (2004, p. 13) proposal that an RE teacher could successfully combine these different pedagogies because they are rooted in constructivism. Here they refer to the idea that during the study of any given topic, different pedagogical approaches could be drawn on in any order (Stern, 2018, p. 66).

I now further explore the development of contemporary RE pedagogies, alongside a brief consideration of the history of RE in England, building on the context provided in 1.4. When considering contemporary RE, it is important to note the link which Conroy, Lundie and Baumfield (2012, p. 311) make between the history of RE and its legislative structures, which date from the nineteenth century, and the disagreement which they identify as continuing today about what comprises the "educational purposes of RE". Among the thirteen possibilities for the aim of RE which Conroy, Lundie and Baumfield (2012, pp. 311-312) identify are: "religious literacy [...] philosophical understanding [...] citizenship education [...] moral development [...] and] spiritual life and religious observance". The debate about which pedagogical approach should be used within RE can therefore

be seen as closely connected to a broader debate about what the very purpose of the subject should be. The publication in 2018 of the final report from the Commission on RE has sparked renewed discussion about what the aims of RE should be and about the role of the LAS (see 1.4). The Commission on RE comprised a board of 14 people representing a range of perspectives and areas of expertise, who undertook a two-year review into the "legal, education and policy frameworks for RE" (Commission on RE, 2020). The final report notes that confusion about the purpose of RE has led to variations in quality (Commission on RE 2018, p. 7). In response the report advocates for the removal of the LAS system and proposes a National Entitlement to Religion and Worldviews Education and non-statutory programmes of study, the content of which should reflect a wide range of religious and non-religious beliefs. Whilst it is crucial to acknowledge this ongoing debate about whether, as Cush (2018, p. 4) puts it, RE should be "primarily concerned with the personal development, including the development of beliefs and values, of children and young people or should its purpose be primarily academic?" as an important backdrop to my study, a close examination of this debate is beyond the scope of this thesis. As set out in 1.5, the remit of my study is the analysis of how teachers of RE construct and promote mutual respect and tolerance in KS3 RE, rather than an exploration of the question of whether it is right for values education to form part of RE. In the subsequent discussion whilst I note links to questions about purpose, I therefore focus on how historical developments have informed contemporary RE pedagogy.

The history of confessional RE is substantial, with Lundie (2012, p. 23) observing that from as early as the 1870 Elementary Education Act there was a legal provision for a subject entitled Religious Instruction (RI). The obligation for schools to provide RI was retained in section 25.2 of the *Education Act 1944*. Whilst the 1944 Education Act does not specify a focus on Christianity, Copley (2008, p. 32) notes that in legislative proceedings and debates this was "a tacit and unchallenged assumption" in an era in which the terms "Christian and religious were nearly synonymous". The aim of RE at this point can therefore be summarised as focused around the

advancement of Christianity, with Green (2000, p. 149) observing that the 1944 Education Act was wholly Christian in terms of the minister and parliament behind it, and was overall “directed to the goal of creating a truly Christian population”.

A number of developments from the 1970s and 80s saw major changes within the landscape of RE and a move away from the previously dominant confessional approaches. In 1988, the *Education Reform Act* re-named the subject from Religious Instruction to RE, and this provides the still current legal context for RE in England and Wales (Lundie, 2012, p. 23). A further key change was to establish that syllabuses for RE should “reflect the fact that the religious traditions in Great Britain are in the main Christian whilst taking account of the teaching and practices of the other principal religions represented in Great Britain” (*Education Reform Act 1988*, section 8.3). This legislative shift towards non-confessional RE arguably reflected changes which had been occurring in the classroom practice of RE for the preceding fifteen years according to Hull, a key theorist of the era (cited in Lundie, 2012, p. 23). For example, the 1975 agreed syllabus from Birmingham included a range of non-Christian beliefs and faiths. This reflects the growing influence of a phenomenological approach to learning about religions, proposed initially in the work of Smart (1968; 1969), which had become more influential throughout the 1970s (Barnes, 2001, p. 446).

The phenomenological approach to RE grew in popularity from Smart’s involvement with the Schools Council *Working Paper 36* (1971). This paper adopts the phenomenological approach, which Cush (2019, p. 367) suggests started a revolution because it marked a step away from confessional RE. Phenomenology can be understood as entailing the study of phenomena, concepts or things, as they manifest in our experiences (Smith, 2018). In the context of religion, Smart (1997, p. 2) describes the approach as requiring the “suspension of belief, together with the use of empathy” which enables people to enter into the perspective of believers. This is summarised by Jackson (2013, p. 121) as meaning teachers and pupils “‘bracket out’ their own presuppositions” when exploring other people’s faiths. In spite of its age, the phenomenological approach

continues to be extremely influential today. Indeed, Farrell (2016, p. 282) observes that it may continue to be “the dominant discourse” in RE. However, in spite of the approach’s influence, both Grimmitt (2000, p. 27) and O’Grady (2005, p. 235) critique the absence of associated pedagogical strategies. In addition, Miller (2013, p. 189) queries whether the tool of ‘bracketing out’ and respect for all can really be suitable for exploring issues such as the perpetration of terrorist attacks in the name of religion. Perhaps most importantly, Barnes (2001, p. 455) has questioned whether a phenomenological approach sidesteps what he identifies as a crucial need for pupils to critically engage with the truth claims of religions.

The spiritual development model, which Hay with Nye’s (2006) and Hammond’s (1990) work particularly contributed to, focuses on the experiential aspects of religion, which Hay (2000, p. 72) argues are central to religious believers themselves. Holt (2015, p. 27) notes this was perhaps in reaction to the phenomenological approach, which proposed the opposite. The model encourages pupils to reflect inwards on their own spirituality as well as asking them to consider spiritual insights from different religions. The approach can be seen in a more recent practical resource from Phillips (2003) which includes resources focused on pupils and teachers going on a journey together to explore their spirituality. However, Stern (2018, p. 67) suggests that the focus on spirituality and psychology makes this pedagogy unpopular. Holt (2015, p. 29) additionally observes that the use of re-enacting rituals in the classroom, which the pedagogy encourages, is arguably challenging for many teachers to undertake and problematic because recreating religious experiences outside the context of belief means they are missing this crucial, authentic element.

Another key pedagogical development in RE occurred from the mid-1970s with Grimmitt (2000, p. 34; 1987, pp. 225-226) introducing a model of RE focused human development, which included the concepts of learning about and learning from religion. Learning about religion refers to studying “the beliefs, teachings and practices of the great religious traditions” and exploring ultimate questions (Grimmitt, 1987, p. 225). Learning from religion requires teachers to present the beliefs of people and religions

accurately and in such a way as to enable pupils to use them “as instruments for the critical evaluation of their own beliefs and values” (Grimmitt, 1987, p. 141). Learning from religion is about pupils recognising and evaluating their own beliefs and values, which results in “self-awareness and personal knowledge” (Grimmitt, 1987, p. 225). Grimmitt (2000, p. 36) also identifies the importance of the concept of learning from religion as entailing more than a handful of questions added onto the end of a lesson. This would be too superficial to enable pupils thoroughly evaluate how they have understood the religion. These two aims for RE later became two attainment targets for the subject, as seen in the model syllabuses for RE published in 1994 by the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (Lundie, 2012, p. 25), with Christopher (2020, p. 86) commenting that teachers were often expected to show both aims in every unit or even lesson. The legacy of this distinction persists, with Chater (2013, p. 53) arguing Grimmitt’s distinction has been so influential that it continues to shape “nearly all locally agreed syllabuses, exam specifications and textbooks”.

Following a shift away from a confessional model of RE as highlighted in the discussion thus far, the potential for RE to contribute to a broader spectrum of aims intensified following the events of 9/11 (see 1.2). This is highlighted by Moulin (2012, p. 169) who argues that post 9/11 RE received unprecedented attention, particularly regarding what was seen by politicians and others as its potential to contribute towards greater social cohesion and harmony. This shift has not been problem free with Dinham and Shaw (2015, p. 3) pointing to how a greater focus on moral and ethical issues has led to a blurring of the subject’s boundaries and RE being “colonised” by citizenship and cohesion, at the expense of a focus on religion and beliefs. Similarly, Moulin (2012, p. 169), Copley (2008, p. 212) and Gearon (2008, p. 99) also all identify the danger of RE drifting away from a focus on questions of ultimate truths, with the risk of the subject being “subsumed” by political agendas. Building on his identification of the implications for RE of a state rejection of multiculturalism (see 1.2), Farrell (2023, p. 97) agrees with Conroy *et al.*’s (2013, cited in Farrell, 2023, p. 97) identification

of RE as being in danger of becoming a “bland curriculum for tolerance” because of the dominance of policies like Prevent and FBV. This can result in RE which presents inauthentic, thin accounts of religions. Barnes (2006, p. 396) agrees, arguing that in pursuing the promotion of certain liberal values such as tolerance, religions themselves have been misrepresented in RE. One solution could be pedagogies which engage seriously with the dissonance and distinctive differences between religions. In 2.4.3, I expand on this through an examination of the pedagogy of Critical RE (Wright, 2003; 2007).

This ongoing debate about whether the focus of RE should be values-centred or academic has been characterised by Kueh (2017, p. 54) as the subject’s knowledge problem. Drawing on a concept of “powerful knowledge” from Michael Young as a potential way forward, Kueh (2020, p. 135) explains that “substantive knowledge”, meaning the content or “‘stuff’ we refer to when we teach our pupils”, can be combined with “disciplinary knowledge”, meaning guidance about how the substantive knowledge or content can be analysed or explored. This might be organised and taught in terms of major religions or key themes. Kueh (2017, p. 61) proposes that if the “knowledge-base” for RE was made clear, the “complementary benefits for RE”, which could include the development of civic virtues “will organically flow from that”. I understand Kueh as proposing that the promotion of tolerance and mutual respect should not take centre stage as the core purpose of RE but is nonetheless something which can result from studying the subject. Kueh (2017, p. 65) argues that this thinking supports the approach of Wright (2007), which I examine further in 2.4.3, in that it means fostering respect is not confused with an uncritical approach to accepting all truth claims as equal. Not all agree with Kueh’s (2017, p. 61) proposal that values and virtues will “organically flow”, with Hannam and Biesta (2019, p. 58) critiquing the emphasis on understanding in the Commission on RE’s final report (2018). Hannam and Biesta (2019, p. 58, original emphasis) observe that increased understanding of someone else’s beliefs does “not *automatically* translate into care, or respect”. Barnes (2002, p. 74) concurs in observing that intolerance is more effectively

challenged by personal examples, encounters and experiences than increased knowledge, concepts I return to in 2.4.4 and 2.4.5.

More recently, the research report on RE from Ofsted (2021), of which Kueh is also the author, also advocates for substantive and disciplinary knowledge as a key aspects of RE, although here disciplinary knowledge is also labelled as “ways of knowing”, referring to how pupils should “learn ‘how to know’ about religion and non-religion”. This involves pupils knowing about the different tools and approaches which can be used to study religion and non-religion, for example a set of interpretative tools for reading a sacred text. Pupils should also know about the different “types of conversation” that academia might have about religion and realise these are underpinned by certain methodological and epistemological assumptions. Alongside substantive and disciplinary knowledge, Ofsted (2021) also identifies the importance of RE developing pupils’ personal knowledge. This is defined as pupils developing awareness of “their own presuppositions and values” through reflecting on how the substantive content studied relates to their own perspectives. The report observes, based on the work of Easton *et al.* (2019), that this sometimes occurs when pupils experience a tension between their own and other people’s viewpoints. Even if RE can contribute to the development of civic values and positive community relations, in her theoretical paper on the potential of RE to promoting positive community relations Orchard (2015, p. 48 and p. 51) argues this need not be undertaken by RE professionals alone. Jackson (2005, p. 11) agrees with this in his proposal that values should be promoted through a whole school ethos. However, Orchard (2015, p. 48) observes RE teachers might feel able to make a particular contribution, for instance by modelling how to engage with people “who are religiously and culturally different” including visitors to school and colleagues.

Despite these debates about whether RE is becoming too centred on values education, as highlighted in 2.2.4, scholars have identified the potential of RE pedagogy for enabling a more critical engagement with FBV. McDonnell (2023, p. 234) and Farrell (2016, p. 295) specifically name three RE pedagogies: Critical RE (Wight, 2003), the interpretive approach (Jackson,

1997; 2004) and the constructivist, conceptual enquiry model from Erricker (2010) as having potential merits in terms of enabling a more critical engagement with FBV in RE. As Biesta and Hannam (2016, p. 240) observe, these three pedagogies have contrasting epistemological and ontological emphases and represent different ideas about what religion is and how it can be known which makes them three “important (and influential) contributions” to the literature on RE pedagogy. Likewise, Farrell (2023, p. 91) suggests that they are “innovative and theoretically nuanced” pedagogies which address teachers and pupils’ enthusiasm for progressive approaches to RE. In the next section I examine these three RE pedagogies in detail. For each pedagogy, I set out the theoretical stance which underpins it and then present the key ideas of the approach. It is notable that Grimmitt (2000, p. 22) identifies the paucity of empirical research examining the use of different pedagogies. For each pedagogy I therefore additionally seek to identify how it might be being used within empirical studies relating to the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance. However, it should be noted that in line with Grimmitt’s critique, empirical studies do not always explicitly identify which pedagogy or pedagogies are at work. In later bringing these three pedagogies to the analysis of my own data in chapter 5, my research also seeks to contribute to addressing this gap of empirical exemplifications of the use of different RE pedagogies.

#### 2.4.3 Critical Religious Education

##### 2.4.3.1 Theoretical background

Critical Religious Education (CRE) originates in the work of Wright (2007) and is rooted in the philosophy of critical realism. At its heart is the idea that RE should “enable pupils to wrestle with ultimate truth” (Wright, 2007, p. 7). To explain this, Wright identifies three principles which underlie CRE: ontological realism, epistemic relativism and judgmental rationality. Ontological realism proposes that there is an objective reality, which exists independently of the human mind. However, each person’s experience of that reality may be different; this is epistemic relativism. This means that whilst people have different understandings of reality, they are united by a desire to understand it and live in harmony with it (Easton *et al.*, 2019, p.

4). Lastly, judgemental rationality refers to how, although limited by our contexts, we can make informed judgements about our experiences, which enables us to know reality, although our knowledge of it may be incomplete. From the perspective of CRE, the teacher does not seek to impose any given worldview on students but nor do they accept pupils' expressing unjustified personal preferences. Instead, the teacher aims to cultivate a deep understanding of pupils' and religious people's worldviews and ways of making meaning and in doing so, aims to enable pupils to make informed judgements about the ultimate nature of reality, as well as the implications this raises for how pupils want to live their lives (Easton *et al.*, 2019, p. 4).

Regarding CRE in the RE classroom, Goodman (2018, p. 233) explains a CRE teacher will seek to explore pupils' different experiences of reality and the truth claims put forward by religious and non-religious people. CRE is thus different to the phenomenological approach (see 2.4.2) in facilitating active exploration of difference. This refers to how in CRE, truth claims from different religions, which are sometimes directly competing, are placed at the centre and critically engaged with. For instance, Wright (2007, p. 27) points to the "irreconcilable understandings of Jesus of Nazareth" held by Jewish, Christian and Muslim people. Simply put, the three competing truth claims about Jesus who is seen variously as a moral teacher, as God incarnate and as a prophet cannot be simultaneously true. CRE responds to this by enabling pupils to critically engage with these different truth claims. In doing so, CRE represents one potential response to the risk of thin and bland representations of religion in the context of promoting FBV highlighted by Farrell (2023, p. 97) (see 2.4.2).

In order to critically engage with the different positions put forward, Wright (2000, p. 181) argues that young people must learn the genuine skills of critical thinking, rather than just acquiring knowledge under the pretence of this constituting learning about religion. In terms of learning from religion, Wright (2003, p. 281) critiques that this too becomes "vacuous" when it does not centre on pupils' "life-worlds [being drawn....] into a direct critical engagement with the substance of religious truth claims". Wright (2000, p.

181) suggests critical engagement can be achieved through using a three-stage, spiral process whereby pupils periodically review an issue in ever increasing depth. The process begins by engaging with the “horizons of pupils”, meaning pupils engage openly with the topic, and articulate their current positions. Next, the teacher introduces a range of religious perspectives on the topic which are likely to be conflicting. This step is important in distinguishing CRE from other liberal pluralist forms of RE, which merely present different views “within a common interpretive framework”. Here, Wright (2000, p. 182) emphasises the importance of exploring the reasons for the existence of sometimes strongly opposing and diverse views on a topic. If the process is done well, Wright suggests it should result in “dissonance” in pupils’ minds. The final stage focuses on equipping pupils with the skills to think theologically and philosophically, as well as giving them the capacity to engage in dialogue about the different positions they have encountered. If such a process is followed, Wright (2000, p. 183) argues it will result in “authentic religious literacy”. The matter of what is meant by religious literacy warrants further exploration.

Hannam *et al.* (2020, p. 217) observe that religious literacy appears to gather momentum after its use in Wright’s (1993) work. In this, Wright (1993, p. 47) defines religious literacy as young people developing the ability “to reflect, communicate and act in an informed, intelligent and sensitive manner towards the phenomenon of religion”. A perhaps more pragmatic understanding and rationale for religious literacy is put forward by Dinham and Shaw (2015, p. 3) who argue for RE being centred on “engagement with the rich variety of religion and belief encounters in everyday, ordinary life”. They distinguish this from a more political purpose of “making cohesion”. The need for religious literacy is identified by Dinham and Shaw (2015, p. 4) and Dinham (2015, p. 19) as arising because of changes in the religious landscape over the last century, alongside people’s increasingly poor ability to “talk well” about religion. Exploring this issue in 19 English secondary schools with pupils, parents and teachers as well as 10 employers, Dinham and Shaw (2017, p. 10) asked what young people needed to know about religion to increase religious literacy. They found

that pupils identify the purpose of RE as being about preparing them “for encounters with diversity” and the development of “a ‘spiritual but not religious’ identity”. They also observe that employers assume that encounters with diversity in RE will lead to tolerance and respect of others.

Biesta *et al.* (2019, p. 27) identify that this raises a question about how much religious literacy is needed to enable pupils to navigate public life and engage in the high level dialogues which Dinham and Wright are hoping pupils will be equipped for. Biesta *et al.* (2019, p. 27) suggest this requires more than just knowing key differences between major religions. Hence, whilst recognising religious literacy to be valuable, Biesta *et al.* (2019, p. 27) and Hannam *et al.* (2020, p. 224) argue religious literacy is not the way forward for contemporary RE. This is because whilst accepting citizens being religiously literate is an extremely valuable goal for modern society, they suggest this should not be the sole role of RE, but a goal for all aspects of education.

#### *2.4.3.2 Application in the RE classroom*

Returning to CRE to consider how it might be used in the classroom, a recent book from Easton *et al.* (2019) has attempted to rectify previously missing attempts to illustrate how CRE might be enacted in the classroom, which Blaylock (2020, p. 514) suggests increases the appeal of CRE. Easton *et al.* (2019, p. viii) provide practical resources to demonstrate how CRE can be used as a contemporary, non-confessional approach to RE which allows pupils to explore truth claims. Of particular relevance to my study is their discussion of how CRE may be used to promote tolerance and respect in the classroom. For instance, Easton *et al.* (2019, p. 9) challenge the idea that respect should be understood as simply agreeing with someone else. Understanding respect as agreement is problematic because merely agreeing does not take other people’s beliefs seriously enough. Taking other people’s beliefs seriously entails recognising that, for the religious believer, their beliefs are held as literal, propositional statements about the world. Drawing on an example from Christianity to exemplify this, Easton *et al.* (2019, p. 10) suggest that many Christians hold a literal belief that Jesus is the son of God; this is not just a metaphorical belief as Davis (2010, p. 198)

suggests. To distort people's beliefs under the guise of respect, meaning agreeing with everything, achieves the opposite. CRE might therefore be characterised as an approach to RE which does not shy away from the exclusivist nature of many religious beliefs (Easton *et al.*, 2019, p. 12). This may initially seem counter-intuitive to the goals of increasing community cohesion in a religiously plural society, however Easton *et al.* (2019, p. 12) suggest that not downplaying difference results in a more authentic tolerance of other people's beliefs. This is because the classroom provides a suitable environment for learning to manage differences. The pursuit of truth with others who have different perspectives can even act as a means of bonding because it reveals our shared concerns about the nature of reality (Ibid., p. 13).

Easton *et al.* (2019, p. 35) also provide an exemplar scheme of work, which seeks to demonstrate how differences might be explored and handled in practice. One lesson in the year 7 (pupils aged 11-12) scheme of work explicitly addresses tolerance. In this, pupils are invited to explore a range of different definitions of tolerance, and to then apply two of them to different scenarios. This lesson aims to teach pupils about the fact that tolerance does not mean "accepting that all views are equally true" but rather is about ensuring "discussions are conducted in a respectful manner". This lesson thus provides an interesting exemplification of how CRE might be utilised in the classroom to promote tolerance and mutual respect.

Whilst not explicitly a study of Wright's CRE, Lundie and Conroy's (2015, p. 274) paper about "inculcating tolerance in pedagogy", based on data collected as part of a larger ethnographic study of RE in 24 schools, provides insightful empirical insights about the representation of religions and their truth claims in RE, suggesting a possible link to CRE. Lundie and Conroy identify two contrasting approaches to promoting tolerance in RE which they term pedagogies of intolerance and entolerance. Pedagogies of intolerance are characterised by a reductive approach in which differences between religions are "flatten[ed]" and opportunities to engage with questions of ultimate truths omitted (Lundie and Conroy, 2015, p. 285). This appears to cohere with many of the features of an uncritical approach

to RE which Wright (2003, p. 285) identifies as problematic. For instance, Lundie and Conroy (2015, p. 285) note how a teacher's use of the term 'scriptures' to refer to Hindu and Christian holy texts results in a flattening of differences. This non-critical form of RE does not enable the teacher to challenge or explore potentially discordant views. In a pedagogy of intolerance, pupils provide "rehearsed responses" and "pre-defined dispositions" about how they should perceive the other, such as generic statements about respect. Lundie and Conroy (2015, p. 287) suggest that whilst a pedagogy of intolerance is rarely advocated for, the use of it, as well as teachers' avoidance of discussions on controversial topics, can be explained by pressures on teaching contact time and in some cases challenging classroom behaviour.

The more rarely seen and, Lundie and Conroy (2015, p. 281) argue, preferable pedagogical approach of promoting tolerance is that of entolerance. Entolerance occurs when RE "functions as a space for encounter" where the goal is not to necessarily arrive at a consensus. I take this to mean that the teacher does not attempt to hide the, sometimes irreconcilable, differences between different religious beliefs, more in line with Wright's (2003) CRE. Lundie and Conroy (2015, p. 283) identify beneficial moments when a "paradoxical space" is created. One example comes from a discussion where pupils present both Christian and Islamic viewpoints about why God allows evil. The teacher also introduces philosophical propositions, through responsive questioning to pupils' statements. Lundie and Conroy suggest that in this discussion, the strangeness of the other person's stance is strongly felt because diverse faith stances held by pupils conflict with each other and additionally contrast with philosophical reasoning put forward by the teacher. The emphasis is on an open exploration of different and diverse views, perhaps implying the teacher must be comfortable with at least a degree of dissonance in their classroom in order to permit such moments. Overall, Lundie and Conroy's (2015) paper appears to highlight the practical challenges and benefits of utilising a critical approach to the exploration of difference which might enable the promotion of tolerance and mutual respect.

#### 2.4.4 Conceptual enquiry

The second pedagogical approach I explore is the conceptual enquiry approach developed by Erricker (2000; 2010). As for CRE, first I explain the theoretical background and key elements of the approach. I then examine its more recent use in the locally agreed syllabus (LAS) for Hampshire, Portsmouth and Southampton entitled Living Difference from 2003 (Hampshire, Portsmouth and Southampton Councils, 2004, cited in Erricker, 2010, p. 65) as an example of how it might be practically used in the RE classroom.

##### 2.4.4.1 Theoretical background

The conceptual enquiry approach proposes a narrative approach to RE in which the “small narratives of learners” are placed at the centre of learning (Erricker and Erricker, 2000, p. 194). In favouring a narrative approach, the conceptual enquiry approach adopts an alternative stance towards knowledge than Wright’s (2007) critical realism (see 2.4.3.1). The conceptual enquiry approach understands knowledge as “a process of construction that is then voiced in a community of learners” (Erricker, 2000, p. 136). Put another way, “all ‘knowledge’ is relative” (Erricker and Erricker, 2000, p. 194). I understand this as referring to how knowledge is arrived at through a process of exploration by learners, rather than being fixed. Erricker (2000, p. 136) suggests this changes the classical classroom dynamic where the teacher is understood as possessing knowledge which must be imparted to pupils. Instead, teachers must be open to engaging in the narrative process and exploring their own experiences. Preferring a critical realist stance, Wright (2001, p. 121) critiques Erricker’s work which he interprets as suggesting that because we cannot be certain of knowledge, we should “abandon knowledge as a human aspiration”. Wright’s criticism may be valid because it is questionable whether Erricker’s epistemological position is compatible with the understanding many religious people hold of their own beliefs. As seen in the discussion on CRE, many believers hold absolute and exclusivist beliefs (Easton *et al.*, 2019, p. 10). Hence there is arguably a mismatch between Erricker’s proposed

approach towards RE, and the epistemological position of religions themselves.

As mentioned at the start of this section (2.4.4), as part of creating a new LAS for Hampshire, Portsmouth and Southampton entitled Living Difference from 2003 onwards, Erricker developed a five-stage enquiry process (see figure 1), which has continued to be used in more recent iterations of the LAS (Hampshire Inspection and Advisory Service, 2016; Hannam, 2022, p. 79). Underlying the process, Erricker (2010, p. 82) identifies the pedagogical purpose of RE as the “development of students’ capacities, skills and their overall development as empowered individuals. The five-stage conceptual enquiry approach is focused on concepts and specifically on the relationship between the concept and the learner (Erricker, 2010, p. 85). The concept selected might be particular to one religion, shared by several, or present in non-religious experiences (Erricker, 2010, p. 84). Notably, Wedell's (2010, p. 160) empirical research into the use of the Living Difference LAS finds this focus on concepts to be largely positive because it ensures a sharp focus on RE, rather than on literacy activities and helps teachers develop effective learning objectives.

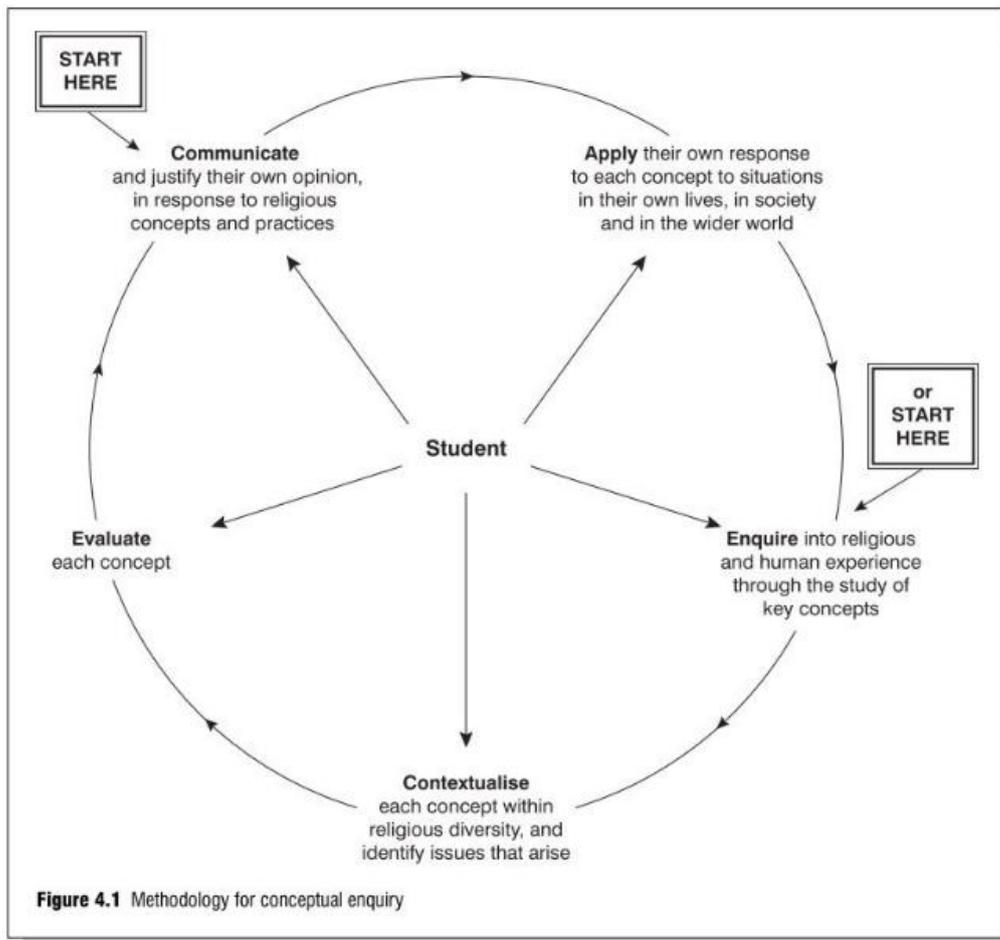


Figure 1: Five stage conceptual enquiry approach to RE (Erricker, 2010, p. 83)

Having identified a suitable concept, the approach might begin with pupils articulating their own views on it and applying their ideas to different scenarios and contexts. These comprise the first two steps of Erricker’s process and require the use of dialogue and debate between pupils (Erricker, 2010, p. 83). Secondly, in the enquiry stage, which might also form the starting point, pupils are given opportunities to enquire for themselves into different religious perspectives on the concept. The enquiry is deepened when in the contextualise phase, pupils explore denominational and divergent attitudes about the concept. Lastly, pupils have the chance to evaluate to what extent the concept is significant to different believers. Examples of how this might work in practice in relation to the concepts of jihad (striving in Islam) and sacred are provided by Erricker (2006, p. 147;

2010, pp. 84–85). Taking the example of sacred, Erricker (2010, pp. 84–85) suggests the process might begin with a consideration of what things are sacred to pupils. In the enquiry stage, understandings of sacred from different religions might be introduced, such as Torah (divine revelation or teaching) being sacred to Jewish people. Diverse perspectives on the significance of Torah to different Jewish people can then be discussed as part of contextualising the information. Lastly, the evaluation stage enables pupils to consider what Erricker (2010, p. 85) terms evaluating within and without. This means evaluating to what extent the Torah might be considered sacred for Jewish people (evaluating within) and to what extent sacredness overall is significant today (evaluating without). This completes the approach and may lead into the ‘communicate’ phase for a second time. This clear application of how a theoretical approach can be used in the classroom arguably makes this pedagogical approach more readily useable than Wright’s CRE (2007).

#### *2.4.4.2 Application in the RE classroom*

In writing about the conceptual enquiry approach, Erricker (2000; 2010) and Erricker and Erricker (2000) do not explicitly address the topic of how tolerance and mutual respect should be promoted. Likewise, the Hampshire LAS (Hampshire Inspection and Advisory Service, 2016, pp. 64–75) includes suggestions of concepts pupils could explore, but tolerance and mutual respect are not among them. This contrasts with Easton *et al.*’s (2019, p. 35) illustration of how CRE could be used in a year 7 lesson where tolerance was an explicit topic. Whilst the absence of mutual respect or tolerance could be a simple omission, another interpretation could be that when a conceptual enquiry approach is adopted, the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance might occur more implicitly. To explore this more fully, I draw on Erricker’s (2006) paper about living with difference, the development of children’s spirituality and the use of the conceptual enquiry approach because engaging with difference has been identified as a key feature of mutual respect and tolerance (see 2.3).

Regarding living with difference, Erricker (2006, p. 145) argues for exploring the ideological differences between religions with pupils, rather

than just examining cultural diversity. In this regard, Erricker's position is similar to Wright's (2007, p. 112) because Erricker too disagrees with flattening differences between religions under the guise that they are different "expression[s] of similar values" (Erricker, 2006, p. 144). This is not the case, Erricker suggests, because different worldviews do result in different activities being permitted or prohibited. Erricker is consequently critical of a phenomenological approach to RE which avoids controversial topics. Erricker's alternative approach, centred around concepts, means pupils explore the underlying concepts and reasons which result in different expressions of faith and religious practices. Whilst coming from different theoretical standpoints, here Erricker's thinking coheres with Wright's (2007, p. 112) because they both advocate for approaches to RE which facilitate a fuller and richer understanding of someone's beliefs and practices, which might lead to a greater respect for the person, rather than a glossing of differences.

Erricker (2006, p. 145) argues that this deeper engagement can occur by avoiding focusing on religious practices like hajj (pilgrimage in Islam) i.e., religious content. Instead, the underlying, key concepts which motivate such practices should be examined: tawheed, jihad and ummah (the Islamic concepts of the oneness of God, striving and community). Furthermore, he identifies the importance of exploring the "hermeneutical complexity" or range of interpretations different Muslims might hold of these concepts and examining how different contexts might further influence their understandings. From their engagement with these different interpretations, pupils will then be able to construct and articulate their own worldviews and beliefs. In other words, it is the development of pupils' skills and ideas, not religious content itself, which are centre stage. Writing about the most recent publication of the Living Difference LAS, Hannam (2022, p. 82) argues strongly for the inclusion of the "messiness of human experience" and avoidance of seeing religion as just beliefs and practices. She contends this gives the approach depth, helping to keep it centred on the "lived experience of those of faith" alongside the experiences of pupils (Ibid., p. 83). Engaging with the full experience of human persons is seen as crucial

to the approach by Hannam (2022, p. 80) who argues that as well as including the authentic experiences of religious people, this approach to RE should position pupils not as “objects” but “irreplaceable human persons” and teachers not as “‘deliverers’ of parcels of knowledge”.

Erricker (2006, p. 145), Erricker (2005, p. 240) and Hannam (2022, p. 82) also identify that adopting the conceptual enquiry approach as exemplified in the Living Difference LAS can arguably provide opportunities for the development of pupils’ spirituality because of the way it centres on the experiences of all people. Considering what is meant by spirituality, Eade (2018, p. 76) suggests that it refers to a “search for meaning, identity and purpose”. Erricker (2001, p. 199) similarly notes it is not always religious in nature and entails nurturing children “towards a fuller understanding of their own emotional and aesthetic potential”. Another aspect of spirituality is highlighted by de Souza (2011, p. 46), who argues that it refers to the “relational dimensions of being”. She suggests that spirituality develops along a continuum, whereby people move from having awareness only of themselves, to being connected to people who are very different to themselves. At the far end they develop a high level of awareness of people’s interconnectedness. Considering the implications for the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance, spirituality can be comprehended as entailing both an understanding of oneself and one’s own identity, as well as how one sees and positions oneself in relation to other people. Using the conceptual enquiry approach could enable pupils to understand the perspectives of other people more deeply through considering different religious people’s experiences. This could be seen as enabling the promotion of tolerance and mutual respect through engagement with differences. Helping pupils to be more self-aware might also enable them to see how they relate to other people who are different to them, further contributing to promoting tolerance and mutual respect.

#### 2.4.5 Interpretive RE, dialogue and discussion

##### 2.4.5.1 *Theoretical background*

The third pedagogical approach I explore is Jackson’s (1997) interpretive approach. It is rooted in social anthropology and ethnography, which

Jackson suggests can address gaps in the phenomenological approach to RE (see 2.4.2). Drawing on the work of Geertz (1973), Jackson's (1997, p. 33) interpretive approach argues that rather than bracketing out one's own position, as in the phenomenological approach, it is important to be "conscious of the relationship" between one's own language and world and that of "insiders". One's own experiences and language then act as a "comparative tool for working out the meanings of insiders". In the context of RE, I understand the 'insider' accounts to refer to the experiences of people who follow different religions. In the classroom, Jackson (1997, p. 130) proposes that teachers start with the experience and language of believers, before looking at pupils' experiences and then "oscillat[ing] between the two". More recently, Jackson (2000, p. 142) has observed that the approach could also start from the questions of pupils before looking at the experiences of individuals within a religion. In both approaches though, a focus just on the key beliefs of a religion or a thematic structure is avoided; the beliefs and experiences of individual believers are central (Jackson, 1997, p. 111). This focus on the experiences of religious believers, and to a lesser extent pupils, gives the interpretive approach some commonalities with the conceptual enquiry approach as compared to CRE, which centred on the truth claims of religions. In addition, Jackson (2004, p. 87) notes that a strength of his approach compared to Wright's focus in CRE on religious literacy is that it takes account of the "inner diversity, fuzzy edgedness" and variability of religious traditions.

#### *2.4.5.2 Application in the RE classroom*

In terms of how pupils might encounter the experiences of religious believers, Jackson has developed a set of books for use with children aged 5-14. Drawing on ethnographic studies of young people's experiences of religion, which formed the basis from which the interpretive approach was originally developed, Jackson (1997, p. 96; 2000, p. 132) argues the materials challenge some more traditional representations of religion. The books provide insider accounts of religion accompanied by questions to stimulate reflection on pupils' own perspectives (Jackson, 2000, p. 141). Whilst not intended to comprise the "totality of RE" these books exemplify

how the interpretive approach might be used in practice (Jackson, 1997, p. 125). However, whilst commending the interpretive approach for raising awareness of the complex topic of how religions should be represented in education and teaching resources, Gearon (2013, p. 130) critiques the use of children's accounts of religion. This is because they are likely to be misrepresentative of religions and many religions may not accept them as a representation of their own beliefs and practices.

Considering how the interpretive approach might enable the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance, Jackson (1997, p. 123) suggests that through acquiring knowledge and understanding of the beliefs and feelings of religious people, pupils might develop inter-religious understanding. However, Jackson (1997, p. 141) also notes it would be a mistake to claim that "understanding and knowledge necessarily foster[s] tolerance", although they may be "necessary conditions" for removing prejudice. I take this as suggesting that when an interpretive approach to RE is adopted, tolerance and mutual respect are not likely to be the explicit goals of RE, nor is their promotion guaranteed. However, they may be promoted because the use of insider accounts helps to support pupils' engagement with different people's experiences and perspectives. Moreover, as was the case with Erricker's (2010) conceptual enquiry approach, Jackson (2000, p. 135) suggests that through the process of "edification", pupils may come to re-evaluate their own perspectives after engaging with other people's experiences. Edification denotes the inseparability of exploring the nature of someone else's way of life from examining the issues raised by it; it can also occur when studying one's own tradition and beliefs. Jackson (2000, p. 136) suggests the opportunity for pupils to reflect on their own beliefs as part of RE is similar to Grimitt's (1987, p. 225) concept of "learning from" religions (see 2.4.2), but notes that its occurrence is likely to be spontaneous. It can be enabled through teachers providing "structured opportunities for reflection" but it cannot be delayed to a later lesson, nor can its occurrence be guaranteed (Jackson, 2000, p. 136). This highlights the question of what types of structured reflections might best enable the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance. It also calls attention to the

possibility of the promotion of tolerance and mutual respect arising spontaneously. Lastly, it raises a query about the efficacy of adding on short opportunities for pupils to reflect on their own beliefs at the end of a lesson as a means of promoting mutual respect and tolerance.

#### *2.4.5.3 The interpretive approach, dialogue and discussion*

Jackson's interpretive RE has more recently formed the theoretical basis for other studies, particularly those which focus on the use of dialogue and discussion. For example, the Religion Education Dialogue Conflict (REDCo) project adopted the interpretive approach as its theoretical underpinning (Weisse, 2010; Jackson, 2011). The project was comprised of qualitative and quantitative studies led by nine universities across Europe. It had the aim of identifying approaches which would "contribute to making religion in education into a factor promoting dialogue" (Weisse, 2010, p. 190). More recently, another report from the council of Europe entitled 'Signposts' and authored by Jackson (2014), considers how the use of interpretive and dialogical approaches to RE might enable intercultural education. The choice to use the interpretive approach as the theoretical basis in these studies, and others, arguably arises because it foregrounds representing the experience of religious believers through their own words and experiences and the processes of reflexivity and edification on the part of pupils (Jackson, 2011, pp. 191–193). Dialogue is a means through which these processes can be accessed and enacted in practical terms. Owing to the widespread use of the interpretive approach as the theoretical basis for empirical studies about discussion and dialogue in RE, I now turn to consider dialogue and discussion in RE.

Writing about pedagogies which could contribute to inter-cultural understanding, Baumfield (2010, p. 188) identifies dialogic pedagogies as potentially making a significant contribution. The idea that dialogue that includes dissonance enhances learning is also supported by O'Grady and Jackson (2020, p. 92). In their action research project into how dialogue in RE can be used to explore difference and diversity, they find that pupils' engagement and attention is most positive in moments when disagreement arises in discussions. This can be disagreements between themselves, or

between pupils' views and religious teachings. Likewise, research from Williams *et al.* (2019, p. 221) also supports the identification of dialogue or discussion as helpful for promoting positive community relations. In their survey of RE practitioners, dialogue or discussion were the most frequently reported tools used by respondents (n=95), making up 39% of examples provided. Whilst inter-cultural understanding is not identical to tolerance and mutual respect, in 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 I showed how tolerance and mutual respect are often constructed as requiring engagement with something or someone different to oneself, which might be considered closely linked to inter-cultural understanding.

Before discussing how dialogue and discussion might contribute to the promotion of tolerance and mutual respect, it is necessary to clarify the meaning of the terms. Drawing on insights from physicist David Bohm, Senge (2006, p. 223) suggests that discussion reflects a topic being "analysed and dissected from many points of view", but where ultimately you want your own perspective to win through. In contrast dialogue, which originates in the Greek of *dia* meaning through and *logos* meaning the word or the meaning, denotes instances when the purpose is to "go beyond any one individual's understanding" to gain insights that would not be arrived at without the group exploration. The term dialogue thus appears to be preferred by researchers and educators in inter-faith education, perhaps because of the transformative and collective connotations of the term (Stern, 2018, pp. 9-10). I thus now examine findings from empirical research about how dialogue might be used to explore differences in RE and consider how these relate to promoting mutual respect and tolerance.

In the aforementioned study from Williams *et al.* (2019, p. 216) the researchers aimed to explore to what extent RE teachers intuitively use the contact hypothesis to promote positive community relations. They also sought to address the lack of empirical support for the idea that RE can make a positive contribution to inter-group relations. The contact hypothesis originates in the work of psychologist Allport (1954) and proposes that contact between people who have different opinions under the right conditions might promote positive relationships. Williams *et al.*

(2019, p. 222) classify the way that the contact hypothesis is used by participating RE practitioners into three types of contact. The most effective but least commonly used is Interaction. This refers to approaches which promote direct exposure to difference and diversity alongside meaningful discussion. Teachers also use the contact hypothesis to facilitate approaches which lead to Encounter (exposure to diverse views such as a visit to a place of worship) and Conversation (approaches which allow for discussion about difference, but in which the diverse others are not present). In addition, Williams *et al.* (2019, p. 222) note that other approaches are employed by teachers which may support positive community relations, but which do not draw on the contact hypothesis. For example, encouraging respect for others' views, having high expectations for behaviour, using role play or writing tasks requiring them to consider different viewpoints. These findings are interesting in the context of my research which explores the promotion of tolerance and mutual respect in three schools with contrasting pupil demographics (see figure 6). This is because they highlight how, although less effective than direct interaction with diverse others, teachers can use approaches which promote increased understanding of others even when they are not present. This is likely to be relevant at least some of the time in two of the schools in my study where the religious background of the pupils is relatively homogenous.

Even when inter-group contact can be facilitated, a skilled and nuanced approach is needed. Developing the idea that face to face dialogue may not always be practically possible, Ipgrave's (2009, p. 139) research shows how primary school pupils from a multicultural area and a "more homogeneously white" area used emails to build relationships. Ipgrave (2009, p. 223) finds that engaging in dialogue with someone who has different beliefs to oneself also entails self-reflection about one's own beliefs to be able to explain ideas in ways that can be understood by someone else. This connects to the idea of edification from Jackson (2000, p. 135) (see 2.4.5.2). However, Woodward (2012, p. 139) critiques that introducing pupils from different backgrounds to each other or engaging in email exchange may be insufficient to break down stereotypes and create meaningful friendships.

This highlights that merely setting up dialogue between pupils with different beliefs may not enable the promotion of tolerance and mutual respect. For instance, Ipgrave (2009, p. 224) notes that the role of the teacher is significant in moving the email discussions beyond being just the language of friendship to dialogue, respect and co-operation.

A key feature of effective dialogue in RE classrooms is that it enables pupils to explore differences. Williams *et al.* (2019, p. 224) for example point to how Jackson (2014, cited in Williams *et al.*, 2019, p. 224) has identified a strength of RE as being the space it can provide for pupils to talk about religious differences in ways that might stray into potentially “painful and difficult territory”. One way some have suggested that RE enables this is through the creation of a safe space, a phrase Jackson (2014, p. 48) observes has become shorthand for “a desired classroom atmosphere”. It refers to pupils exploring and expressing different views, even when they may conflict with those held by others present. Drawing on a range of empirical studies in the UK and Europe, Jackson (2014, pp. 55- 56) identifies several key features of a safe space including clear ground rules for group discussion, careful consideration of the group size and make up, the teacher’s role as a moderator and the need to ensure pupils understand the principle of freedom of religious beliefs, namely someone else’s right to hold a belief you disagree with. Jackson (2014, p. 56) mentions that tolerance and respect might be useful concepts to share explicitly with pupils for responding to beliefs that are disagreed with. He differentiates between the concepts, with tolerance meaning the view is disagreed with, but someone else’s right to hold it is respected. Whereas respect denotes that the view is disagreed with, but the “positive effects it brings to personal and social life” are respected. This is interesting because whereas much of the discussion to this point has focused on the implicit promotion of tolerance and mutual respect, here Jackson identifies a potential benefit of overtly sharing the concepts with pupils.

Jackson (2014, p. 56) also acknowledges the element of “risk” in dialogue and the impossibility of guaranteeing a safe space for all pupils at all times. This impossibility has led some to disagree with the terminology of safe

space. Preferring the phrase a “classroom of disagreement” (Flensner and Von Der Lippe, 2019, p. 284) or a “community of disagreement”, Iversen (2019, p. 324) suggests this reflects an RE classroom where pupils can expect to encounter “disagreement and discomfort”. Drawing on three examples of empirical research conducted in Scandinavia, Iversen (2019, p. 321) argues that the logic of a safe space may create “the expectation that education is a place free from challenges to a student’s worldview” (Iversen, 2019, p. 323). Secondly, Iversen notes teachers may struggle to establish and maintain a safe space for every pupil in their class. Even when a teacher creates a safe space in the classroom, they do not exert control over what occurs beyond the boundaries of their classroom. Here, Iversen refers to an incident in which a teacher felt they would risk placing “both sexual and religious minorities in the classroom in a risky situation”. The teacher suggests this would have occurred if she had encouraged a student to openly express his homosexual identity in her classroom, where some students who were themselves exposed to “economic marginalisation and racism” were likely to express homophobic attitudes. In addition, Iversen’s (2019, p. 321) account draws attention to the phenomenon discussed in 2.2.2 by scholars researching the impact of Prevent on classrooms of a chilling effect (Busher, Choudhury and Thomas, 2020, p. 48; Thomas, 2020, p. 25). This refers to how people’s freedom of expression may be restricted. For example, through pupils’ self-censorship of their own comments, by teachers not challenging an idea or by not expressing an idea that might make a vulnerable group feel a particular way (Ramsay, 2017, p. 150). Overall though, Jackson (2014, p. 56) argues that in spite of the potential risks, teachers should not avoid discussing controversial issues but should use their knowledge of their students and their relationships with them to mitigate the degree of risk.

Jackson (2014, p. 56) observes that the teacher therefore plays a “crucial” role in facilitating dialogue. In particular, he suggests they should adopt an impartial but not necessarily neutral stance. Elsewhere, Jackson (1997, p. 136) comments that this refers to how they do not necessarily need to disguise their own position but should situate any comments they make

within a wider context. In a discussion, teachers may take on a number of roles, shifting from being an “impartial chairperson” to an “objective informant” by explaining alternative viewpoints and ensuring that the dialogue is not dominated by certain students or themselves (Jackson, 2014, p. 55). Schihalejev's (2009, p. 287) research about the use of dialogue in RE in Estonia provides some further insightful caveats about the nature of the teacher's involvement in the discussion. Firstly, when the teacher praises answers without further explanation this gives the impression that a correct answer has been given, which limits the development of further dialogue. Secondly, when teachers take a “strong role as a facilitator” pupils can be over reliant on the teacher's arguments. This seems to suggest that teachers should be conscious of their role in the discussion and give thought to how they present their own contributions.

In the context of English RE, Everington (2012) has also considered whether and how RE teachers should make use of their own and pupils' personal experiences. Noting an upward trend in the commonality of student teachers making use of their personal life knowledge, Everington (2012, p. 343) identified that all 14 student RE teachers in her cohort made use of personal life knowledge when teaching, believing it to be “a valuable, even necessary practice”, although there is no formal requirement to draw on it. The teachers firstly use knowledge which is factual but based on personal experiences, such as referring to their own or other people's religions, interfaith projects and the media. Secondly, they use knowledge with a “strong experiential dimension” but which also contains factual knowledge such as key life experiences like divorce or bereavement, racism or discrimination and everyday experiences such as friendship or love (Ibid., pp. 346-347). Most often teachers planned the use personal life knowledge, but it was also used spontaneously, especially as a means of aiding comprehension. The study identifies that personal experiences are used to foster a more open classroom environment and build rapport with pupils, increase engagement with a topic and in the case of two religious trainees, “personifying a bridge between the secular world of their pupils and the religions studied” (Ibid., p. 349).

The finding that some teachers use bridging strategies to connect the world of the classroom to wider experiences and contexts is further developed in Everington's (2014; 2015) papers. She examines how 5 student teachers from a range of minority religious and ethnic backgrounds make use of their personal identity in the classroom and how this varies depending on the religious identities of pupils and teacher. In white majority schools the students made use of bridging in order to help pupils to see commonalities between their own lives and those of people in religious communities. However, Everington (2014, p. 168) finds that when Muslim trainee teachers taught in Muslim majority schools, they were troubled by pupils' keenness to see them as "a Muslim like us". Whilst not rejecting pupils' own faith positions, student teachers sought to build bridges to different wider world experiences to support pupils to "create 'a new knowledge' of their Muslim identity in a multi-ethnic/religious society".

The complexity of whether and how RE teachers should use personal knowledge is examined in Donnelly's (2004a; 2004b) work specifically regarding promoting an ethos of respect and tolerance. Researching in an inclusive (mixed Protestant and Roman Catholic) Northern Irish secondary school Donnelly (2004a; 2004b) highlights the need for teachers to be critical, reflexive practitioners. She finds that an ethos of tolerance and respect is most likely to be created when teachers engage with an open discussion of challenging and divisive issues, which goes beyond a "simple exchange of opinions" (2004a, p. 265). Donnelly (2004b, p. 12) finds that most teachers shy away from and "gloss over" difficult and sensitive issues relating to the religious context of Northern Ireland in their discussions with pupils. This reflects the conversational norms of wider Northern Irish society. Even in RE, which was identified by all teachers as having a "crucial" role in promoting the school's inclusive ethos, "discussions of difference within the context of Northern Ireland are not prioritized" (Donnelly, 2004b, p. 10). Instead, the RE teacher in Donnelly's (2004b, p. 9) research saw herself as a provider of information of facts about all religions, not just Christianity. As well as a lack of open dialogue inhibiting the creation of an ethos of tolerance and respect, Donnelly suggests

teachers in this school saw themselves as tolerant and liberal, thereby “absolv[ing] themselves of having any influence on pupil behaviour” (Donnelly, 2004a, p. 275). This highlights the need for teachers to have the opportunity to critically reflect on their own beliefs and to learn about the beliefs of colleagues and pupils as part of the process of promoting tolerance and (mutual) respect (Ibid., p. 276).

#### 2.4.6 Summary of 2.4

In this section I have sought to show how, in pedagogical terms, mutual respect and tolerance might be promoted in RE. A particular focus has been to consider how three contemporary RE pedagogies: Critical RE (Wright, 2003), conceptual enquiry (Erricker, 2010) and interpretive RE (Jackson, 2004), with its links to the use of dialogue and discussion, might enable a more critical engagement with mutual respect and tolerance in RE. I began by providing an overview of pedagogy and, drawing on insights from the field of critical pedagogy, argued for a broader understanding of pedagogy which goes beyond teaching technique to comprise an awareness of the worlds and experiences of students and of the socio-cultural and political context of teachers and students, issues which were shown to be extremely significant in 2.2 regarding the origins of mutual respect and tolerance as FBV. I then explicated the theoretical background and key principles of three major pluralistic RE pedagogies as well as considering what existing empirical research suggests about their potential for promoting mutual respect and tolerance in RE. These pedagogies form an important analytical framework for the analysis and discussion in chapters four and five. Before this, I set out the methodology and methods used in my study.

## Chapter three: Methodology and methods

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents my methodology and provides detail about the methods I used to carry out and analyse my research. Whilst noting that methodology can be widely defined, Clough and Nutbrown (2012, p. 37) observe that definitions of methodology share a focus on justification. Here they refer to the importance of the researcher identifying and justifying the underlying assumptions of the research regarding how the world works and the selection of different research tools. In line with Clough and Nutbrown's thinking, in this chapter I seek to set out precisely how my research has been conducted. In order to do this, I draw on Savin-Baden and Major's (2013, p. 47) research lenses, illustrated in figure 2.

Savin-Baden and Major's (2013, p. 47) set of five lenses denote "choice moments" in which the researcher makes key decisions which "highlight different aspects of the phenomena being examined". The five lenses are: paradigm, phenomenon, research approach, data collection and data analysis. By making explicit my decisions regarding these key moments, my intention is to make it possible for the reader to understand how the researcher's worldview shaped the design of the research. Savin-Baden and Major suggest that the power of the set of lenses lies in their combination because this enables the researcher to develop a "sharper image of data" which facilitates better interpretation. My aim here is thus to show which combination of lenses I have utilised, ultimately culminating in the interpretation and analysis of my data presented in chapters four and five.

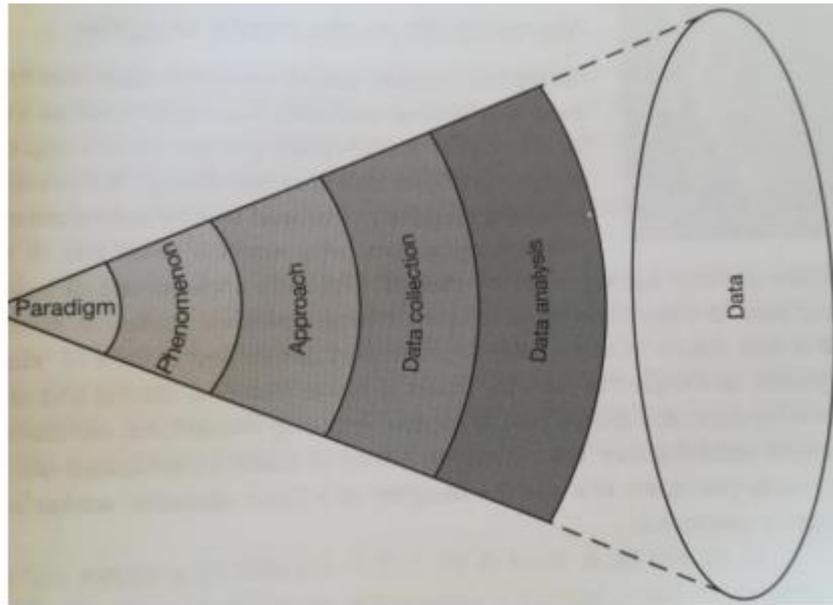


Figure 2: Diagram of research lenses from Savin-Baden and Major (2013, p. 47)

The way I have utilised the lenses illustrated in figure 2 is as follows. I start by explaining how I identify my research as falling within the interpretivist paradigm. The paradigm lens refers to what constitutes reality and how it can be known. This lens consequently has an important influence on shaping the other lenses and the entirety of the research and so is discussed first. I then turn to the lenses of phenomenon of study and research approach. The literature review (chapter two) has already made clear that most broadly speaking, tolerance and mutual respect are the key concepts or phenomena I seek to explore. Here I expand on the phenomena by identifying what constitutes the subject and object of study in my research (Thomas and Myers, 2015, p. 56). This is followed by a discussion of how I used a nested case study research approach. Next, I explain the decisions made regarding data collection, namely my use of in-depth semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis. However, as I explain in 3.6, in this thesis I favour the term data generation. Lastly, I discuss how I developed a discourse analytic perspective to analyse my data, drawing particularly on ideas from critical discursive psychology (CDP) (Wiggins, 2017; Edley, 2001).

### 3.2 Research paradigm: interpretivism

The first of Savin-Baden and Howell Major's (2013, p. 46) lenses relates to the researcher identifying the paradigm in which their research falls. I adopt Guba's (1990, p. 17) understanding that in its most generic sense a paradigm refers to "a basic set of beliefs that guides action". A researcher can choose from several paradigms, with Lincoln, Guba and Lynham (2018, p. 114) identifying five: positivism, postpositivism, critical, interpretivist/constructivist and participatory. Researchers working within the paradigms of positivism and postpositivism hold that it is possible to discover universal rules using scientific methods, falsification and the testing of hypotheses. This is because they believe that an external reality exists and researchers can gain direct access to it, with the caveat for postpositivists that reality is not fully knowable by humans (Willis, Jost and Nilakanta, 2007, p. 95). The purpose of research from a positivist stance is to identify "abstract and universal principles", which requires the researcher to be objective and neutral (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, p. 19). In contrast, research conducted within the interpretive paradigm has a different purpose because it aims to "understand[...] the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it" (Schwandt, 1994, p. 118). Drawing on the concept of *verstehen* (understanding) from sociology, interpretivist researchers argue that understanding meaning and peoples' perspectives of a set of circumstances is a valuable and legitimate purpose for research (Willis, Jost and Nilakanta, 2007, p. 100). In my research, it is my participants' constructions of tolerance and mutual respect, and their experiences of, and ideas about, promoting the concepts that are of interest. The intention of my research is not to discover definitive definitions of the terms or generalisable rules about how they may be promoted in the vein of positivism. Rather, working within an interpretivist paradigm, the intention is to focus on the particularity of the constructions of the teachers in my study.

When a researcher subscribes to the interpretivist paradigm, Bhattacharya (2008, p. 465) suggests the emphasis will be on, "sensemaking, description and detail". Smith (2008, p. 459) explains this more fully, suggesting

interpretivism refers to a theoretical perspective where the researcher is interested in “understanding (interpreting) the meanings, purposes, and intentions (interpretations) people give to their own actions and interactions with others”. In addition, research conducted within the interpretivist paradigm has a focus on “contextualised meaning” because researchers hold that “reality is socially constructed, filled with multiple meanings and interpretations” (Hurworth, 2005, p. 210). I take this to mean that, because from an interpretivist stance there is no one fixed version of reality, people in different contexts may describe and make sense of their experiences in very different ways. Relating this to my research, I am interested in the meanings which different teachers give to tolerance and mutual respect, and in how they promote them when teaching pupils aged 11-14. My research has a focus on what Willis, Jost and Nilakanta (2007, p. 99) term the “local knowledge” of how teachers of RE construct and promote tolerance and mutual respect. I seek to embrace the ideas different RE teachers have about how they construct and promote the concepts, rather than focusing on knowledge contained in government policies.

Having outlined the key features of the purpose of research within the interpretivist paradigm, I now expand on the ontological, epistemological and methodological implications of conducting research in this paradigm by drawing on the work of Corbetta (2003, p. 12) and Guba (1990, p. 18). They identify three core questions which any paradigm must address: ontology, or the question of what constitutes reality; epistemology, meaning the matter of the relationship between the knower and the knowable; and methodology, the question of how the researcher goes about finding out knowledge. In 3.3 I illustrate my position regarding these three questions to demonstrate my philosophical stance.

### 3.3 Ontology and epistemology

In this section I discuss my ontology and epistemology. Ontology refers to what the researcher holds to constitute “the very nature [...] of things in the social world” (Mason, 2018, p. 4), whilst epistemology denotes what the researcher believes represents “knowledge or evidence of things in the social world” (Ibid., p. 7). Whilst these terms refer to two separate matters,

Blaikie and Priest (2019, p. 123) argue it is more productive to think about epistemology and ontology as connected. This is because, as Hitchcock and Hughes (1995, p. 21) point out, there is an “interplay” between ontological and epistemological assumptions, which in turn have “methodological implications for the choice of particular data collection techniques”. I therefore highlight the connections between my ontological and epistemological perspectives in this section, and later draw on these in explaining my approaches to data generation (see 3.6).

Turning firstly to ontology, I reject what Savin-Baden and Howell Major (2013, p. 57) term a realist stance. This refers to the idea “an objective and knowable reality that exists independently of individual means of apprehending it”. Instead, I tend towards an idealist ontology which can be characterised as one in which the researcher holds that reality is subjective and constructed by the individual or by groups of people (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, p. 57). Blaikie and Priest (2019, p. 121) similarly identify an idealist ontological position as one where social reality is understood as being “made up of shared interpretations that social actors produce and reproduce as they go about their everyday lives”. I take this to mean that reality is not a fixed entity but changes depending on the actors involved. Significantly, Blaikie and Priest additionally observe that idealists differ in the degree to which they accept the existence of an external world. On this point, I follow Smith (2008, p. 460) who suggests interpretivist researchers are non-realists rather than anti-realists. This means that they do not deny the existence of things outside of the human mind, but rather argue that “our descriptions/interpretations of that reality are not ‘out there’ but are constructed by people and hence are not discoverable through research”. Put another way by Schwandt (2007, p. 143), an external reality may exist, but there is “no unmediated access” to it because the world is always interpreted through the mind. I note the emphasis in these discussions on the idea that reality is socially created and agree with the thinking that the social world is formed when people interact together.

Regarding the implications of this for my research, I do not believe that tolerance and mutual respect exist ‘out there’ in the world awaiting

discovery by the researcher. It is not possible to determine a definitive definition of the terms because, like the rest of the social world, they are created and recreated during social interactions. Adopting an idealist ontological stance means tolerance and mutual respect are not understood as fixed, finite concepts. Rather they may change or be renegotiated by people over time and in different contexts. Assuming this ontological stance has also influenced my choice of research approach of a nested case study to enable me to explore the perspectives of RE teachers working in different contexts (see 3.5).

Both Blaikie and Priest (2019, p. 122) and Savin-Baden and Howell Major (2013, p. 64) observe that an idealist ontological stance, as discussed in the preceding paragraphs, is often accompanied by a social constructionist epistemology, and I adopt this position. This is because, working from an ontological idealist stance, I have argued that social reality is comprised of discourses, words and communications (Mason, 2018, p. 5). Blaikie and Priest (2019, p. 122) propose that access to that social world must then “be through the language of the participants”. Before further expanding on the social constructionist epistemology of my research, it is necessary to distinguish my use of the term social constructionism from the term constructivism. Some scholars such as Bryman (2016, p. 29) note that the terms constructionism and constructivism are used interchangeably, whilst others use constructivism synonymously with interpretivism (Lincoln, Guba and Lynham, 2018, p. 114). In my thesis, drawing on the writing of Gergen (2009) and Burr (2003) and employing the analysis by Savin-Baden and Major (2013, p. 29), it is the philosophy of social constructionism which I subscribe to. This holds that people “construct social meaning, and their own shared realities, through interacting with each other” (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, p. 29). This use of the term social constructionism within the social sciences originates in Berger and Luckmann’s (1967) book. My use of the term social constructionism is therefore distinguished from the term constructivism, which I understand as referring to a theory developed by Piaget (1964) about how learners construct knowledge (Burr, 2006, p. 1). I also note a further distinction between the subsequent development of

constructivism by Piaget's student Papert into another educational theory entitled constructionism and the philosophy of social constructionism; it is the latter understanding which I employ here (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, p. 30).

In the preceding paragraph I established that a social constructionist epistemology holds that meaning is constructed through language and in interactions between people (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, p. 29). Slater (2017, p. 1624) summarises this in saying that a social constructionist researcher holds that "communities bring knowledge into existence", particularly through language. This means that knowledge is not fixed but is "a continual, dynamic force", as well as culturally and historically situated. Language thus has a significant role for the social constructionist researcher (Burr, 2003, p. 4). In the context of my research, this means mutual respect and tolerance are understood as being created when people interact and speak together; they are knowable through language. In addition, Burr (2003, p. 3) suggests that when we recognise that the categories which we have assigned to the world are constructed by humans, it enables us to become critical about how the world seems to be. The significance of language in my social constructionist epistemology warrants further explanation.

For the social constructionist, language is more than just a "way of describing things" (Burr, 2033, p. 14). By this I mean that I do not adopt a picture theory of language, in which it is held that "truth exists when our language accurately *depicts* the world" (Gergen, 2009, p. 6, original emphasis). Gergen identifies the work of Ludwig Wittgenstein (1958), a twentieth century philosopher, as key in challenging a picture theory of language. Wittgenstein (1958, p. 8) argued the meanings of words depends on the context in which they are used; in other words, the language game we are playing. Within different language games, there are only a limited number of responses which may be used in response to a question, depending on the rules of the particular game (Gergen, 2009, p. 8). Wittgenstein (1958, p. 15) draws on the analogy of a game of chess to illustrate this. In the context of chess, the pieces take on certain meanings

and can move in particular ways. The rules of the game dictate that players take turns and are permitted to move pieces in a set number of ways on a board of a particular design, although it would be physically possible to move them in a much wider range of ways. It is only within the language game of chess that these meanings are known and make sense. This in turn depends upon the person already being familiar with the wider language game of board games. Wittgenstein does not suggest here that our language is a game. Rather, languages are "forms of life", which I understand as emphasising that language becomes meaningful from how it is used in relationship to other language, objects and actions.

Gergen (2009, p. 9) argues that rejecting a picture theory of language has the advantage of meaning there is "no privileged relationship between world and word". I take this to mean that objects in the world have the labels and significance we ascribe to them through language, rather than an objective significance which is then described through language. The meaning of something can therefore change. In the example of chess above it would be possible to redefine how the pieces move; there is nothing intrinsically within the pieces which determines this. Burr (2003, p. 5) observes that one implication of this is that different constructions of concepts invite different actions from people. In my research this means that different constructions of mutual respect and tolerance may either permit or constrain people's actions. Following this social constructionist thinking enables me to be attuned to how different constructions of mutual respect and tolerance might also reflect different ideas about the promotion of the values. Finally, it is important to note that adopting the social constructionist view of language as discussed here means that language is not just a "window" into what someone thinks or feels (Burr, 2003, p. 48). When interviewing my participants my aim was thus not to 'access' their internal understanding of tolerance and mutual respect as if they are immutable concepts. Instead, I understood the interview as a social interaction, in which participant and researcher are actively constructing and reconstructing tolerance and mutual respect, I expand on this further in 3.7.2.

In summary, my research falls within the interpretivist paradigm because it explores individual teachers' constructions of tolerance and mutual respect. As an interpretivist researcher I seek to pay particular attention to the meanings which individuals construct. My ontological stance tends towards idealism because I believe the external world is always interpreted through the mind (Schwandt, 2007, p. 143). This means I hold that tolerance and mutual respect do not exist 'out there' in the world for the researcher to discover. My idealist ontological stance is closely connected to a social constructionist epistemological position (Blaikie and Priest, 2019, p. 122) because I think that access to the social world is through language and words. As such, I hold that knowledge is not fixed but continually brought into existence through interactions between people. In my research this means language is extremely significant because tolerance and mutual respect are brought into existence and are knowable through the words of my participants. I now turn to examine the third aspect of my use of the interpretivist paradigm, that of methodology.

#### 3.4 Methodology and researcher positionality

The third question Guba (1990, p. 17) suggests a paradigm must address is a methodological one of "how should the inquirer go about finding out knowledge?". In addressing this I wish to stress that my methodological approach is based on the co-creation of knowledge with my participants and so here I also consider my own positionality. Writing in the context of how to conduct interviews, Brinkmann and Kvale (2018, p. 20) provide a metaphor of the researcher as either a miner or as a traveller. As I explain in 3.6, the main method of data generation in my research was semi-structured interviews with RE teachers. Accordingly, I draw on this metaphor here to expand on the question of how I seek to find out knowledge in my research.

I identify myself more closely with the position of what Brinkmann and Kvale (2018, p. 20) term a traveller. As a traveller, the researcher adopts the "Latin meaning of conversation as 'wandering together with'" and encourages people they meet to tell their stories. This contrasts with a miner position, where the researcher unearths pre-existing nuggets of

knowledge. A similar helpful alternative articulation of this position is of the researcher as a “meaning-maker” (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, p. 63), which I understand as referring to when the researcher constructs meaning, as opposed to finding it.

For a traveller-researcher, the processes of interviewing and analysis are seen as connected “phases of knowledge construction” (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2018, p. 20) rather than separate stages in the research process. This coheres with my social constructionist epistemological stance (see 3.3). As I hold that tolerance and mutual respect are created during social interactions, including interviews, this means I see myself as having a role in the process of data generation. I understand participants and researchers to be “co-constructors of knowledge” (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, p. 63). Owing to my social constructionist epistemology, I am not a receptor of knowledge from my participants, unearthing the meaning of tolerance and mutual respect in the manner of a miner. Instead, I see interviews themselves as instances of knowledge production.

Being a traveller and meaning-maker (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, p. 63; Brinkmann and Kvale, 2018, p. 20) has methodological implications for my research. As a co-constructor of knowledge with my participants, it has been important to engage with a high level of reflexivity regarding my own positionality. This point is emphasised by Lincoln and Denzin (2018, p. 12) in their discussion of the qualitative researcher as bricoleur. Being an interpretive researcher as bricoleur denotes the idea of a researcher who adaptively responds to a complex situation and pieces together an emerging and changeable representation of that situation as the project evolves. Lincoln and Denzin additionally identify that the qualitative researcher as bricoleur must recognise that “research is an interactive process shaped by his or her personal history” and characteristics. Accordingly, I wish to acknowledge the influence of my own background and experiences on shaping the research design and conduct.

Prior to starting my doctoral research, I worked as a full time secondary RE teacher. My own teaching experiences led to curiosity about my research topic which Mason (2018, p. 12) identifies as an important aspect of an

intellectual puzzle (see 1.1). To develop my awareness of how critical incidents (Tripp, 2012, p. 24) from teaching informed my interest in my research topic, I engaged in a journaling activity to identify and reflect on key moments. To relate one example: whilst teaching a lesson on the history of Shi'ah Islam to a year 9 (pupils aged 13-14) class of predominantly Sunni Muslims, I heard the comment 'Shi'ahs just whip themselves'. The intolerance of intra-religious beliefs was striking to me, and I was not certain how to respond, beyond drawing on facts about Sunni and Shi'ah Islam. Working with me in this lesson was a teaching assistant. They chose this moment to reveal, quietly, to the pupil that they were a Shi'ah Muslim. The spontaneity of the ensuing dialogue between them and the use of personal story and experience to challenge what could be described as intolerance intrigued me. After speaking with the teaching assistant, I decided it might be helpful to build short learning moments into subsequent lessons, using a combination of factual knowledge and stories of real Muslims to challenge pupils' misconceptions. It would be difficult for me to quantify the influence which this had on promoting tolerance and mutual respect. However, I was intrigued about whether and how other practitioners might seek to promote tolerance in similar circumstances and so the idea of qualitatively exploring other people's practice had my attention.

As a result of my professional background and because I continued to undertake some part time RE teaching whilst undertaking my doctoral research, I consider that I undertook my research with a strong degree of insider knowledge. This is because, as Hellowell (2006, p. 484) observes, insider research does not only refer to instances where the researcher is a member of the community that is being researched. Whilst Mercer (2007, p. 3) identifies that in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, white anthropologists researching 'natives' abroad found it straightforward to distinguish between researcher and researched, in more recent research the status of the researcher is arguably less clear cut. As a response, some like Merton (1972, p. 11) have distinguished between insider and outsider researchers. In Merton's case the distinction is made in terms of the type of knowledge someone has

access to, with insider researchers having “privileged access” to a particular community. Other scholars favour the idea of a continuum of insider to outsider status, where researchers move back and forwards between these two positions. One may even be both insider and outsider simultaneously (Labaree, 2002, p. 117). For instance, I might be an insider researcher in sharing the same gender as some of my participants, whilst simultaneously being an outsider because I am a different age to them (Hellawell, 2006, p. 490).

Reflecting on the ideas above, I identify myself as an outsider researcher in that I do not currently work in any of the RE departments in my study and I do not live in any of the locations of my participating schools. However, I consider myself to be an insider researcher in that I have my identity as an RE teacher in common with my participants. As an RE teacher, I have my own experiences of teaching KS3 RE and working in different schools. My insider knowledge as an RE teacher was significant in terms of gaining access to schools and teachers, and in building rapport with teachers. This was perhaps particularly significant due to the challenges of gaining access to schools during 2021-22 because of the Covid-19 pandemic (see 3.6). For example, when contacting schools, I was aware of busy times to avoid in the school year and knew to communicate that I have a valid Disclosure and Barring Service certificate for complying with safeguarding policies. I had also previously worked in one of my participating schools and so was known to the Head of Department. In this instance, I also informed participants of my prior role (see 3.8). In all cases, I disclosed to participants that I was also an RE teacher because I felt this was honest (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, p. 335), and that it might help to cultivate participants’ perception of me as a traveller, meaning an interested external party who was keen to hear about their experiences. At all times, I made clear to participants that it was their experiences and ideas, rather than my own, that I was interested in.

### 3.5 Research approach and phenomenon

In this section I explore the “choice moment” of my research approach (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, p. 46). Closely related to this is my

identification of my research phenomenon in 3.5.1. My study uses a research approach of a nested case study of three RE departments to explore the mechanical puzzle (Mason, 2018, p. 12) of how teachers of RE construct and promote tolerance and mutual respect. Here I start by explaining my understanding of a case study and then illustrate the development of my nested case study approach.

I subscribe to Creswell (2018, p. 96) who suggests that case study is a qualitative research approach where the researcher “explores a real-life, contemporary bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information [...] and reports a case description and case themes”. My research is a case study because I explore how tolerance and mutual respect are promoted in the real-life settings of three RE departments in three different secondary schools. To do so, I draw on data from detailed interviews and documents (see 3.7). It is also important to note that using a case study as the research approach coheres with my interpretivist paradigm because, as Cohen, Manon and Morrison (2018, p. 377) identify, case study rejects the existence of a single reality in favour of an understanding that there are many and varied versions of reality; the researcher’s interpretation of the circumstances is one possibility among many.

Adopting Creswell’s (2018, p. 96) understanding of case study as a research approach, here I explain why I used it by setting out the key decisions made in relation to a typology of case study design from Thomas and Myers (2015, p. 64). They identify four key areas to be considered when designing a case study: the subject and object of study; the purpose of the case study; the theoretical approach of the study; whether a single or multiple design will be employed, and what processes will be followed for making comparisons. This is summarised in figure 3. The first consideration is what the case study is of (Thomas and Myers, 2015, p. 56), which also comprises the research phenomenon (Savin-Baden, 2013, p. 46) because it relates to identifying who or what is important to the study. I begin by considering the phenomenon of study below. Whilst on paper the typology is illustrated as a

linear process, Thomas and Myers (2015, p. 64) point out that many decisions in case study design happen simultaneously. Therefore, within my discussion of the subject and object of study, I also identify the theoretical approach within my case study (Thomas and Myers, 2015, p. 56). After this I explain why I adopted a nested case study approach. Finally, I demonstrate how my three nested case studies fulfil Creswell's (2018, p. 96) above criteria by showing how I have defined and bounded the cases and how they facilitate an in-depth study of the object of the study.

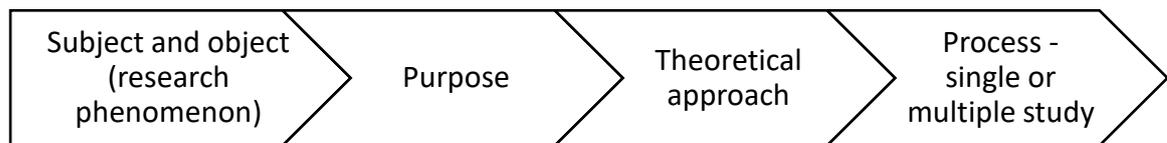


Figure 3: A typology of case study design, adapted from Thomas and Myers (2015, p. 64)

### 3.5.1 Subject and object of the case study (research phenomenon)

In identifying the research phenomenon (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, p. 46), I follow Thomas and Myers (2015, p. 56) proposal that the researcher should identify two separate features of their case study, which they entitle the subject and object. Thomas and Myers (2015, p. 56, original emphasis) suggest that the subject of a case study should be selected because "it is an interesting or unusual or revealing example through which the lineaments of the *object* can be refracted". They further note that the subject may be more readily identifiable at the outset of the research. Indeed, from early on in my research it was clear to me that the subject of the case study was three RE departments. The object of study, however, is more elusive and Thomas and Myers (2015, p. 57) observe this may materialise or evolve during the study. Ragin (1992, p. 6) goes further and argues that being too confident about the object of the case study early on may be unhelpful. He suggests that instead, the matter of what the case is of should "coalesce gradually" with this only becoming clear once the research process is complete. Until then, the researcher should repeatedly query what their

case study is of. I subscribe to this thinking because the matter of precisely what my case study is of developed over time.

At the outset I thought of the object of study as being solely the concepts of tolerance and mutual respect. During the pilot study carried out in January 2020 (see 3.7.1), this expanded to be the views of RE teachers and their pupils about the promotion of the two concepts. However, as the study progressed and my own stance as a researcher in the interpretivist and social constructionist traditions became more clearly articulated I began to understand teachers' constructions of tolerance and mutual respect as also connected to how they promote the values. The object thus became more particularly identifiable as how teachers of RE construct and promote tolerance and mutual respect when teaching pupils aged 11-14.

### 3.5.2 Purpose and theoretical approach of the case study

Thomas and Myers (2015, p. 59) observe that the purpose of a case study is "intimately connected with the object of study". A range of purposes for a case study are identified by different writers. Stake (1995, p. 3; 2006, p. 8) for example observes that the purpose may be to investigate a particular case itself, which he terms an intrinsic case study. Alternatively, the objective may be to gain understanding of a phenomenon through studying a case or cases. This is labelled an instrumental case study by Stake (1995, p. 3). When a multiple case study is used because the researcher is focused on understanding a particular phenomenon, the case study is likely to be instrumental (Stake, 2006, p. 8). This is true of my research, where I identify the purpose of the research as stemming from my intellectual mechanical puzzle (Mason, 2018, p. 12) (see also 1.5). The object of study is how teachers of RE construct and promote tolerance and the three cases are used to gain insight into this.

I now turn to consider the theoretical implications of my instrumental case study. Working in the interpretive paradigm, the purpose of my research is to explore, from the perspectives of my participants, how tolerance and mutual respect are constructed and promoted (Gray, 2018, p. 265). The inductive nature of my case study thus aligns with the writing of Simons (2009, p. 33) and Merriam and Tisdell (2016, p. 37) rather than Yin (2018,

p. 49), who works from a more deductive stance and suggests that the researcher must develop a theoretical position before the study is carried out. This is because I follow Thomas and Myers (2015, p. 57) in their disagreement with Yin's (2018, p. 55) suggestion that cases are selected for inclusion in the study on the basis of their typicality; what it means to be typical is not a fixed construct. For my study, this means I do not consider the RE departments to be representative or typical; generalised propositions about how tolerance and mutual respect can be promoted cannot be identified. However, as a teacher myself, it is important to me that the opportunity exists for other teachers to utilise findings from the study (Bassey, 2001, p. 5). To this end I subscribe to the thinking of Flyvbjerg (2010, p. 227) that formal generalisation, which I understand as generalisations arising from a representative sample, is not the only means of extending knowledge. As an alternative, I adopt Stake's (1978, p. 6) proposal of a naturalistic generalisation as the theoretical aim of my research.

In reaction to the critique that case studies are not suitable for generalising from, Stake (1978, pp. 5-6) proposes the concept of naturalistic generalisation. Such generalisations result from experience and "the tacit knowledge of how things are, why they are, how people feel about them, and how these things are likely to be later or in other places with which this person is familiar". I understand Stake as suggesting that we can develop knowledge of things through engagement with the world and reflection on how an experience in one place might transfer to another context. Melrose (2010, p. 600) highlights how this entails a shift in emphasis from the researcher prescribing conclusions to "readers [...gauging] how and in what ways the particular details and stories presented in case studies may be applicable to their own situations". This means that the purpose of the case study is not to build a theory but "[l]earning comes from the intrinsic study of the case" (Emmel, 2013, p. 107). Thomas and Myers (2015, p. 39) propose a similar idea entitled "exemplary knowledge". Here exemplary does not refer to the typicality of the instance, but to "an example *viewed*

*and heard* in the context of another's experience [...] but *used* in the context of one's own" (Thomas and Myers, 2015, p. 39, original emphasis).

Regarding the above, it is my intention that presenting my study in sufficient detail will enable readers to identify how elements of the findings resonate with them. They may be able to identify how the findings and recommendations could be useful in their own context (see 6.4). The concepts of transferability and fittingness from Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 124) are poignant here. They explain that in order to know how transferable the findings may be, the reader must be able to determine how similar the two contexts are, which they term fittingness. This requires that the study make use of "thick description" (Geertz, 1973, pp. 6-7) which Dawson (2010, p. 942) suggests means providing rich details about the complexity of the context and circumstances, illuminating the particularities of the cases studied. This may aid the reader in understanding the findings and their relevance to other contexts (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 124). To try and increase the possibility of my readers making naturalistic generalisations, I have sought to make transparent the stages of my research design and conduct, and the process of recruiting and gaining access to RE departments. In the findings chapter (4.2), I have also begun by providing a detailed vignette of each department which provides specifics about the context of each case.

### 3.5.3 Process: developing a nested case study approach

In 3.5.2 I identified how I have used a multiple case study approach to study the phenomena of mutual respect and tolerance (Stake, 2006, p. 8). I now expand on this by illustrating the development of my specific approach of a nested case study and influence of insights from my pilot study. A single case study focuses on one issue, and the researcher identifies one case as a means of better understanding it (Creswell, 2018, p. 98). In contrast, a multiple case study still focuses on one issue, but this time multiple cases are selected to illustrate it. Here I do not subscribe to Yin's (2018, p. 47) approach of selecting multiple cases under the principle of replication but adopt Creswell's (2018, p. 99) and Thomas and Myers

(2015, p. 62). proposal that studying multiple cases allows the researcher to explore different perspectives of the issue.

When I conducted my pilot study over a two-week period in January 2020, I used a single case study of one RE department because I anticipated replicating the approach as a multiple case study in the main study. The data collected in the pilot comprised: two semi-structured interviews with three RE teachers: Dan, Fiona and Helen, who was also the Head of Department; 12 lesson observations of these teachers and three focus groups with pupils aged 11-15; and the collection of 112 documents. I return to how the pilot influenced the choice of data generation tools in 3.7. The analysis of the pilot study revealed that the three RE teachers used a variety of constructions of tolerance and mutual respect and employed a range of approaches to promote them. This was despite the teachers working in the same RE department and following the same curriculum. This was a critical finding for me. Whilst I had always intended to conduct a multiple case study of three RE departments, I had not considered carefully enough how to pay close attention to the units of analysis (the teachers) within the case (the RE department).

Patton (2015, p. 384) suggests that when more than one “unit of analysis is included in fieldwork, case studies may be layered and nested” in the primary case. In my research the primary cases or nests are three RE departments, within which are two to four RE teachers, who form individual units in themselves. A nested case study approach has been chosen because I aim to make comparisons “*within* the principal unit of analysis” (Thomas, 2021, p. 192), meaning within each of my three RE departments. A nested approach facilitates a comparison at the micro level between the different constructions and promotion of tolerance and mutual respect of teachers working in the same RE department. It thus arguably encapsulates some of the complexity I found in my pilot study. Thomas and Myers (2015, p. 63) consider the distinctive element of the nested case study to be “that it gains its integrity, its wholeness, from the wider case”. This makes a nested case study approach suitable for my research because my analysis does not terminate at comparing individual teachers’ constructions. In my

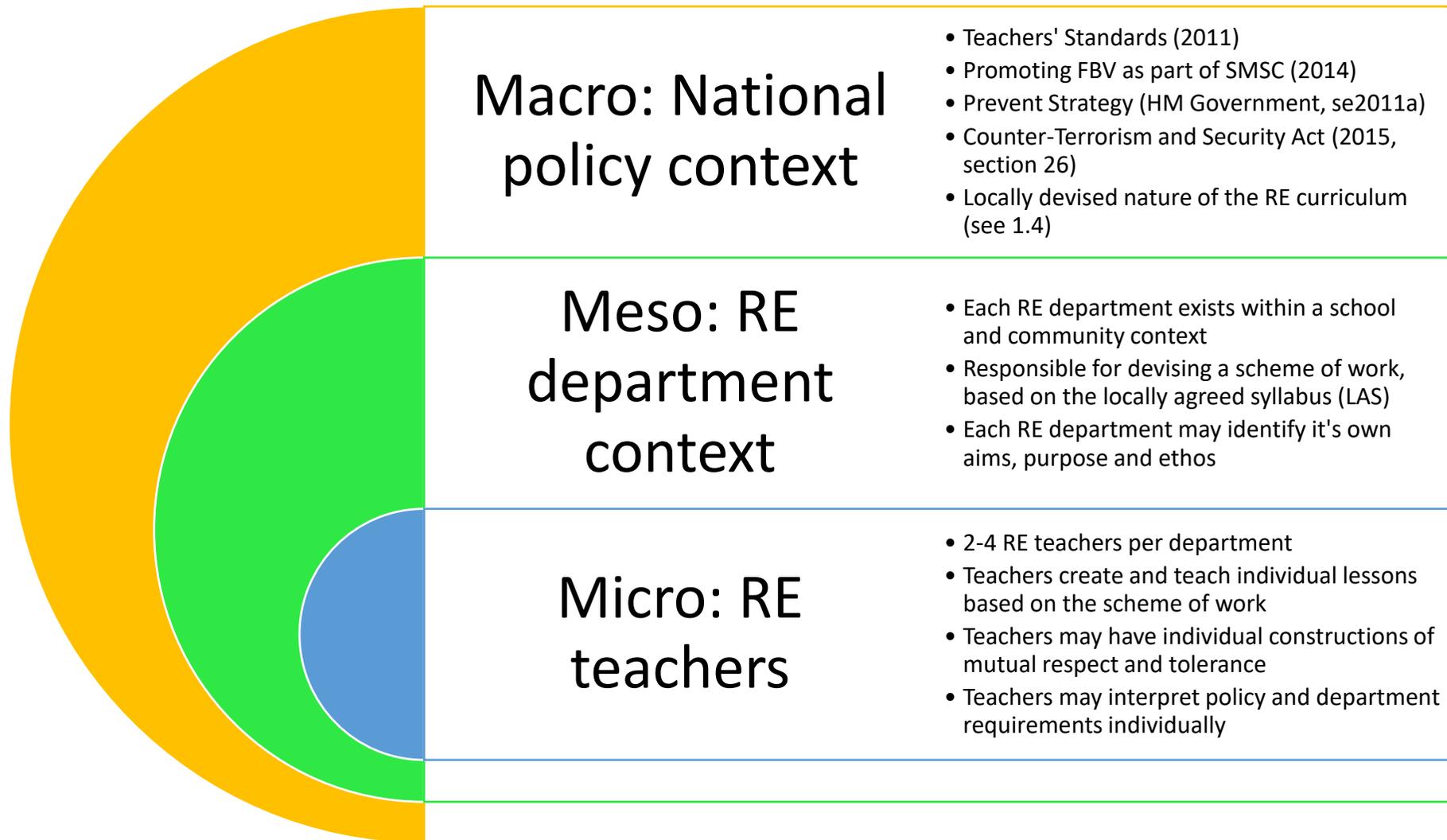
research the RE teachers are considered an “integral part of the broader picture” of the department (Ibid.). The wholeness of the department can be seen in that all teachers must teach their school’s KS3 RE curriculum, which I have studied through examining each department’s scheme of work. It is my intention that a comparison at the meso level, between RE departments in different schools, will contribute to an improved understanding of the object of study: the construction and promotion of tolerance and mutual respect when teaching KS3 RE. Whilst alert to the possibility of becoming overly focused on the analysis between teachers at the expense of the analysis between nested cases, I have guarded against this. I have done so by starting the findings chapter (4.2) with a vignette of each case study department. Additionally, I have consistently identified each teacher with the initials of their school (for example, Anna NH to denote Newton High). These measures help to ensure the teachers’ words are seen in the context of the RE department.

I also selected a nested case study design because of the strength identified by Chong and Graham (2013, p. 24) that “a scaled approach that travels through macro, meso and micro levels to build nested case-studies allows more comprehensive analysis of both external/global and internal/local factors that shape policy-making and education systems”. This is significant in my research because the participating teachers do not exist in isolation from other factors and contexts. For example, their constructions of tolerance and mutual respect and their teaching practices may be shaped by national policies, school level policies, or wider discourses about tolerance and mutual respect. To develop the level of comprehensive analysis suggested by Chong and Graham, it is necessary to take account of these different factors. To do so, I have sought to identify what comprises the macro, meso and micro level contexts in my study. This is illustrated in figure 4. There is a significant policy backdrop to my research, and I identify three key policies as forming the macro context of my study, these have been examined in the introduction and literature review (chapters one and two). The meso level of my research comprises the school and departmental context. Within a secondary school there are multiple subject

and pastoral departments; the RE departments are a subject department. The micro level of my research is the teachers who make up each department, typically between two and four people.

Determining the boundaries of the case study is one of the challenges of using the approach noted by Denscombe (2017, p. 64). This point is echoed by Merriam and Tisdell (2016, p. 38), who argue that binding the unit of analysis is critical to establishing a case study. However, Tight (2017, p. 153) observes a paucity of guidance about how to bind the case study. This is perhaps because the researcher must place some parameters on what is studied as they cannot include everything in their research. To identify the boundaries of my case study I draw on firstly on the critical point made by Merriam and Tisdell (2016, p. 39) that unless the case is "intrinsically bounded" then the research does not constitute a case study. The RE departments are intrinsically bound as cases because they existed prior to my involvement with them as a researcher, and are comprised of a specific number of teachers, who can be identified by features such as their job title. Secondly, I use Baxter and Jack's (2015, p. 546) observation that a case study might be bound by features such as time, location, activity or context. The departments exist within three different specific geographic contexts, and they are bound by a time focus during the academic year 2020-21. I now turn to address the choice moments (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, p. 46) in terms of data generation in my research, starting with matters of sampling (3.6) and then looking at data generation tools (3.7).

Figure 4: Diagram to illustrate the macro, meso and micro contexts in my study



### 3.6 Data generation: issues of access and sampling

In 3.6 I explain the steps involved in gaining access to schools and teachers which comprised the first stage in relation to Savin-Baden and Major's (2013, p. 46) lens of data collection. As mentioned in 3.1 I favour the term 'data generation' over data collection because of the interpretivist social constructionist paradigm adopted in my work (Byrne, 2018, p. 220). I see participants and researcher as "co-constructors of knowledge" (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, p. 63), meaning research data is generated in and through social interactions, in common with all other knowledge; data does not exist in the world waiting for the researcher to collect it.

Figure 5 shows the stages involved in gaining access to schools and teachers and I discuss each step in detail. My research used purposive sampling at two stages of the research design (Bryman, 2016, p. 408). Firstly, to identify three RE departments in different schools, or the cases, and secondly to identify teachers within those RE departments who would be suitable and willing to participate in the research. As explained in 3.5.2, there is no intention to generalise from the findings of my research and so a form of non-probability sampling was suitable for this small-scale project (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2018, p. 217).

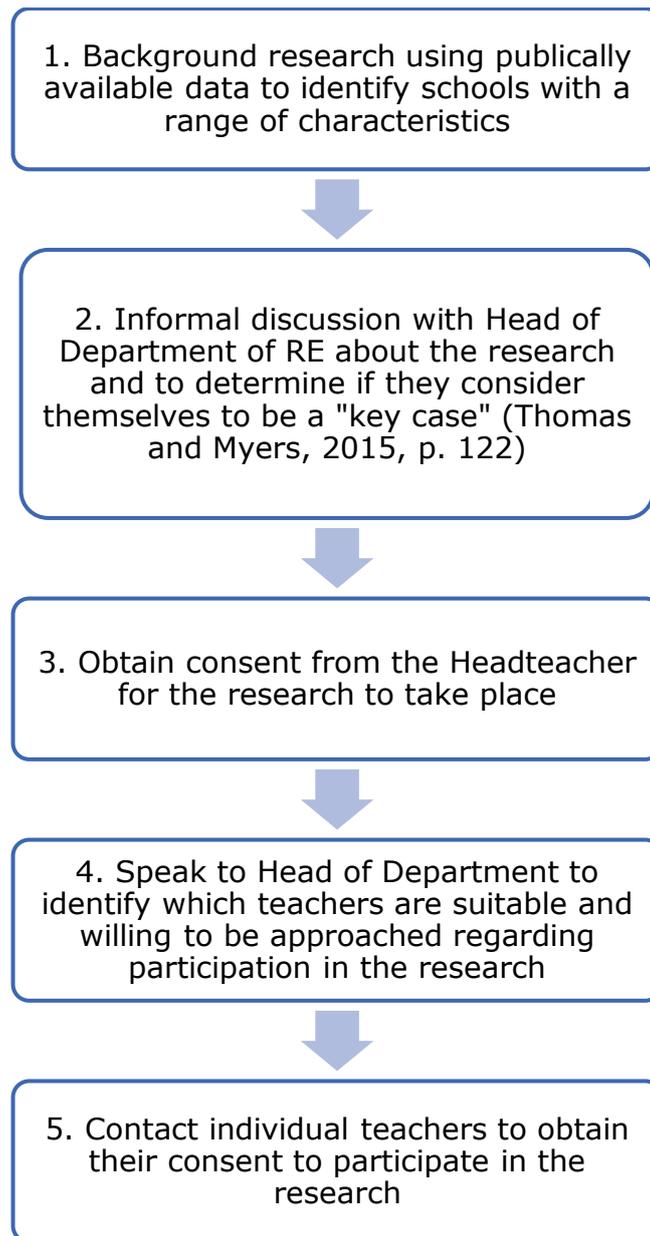


Figure 5: Stages in gaining access to schools and teachers

Two factors were considered in selecting the departments to be part of the research: the context of the school and whether the RE department itself was a “key case” (Thomas and Myers, 2015, p. 122) meaning it provided a “good example of something in which the researcher is interested”. As a researcher in the interpretivist paradigm, I am interested in the complexity of the world and the diverse constructions people may have of tolerance and mutual respect. Accordingly, I set out with the idea of utilising maximum variation sampling to include the complexity of the world in the

research by purposefully selecting cases which differ from each other on a given characteristic (Creswell, 2019, p. 208). To do this, in stage 1 I consulted publicly available information about school type (for example academy or community) and the percentage of pupils entitled to free school meals to identify RE departments in a range of school contexts. This led to the identification of 21 schools which were also practically possible for me to visit. It is important to note this stage took place prior to the Covid-19 pandemic (see 2.3.4) when I had intended the main study to involve physically visiting the department and observing lessons, a topic I return to in 3.7.

To determine whether the department might be a key case, stage 2 entailed contacting the Head of the RE Department. I requested an informal discussion to scope out their interest in participation. Eight positive replies were obtained, and I visited these Heads of Department to explain my research and establish whether they thought they might be a good exemplar of promoting tolerance and mutual respect. This mirrored Lundie and Conroy (2015, p. 279) who asked RE departments to self-select for participation in their research based on being "exemplars of good practice in RE". In the case of one school, I additionally drew on my insider knowledge of the school and its context because I had worked there some years ago and was therefore also still known to the Head of Department.

The final decision about which departments to include was informed by a combination of maximum variation sampling, to involve departments in a range of school contexts, and limitations to access imposed by the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic. 7 of the 8 RE departments approached were interested in participating and, as far as ascertainable prior to carrying out the research, appeared to be key cases; one of these schools was used for the pilot study in January 2020. The Covid-19 pandemic however led to unprecedented pressures on schools and teachers. In order not to further burden teachers, I subsequently sought to work only with departments who still felt able to accommodate my research. As it quickly became apparent that the pandemic would likely affect the types of data generation which could be used, between March and September 2020, I also attempted to

scope out some further departments. However, except in one case, these attempts were unsuccessful. I believe this was because of the additional pressures on schools at this time.

Through repeatedly reflecting on Stake's (2006, p. 23) three criteria of the relevancy of the case to the phenomenon of study, the need for "diversity across contexts" and the chance the case provides to learn about "complexity and contexts", I identified three contrasting RE departments who were willing and able to participate during 2021; these form my three cases. I believe studying these three departments has enabled me to obtain an insight into departments working in a suitably contrasting range of contexts in spite of the practical limitations on data generation during the academic year 2020-21. Figure 6 outlines the key characteristics of the participating schools, using data from 2020-21, whilst not giving precise figures to ensure their anonymity.

School name (pseudonym) and geographic area	School type	Number of pupils	% pupils entitled to free school meals in the last 6 years (rounded to nearest whole %) National average = 27.7%	% pupils who speak English as an additional language (rounded to nearest whole %) National average = 16.9%	Overview of pupil demographic (religious beliefs)
Barehill Church of England School (London)	Voluntary controlled (Church of England)	1000-1250	40%	>50%	Mixed, approximately 50% Christian, 35% Muslim, 15% other faiths/non-religious
Newton High (North West England)	Academy convertor	1000-1250	10%	<1%	Predominantly non-religious
Westridge School (West Midlands)	Community	1000-1250	70%	>80%	Predominantly Muslim
Littlewood School (pilot) (North West England)	Community	900-1000	20%	<2%	Predominantly non-religious, some Christian

Figure 6: Diagram to provide key contextual information on the participating schools (pseudonyms)

The Head of the RE Department in each school was a major gate keeper. This was because they were in a position to persuade other people to be involved in the research (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 132). My insider knowledge of the structure of secondary schools enabled me to identify that the Head of Department would be a critical person because without their consent and enthusiasm for participating in my research, neither Headteachers nor other RE teachers would be likely to agree. This was why I started the process of gaining access by speaking informally to each Head of Department. Having scoped out the Head of Department's interest, in stage 3 I approached their Headteacher, and sought their consent to carry out the research. After the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic, the Head of Department additionally played a key role in remotely connecting me to other teachers in the department as I could not build a rapport with them through visiting the school as I had originally planned. Throughout 2020-21 I engaged in a process of continual negotiation of access with Heads of Department and Headteachers, resulting in July 2021 being identified as the most convenient time for data generation activities to occur.

Stages 4 and 5 related to determining which RE teachers to invite to participate in my study. This entailed a second stage of sampling as I mentioned in the introduction to 3.6 (Bryman, 2016, p. 408). To select the teacher participants, I used "criterion sampling", meaning teachers were selected based on whether they met a set of inclusion and exclusion criteria, see figure 7 (Daniel, 2012, p. 88). As my research focuses on KS3, it was vital participating teachers were currently teaching this age group. In addition, because I wanted to know about their experiences of teaching the KS3 curriculum, and not just one-off lessons, I decided it would not be suitable to include trainee teachers who were working at Westridge and Barehill. The exclusion criteria were particularly significant at Westridge because this school used several teachers, including English and Maths specialists to cover RE lessons; these teachers were not included in my sample. Participants were not recruited based on their religion or ethnicity but on the criteria of their being KS3 RE teachers in the purposefully sampled schools. Therefore this information was not explicitly collected from participants. However, religious and ethnic identity did emerge as significant

for some participants who chose to share these during the interview; I discuss some instances of this in chapters four and five.

Figure 7 – Criteria used to determine which teachers were invited to participate

<b>Inclusion criteria</b>	<b>Exclusion criteria</b>
Specialist RE teacher, either through training or experience	Not a specialist teacher of RE
Completed their teacher training	Not a trainee teacher
Teaching KS3 RE in academic year 2020-21	Not teaching KS3 RE

In total, I had seven teacher participants. Overall, this approach to sampling led to a good representation of teachers with a range of characteristics and experiences. For example, teachers ranged from having 2 to 16 years' experience. More female than male teachers participated, however this is representative of the fact that there are more female than male teachers in general (HM Government, 2021). They all had in common that they were teachers of KS3 RE, which was vital for comparing teachers' perspectives in my nested case study approach.

### 3.7 Data generation tools

#### 3.7.1 Pilot of data generation tools

In this section I explain my key choices (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, p. 46) regarding the data generation approaches used and note their limitations. Figure 8 provides an overview of the data generated in each of my case study schools. Two events influenced the decisions about which tools would be used in the main study: a pilot study conducted in January 2020 and the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic in March 2020. Throughout the subsequent discussion I point out how these events shaped my data generation.

The pilot study was conducted over a two-week period in January 2020 at Littlewood school (pseudonym) and was beneficial because it afforded an opportunity to trial a range of data generation tools. As mentioned in 3.5.2, the pilot generated a lot of data, leading to a decision to refine the object of study (Thomas and Myers, 2015, p. 56) to focus on the experiences of RE

teachers (see 3.5.1). Owing to this sharper focus on RE teachers, I considered adapting my use of a focus group with pupils to enrich my understanding of each case study school. However, the Covid-19 pandemic led to restrictions regarding viable and ethical data generation.

The Covid-19 pandemic meant in person visits to schools were largely prohibited during the academic year 2020-21 when data generation took place. My data generation tools thus needed to be ones which could be used remotely if necessary. This meant my original intention to use lesson observations was not viable. I also enquired of Heads of Department whether an online focus group with pupils might be possible, however they felt organising this would be challenging due to their increased workload caused by the pandemic and ongoing upheaval regarding pupils' learning. I decided that pursuing focus groups with pupils would therefore be inappropriate. As a result, in-depth semi-structured interviews with teachers and documentary analysis were used. The scoping preliminary visits (see 3.6) I had made to schools thus arguably became more significant because further in-person visits to some schools were not possible. These visits contributed to my broader understanding of the contexts of participating departments and helped me to avoid seeing participants as detached from their school context. I now turn to explore the tools of semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis in detail, drawing on insights from my pilot study.

Figure 8: An overview of the data generated

<b>School</b>	<b>When data generated</b>	<b>Teacher participants</b>	<b>Online or in-person?</b>	<b>Documents collected</b>	<b>Lesson observations</b>
Barehill Church of England School	July 2021	Emily – Head of Department (6 years’ experience)  Amara (10 years’ experience)  Yasmin (4 years’ experience)	In-person	KS3 SoW	None
Newton High	July 2021	Anna – Head of Department (15+ years’ experience)	In-person	KS3 SoW	None
Westridge School	July and August 2021	Rahim - 2 <sup>nd</sup> in department – in charge of KS3 (10+ years’ experience)  Fahima (2 years’ experience)  Sadia (2 years’ experience)	Online – via Microsoft Teams	KS3 SoW	None
Littlewood School (pilot school)	January 2020	Helen – Head of Department (19 years’ experience)  Dan (11 years’ experience)  Fiona (35 years’ experience)  (x3 focus groups with a total of 10 pupils)	In-person	- KS3 SoW -Selection of lessons plans -Evidence relating to the promotion of tolerance and mutual respect	X13 lessons of pupils in years 7-9

### 3.7.2 Semi-structured interviews

Interviews were selected as my primary data generation tool because of their suitability for helping to answer my research questions (Coleman, 2012, p. 251). As I am interested in how different teachers in different RE departments construct and promote tolerance and mutual respect, an interview provided the ideal opportunity to explore these issues in detail with each teacher. An interview is described by Kvale (2008, p. 2) as literally meaning “an inter-change of views between two persons”. They have the advantage of producing detailed insights on a topic of interest (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, p. 371) and enable participants to orally reflect on issues without committing their ideas in writing (Gray, 2018, p. 379). There are several types of interview, which Coleman (2012, p. 252) describes as existing on a continuum “from highly structured to highly unstructured”. For example, both Seale (2018, pp. 175-194) and Bryman (2016, pp. 197-219) explain structured interviews take the form of oral questionnaires with a set list of questions asked by the researcher in each interview. Alternatively, an interview may use just one opening question or very few questions to facilitate an open approach with the participant dictating the direction of the discussion (Firmin, 2008, p. 907). My use of interviews was neither of these two extremes. I identify my interviews as a form of semi-structured interview in which I used some predetermined questions, but followed up with a range of other questions, depending upon participants’ responses (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, p. 359). Using this style of interview cohered with my research questions, which focus on participants’ constructions of mutual respect and tolerance. Semi-structured interviews thus presented an approach to data generation which would enable me to explore “in detail the experiences, motives and opinions of others” in relation to my research topic (Rubin and Rubin, 2012, p. 3).

When designing my interview schedule, I did so from my ontological and epistemological position explained in 3.4, and acknowledged that I have a role in the process of knowledge construction, acting as a traveller (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2018, p. 20). Here I refer to treating the interviews as an instance of “social interaction in [their] own right” in which participants construct aloud the concepts of tolerance and mutual respect in

conversation with myself, and thus the interviewer's talk is also of interest (Nielsen, 2007, p. 217). This raises the question of to what extent knowledge is produced in the interview itself (Denzin, 2001, p. 24; Yeo *et al.*, 2014, p. 178). On this point, I do not see the interview as merely an information gathering event but adopt Denzin's (2001, p. 24) attitude of an interview as an event that "transform[s] information into shared experience", as I understand that knowledge is being produced in the interview. Tending towards an idealist ontological perspective, I suggest that participants' responses constitute a few of multiple possible constructions of mutual respect and tolerance (Byrne, 2018, p. 220). Within the interview itself, participants may rethink and reformulate their constructions of tolerance and mutual respect. Yeo *et al.* (2014, p. 180) highlight that when knowledge is held as being constructed during the interview, this has implications for the validity of the content of the interview outside of the interview itself. However, I subscribe to Yeo *et al.*'s decision to eschew an extreme stance of denying that participants can meaningfully share their experiences in favour of a more pragmatic approach. From this position, it is acknowledged that the interaction between researcher and participant "shape[s] the form and features of the data generated" but nonetheless, interview data is held as an important means of gaining an understanding of other participants' lives and interpretations, and is valuable outside the context of the interview (Yeo *et al.*, 2014, p. 180).

To design the interview schedule (see appendix A) I followed Mason's (2018, p. 116) guidance and sought to develop a schedule which would enable me to explore the key issues within my research questions and address my intellectual puzzle. In addition, following Yeo *et al.*'s (2014, p. 190) thinking, I prioritised asking open-ended questions and sought to begin the interview by posing more general questions about the participant's work as a teacher of KS3 RE, before moving to the more specific questions about their constructions of the values. When planning the interview, I tried to make my questions as clear and precise as possible and aimed to avoid asking two questions in one to ensure I was able to explore the issues raised by each question as fully as possible (Ibid., p.

192). Reading the questions aloud to a critical friend also assisted in checking the clarity and wording of the questions.

A key advantage of in-depth semi-structured interviews is the possibility to follow up questions with prompts or probes (Yeo *et al.*, 2014, pp. 194–196) and explore emerging lines of enquiry (Gray, 2018, p. 379). This was very significant in my interviews, perhaps because of the complex nature of the concepts being discussed, and I used a number of approaches to help me to gain a depth of insight. Firstly, when asking questions during the interview I followed Bryne's (2018, p. 232) suggestion of taking more care than I might do usually not to interrupt people. This was advantageous because by not rushing in with the next question, participants had more opportunity to expand upon or develop what they were saying. Secondly, I drew on the ideas of Way, Kanak Zwi and Tracy (2015, pp. 723) and made use of some "probing questions" such as asking participants to explain what they meant in more detail or asking them why they thought something was the case. Probing can enable participants to be self-reflexive about their comments, affording them the opportunity to reformulate their thinking during the interview. It can also be used to challenge inconsistencies within what participants say and as Yeo *et al.* (2014, p. 196) recommend, I took care to do so sensitively.

One other type of question was included in the interview schedule, based on Tripp's (2012, p. 24) concept of a critical incident. A critical incident may be an event which was extremely significant to the teacher, and which has a subsequent influence on them. Alternatively, the event may be quite typical, perhaps "pass[ing] entirely unnoticed" at the time and later become critical through the process of reflection and analysis. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018, p. 551) note that such events may be witnessed during observation and may be powerful in what they reveal. I had hoped conducting lesson observations might enable me to witness some critical incidents relating to the promotion of tolerance and mutual respect and I trialled using observations of KS3 RE lessons during the pilot study. In these I took up the position of a "minimally participating observer" (Bryman, 2016, p. 463) because I did not participate in the class activities unless invited by the teacher. During the lessons I made fieldnotes, guided

by the observable features identified by Burgess (1984, p. 78) such as the use of space and time, discussions and the activities completed, which I enriched with further reflections after the lesson ended. Unfortunately, as mentioned in 3.6 and 3.7.1, using observation in the main study was not viable due to ensuring the safety of participants and researcher due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Reflecting on the interviews in the pilot study I noted some of the richest moments of discussion arose when teachers talked about their classroom practice. Based on this, in questions 8 and 9 of the interview (see appendix A), I asked teachers to identify a lesson or moment in a lesson which they felt had enabled them to promote tolerance and mutual respect. I provided the questions to teachers in advance so that they had time to identify such moments. These critical incident style questions were slightly mixed in their success because some participants spent more time than others preparing for the interview. However, all participants shared examples of specific lessons and so overall their use was effective in facilitating exploration of concrete examples.

The pilot study also informed other practical insights, such as the length of time needed for the interviews. In the pilot the interview duration was 35-40 minutes and I found it was a little short. Based on this and the advice from Yeo *et al.* (2014, p. 207) that at least an hour is needed to enable issues to be explored in depth, when arranging the interviews I requested an hour with each participant. This worked well because lesson periods were one hour in my participating schools and so, if they wished, the interview could take place during a teacher's free period. In the end, interview times varied from 45 to 60 minutes with teachers and 60 to 90 minutes with Heads of Department because I asked some additional questions.

One further practical aspect of the interviews was that four were carried out in-person and three via Microsoft Teams. I chose this online platform because of my own and participants' familiarity with it, which was beneficial for ensuring there were no technical glitches (Mason, 2018, p. 129). As Bell and Waters (2018, p. 220) and Mason (2018, p. 129) note, the skill set required for online and in-person interviews are similar in terms of the need for the researcher to listen attentively and adjust the order or phrasing of questions. In addition, as the online interviews occurred in real-time and I

used the video function to enable me to pick up on some non-verbal aspects of communication I felt they were not dissimilar to the in-person interviews. All interviews were audio recorded only on an encrypted device. Whilst Mason (2018, p. 129) notes the need to take account of the fact that virtual meetings are not location free, I found that it was in fact my in-person interviews which were on two occasions briefly interrupted by passing colleagues. The online interviews arguably also had the advantage of being slightly easier to schedule (Mason, 2018, p. 128). In the context of the Covid-19 pandemic they also had the advantage of being safer for participants and researcher and were the only realistic way of generating the data with these participants. Overall, I feel both the online and in-person interviews were successful in enabling a detailed discussion in which it was possible to explore the particular ideas of each of my participants (Denscombe, 2014, pp. 202-203).

### 3.7.3 Documentary analysis

My second means of data generation was an analysis of the KS3 scheme of work from each RE department. I chose to analyse a document because, as Fitzgerald (2012, p. 297) comments, they provide an important means of understanding “context and culture”. The pilot study helped refine my rationale for which documents I should analyse. In the pilot study, the scheme of work was one of 112 documents I collected. The other documents included photographs of display boards and anonymised examples of pupils’ work. Whilst analysing the data, I found that the scheme of work was the most significant document because of the insight it afforded into the overall content which was taught for KS3 RE. Therefore, in the main study I focused solely on this document in order to develop a detailed, thick description of each department’s KS3 RE provision (Geertz, 1973, pp. 6-7).

Turning to what is meant by a scheme of work, Bassett, Bowler and Newton (2019, pp. 94-95) identify that schools typically engage with three levels of planning: long, medium and short term. Whereas a short-term plan is usually just for one lesson, a scheme of work is a form of long-term planning, typically “designed at the departmental level” which details what pupils will learn across a term or yearlong period. Departments may also

create units of work, or medium-term plans, which provide a further breakdown of the content to be taught over a particular time period or during a particular topic. In RE, the scheme or unit of work typically breaks down a topic into content to be covered during a half term (usually about six weeks) (Walsche, 2017, p. 36). Petty (2018, p. 438) observes that the best quality schemes of work also detail teaching and learning approaches which aid the development of pupils' skills. Each Head of Department consented to allow me to access and analyse their scheme of work for KS3. These provide an overview of what pupils learn during each term and include details such as the overall topic, the learning objective and key concepts explored in each lesson.

Examining each department's KS3 scheme of work was advantageous because it enabled me to gain a clear insight of what is taught in RE over a three-year period. Utilising documentary analysis was therefore suitable because this information could also not easily have been conveyed to me in an interview because it is lengthy and complex (Fitzgerald, 2012, p. 299). It would also have been impractical to learn about this in person through observation because of the time constraints of my doctoral research (Tight, 2019, p. 14). In addition, owing to the Covid-19 pandemic it was impossible to spend any time observing lessons as I had done in my pilot study. As Savin-Baden and Major (2013, p. 404) point out, analysis of a document is a good means of data generation when it is the only way to access the information, further supporting my decision to use it.

Although Fitzgerald (2012, p. 299) notes that gaining access to documents can be problematic and that they can be subjective, these were not significant limitations in my research. Regarding access, as the documents exist electronically, collecting them was unobtrusive and Heads of Department could send them to me at their convenience (Fitzgerald, 2012, p. 299). In the context of my research, because there is no national curriculum for RE (see 1.4), the subjectivity of the documents was a key reason they were of so much interest. This is because, whilst each RE department possesses a scheme of work, the content is highly variable (Walsche, 2017, p. 36) and thus analysing it enabled me to see which topics

had been selected for inclusion in different schools. I could also see how the content had been sequenced across the three years (Petty, 2018, p. 438).

As the schemes of work were created organically, by which I mean not explicitly for the purposes of my research, and prior to my involvement with the departments, they are additionally what Savin-Baden and Major (2013, p. 410) describe as documents with "strong face validity". This is significant because the content has not been adapted to what participants think I want to know. This is important for gaining authentic insight into the practices of RE teachers. The schemes of work can also be classified as what Savin-Baden and Major (2013, p. 405) term practical documents. This means that they are regularly referred to by the RE teachers in my research to know what they should teach. Savin-Baden and Major (2013, p. 410) note that a strength of practical documents is that they can help the researcher to find out what people value and what they do. Hence, I read the schemes of work prior to the interviews with teachers so I would know what content they taught. As discussed in 3.7.2, during the interviews, I asked teachers about whether they thought any particular topics or lessons enabled the promotion of tolerance and mutual respect. For the Heads of Department, I also asked them about how they had designed the scheme of work which helped to further my understanding of the document. Including the schemes of work in my research also meant data was collected from more than one source, which Bhatnagar (2010, p. 585) recommends when undertaking a case study. This is because it provides a means of triangulating the data, meaning insights were gathered from more than one perspective on my topic (Fitzgerald, 2012, p. 297).

Whilst the schemes of work can be considered to be naturally occurring documents, and thus exempt from researcher bias, Fitzgerald (2012, p. 297) notes it is important that the researcher asks "critical questions" of any documents they consult. For instance, Bell and Waters (2018, p. 151) observe that even when using documents not created for the researcher, there remains the possibility that they were created with an explicit, perhaps deceptive, purpose, such as portraying a positive impression to school inspectors. Indeed, Petty (2018, p. 439) notes that whilst schemes of work might seem "very rigid" they are not usually intended to be so

because teachers are expected to “adapt the scheme to respond to [their] learner’s needs”. This was relevant to my research because the interviews provided an opportunity to explore which topics or aspects of topics in the schemes of work different teachers described as significant for promoting tolerance and mutual respect.

Overall, the process of data generation was positive for myself and teachers, who either commented on the value of the research or thanked me for the opportunity to reflect on their constructions and promotion of tolerance and mutual respect. I consider that engaging in the process of refining the data generation tools in light of the pilot study and the Covid-19 pandemic has helped me to use data generation approaches which enable me to explore the constructions and promotion of tolerance and mutual respect in depth and in a manner coherent with the philosophical stance from which I have conducted my research. I will now explore the ethical considerations in my research.

### 3.8 Ethical considerations

As my research engaged directly with RE teachers to explore their constructions and promotion of mutual respect and tolerance, it was very important to me that it was conducted within what Bassey (1999, p. 62) terms an “ethic of respect for persons”. This denotes the manner in which I aimed to engage with participants to strive towards ensuring that my research did not only not harm participants, but was furthermore of potential benefit to them, as Gray (2018, p.76) recommends be the case. My research received ethical approval from the University of Cumbria’s ethical approval board (reference 19/11) and in designing and carrying out the research, I adhered to the ethical guidelines produced by the British Educational Research Association (British Educational Research Association, 2018). Whilst receiving formal ethical approval was crucial, I saw this as just one aspect of carrying out ethical research because of my aspiration to Savin-Baden and Major’s (2013, p. 333) principle of “mov[ing] beyond what is required to what is excellent”. Hence, whilst all participants and Headteachers provided written consent, had the right to withdraw and were given pseudonyms to disguise their identity, I consider that carrying out ethical research requires more than adherence to these steps. This is

because the primary means of data generation was interviews; a human interaction which can be considered “saturated with moral and ethical issues” (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2018, p. 28). Here I seek to illuminate what these issues are and how I addressed them, drawing on principles which Gray (2018, p. 76) suggests are essential for the conduct of ethical research: avoiding harm and deception, informed consent and privacy, and reflecting on the significance of power dynamics within my research (Ali and Kelly, 2018, p. 49).

Informed consent was gained from the Headteacher of each school by providing them with an information sheet about the research and the chance to ask questions. I explained that the school would be anonymous, and I have taken steps to protect the identity of the schools by not including precise details about their location or pupil demographic. The second stage of informed consent occurred with teachers (Gray, 2018, p. 76). I was conscious of Heads of Department being influential gate keepers and the teachers’ line managers and aware this could result in them coercing teachers into participation because of their own enthusiasm or commitment to the research (Malone, 2003, p. 803). I thus took additional steps to make the voluntary nature of participation “transparently clear” to all teachers (Gray, 2018, p. 80). I did so by contacting all teachers by email prior to the interviews which enabled me to provide them with the participant information sheet, the interview questions and the chance to contact me directly to discuss any questions. Before starting the interview, I reiterated their right to withdraw and the optionality of all questions. Whilst I did not consider physical harm to be a risk for my participants, I was anxious to avoid unnecessary hassle for teachers. I therefore sought to be flexible and avoided scheduling interviews at inconvenient times (Sudman, 1998, cited in Gray, 2018, p. 76). I also paid heed to Malone’s (2003, p. 805) comments on being aware participants may not have had previous experience of being involved in research. Conscious that a research interview might feel different to a typical conversation, before starting the interview, I explained a little about the style of the conversation that would follow, inspired by Burgess’ (1984, p. 102) characterisation of an interview as “a conversation with a purpose”. I emphasised my interest in their ideas,

in the hope of setting them at ease if I did not respond by sharing my own thoughts, as I might have in a normal conversation. Lastly, as Gray (2018, p. 75) points out, it can be challenging to maintain anonymity for participants when conducting research in workplace organisations. Because of this, participants were made aware of how I would use, manage and destroy the data and informed that the school would be anonymous, and teachers given pseudonyms. To ensure anonymity for participants, when sharing the findings of the study with the participating schools, only a summary of the overall general findings was provided, without using any direct quotations or attributing ideas to any, even pseudonymised, individual.

Ethical research is also about offering transparency about the research process (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, p. 334). This entails being truthful across all aspects of the research and the researcher avoiding intentional deception of others and themselves (Bassegy, 1999, p. 74). To enhance transparency and honesty in my research I made participants aware of my own background as an RE teacher, including telling teachers in the school where I had previously taught about my role there. I felt it was particularly important to explain the processes of data management to these teachers so they knew who would have access to the data and how it would be used. I also explained in brief how my teaching RE had led to my interest in the research topic.

Lastly, I have taken steps to ensure the trustworthiness of my work. As a qualitative case study, trustworthiness is prioritised as a means of “illuminat[ing] the ethic of respect for truth” in my research (Bassegy, 1999, p. 75). To ensure the trustworthiness of my research, I gave teacher participants the opportunity to review a transcript of their interview (Bassegy, 1999, p. 76). Denscombe (2017, p. 201) argues this is beneficial for the interviewee to check that the transcript reflects their genuine views, rather than comments made “in the heat of the moment”. I also made use of a critical friend, a teacher researcher not involved in my research, who has critiqued the “research processes and outcomes” to help strengthen the project. Lastly, I have strived to provide an accurate audit trail or case record (Stenhouse, 1988, p. 52) of the stages of my research project,

documents collected, interview transcripts and observation fieldnotes from the pilot. This serves to make transparent the way I carried out the research and evidence that it was done systematically. Having discussed my data generation tools and the ethical considerations of my research, in the next section I examine how these data were analysed.

### 3.9 Data analysis

In this section I explain how I developed a discourse analytic perspective in order to analyse the data generated in my research based on the insight from Willig (2014, p. 344) that “discourse analysis is not so much a recipe as a perspective from which to approach a text”. I start by explaining the philosophical underpinnings of discourse analysis and relate these to my own philosophical stance as an interpretivist social constructionist researcher (see 3.3). I then explain how I developed a “made-to-order” (Wood and Kroger, 2000, p. 25) discourse analysis to explore my data. An approach to discourse analysis known as critical discursive psychology (CDP) was particularly influential in this and I explain how I combined this with other discourse analytical tools from Wiggins (2017) and Gee (2011). Following the thinking of Wood and Kroger (2000, p. 26) that discourse analysis should be done rather than used, the goal of this section is to explain how in practical terms I have analysed my data, providing a further degree of transparency about my research process (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, p. 334).

In chapter four I present the product of my data analysis, which might also be termed a bricolage (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p. 3). As discussed in 1.5, a bricolage is “a complex, dense, reflexive, collage-like creation that represents the researcher’s images, understandings, and interpretations of the world or phenomenon under analysis”. In the context of my study, I understand this as saying that I have developed a detailed, rich discussion of how mutual respect and tolerance may be constructed and promoted in the context of KS3 RE by my participants. Whilst my participants’ talk (Kvale, 2007, p. 113) is therefore central in the discourse analytic perspective I have adopted, it must be acknowledged that the analysis which I present is my interpretation of the teachers’ language. This section

thus provides a key backdrop to chapter four because I demonstrate the stages I passed through in order to generate my findings.

### 3.9.1 Discourse analysis: assumptions, background and application to my research

Rau, Elliker and Coetzee (2018, p. 299) observe that although in everyday use discourse is “a synonym for ‘talk about something’”, in the context of discourse analysis a more specific meaning is required to enable the possibility of analysis. Parker’s (1994, p. 245) perspective is that discourses are “sets of statements that construct objects and an array of subject positions” and Burr (2003, p. 202) suggests a discourse is “a systematic, coherent set of images, metaphors and so on that construct an object in a particular way”. I take these descriptions as signifying that a discourse has a significance beyond the immediate language used. When people use certain words in particular ways, they construct objects as well as identity positions for the speaker and for other people. Underpinning this understanding of language and discourse analysis is a social constructionist epistemology (Coyle, 2007, p. 99). Thus, language is not a means of gaining access to someone’s internal psychological or social world, but discourse analysis focuses on looking at how people “use language to construct versions of their worlds” (Coyle, 2007, p. 100). Discourse analysis does not look at language in a vacuum but rather seeks to also understand the context in which discourses arise (Phillips and Hardy, 2002, p. 4).

Regarding the history of discourse analysis, Wooffitt (2005, p. 17) observes that Gilbert and Mulkay’s (1984) work has been extremely influential on the development of discourse analysis in the social sciences. In their study about the social processes of resolving scientific disputes, Gilbert and Mulkay noticed high levels of variability in the interview data they gathered from speaking to different scientists (Wooffitt, 2005, p. 15). This included variations such as some people using formal, and others informal, language as well as contradictory accounts of the processes involved, including conflicting ideas within the same person’s account. This resulted in Gilbert and Mulkay arguing that the “complexities of accounting practices should themselves be addressed in sociological analysis” (Wooffitt, 2005, p. 18). They thus advocated for discourse analysis, acknowledging the contextualised nature of people’s experiences and a focus on participants’

language (Wooffitt, 2005, p. 18). In particular, Gilbert and Mulkay (1984) identified the use of two interpretative repertoires by the scientists, referring to two very different ways the scientists had of talking. Drawing on this idea of an interpretative repertoire in their discussion of the significance of Gilbert and Mulkay's work for the field of social psychology, Potter and Wetherell (1987, p. 149) describe an interpretative repertoire as "a limited range of terms used in a particular stylistic and grammatical construction" which may often "be organised around specific metaphors and figures of speech". Coyle (2007, p. 101) notes the term repertoire may be preferred to discourse because it can be seen as implying a greater degree of flexibility regarding how the language is put together. Interpretative repertoire is the term I have used in the discourse analysis of my own study and a concept which I return to in 3.9.2.3.

Considering discourse analysis in relation to my research, I understand that discourse analysis refers to an interest in how language is used in social contexts, with an emphasis on how participants construct concepts or issues (Gray, 2018, p. 704). As my object of study (Thomas and Myers, 2015, p. 56) is RE teachers' constructions and promotion of tolerance and mutual respect in the context of their work with KS3 pupils, the concepts of interest in my research are tolerance and mutual respect. The data I have gathered in my research relating to these concepts is language in interviews and documents produced in particular school and departmental contexts and at a particular socio-historic moment (see 3.7.2 and 3.7.3). Hence, the focus in my analysis is on looking beyond the level of individual words or sentences to explore which discourses have been used to construct tolerance and mutual respect, considering how different discourses about the concepts result in particular practices and exploring how different actors position themselves and others in relation to these different discourses (Phillips and Hardy, 2002, p. 8). In other words, the "social consequences" of the different discursive constructions which teachers employ (Willig, 2014, p. 342). I now explain how I developed my discourse analytic perspective.

### 3.9.2 Developing a discourse analytic perspective

Whilst there is no single approach to discourse analysis, Jørgensen and Phillips (2002, p. 4) note that they all share a social constructionist epistemological basis (see 3.9.1). One way of understanding the distinction between the different types of discourse analysis, Wiggins (2017, p. 32) suggests, is to see them as a set of camera lenses, with each form providing a greater or lesser degree of zoom on the topic of interest. In developing my discourse analytic perspective I paid heed to the warning from Wiggins and Riley (2010, p. 135) that the lack of explicit guidance about how different types of discourse analysis should be carried out makes it potentially an off-putting approach for a novice researcher. To counteract this, I read in detail about the five discourse analysis approaches which Wiggins (2017, p. 31) identifies of conversation analysis, critical discourse analysis, critical discursive psychology (CDP), discursive psychology and Foucauldian discourse analysis. I was also mindful of the suggestion from Wood and Kroger (2000, p. 25) to be “guided by the data”. So through the process of reading and writing about different approaches to discourse analysis and from engaging with my data and reflecting on the aims of my research, I developed a discourse analytic perspective (Willig, 2014, p. 344) which is grounded in CDP, particularly informed by the work of Edley (2001) and Wiggins (2017, p. 45). It also draws on analytical tools from Gee’s (2011) and Wood and Kroger’s (2000) work to enrich my engagement with the texts I analysed. To illustrate the perspective I developed, I start by explaining why CDP was a suitable discourse analytic perspective to adopt for my research topic.

CDP originates in the work of Wetherell (1998, p. 405) who argued that a more “eclectic” approach to discourse analysis was needed which could offer a “synthesis” of some of the other approaches through employing analytic concepts such as interpretative repertoires and subject positioning. I return to these concepts in 3.9.2.4 and 3.9.2.5. Wetherell (1998, p. 405) describes CDP as “a discipline concerned with the practices which produce persons, notably discursive practices, but seeks to put these in a genealogical context”. Following Wiggins (2017, pp. 44-45) I understand this as meaning that it offers a meso level of analysis and a middle ground between other

forms of discourse analysis in seeking to “capture some of the detail of discourse” whilst also avoiding a reductive analysis of the features of speech by considering the talk in its context. For example, CDP has been used in research on a range of topics including Citizenship (Gibson, 2009), the school to work transition (Parry, 2020) and parenting (Locke, 2015). The benefit of CDP in enabling analysis of language in context is similarly identified by Locke and Budds (2020, p. 237), who suggest that combining the micro and macro level features in the analytical tools of CDP results in it potentially offering “a more complete analytic picture of the topic under investigation”.

The name CDP could suggest that this analytical approach is restricted to research in the field of psychology. However, Wood and Kroger (2000, p. 196) argue this is not the case. In their work which discusses discourse analysis as it developed in the field of social psychology, sometimes entitled discursive psychology, they argue that discourse analysis is a preferable title because this approach “looks to transcend a number of traditional disciplinary boundaries” (Wood and Kroger, 2000, p. 196). The reservation about the label of discursive psychology is shared by Jørgensen and Phillips (2002, p. 7) who suggest the approach focuses on the individual’s use of language and use of available discursive resources. The focus in discursive psychology is thus not the person’s “internal psychological conditions”. Instead, this type of discourse analysis seeks to examine how people make use of available discourses to create different representations of the world, identities and to then consider the “social consequences of this”. This is important because it makes clear that my analysis does not focus on assessing or describing teacher’s internal psychological states or the degree to which they themselves might be considered tolerant or respectful. Rather, my analysis focuses on how participants construct tolerance and mutual respect and how they talk about the promotion of tolerance and mutual respect in pedagogical terms when teaching pupils in KS3.

My research focused on how RE teachers construct and promote mutual respect and tolerance when teaching pupils in KS3. CDP was thus an apt analytical approach because it enabled me to take account of the contexts of teachers participating in my study. In 3.5 I explained that I adopted a

nested case study as the research approach. Using a nested case study approach was important because the RE teachers in my study do not exist in a vacuum but are part of an RE department, which is in turn part of a school which is shaped by a wider policy context, as illustrated in figure 4. It was important for me to use an analytical tool which enabled me to take account of the wider context of my participants, rather than one which would analyse their words purely in the abstract. Using CDP enabled me to consider the broader context in which my participants' interviews occurred, which I had gained insight into through meeting the Heads of Departments, reading publicly available information about the school and through looking at each department's KS3 scheme of work (see 3.6 and 3.7).

My analysis therefore broadly moved from macro to micro, beginning with an examination of the contents of each department's scheme of work. Here I followed the principle of qualitative research outlined by Schegloff (1997, cited in Hammersley, 2013, p. 25) that the analysis should not go beyond "what is 'observable' in the data". By this I mean that I focused on analysing what was included in the content of the Scheme of Work as a basis for my future discussions with teachers and did not attempt to guess at how different teachers would understand or use the scheme of work themselves.

#### 3.9.2 Stages of my CDP analysis of interviews

My use of CDP has been informed by the steps outlined by Wiggins (2017, p. 56), Edley's (2001, pp. 197-209) use of CDP in his research on young men's constructions of masculinity and Locke and Budds' (2020, p. 234) paper in which they note the paucity of further practical guidelines on using CDP since Edley's publication. In response they outline how a CDP analysis could be carried out in the field of health psychology. Some of their thinking has been useful in developing my own discourse analytic perspective. My use of CDP centres around the identification of three analytic features known as interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas and subject positions. Looking at these three foci was not though the starting point for my analysis, which began with transcription of the data and close reading of the texts. Figure 9 shows how I developed my CDP analytic perspective and

details how I have drawn on analytical tools from a range of sources. I now explain each stage of the analysis in turn.

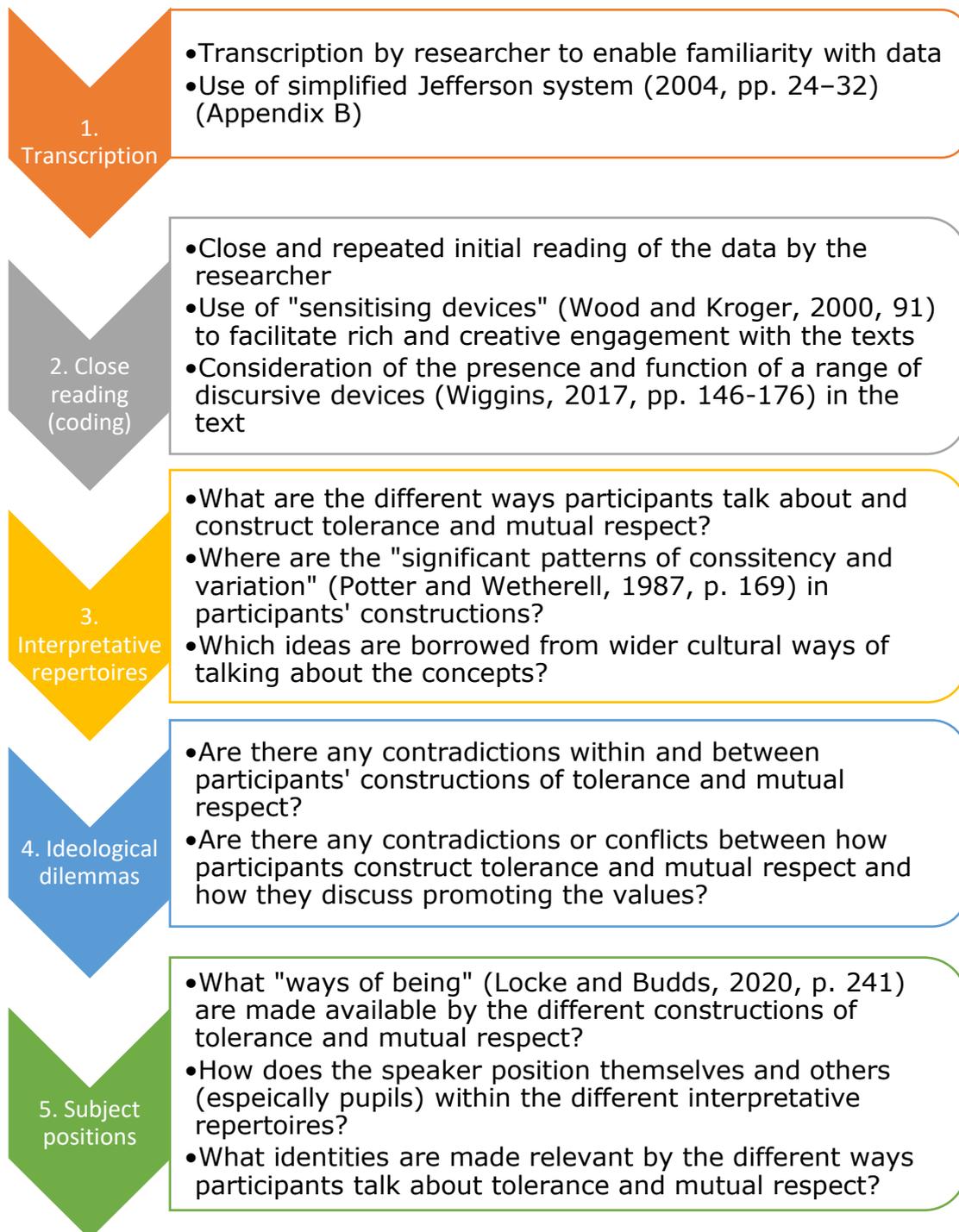


Figure 9: Diagram to show how I developed my discourse analytic perspective based on CDP and the key issues and questions involved in each stage of the analysis

### *3.9.2.1 Transcription*

In stage one I transcribed the interview data myself. I consider this to be more than an administrative task because I began to immerse myself in it (Wiggins, 2017, p. 91). This can be considered a theoretical as well as a practical stage because I made decisions about which details to include and exclude in the transcription (Gee, 2011, p. 117). Firstly, as I hold that the interview entailed the co-construction of knowledge (see 3.4), I included questions and comments made by myself to create a full record of what was said (Wood and Kroger, 2000, p. 85). Following the thinking of Wiggins (2017, p. 91) that a merely orthographic transcription would potentially “gloss over” the richer context of the social interaction I used a simplified version of the Jefferson (2004, pp. 24–32) transcription system, provided by Potter and Wetherell (1987, pp. 188-189) (see appendix B). This enabled me to include a range of details of the talk including pauses, laughter, suppressed laughter, emphasised words, sighs and indications of where speech overlapped. I hoped that including these would enable me to engage with participants’ accounts as more than just words. Throughout, I used a qualitative data software analysis tool called NVivo which was useful for replaying short sections of speech at different speeds to help ensure I recorded what I heard as accurately as possible.

After engaging with the process of close reading and coding, I added further details to extracts I had identified as significant moments in the discussion in relation to my research questions in line with the thinking of Wiggins (2017, p. 103) that more detailed transcriptions can be created as the analysis progresses. For example, at the outset I followed Rapley’s (2018, p. 55) suggestion of using line numbers for each change of speaker. However I realised through my close reading that this was insufficiently precise for the extracts I would analyse in detail. After reading further research using discourse analysis, I was informed by Rapley’s point that the numbering of extracts and lines should facilitate their easy location within the broader transcript, as well as the observation from Potter and Hepburn (2012, p. 560) that the inclusion of line numbers should enable the researcher to more precisely refer to specific sections of participants’ speech. For the extracts identified for close analysis and presented in

chapter four, I have therefore provided the time stamp to show where in the interview it came from and numbered the lines of speech. To determine when a new line should start, I followed Gee's proposal (2011, p. 128) that speech is produced in "small spurts", with each spurt typically offering one key piece of information and placed each spurt on a new line. I also paid attention to pauses as a possible indication of a new line and began a new line if there was a change of speaker. Whilst cautioning that looking at lines can show both how a speaker divides up meaning but also reveal the analyst's interpretation of the "patterning of meaning in the text", Gee (2011, p. 145) suggests that examining the lines within the text can enable the analyst to "make new guesses about themes and meanings". This insight further informed my decision to set out the lines in the extracts selected for close analysis. Including the time stamp enabled me to easily listen to the audio alongside the written transcript, which was important for mitigating against the danger identified by Kvale (2008, p. 183) that transcription may result in the reification of the social interaction which constituted the interview.

#### *3.9.2.2 Close reading*

Stage two of the analysis comprised a close reading of the texts. This enabled me to become more familiar with the data and to begin to identify which sections might be most fruitful for analysis. My starting point came from Potter and Wetherell's (1987, p. 167) suggestion of referring to the research questions and I looked for references to constructions of tolerance, mutual respect and talk about their promotion. I included all "borderline" and "vaguely related" instances because it was not possible to know whether they might be very significant later on (Potter and Wetherell, 1987, p. 167).

Bearing in mind that discourse analysis is an "orientation to texts" or a "particular frame of mind" (Wood and Kroger, 2000, p. 91), during the initial close reading of the data I employed a number of what Wood and Kroger (2000, p. 91) term "sensitising devices" to assist me to engage with the text creatively. Specifically, I used their ideas of staying attuned to my own reactions to the text, looking beyond the immediate literal meaning of the speaker's words, considering what is not there in the text and looking

out for moments where something might be assumed or taken for granted. As a novice discourse analyst, I found having guidelines for reading the text very helpful as a means of developing my discourse analytic perspective. However, I kept in mind Wood and Kroger's (2000, p. 96) caution that analytic steps cannot be adhered to in a strictly linear fashion because this is contrary to the development of a discourse analytic mentality which requires the researcher to iteratively move between focusing on detail to looking across the whole data set, or from considering grammar to looking for broader patterns of meaning.

Although I was not conducting a grammatical or linguistic analysis, I also followed Wood and Kroger's (2000, p. 94) advice that paying attention to these features might help in identifying how discourses are at work in the text during the initial reading stage. To do this, I drew on the analytical tools proposed by Gee (2011, p. 128) who incorporates a linguistic perspective on discourse analysis in his writing and the discursive devices described by both Wood and Kroger (2000, pp. 100-106) and Wiggins (2017, pp. 146-176).

The discursive devices I looked for included: the use of metaphors; occasions where participants gave voice to words originally spoken by another person; moments of contrast within the discussion; and, hedging meaning when speech is marked as hesitant or provisional, such as by the term 'I think'. I also considered the use of stress and intonation because in English this is the means through which the importance of information is conveyed (Gee, 2011, p. 132). This may be achieved through the word being spoken more loudly or through a glide, meaning a change in pitch during the word. To help identify which parts of their speech my participants considered important, I re-listened to the audio recordings alongside reading the transcripts and was alert to stresses in speech. These tools all helped to enable me to engage more thoroughly with the data during the initial reading. Overall, whilst these questions and features provided valuable "initial ways into [the] text[s]" (Gee, 2011, p. 128), they were only the starting point; they form the basis for the deeper level of analysis (Gee, 2011, p. 128) which followed.

### *3.9.2.3 Interpretative repertoires*

Having conducted my close reading of the text, I then drew on guidelines from Edley's (2001, pp. 197–209) and Wiggins' (2017, p. 46) descriptions of CDP and focused on three analytic features of interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas and subject positions. Although they do not discuss ideological dilemmas I was also informed by the writing of Locke and Budds (2020, pp. 240–244) regarding the other two features. I therefore now explain what is meant by these approaches and how I sought to identify them in my data.

Interpretative repertoires, sometimes shortened to repertoires, are described by Edley (2001, p. 198) as “relatively coherent ways of talking about objects and events in the world”. This is echoed by Locke and Budds (2020, p. 240) who suggest they are a “recognisable way of describing, framing or speaking about an issue”. Edley and Wetherell (2001, p. 443) further note that they are recognisable because of their “repetition across a corpus” or text that is being analysed, they may also draw on well-known clichés or tropes. The “shared social consensus” underlying an interpretative repertoire may be so well known to people that the speaker need only voice a fragment of the argument for participants in the talk to be able to understand what is being said. Wiggins (2017, p. 45) observes that they can become so well established in a culture that they become “common sense or ‘fact’”. As explained in 3.9.1, the term originated in the work of Gilbert and Mulkey (1984) who found that participants in their study used two strongly contrasting repertoires to construct scientific activity. It was then adopted into the field of social psychology by Potter and Wetherell (1987). Both Coyle (2007, p. 101) and Edley (2001, p. 202) note that the term repertoire, whilst similar to discourse, may be used by researchers who wish to emphasise the “human agency within the flexible deployment of language” (Edley, 2001, p. 202). This is the case in my research because I am interested in which repertoires different participants make use of and in how they use them.

I identified the repertoires by reading and re-reading the data because strong familiarity with the data is deemed by Edley (2001, p. 198) to be critical in enabling the researcher to identify when similar patterns or

arguments are being put forward. Stages one and two of my analysis were helpful for this. Gradually I started to develop a sense of the different patterns across different participants' speech about how tolerance and mutual respect were being constructed and to see where teachers were taking similar lines about how the concepts could be promoted. This enabled me to group key words identified in stage two together into some key interpretative repertoires. Developing an increased knowledge of patterns in how the concepts were being constructed also enabled me to start to consider which constructions were being "resisted" (Locke and Budds, 2020, p. 240). That is to say, which constructions of tolerance and mutual respect were absent from the teachers' discussions or as Edley (2001, p. 201) puts it, what it is not possible to say about the concepts.

#### *3.9.2.4 Ideological dilemmas*

Having identified which interpretative repertoires were being used in my data I then engaged with exploring whether they revealed any ideological dilemmas (figure 9, stage 4). In their paper which employs a CDP analysis, Reynolds and Wetherell (2003, p. 497) comment that researchers commonly find "highly variable and inconsistent" repertoires within and between different people's accounts. This is because different repertoires result in different constructions of events. This means that as people "argue and puzzle over the competing threads" of different interpretative repertoires, the researcher can identify ideological dilemmas.

The concept of an ideological dilemma originates in the work of Billig *et al.* (1988). Billig *et al.* (1988, cited in Edley, 2001, p. 203) set out to show that as well as intellectual ideologies, which are typically coherent, a different type of ideology, which they term lived ideologies also exist. These are characterised by inconsistencies and contradictions. This can be seen in the contradictory nature of common sense in the existence of "maxims praising both caution and risk taking" (Billig, 2001, p. 218). Billig *et al.* (1988) also provide an example of an ideological dilemma from education. They explain that a teacher could hold the view that children learn through their own experiences, based on the thinking of Piaget (1970, p. 715, cited in Billig *et al.*, 1988, p. 46). At the same time, a close analysis of their practice might reveal them to be in "implicit collusion" with the children in their class,

cueing or subtly providing correct answers (Billig *et al.*, 1988, p. 51). The teacher's ideological viewpoint that learning happens through pupils' own experiences is contradicted by their actions.

However, Billig *et al.* (1988, p. 204) argue that it is in fact from these conflicts and contradictions that rich debate can occur in that they permit not only "social dilemmas but [...] social thinking itself". It is therefore not problematic from a discourse analytic perspective that participants put forward competing constructions of concepts. Instead, this provides an opportunity to see how "speakers are part of, and are continuing, the ideological history" of the concepts they discuss (Billig, 2001, p. 218). Connected to this, Edley (2001, p. 204) suggests that researchers should consider that different repertoires about an object or event do not occur independently but rather arise simultaneously as part of an ongoing exchange about the topic because these "productive tensions" prompt discussion itself. In my research I therefore embraced the opportunity to identify which interpretative repertoires were competing or conflicting and considered how these contribute to ongoing discussion about how tolerance and mutual respect may be constructed and promoted in education.

#### *3.9.2.5 Subject positions*

The final feature my analysis considered was subject positions, which Locke and Budds (2020, p. 241) also term "ways of being" (figure 9, stage 5). This concept comes from the work of Davies and Harré (2001) on positioning theory. This refers to how the speaker positions themselves or other people within a story or discourse (Ibid., p. 264). One way of identifying the positions is to consider the "autobiographical aspects" of a discussion and to see how each speaker conceives of themselves and others, and to see which positions they then take up. Much like with ideological dilemmas, there is also the possibility that the subject positions may be contradictory, either within the same or different stories (Ibid., p. 270).

In looking at subject positions, CDP is different to thematic analysis approaches because it moves away from factual concerns with the issue studied to consider "what the words and themes are 'doing'" (Locke and Budds, 2020, p. 240). The analytical feature of considering how different

repertoires result in people positioning themselves or others in particular ways is one means of exploring what the text is doing and, Wiggins (2017, p. 46) suggests, also highlights the 'critical' aspect of CDP. For example, in his research on masculinity, Edley (2001, pp. 212-216) identifies how the men in his research take up a range of subject positions including that of a classical macho-masculine role such as James Bond and that of an ordinary bloke. The participants additionally occasionally draw on the alternative positions in order to position themselves as opposite to it.

For my own research, similarly to when identifying ideological dilemmas, having identified the interpretative repertoires which were being used, I then considered what subject positions were made available within the different repertoires. I utilised Edley's (2001, p. 210) technique of considering "who is implied by a particular [...] interpretative repertoire" and "what [...] a given statement [...] say[s] about the person who utters [it]?" The process of reading and rereading the data and the extracts selected for close analysis was important in identifying the subject positions which teachers made available for themselves and others, including pupils, within their deployment of the various interpretative repertoires.

### [3.10 Chapter Summary](#)

This chapter has explained the methodology of how I carried out my research by showing how the research falls within the interpretivist paradigm and by exploring the influence of my social constructionist epistemology and idealist-leaning ontology across different aspects of the research design. I have sought to be open and honest about how the research was carried out and to reflexively acknowledge my own positionality in the different aspects of the research design, especially in the data generation. Focusing on transferability and fittingness, I have identified why I seek to provide "exemplary knowledge" (Thomas and Myers, 2015, p. 39) for the reader from my nested case studies. I have also highlighted the rationale for the selection of cases chosen and shown how the research design has evolved, including the adaptations made to data generation as a result of the pilot study and Covid-19, as well as explaining how I developed my discourse analytic perspective based on CDP.

## Chapter four: Findings

### 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present, analyse and discuss the findings from the analysis of my data detailed in 3.9. In 3.9.2 I identified that a strength of CDP is how it enables speech to be analysed in context (Wiggins, 2017, pp. 44-45). My study employed a nested case study approach (see 3.5) with participants working in three different schools in England. I therefore begin this chapter by providing a vignette of each RE department in 4.2, thereby allowing the analysis of participants' words to be seen in light of their contexts. As key data about the participating schools and teachers were already provided in figures 6 and 8, in 4.2 I focus on presenting findings about the content of the KS3 schemes of work and the Head of Departments' comments on the purpose of the RE department. Pseudonyms are used for schools and teachers.

The latter two sections (4.3 and 4.4) explore the interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas and subject positions (Edley, 2001, p. 197-209) (see figure 9) used by participants in each of my case study departments in relation to my two research questions. In 4.3, I look at findings in relation to the first research question, which asks how teachers of RE construct the concepts of tolerance and mutual respect. In 4.4, I examine findings regarding the second question of how RE teachers talk about the promotion of tolerance and mutual respect in the context of KS3 RE. Throughout the analysis I draw attention to the discursive features within different extracts. I consider that the extracts presented are representative of the data in that they illustrate similar examples present in the interviews with different participants. In chapter five I juxtapose the findings discussed in this chapter with insights from the literature to explicitly answer my two research questions.

### 4.2 Vignettes of the three RE departments

#### 4.2.1 Barehill Church of England School

At Barehill Church of England School the Head of Department has been in post for five years, during which time the KS3 curriculum has undergone several changes. Upon her appointment, the curriculum was not in line with

the locally agreed syllabus (LAS) and so it was necessary for her to quickly implement a new curriculum in order to ensure legal compliance (see 1.4). Following feedback from an Ofsted inspection in 2020, the school has been transitioning from a two-year to a three-year KS3 in order to ensure pupils experience a sufficiently broad and balanced curriculum. More recently, the introduction of a new LAS has resulted in further updates to the content of the KS3 curriculum. Pupils in years 7 and 8 have one hour a week of RE and pupils in year 9 have three hours over a two-week period.

The Head of Department characterised the department's vision as being about enabling pupils to "confidently make moral decisions through a good all-round knowledge of religion which helps them to be understanding and respectful of a variety of different views". This vision was decided on collaboratively by the department in light of teaching in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic (see 2.3.4). Whilst acknowledging the risk of RE becoming synonymous with Personal Social Health and Economic (PSHE) education, the Head of Department noted a need to respond to the current context; following the first national lockdown due to the Covid-19 pandemic (March 2020), the department identified a need for RE to focus on pupils' wellbeing and pastoral concerns, as well as providing an academic, spiritual, moral and cultural education.

Given the changes the department was making to the KS3 curriculum mentioned above, and the further complications caused by delivering much of the curriculum online during the academic year 2020-21 when I examined the KS3 schemes of work, it was sometimes unclear which topics had been taught during this academic year. This was because in practice teachers appeared to have utilised aspects of both the existing and newly designed curriculum. Nonetheless, there were commonalities, such as all units of work being framed around a key enquiry question. Starting with an exploration of what is RE in year 7, each year group looks at six units focused on a central question. The questions cover aspects of religious belief and practices. For example, 'do journeys change people?' is the key question behind a unit of work on Hajj (pilgrimage in Islam). Other units focus on philosophical and theological questions such as an exploration of the existence of God, evil and suffering and the concept of salvation. Across

the three years, pupils cover beliefs and practices from Christianity, Islam and Buddhism in the most detail. A small amount of time is spent on Hinduism, Sikhism and Judaism, and a separate topic is also devoted to the Holocaust in year 9.

Three teachers (Emily – Head of Department, Yasmin and Amara) participated in a semi-structured interview at Barehill Church of England School. Interviews lasted for between 45 minutes and 1 hour and 15 minutes.

#### 4.2.2 Newton High

At Newton High, the Head of Department has been in post for more than 15 years, during which time she has developed the current KS3 scheme of work, which has been informed by the school values, the LAS for the area and content in the GCSE and A Level specifications. The scheme of work was designed to ensure pupils are well prepared for the GCSE syllabus and have a strong background in the two religions studied for GCSE: Christianity and Buddhism. In addition, it aims to provide pupils with the chance to explore a range of ideas from philosophy, moral and ethical issues, and learn about religions significant in the wider local area.

The aim of the RE Department is included in a short introduction to the scheme of work. To protect the anonymity of the school I do not quote it directly. In summary, the department seeks to provide a curriculum which inspires pupils and assists them to critically engage with the profound elements of what it means to be a human, at an epistemological and existential level.

My own reading of the scheme of work for KS3 shows that, as was the case at Barehill Church of England School, pupils in year 7 begin by studying a topic about what RE is. However, at Newton High, the subject is known as Religion, Philosophy and Ethics, and so all three these elements are covered in the introductory unit. In the KS3 curriculum, three topics focus on Christianity, Islam and Buddhism. Except for one topic about inspiring individuals, the remaining topics are framed under an overarching enquiry question such as, 'does suffering make it impossible to believe in God?'. These topics cover more philosophical or ethical issues including moral

decision making, the origins of life and the morality of killing. Within these philosophical enquiry topics, pupils study concepts and ideas from both non-religious and religious traditions. For example, a year 7 topic on what it means to be human sees pupils explore perspectives on this question from Christianity, Paganism, Aboriginal beliefs and culture, Islam and Sikhism through a series of interconnected lessons.

One participant (Anna, the Head of Department) took part in a semi-structured interview at Newton High which lasted for 1 hour and fifteen minutes. Whilst I had hoped to interview the second member of the department, due to working pressures caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, they were unable to participate in the research.

#### 4.2.3 Westridge School

Westridge School was different to the preceding two in having a Head of Department and 2<sup>nd</sup> in department, with responsibility for leading KS3 RE, who has been in post for more than 10 years. The Head of Department did not participate in my research because he felt the 2<sup>nd</sup> in department was best suited to participating due to the focus on KS3. Regarding the development of the KS3 scheme of work, the 2<sup>nd</sup> in department explained that over time, he has refined and developed the KS3 scheme of work, which follows the LAS for the area. The LAS, and therefore the school's KS3 curriculum, "reflects the fact that the religious traditions in Great Britain are in the main Christian whilst taking account of the teaching and practices of the other principal religions represented in Great Britain" as set out in section 375.3 of the *Education Act 1996*. The aim of the department is not quoted directly in order to protect the anonymity of the school but can be summarised as enabling pupils to learn more than facts and statistics about religions. The department seeks to foster pupils' interest and engagement with philosophical and religious topics, within an ethos of tolerance and respect for other people, as well as enabling pupils to reflect on their own experiences. The 2<sup>nd</sup> in department explained that in years 7 and 8, beliefs and practices from different religions are introduced "under various topics", rather than the units of work focusing on one religion at a time. In year 9, a recently introduced curriculum covers a range of topics, which are explored

from the perspectives of non-religious people and the six major world religions. Pupils in years 7, 8 and 9 all have one hour a week for RE.

Year 7 pupils (aged 11-12) begin by considering reasons why people may or may not believe in God, including philosophical arguments. This is slightly different to at Barehill and Newton High, where pupils begin by exploring RE itself. Pupils cover one topic per half term, with four topics framed as overarching enquiry questions such as 'What does it mean to be Jewish?' and the remainder as topic titles. Within the topics, pupils have the chance to compare and contrast ideas from different religious and non-religious perspectives. The topics covered in years 7 and 8 include looking after the environment, identity, peace and Buddhism, justice, and wealth. One unit in each year also focuses explicitly on Christianity. The year 9 scheme of work has six topics including beliefs and worship, relationships and marriage, and religion and science. Pupils work through six lessons focusing in turn on the viewpoint of people from Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism and non-religious perspectives. One of the main topics also focuses solely on Christianity.

I interviewed three members of staff at Westridge School, the 2<sup>nd</sup> in department (Rahim) and two other RE teachers (Fahima and Sadia). The interviews lasted for between 50 and 90 minutes.

#### 4.3 Constructing tolerance and mutual respect: interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas and subject positions

I now turn to explore 6 key interpretative repertoires regarding how mutual respect and tolerance are constructed. As a reminder, an interpretative repertoire is a recognisable or coherent way of talking about or framing an issue (see 3.9.2.3). Within the discussion I also identify pertinent ideological dilemmas and subject positions which emerged during my data analysis (see figure 9 and section 3.9.2). As explained in 3.9.2.1, following the conventions of discourse analysis, for each extract discussed I have provided the time stamp to show where in the interview it came from and numbered the lines to enable clear reference to the text. Participants and schools are referred to by pseudonyms and the following acronyms are used to identify which school the teacher works in: Barehill Church of England

School (BH), Newton High (NH) and Westridge School (WR), thereby grounding the content of the interviews in the contexts explained in 4.2. Appendix B details the transcription system used which includes symbols such as (.) denoting a pause.

#### 4.3.1 Tolerance as accepting not embracing

The first interpretative repertoire I discuss is tolerance as accepting not embracing. This repertoire refers to how tolerance was constructed as involving accepting something that is disagreed with or disliked. Because of this the acceptance is not constructed as warm or fulsome but as minimalistic. This repertoire is broadly in line with Forst's (2003, pp. 73-74) permission and co-existence and Anker and Afdal's (2018, p. 54) endurance constructions of tolerance (see 2.3.2). This repertoire was used by all teachers in all schools, in varying ways which I expand on below. It is exemplified in the following extract from Emily BH.

<<18:23>>

- 1 **Emily BH:** mutual respect and tolerance of those
- 2 with different faiths and beliefs implies (.)
- 3 that you don't have to like what the other person's doing
- 4 **Rebekah:** ah
- 5 **Emily:** but you have to accept them for who they are (.)
- 6 but then that's just tolerance
- 7 that's not mutual respect

In 3.3 I explained that the interview is a social interaction in which participant and researcher construct and re-construct the concepts of mutual respect and tolerance, rather than being a means of accessing participants' internal understandings as if they are static concepts. Here my "ah" (line 4, abbreviated hereafter in the format I4) therefore works to prompt Emily to expand her ideas. Emily constructs tolerance as entailing dislike for someone's actions (I3), however in despite the dislike, acceptance must be shown towards them (I5). In this construction of tolerance, Emily suggests it is acceptance of the person which must be shown through employment of the pronouns "they" and "them" (I5), rather than acceptance of their ideas. The extract ends with Emily identifying a distinction between tolerance and mutual respect in which she uses contrast to position tolerance as the lesser of the two values, as seen by the

minimising use of “just” in line six (Wiggins, 2017, p. 155). Wiggins (2017, p. 157) observes that comparisons within discourse serve to emphasise something or highlight distinctions. Here the comparison in lines 6-7, combined with the minimising “just”, functions to emphasise that the aforementioned description of tolerance falls short of what would be required for mutual respect.

Although all participants drew on this repertoire of tolerance as accepting not embracing, there were differences between participants regarding whether tolerance occurred in instances of dislike or moral disagreement. This mirrors the debate in 2.3.2.2 about whether dislike can provide sufficient grounds for tolerance (Nicholson, 2012, p. 160). For instance, in the above extract, Emily BH constructs tolerance as pertaining to an instance of dislike. In contrast, in the following extract from Rahim WR, moral disagreement is prominent.

<<12.43>>

- 1 **Rahim WR:** one of the biggest major sins in Islam is *shirk*
- 2 ok in other words idol worship
- 3 **Rebekah:** yeah (.)
- 4 **Rahim:** ok now and we cannot tolerate that in any form any
- 5 shape and so on (0.5)
- 6 err ok and er it's one of the most unforgiveable err anyway
- 7 so but then when you see a Hindu or a Sikh
- 8 and that's part of their practice and their belief
- 9 **Rebekah:** right
- 10 **Rahim:** you have to hold that tolerance there not to say
- 11 something that might cause them offence
- 12 so in other words yes you disagree (.)
- 13 you know this is part of your religion
- 14 but don't say such use of words whatever
- 15 that might cause them offence

Rahim starts (l1-2) by identifying a sin in Islam which can be understood as an issue of moral disagreement. During the interview, Rahim shared his identity as a Muslim and appears to speak from this perspective here. This is emphasised by his assertion in line 4 that “we” cannot tolerate idol worship, which functions to position himself in agreement with other Muslims. Wiggins (2017, p. 157) notes a three-part list can be used to emphasise the factuality of something. Here the list of “any form, any shape and so on” (l4) works to stress the problematic nature of *shirk*.

Reformulating his construction as he speaks, in line 6 Rahim suggests that you may encounter someone who has a directly opposing belief, which can lead to the need to show tolerance. In lines 9 and 13, Rahim constructs tolerance as remaining silent when faced with a belief or practice that is strongly disagreed with. This could be interpreted as constructing tolerance as being enacted through restraint from action, rather than as an attitude. The idea of not responding offensively when faced with a belief you disagree with suggests a minimalistic level of acceptance. Nonetheless, for Rahim, as was the case for Emily WR and other participants, tolerance is constructed as allowing the existence of a belief or practice which stands in opposition to one's own position.

#### 4.3.2 Tolerance as unsatisfactory

Alongside the repertoire of tolerance as accepting rather than embracing, four teachers (Emily BH, Yasmin BH, Anna NH, Fahima WR) also explicitly constructed tolerance as unsatisfactory. This repertoire refers to how, whilst they acknowledged the existence of, and sometimes the potential utility of, tolerance, these teachers also constructed it as negative or problematic. In addition, as was noted in the example of Emily BH in 4.3.1, this repertoire was sometimes also seen in how teachers made use of the discursive device of contrast (Wiggins, 2017, p. 157). Tolerance as unsatisfactory can therefore also be seen in lines 6-7 in the extract from Emily BH in 4.3.1, where the minimising "just" could be seen as positioning mutual respect as preferable to the less satisfactory concept of tolerance. The repertoire of tolerance as unsatisfactory is also illustrated in the following extract from Fahima WR.

<<17.38>>

- 1 **Fahima WR:** tolerance I you know was just something more about (.)
- 2 erm it's sort of it sort of has negative (.)
- 3 erm what's the word connot- (0.4)
- 4 **Rebekah:** connotations?
- 5 **Fahima:** £connotations£ yeah
- 6 £negative connotations£ erm towards it
- 7 so it's just like I understand where you're coming from
- 8 but I'm just (.) I'm just happy with your ideas
- 9 because I have to be
- 10 **Rebekah:** oh ok=

- 11 **Fahima:** so I have to have to deal with the fact that you have those opinions

In this extract, Fahima explains how tolerance is different to mutual respect. Fahima describes tolerance as having “negative connotations” (l6), a phrase also used by Yasmin BH. On four occasions Fahima uses the term “just” (l1, 7, 8) which has a minimising affect and contributes to a construction of tolerance as lacking, or perhaps as being inferior to an alternative, unnamed, option. In lines 7 to 10 Fahima expands on her construction of tolerance as having negative connotations, and in doing so arguably draws on the repertoire discussed in 4.3.1 of tolerance as acceptance. Fahima suggests that tolerance requires acceptance of another person’s ideas because of a sense of duty or obligation (l8 and 10); this is seen in the emphasis placed on the word “have” within line 10. A sense of duty is placed onto the person showing tolerance, who must “deal” (l11) with the other person’s opinion. This implies that tolerance involves accepting but not embracing the other person’s viewpoint, as their perspective is dealt with. This suggests that the disagreement must be resolved internally by the person who disagrees with it, rather than through them applying pressure to the other person to persuade them to change their view.

The identification of tolerance as unsatisfactory by some teachers (Emily BH, Yasmin BH, Anna NH, Fahima WR) also involves a construction of a link between their position as RE teachers, and their identification of a preference for mutual respect over tolerance. This is seen in the following extract in which Emily BH talks about the role of the RE teacher.

<<32.52>>

- 1 **Emily BH:** I do I think you can settle with tolerance (.)  
2 because there are occasions when you're never gonna achieve  
the understanding or the acceptance  
3 **Rebekah:** mhm  
4 **Emily:** but generally I think you should be aiming for mutual  
respect

Here Emily draws again on the positioning of tolerance as less satisfactory than mutual respect, seen in her use of the term “settle” (l1) to describe tolerance and the subsequent comparison with mutual respect (l2). Emily

uses the pronoun “you” (I4) to refer back to the RE teacher, which could be seen as functioning to suggest that all RE teachers should be pursuing mutual respect, rather than tolerance. The emphasis placed on “aiming” (I4) also serves to highlight Emily's preference for mutual respect and could be seen as showing that mutual respect is constructed as something which RE teachers should aspire towards promoting, even if they are not always successful.

#### 4.3.3 Mutual respect as predicated on personhood

I now turn to examine the interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas and subject positions in constructions of mutual respect. All seven teachers predicated their construction of mutual respect as resting on the identification of the other person's status as a fellow human. That is to say, underlying other features of mutual respect, was a construction of mutual respect as arising because of an acknowledgement of the other's status as a person. This echoes the discussion in 2.3.1.1 from Dillon (2018, section 2.2) who explains the widespread influence of Kant's idea that every person should be shown respect because of their status as a person. The construction of mutual respect as predicated on personhood is illustrated in the following extract from Emily BH.

<<20.13.6>>

- 1 **Emily BH:** I think that's what I'm talking about (.)
- 2 is mutual respect when I talk about the agape love
- 3 because it's that selfless love of a neighbour that you might
- 4 not agree with them
- 5 but you accept them as a person
- 6 **Rebekah:** yeah
- 7 **Emily:** as being different but you love them anyway in a sort
- 8 of roundabout sense
- 9 you don't have to love them but you (.)
- 10 like them almost you erm what's the word I'm looking for (0.2)
- 11 not accept (0.2)
- 12 you you almost accept them as a person

Here Emily is speaking about how mutual respect is different to tolerance, building on the repertoire discussed in 4.3.2 of tolerance as unsatisfactory. In lines 4 and 10 Emily concludes that mutual respect involves acceptance of the other as a person, which works to imply that mutual respect can be

shown on the grounds of personhood alone. This construction could be seen as aligned with Darwall's (1977, p. 38) recognition respect discussed in 2.3.1.1. The construction is further developed through an inter-textual reference to the Bible and Christian theology (I2 and 3). An inter-textual reference refers to when one text is present or used in another (Shank, 2008, p. 468). The identities of researcher and participant as fellow RE teachers are also significant here because Emily assumes an understanding of the theological concept of agape love and indirectly draws on a Biblical reference to the concept of a neighbour. Neighbourliness is a prominent theme in the Bible, where one of the two great commandments is to "love your neighbour as yourself" (The Bible New International Version, 2011, Matthew 22:39). It is also evident in the parable of the Good Samaritan (Ibid., Luke 10:25-37), a story often taught in RE lessons. The reference to love of a neighbour (I3) works alongside Emily's reference to the concept of agape love, a Greco-Christian word, which can broadly be described as denoting Christian, charitable or unconditional love for another person (Reeve, 2005, p. 3).

Throughout her speech, the complexity and challenge of constructing mutual respect can also be noted. This is seen in the pauses throughout (I1, I7-9, hesitancy in selecting an appropriate word (I7) and the use of hedging (I1). In addition, Emily employs discursive buffers to emphasise she is talking about love in a specific context, including the idea that mutual respect entails love "in a sort of roundabout sense" (I6). In line 7 the emphasis on the word "love" followed by its replacement with "like" (I8) serves to emphasise that the type of love discussed here is distinctive in the context of mutual respect. A key theme which runs throughout these references is the relational feature of mutual respect; it rests on identifying the other because they are a fellow person.

#### 4.3.4 Mutual respect for all opinions?

As has been seen in the repertoires discussed so far, the teachers used a range of repertoires to construct tolerance and mutual respect. They also placed different levels of emphasis on certain features within those repertoires. Whilst ideological dilemmas were not strongly evident in the teachers' constructions of mutual respect, one dilemma did emerge

regarding whether mutual respect should be shown for all opinions. Most teachers did not raise this as a problematic topic, however two teachers (Anna NH and Fahima WR) did. Fahima WR constructed a subtle distinction between mutual respect for a person and for people's opinions as seen here.

<<22.28.02>>

1       **Fahima:** something that I always say is  
2       if you have an opinion on something (.)  
3       on someone's belief some someone's value or opinion (.)  
4       that's fine  
5       that's your opinion  
6       I can't really say anything about that  
7       but it's important that you just remember that  
8       regardless that person is that person

Talking about mutual respect, Fahima recounts something that she commonly says to pupils (l1). Throughout lines 2-6 Fahima constructs an opinion as something which the other person is entitled to hold. The suggestions of "that's fine" (l4) and that you "can't really say anything" (l6) could be seen as implying that the opinion is exempt from criticism. In lines 7 and 8, Fahima builds on this with a suggestion that regardless of your view about someone else's opinions, their status as a person is significant. This again illustrates the underlying feature of personhood in constructions of mutual respect (see 4.3.3). This could suggest that even when there are disagreements about opinions, a level of respect, perhaps akin to Darwall's (1977, p. 45) recognition respect of personhood should be shown (see 2.3.1.1). This extract also raises a question about whether Fahima affords recognition respect to opinions; an issue I return to in chapter five.

In contrast to Fahima WR, Anna NH was forthright in seeing respecting all opinions as problematic, as seen in the following speech where she distinguishes between respect for someone as a person and for their opinion.

<<42.05>>

1       **Anna NH:** the respect thing has become woolly  
2       because like we have with children  
3       oh but you know oh you have to respect everybody's opinions  
      (.)

- 4     **Rebekah:** mmm (.) why is respecting everybody's opinions an issue?
- 5     **Anna:** because there's respecting the individual and the person
- 6     **Rebekah:** ok
- 7     **Anna:** but I don't have to respect your opinion that the genocide of of Jewish people and the Holocaust never happened
- 8     **Rebekah:** yes
- 9     **Anna:** all opinions are not equal all opinions are not equal
- 10    some are based and grounded in an accurate representation of the world
- 11    an expert and justification
- 12    and some are spurious dogma

In this extract Anna NH begins by using a metaphor in the term “woolly” to construct respect. Wiggins (2017, p. 164) notes that metaphors are sometimes used to create visual representations or highlight particular features of an object. Here, it arguably works to suggest a vagueness to the concept of respect, or to construct respect as something which is soft or has blurred edges. Anna makes use of active voicing which Wiggins (2017, p. 166) comments can be used to distance the speaker from the words. Here the exclamation “oh” (13) arguably demarcates what follows as not Anna’s own view, and hence the metaphor and voicing work together to produce a critique of the suggestion that all opinions should be respected.

By asking why respecting all opinions is an issue (14), I invite Anna to build on the construction of respecting all opinions as problematic. Through lines 5-7 Anna constructs a distinction between respect for people and respect for opinions and, in line 7, uses what could be considered an extreme case formulation to illustrate her point. Wiggins (2017, p. 154) suggests that extreme cases are used to show the speaker’s investment in a particular account. The example pertaining to the Holocaust works to emphasise Anna’s point more strongly than if she had, for instance, referred to a disagreement about the colour a room should be painted. From line 9, Anna uses contrasts and repetition to build on the construction that not all opinions are worthy of respect. In lines 10 and 12 Anna emphasises the word “some” to show that there are two types of opinions. In her assessment that “all opinions are not equal” (19) the absence of personal pronouns suggests the assessment is rooted in the object itself (opinions)

rather than herself as the subject (Wiggins, 2017, p. 148). This functions to create a sense of universality about the statement, rather than it being just Anna's opinion. The lack of hedging in this extract also contributes to Anna's construction that mutual respect should be shown to all people, but not all opinions, as having universal applicability. Overall, Anna's construction identifies the existence of a potentially problematic discourse of respecting all opinions, which no other teachers in my study explicitly constructed as problematic. I return to this in chapter five.

#### 4.3.5 Mutual respect as engaging with another person

Whilst mutual respect was constructed as something which should be given to another person because of their status as a fellow human, this was not the full extent of the teachers' constructions. All the teachers in my study also constructed mutual respect as something which is enacted through engaging with another person, who may have a different perspective to oneself. This is exemplified in the following extract from Amara BH.

<<12.45.6>>

1       **Amara BH:** mutual respect is like more personal  
2       so me and you having a discussion (.)  
3       agreeing to disagree  
4       you have your opinion and I have mine  
5       but I still respect you as a person  
6       it's not gonna take my point of view

In this extract, Amara BH constructs mutual respect as arising between persons (l1 and 5). She also suggests it is possible for a person to be respected even when disagreement arises (l4-5). This shows the underlying feature of personhood in Amara's construction (see 4.3.3) and reinforces the widespread influence of this type of recognition respect (Darwall, 1977, p. 38) (see 2.3.1.2). However, for Amara, mutual respect is not constructed as being solely about personhood. In addition, Amara constructs it as involving discussion (l2), in which there is engagement and exchanging of ideas (l2-4), perhaps suggesting a type of appraisal respect (Darwall, 1977, p. 38) in which the other person's opinion is evaluated and a decision made about whether it should be respected. In constructing mutual respect as possible in instances of disagreement, in lines 3-6 Amara also builds a

construction of mutual respect as reciprocal in that neither party is obliged to change their own point of view.

As well as constructing mutual respect as engaging with difference, at Barehill, Amara and Yasmin positioned themselves as championing an openness towards engaging with others. This subject position was not created by any other teachers and is exemplified in the following snippets.

<<25.10>>

- 1 **Amara BH:** because of their parents' point of view
- 2 is planted onto their child
- 3 and so I sometimes feel like I'm breaking the mould a little bit

<<31.15>>

- 1 **Yasmin BH:** because some of the parents aren't tolerant
- 2 and then they are their opinions get on to the kids
- 3 so it's like (.) kind of like breaking down

In these snippets Amara and Yasmin make use of metaphors to construct the viewpoints of parents as "planted" (Amara I2) and "get[ting] on to" (Yasmin I2) their children. Whilst the opinions of parents are non-physical, the use of these metaphors which imply a physical entity to the opinions functions to suggest how parents' views can influence their children's perspectives. Both teachers use the term "breaking" (I3) to describe how they work to provide different viewpoints to those of parents, positioning themselves as offering a contrast to pupils' parents in their orientation towards encountering difference. Opinions cannot be physically broken and the metaphor emphasises the effort involved in presenting pupils with an alternative perspective. It is also notable that in the discussion following these snippets, both teachers reassure me that they do not force pupils to change their point of view.

Although all the teachers drew on an interpretative repertoire of mutual respect as engaging with another person, they differed in how they talked about the content of the engagement. For example, above, Amara BH constructs mutual respect as a factual exchange of opinions or discussion between two people. In contrast, Sadia at Westridge School more explicitly constructed mutual respect as arising through pupils' engagement with each

other enabling them to identify similarities. This is seen in the following example.

<<10.03>>

- 1 **Sadia WR:** there's different ways of in which people pray
- 2 but the whole aim of it might be very similar
- 3 so it's kind of that mutual respect of oh!
- 4 that's how you do it
- 5 and this is how I do it
- 6 but there's that respect
- 7 because we're both trying to gain (.)
- 8 the same kind of thing from it

Here Sadia focuses on how the aim of prayer might be very similar, although the externalities of how and where prayer is performed might look quite different (l1 and 2). In lines 4 and 5 Sadia makes use of active voicing (Wiggins, 2017, p. 166) to show an imaginary interchange between two people who have different approaches to prayer, marked as voiced speech by the exclaimed "oh!" (l3). Sadia then returns to the theme of finding similarities as central to mutual respect in line 6, seen in the emphasis she places on "but" and "gain" (l7). The "but" works to highlight that it is not identification of differences which is significant, but that both parties are seeking to obtain a similar thing from prayer. In 2.4.3.2, the analysis of Wright (2007, p. 27) and Lundie and Conroy's (2015, p. 285) work highlighted the risk of flattening differences as potentially inhibiting rather than enabling the promotion of tolerance and respect, which could be considered as one interpretation of Sadia's construction here; I return to this in chapter five.

In the following extract, an alternative perspective on engagement with difference is constructed by Anna NH, who is arguably the most effusive of all the teachers in advocating a construction of mutual respect as engaging with another person.

<<42.32>>

- 1 **Anna NH:** it's a two way process
- 2 **Rebekah:** ok
- 3 **Anna:** and it's an expectation of a two-way process as well
- 4 **Anna:** rather than the othering and the rejecting and the cancelling

5 but actually engaging in that conversation  
6 really upfront and honestly actually has value  
7 not just for the person who has the 'wrong' (hand gesture)  
belief  
8 **Rebekah:** mm  
9 **Anna:** but for you because (0.2)  
10 by honestly and upfrontly engaging it you're  
11 what could be dogma  
12 you're challenged to think  
13 why do you believe in the equality of women

Anna begins by constructing mutual respect as being a “two way process” (l1). The phrase works to emphasise the existence of two parties in Anna’s construction of mutual respect, hinting towards mutual respect as arising between two people and, as in Amara BH’s construction of mutual respect, there is a reciprocal aspect to mutual respect here. Anna continues in line 4 with a three-part list which functions to create a strong contrast with the concept of engagement which she introduces in line 2. The vocabulary choices (“othering”, “rejecting” and “cancelling”, l4) are all negative terms and thus could be seen as constructing non-engagement as problematic. In addition, Anna’s repetition of the words “upfront and honestly” (l6 and 10) works to build on the contrast she creates with the idea of not engaging with the other person. In line 7, Anna uses hand gestures of inverted commas and emphasises the word “wrong” which serves to challenge the idea that there is a right and wrong stance to hold in a debate. This works alongside her identification of engaging with another person as valuable (l6) to suggest that benefits can be found for both parties. Through voicing a hypothetical internal thought (l12-13) Anna expands on what the value could be, namely engaging in internal reflection about the reasons for holding one’s own position. In this sense, Anna’s construction of mutual respect as engaging with another person contrasts with those of Amara BH and Sadia WR. In Amara and Sadia’s cases, whilst mutual respect is constructed as engaging with another person, this could be seen as occurring as an exchange; both parties become aware of the beliefs or perspective of another person, which may differ from one’s own stance. In contrast, Anna NH specifically constructs mutual respect as involving a positive and beneficial engagement between two parties, even when they strongly disagree.

#### 4.3.6 Mutual respect as a behaviour

In contrast with other participants, including the other teachers at Westridge School, Rahim WR used an interpretative repertoire of mutual respect as a behaviour. This reflects the discussion in 2.3 and Dillon's (2018, section 1.1) observation that respect can be understood as both an attitude and a behaviour. In the following extract, Rahim WR emphasises the practicalities of showing respect; the physical or outward performance of demonstrating to someone else that they are respected, as opposed to respect as an internal mental perspective.

<<39.34>>

- 1 **Rahim WR:** so if you saw someone worshipping an elephant  
for arguments sake
- 2 you would know why he is doing that
- 3 so you can now once the tolerance comes in
- 4 so now you'll show the respect

In this extract, Rahim is explaining the role of knowledge in promoting tolerance and mutual respect and draws on the example of the idea that in Hinduism, deities may be represented in the form of animals including elephants (I1) which believers may have statues of. In lines 2 and 3, and throughout the interview, Rahim suggests that tolerance arises when pupils gain a better understanding of the reasons behind someone's beliefs or practices. He suggests that respect can then stem from this too, seen here in his emphasis on the word "now" (I4) which functions to emphasise the necessity of the previously outlined conditions being met for respect to occur. Here Rahim constructs respect as something which is "shown" (I5), implying that for him respect is primarily something which is performed or enacted. It is also noteworthy that whilst in my interview questions I consistently use the term 'mutual respect', here Rahim employs the word 'respect'. This could be for economy of words, be an indication that he does not see a distinction between the two concepts or be because he is primarily concerned by the overall concept of respect.

The repertoire of mutual respect as enacted is evident across Rahim's interview, as seen in the following two snippets.

<<19.02>>

- 1 **Rahim:** well just keeping quiet
- 2 by not saying he or she is showing respect

<<40.11>>

- 1 **Rahim:** so cremation for example
- 2 ok where I'm anti I'm against that that's not my belief
- 3 however there's no issue me attending a cremation ceremony
- 4 or whatever right
- 5 purely to show a respect to the family

In first snippet Rahim constructs respect as involving the practice of remaining silent. He suggests respect can be shown by not arguing or responding to a belief which might be disagreed with. Respect is manifested through an outward behaviour of refraining from speaking if something is disagreed with. In the second extract, Rahim draws on an example of the permissibility of attending a cremation ceremony. The inclusion of three negatives in line 2 functions to construct cremation as something which Rahim strongly disagrees with. The presence of "however" at the start of line 3 works to illustrate that despite his disagreement with cremation, respect can still be shown through an outward practice of attending a cremation ceremony. This serves to reinforce Rahim's construction of respect as something which is shown to another person through engaging in certain actions, or inactions, as was the case in remaining silent.

#### 4.3.7 Mutual respect and tolerance – not only fundamental British values

My research was inspired by a requirement for teachers to promote "mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs" (Department for Education, 2014, p. 5), as included in a statement of FBV (see 1.2). However, mutual respect and tolerance as FBV was not a repertoire which all teachers in my study drew on. It was in fact notable that Anna NH voiced criticisms of FBV.

In the first part of the interview (see appendix A) I asked teachers about mutual respect and tolerance but did not immediately mention they were part of a set of FBV. At Newton High, Anna raised the issue of FBV very early on in the interview, offering a critique of the concept of FBV, as seen here.

<<1.40>>

- 1 **Anna NH:** doesn't there feel there's like a sense of colonial kind of
- 2 because the British
- 3 so rather than core values
- 4 **Rebekah:** yes
- 5 **Anna:** yeah yeah there's like the yeah the
- 6 what is it when you take over (.)
- 7 when you say that's so individual liberty
- 8 that's ours well ahh
- 9 and erm but it's also it's very Western isn't it

Anna problematises the nationalistic labelling of mutual respect and tolerance as part of a set of FBV (I2), her emphasis on "British" sets up a contrast between this and the alternative she proposes of them being "core values" (I3). This is developed through the phrases "take over" (I6) and "that's ours" (I8) and an emphasised "Western" (I9) to work up a construction of labelling certain values as British as exclusivist and as ignoring the possibility of them also being values of other people or nations.

In addition to this unique critique from Anna, all teachers at Westridge School (Fahima, Sadia and Rahim) contrasted with all other participants in my study because they identified the benefits of promoting mutual respect and tolerance as British values, rather than as more general values, a topic I return to in chapter five. This is seen for example in the following quotation from Rahim.

<<59.05>>

- 1 **Rahim WR:** so yeah so all our pupils
- 2 majority are are Muslims
- 3 so remember now this is where the British values comes in
- 4 **Rebekah:** ok
- 5 **Rahim:** they're living in a Christian country
- 6 do you understand
- 7 therefore they need to know the rights the beliefs and the practices of people from that country

Rahim starts by mentioning the context of Westridge School with a majority of Muslim pupils. He then uses this in lines 3 to 8 to construct a contrast with the UK as a Christian country. In line 3, Rahim refers back to FBV, which have been mentioned earlier in the interview by me. Notably, at this prior point in the interview, Rahim, who identifies

himself as a Muslim, commented that they were “not just British values [...] but it’s part of our religion”, suggesting a possible comparison or even conflation between the values of a country and the values of a religion. In lines 3-5, Rahim similarly implies a connection between British values and Christianity. In line 7, Rahim also constructs knowledge as significant, a finding which I return to in 4.4.3.

At Westridge, both Sadia and Fahima, who during the interviews also shared their identity as being Muslim, echoed Rahim’s concern articulated in the above extract to emphasise the potential value of mutual respect and tolerance for their pupils as Muslims living in the diverse society of the UK. Sadia did so slightly differently to Rahim and Fahima, by drawing on her own identity in order to explain the significance of this.

<<14.34>>

- 1 **Sadia WR:** I I originate from Pakistan
- 2 like if you go to Pakistan
- 3 you're not gonna have those differences as much (.)
- 4 **Rebekah:** mm
- 5 **Sadia:** for example and I think within Britain
- 6 we (.) do need some £form of guidance£

Speaking about FBV in the context of Westridge School, Sadia constructs mutual respect and tolerance as FBV as a helpful set of national values because of the diversity of British society. To achieve this construction, Sadia explains her own heritage as Pakistani and, as discussed in 4.3.5, the concept of differences as important to mutual respect (and tolerance) emerges again. Sadia constructs a contrast between Pakistan and the UK (I2-3) in order to explain why a set of FBV may be useful in the UK, which she suggests has a greater level of diversity (I3). In line 6, the proposal that a “form of guidance” is needed is spoken between muffled laughter, which perhaps functions to lighten the suggestion.

Whilst the teachers at Westridge School were distinctive from other departments in identifying the potential benefits of FBV for their pupils, more widespread was a construction of the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance as part of the aim of RE. This was referred to by all teachers in my study. An example of this construction is seen in the following extract

from Fahima WR. It is additionally exemplified later in an extract from Yasmin BH (see 4.4.1).

<<6.32>>

- 1 **Fahima WR:** reminding students that
  - 2 when they leave when they leave school er
  - 3 they are gonna come across different people
  - 4 erm promoting respect towards other religions and (.)
  - 5 as a teacher that's my role in RE
  - 6 just to remind students that there are different people that exist
  - 7 and that it's not just as easy as saying that that's a Muslim over
- there

In this extract Fahima constructs her own position as an RE teacher as directly connected to the promotion of respect, seen in her explicit statement of this in line 5. In lines 2, 3 and 6 Fahima constructs a connection between the world outside the classroom and the purpose of RE. She suggests RE can help prepare pupils by making them aware of the diversity of beliefs people might hold. This is also seen through her use of voicing (Wiggins, 2017, p. 166) in line 7, where she articulates a statement perhaps sometimes spoken by pupils of thinking people can be simplistically identified as following a particular religion. This suggests a possible connection between the promotion of respect and an awareness of the diversity of people's beliefs in the world outside the classroom. In this extract it is also notable that Fahima constructs her role as an RE teacher as "reminding" (I1 and 6) pupils about the need for respect. This could suggest a reluctance to see the teachers' role as didactic or involving direct instruction in terms of how values are promoted. The minimising "just" (I6) further reinforces this sense of the RE teacher's role as guiding pupils towards certain values. Lastly, it is noteworthy that the subject position Fahima constructs here is of the RE teacher as particularly contributing towards the promotion of respect, building on the construction of this as comprising part of the purpose of the subject of RE.

In addition to how all teachers in this study constructed a subject position of the RE teacher as connected to the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance, five teachers (Emily BH, Amara BH, Anna NH, Sadia WR and Rahim WR) positioned themselves as having a personal motivation for

promoting mutual respect and tolerance. This often linked to the teacher's motivation for teaching RE as a subject. The teachers' examples varied because the personal attachments were all unique. An example from Amara BH exemplifies the subject position as follows.

<<10.58>>

- 1 **Amara BH:** do you want me to be really real?
- 2 **Rebekah:** yeah yeah
- 3 **Amara:** .hh as a black woman erm (0.3)
- 4 I guess it's a personal thing
- 5 to really promote tolerance and mutual respect
- 6 erm to teach young people about to do away with stereotypes  
and pre-judgement and discrimination
- 7 and to just love one another as we love ourselves

In this extract Amara starts by asking a question, which could be seen as seeking permission to speak openly (I1). My response in line 2 points to the co-construction of knowledge (see 3.4) which occurred during the interviews, as I encourage Amara to voice what she is thinking. Wiggins (2017, p. 158) notes that "affect displays" such as sighs can function to invoke an emotion, rather than the speaker using words to describe an emotion. In line 3, Amara begins with an audible sigh which alongside the pause at the end of the line, arguably adds gravitas to the statement which follows, or emphasises the personal connection between Amara's identity as a black woman and her promotion of mutual respect and tolerance. In lines 4-5 Amara then constructs the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance as a "personal" pursuit, with the emphasis on "really" implying that more superficial promotion of mutual respect and tolerance might also be possible. The three-part list in line 6 reinforces this and works to expand on what the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance involves through stating three ideas. Lastly, Amara concludes (I7) with an inter-textual reference (Shank, 2008, p. 468) to the gospel of Matthew in the Bible, which adds weight to Amara's proposal by suggesting it is supported by Christian teachings.

#### 4.4 Promoting tolerance and mutual respect: interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas and subject positions

In this section I explore three core interpretative repertoires which teachers used to talk about how they promote mutual respect and tolerance: RE as a discursive space; the use of authentic stories and real life examples; and the importance of substantive knowledge. I also examine some key ideological dilemmas and subject positions which arose within those repertoires (see 3.9.2).

##### 4.4.1 RE as a discursive space

All seven teachers used an interpretative repertoire of the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance as occurring through the use of discussion in RE. There were three core features of this repertoire: RE as providing a distinctive space for discussion; RE as a space in which frank and honest views can be expressed; and the importance of spontaneous questions or comments. Not all teachers talked about all three features, and so throughout the following analysis I highlight who used which feature.

##### 4.4.1.1 Distinctiveness of RE

The first feature I examine is the construction of RE as a distinctive discursive space. This focused on how RE and the RE teacher were delineated from other subject areas. It also closely links to the construction of the RE classroom as a space where pupils could ask frank and honest questions (see 4.4.1.2). RE was constructed as a distinctive discursive space by all teachers in all departments. The following example from Yasmin BH illustrates the repertoire.

<<10.32.>>

1       **Yasmin BH:** I do think RE has a huge place  
2       especially when you're dealing with misconceptions as well (.)  
3       like it's your job to kind of even if you have to stop the lesson  
4       you have to cos that kid will leave the classroom with that  
      misconception  
5       and that could then spread (.)  
6       and kids that are here spread like £wildfire£ erm (.)  
7       so I think all teachers should in in every classroom  
8       but not those kind of conversations don't arise in every  
      classroom

Although Yasmin suggests that all teachers should promote mutual respect and tolerance (17), she also contrasts the RE classroom with other subjects, where she suggests that the right type of conversations “don’t arise” (18). The construction of conversations as arising arguably gives an agency to the conversation itself; the conversation is not necessarily started or planned for by the RE teacher and may occur spontaneously. Two discursive features can be seen in Yasmin’s account which point to the significance of the RE classroom as a distinctive space and the RE teacher as a creator of that space. Yasmin uses the metaphor of wildfire (16), which Wiggins (2017, p. 164) observes can be used alongside an extreme case formulation. An extreme case formulation refers to when someone’s words can be heard as going to an extreme, beyond exaggeration (Ibid., p. 154). Here, the choice of the metaphor of wildfire combined with the repetition of the phrase “you have to” (13 and 4) and emphasis the second time around functions to stress the particular importance of the RE teacher’s role in engaging in conversations which address misconceptions. These imply that not addressing misconceptions has severe consequences for pupils, as illustrated by Yasmin’s choice of metaphor; the need to ensure they are addressed is more important than continuing with planned learning (13).

At Newton High, Anna also constructed RE as providing a distinctive space compared to other subjects. In addition, Anna was unique in also constructing RE as offering a different space to pupils’ home environments.

<<20.10>>

- 1 **Anna NH:** now for some children they are very privileged
- 2 and they will have what I had
- 3 which was the privilege of having debates and discussions
- 4 around the family table
- 5 where you bring things up
- 6 and you challenge things
- 7 and you try out different ideas
- 8 like you try on different hats
- 9 **Rebekah:** £yes£
- 10 **Anna:** you know and nobody is judging you
- 11 and nobody is erm kind of like there with a moral baton
- 12 but the many many children they do not have that
- 13 opportunity
- 14 and where else do they have it?
- 15 in some other in many other subjects
- 16 teachers are very very uncomfortable

In this extract Anna begins by making the assessment that some children are very “privileged” (I1) because they have access to a discursive space in their home environment where they can voice and debate different ideas. She uses the metaphor of trying on “different hats” (I7) to construct a vivid portrayal of the scope that some children have to experiment with a range of opinions (I5) without fear of judgement (I9-10). However, Anna constructs such a family environment as unusual with her assessment that “many, many children” (I11) do not have access to such an opportunity at home. Anna’s questioning in line 12 functions to imply that if a discursive space is not available at home, schools should provide it. Anna’s construction of this discursive space at home as a privilege draws on a wider discourse that some children come from more advantaged backgrounds. However, this discourse is often framed in terms of economic status, whereas here Anna uses it to refer to wealth in terms of access to open discussion and debate. In lines 13-15, Anna positions “many” other subject teachers as “uncomfortable” about engaging in discussion with the pupils. The repetition in the phrase “very, very uncomfortable” (I14) and shift from “some” to “many” (I13) works to reinforce this construction of other teachers and to position RE teachers as contrastingly comfortable with such discussions. Overall, Anna’s construction of the home environment contrasting with school also has echoes of the discussions with Amara BH and Yasmin BH in 4.3.5, who also positioned RE teachers as offering an alternative perspective to parents.

At Westridge School, all three teachers (Sadia, Fahima and Rahim) also constructed RE as offering a distinctive space. They additionally positioned the RE teacher as skilled at creating and managing discursive opportunities. One further unique aspect of this repertoire was seen in the interview with Fahima WR who explains in the following extract how her identity as an RE teacher is key to opening discussions with pupils which enable her to challenge misconceptions.

<<10.53>>

- 1 **Fahima WR:** it's not just in RE  
2 it's just like when I'm covering a lesson for example  
3 when people find out that I'm an RE teacher (.)  
4 they say oh what do you think about this type of Muslim?

[...]

- 7 **Fahima:** for me that's the best time to talk about tolerance  
and mutual respect  
8 **Rebekah:** mmhm  
9 **Fahima:** and have a little discussion  
10 why it's important that we respect different people from the  
same faith  
11 let alone different people from different faiths

Here Fahima starts by explaining that discussions which enable the promotion of tolerance and mutual respect do not just occur in the physical space of an RE classroom but emerge because of her identity as an RE teacher (l1-3). Fahima uses voicing in line 4 to recount a question from pupils about intra-religious differences in Islam. The emphasis on "best" (l7) serves to show Fahima's approval for these spontaneous discussions which she constructs as enabling her to promote mutual respect within Islam. Fahima's phrase of "let alone" at the start of line 11 emphasises the priority of addressing pupils' misconceptions about different types of Muslims, before turning to the issue of promoting tolerance and mutual respect for people of other faiths. By emphasising her identity as an RE teacher, Fahima constructs herself, rather than a physical RE classroom, as the locus of discussions. This could suggest that although officially KS3 RE is taught to each class for one hour a week, opportunities for promoting tolerance and mutual respect also arise outside of this confined time. This is because pupils identify RE teachers as people they can explore particular types of questions with; the discursive space of RE moves with the teacher rather than being tied to a specific physical location.

#### *4.4.1.2 RE as a frank and honest space*

The second feature of the repertoire of RE as a discursive space was the construction of RE as a space where pupils could express their views honestly and frankly. Sometimes this was constructed by explicitly using the phrase 'safe space', as seen in the following snippet from Yasmin BH.

<<16:50.1>>

- 1 **Yasmin BH:** we create an environment where (.) they can have a lot of discussion
- 2 **Rebekah:** mmhm
- 3 **Yasmin:** and they feel safe to say their opinion

Although Yasmin is the speaker, in line 1 she does not use 'I' but instead employs the pronoun 'we', a footing shift (Wiggins, 2017, p. 147) which arguably functions to refer collectively to herself and other RE teachers. The discursive space is not constructed as arising by chance but because of active creation by the RE teacher. Yasmin builds on this in line three by describing it as a safe space; the emphasis on "safe" highlighting that this is a key characteristic of the space. The consequence of creating such a space is also stated: it enables pupils to feel comfortable to share their ideas. The identification by teachers that the RE classroom provides a space which enables and permits discussion is perhaps unsurprising because the use of discussion and dialogue in RE has been well explored in the literature (see 2.4.5.3). However, perhaps less attention has been paid to how RE teachers identify themselves as creating such spaces, which Amara BH talks about in the following extract. This was also mentioned by Emily BH, Yasmin BH, Amara BH, Anna NH and Sadia WR.

<<14.45.7>>

- 1 **Rebekah:** how does that [mutual respect] work in the RE classroom?
- 2 **Amara BH:** (.) by allowing the young people to speak
- 3 **Rebekah:** ahha
- 4 **Amara:** I believe that a lot of young people aren't given the opportunity to speak
- 5 **Rebekah:** mmhm
- 6 **Amara:** they're spoken to so I think that's where (0.2) I (.)
- 7 I think that's where I've been blessed with (.)
- 8 the rapport that I have with young people because I allow them to speak
- 9 **Rebekah:** mmhm
- 10 **Amara:** I may not agree (.) they might not agree with me
- 11 (.) but they understand that I'm giving the opportunity to  
listen
- 12 **Rebekah:** mmhm
- 13 **Amara:** sorry I'm giving them the opportunity to speak
- 14 and I listen and then I notice that they give the same respect  
to me
- 15 so when I do speak they're listening they're listening to others

In this extract, Amara emphasises the value of allowing young people to express their personal thoughts and ideas within RE as a means of promoting mutual respect. She emphasises her own role within this, firstly by stating that young people are sometimes not permitted or encouraged to speak about their ideas (l4, l6), which is contrasted with her own relationship with young people in which she allows them to speak (l8). The verb choice of “allow” (l2, l8) works to illustrate Amara’s position of power. As the classroom teacher, she positions herself as in charge of who speaks and who does not and constructs herself as a facilitator of discussion. Towards the end of this extract, Amara makes use of contrast between speaking and listening to emphasise that by giving young people a chance to speak, they also listen to other people, which perhaps hints towards the mutual aspect of respect. It is also an example of mutual respect being enacted in the classroom.

Whilst RE was widely constructed as a space in which pupils should feel safe to say their opinion, some teachers (Emily BH, Yasmin BH, Anna NH, Rahim WR, Sadia WR) also raised the challenge of maintaining the safe space when pupils disagree or voice comments which might be intolerant. In the following extract, Emily BH exemplifies the types of problems which the teachers suggested they face in seeking to create and maintain a safe space for discussion. This arguably points to an ideological dilemma regarding the teachers’ identification of the importance of enabling pupils to express and hear different viewpoints, and of the simultaneous need for the teacher to maintain a space in which pupils can feel safe to do so. This echoes the findings from Iversen’s (2019, p. 321) research on the challenge of maintaining safe spaces in RE classrooms (see 2.4.5.3). In the following extract, I have asked Emily whether she can talk about a lesson or time in a lesson when she was able to promote tolerance. In reply she explains how she developed an “agree to disagree” corner.

<<39.28>>

- 1 **Emily BH:** we were having a debate one day
- 2 and I can't even think what the debate was about
- 3 and I got both sides of the class that side agree and that side disagree
- 4 I think it was about euthanasia

5 and it was all just shouting shouting shouting  
 6 there was no structure to this debate  
 7 and £I was an NQT right£ so I said right do you know what  
 8 I think in this sense we need to agree to disagree  
 9 because sometimes you don't have to agree with someone  
 10 **Rebekah:** yeah  
 11 **Emily:** but you can accept their point of view  
 12 and everyone was like yeah that's a good idea  
 13 we'll just leave it so which I don't think is necessarily right that  
 we left it (0.1)  
 14 because perhaps we needed to unpick it further  
 15 but sometimes you get to that stage in the lesson where you  
 can't  
 16 and you just have solid belief against solid belief  
 17 **Rebekah:** yeah  
 18 **Emily:** and there's never going to be a harmony between them  
 19 so I just said right let's put it in the corner and they were like  
what?  
 20 and I was like agree to disagree in the corner

At the start of this extract, Emily explores the challenge of maintaining the discursive space. The repetition of "shouting" (15) creates a sense of the busyness of the classroom environment and of the struggle which Emily experiences in trying to maintain a safe space in which pupils with strongly differing opinions can co-exist. In line seven, Emily provides a disclaimer that she was a newly qualified teacher (NQT). This perhaps serves to lessen her accountability, either for the unstructured discussion she describes, or for the idea of the "agree to disagree" corner in case it does not meet with the researcher's approval. Nonetheless, she later comments that she continues to use the agree to disagree corner with pupils in KS3 and KS4 by noting down the issue on a card and revisiting it with pupils at the end of the school year. Here Emily also draws on the repertoire of tolerance as accepting not embracing (see 4.3.1) to explain her justification for the decision to not seek absolute agreement between pupils. Her use of the term "solid" (16) uses a metaphor to emphasise the rigidity and strength of pupils' viewpoints. Here there are also signs of an ideological dilemma about the extent to which she should "perhaps [...] unpick" (14) pupils' ideas further. However, the use of the extreme case formulation that "there's never going to be a harmony" (18) works to emphasise Emily's feeling of futility regarding this aspiration. Emily's use of reported speech in line 19 of the pupils' response could demonstrate their surprise at the sudden

termination of the debate, the fact that an absolute resolution was not demanded of them or their confusion with the idea. Overall, this extract demonstrates the challenge and tensions of creating and maintaining a discursive space and making the space one in which pupils with strongly opposing views can feel safe. It also evidences a practical classroom enactment of the previously discussed repertoire of tolerance as accepting not embracing (see 4.3.1).

An alternative approach to exploring disagreement was portrayed by Anna NH. In the following extract, she describes how a pupil she gives the pseudonym Billy might make a homophobic comment. Anna explains how the atmosphere in the class might change and explores her possible response.

<<56.34>>

1       **Anna NH:** you've got the part of the class they will like shut  
          down  
2       there will be like tyranny of the majority  
3       and they will like de-humanise Billy  
4       the others of them will kind of like sit and will have like the  
          same thought  
5       but not  
6       they haven't said it  
7       and they're looking for the social cues of like where do align  
          myself with this?  
8       so it's really confusing and there's a feeling of edginess and it's  
          not safe (0.2)  
9       and it's time for you as a teacher to stop the lesson  
10       **Rebekah:** mmhm  
11       **Anna:** and to address that in a way where Billy is made to feel  
          human again  
12       and his thought is addressed  
13       but actually the thought is dismantled

[...]

16       what might someone who disagrees with this think  
17       or what might be the if everybody thought this what might be  
18       the consequence of that though  
19       and kind of like addressing it so it's got it you know  
20       and then and then you say thank you so much Billy for  
          bringing that to the class  
21       **Rebekah:** aha  
22       **Anna:** I think that's been a really precious conversation

Here Anna explores how pupils react to a comment from a pupil, which Anna constructs as resulting in a classroom which is “not safe” (I8). Although other pupils may not speak, Anna constructs them as either sharing, or alternatively, disassociating themselves from the comment voiced by one pupil (I2-6). That is to say, there may be a range of agreement and disagreement in the classroom, with pupils uncertain about how to outwardly position themselves. Throughout this, Anna emphasises the importance of seeing the humanity of the pupil, Billy, and constructs his homophobic comment as a learning opportunity for the rest of the class (I11). This is highlighted through Anna’s description of the conversation as “precious” (I16) and by thanking Billy (I19). Anna is keen to emphasise that homophobic comments do not go unchallenged and uses the metaphor of “dismantl[ing]” (I13) to construct the complex nature of exploring such a comment. In lines 16 and 17, Anna voices questions which she might ask of the class as a means of demonstrating how she would sensitively explore the comment made, without making the pupil central in the discussion. This is achieved using the terms “someone” and “everyone” (I16 and 17) which work to de-personalise the discussion and make it more general. I return to these approaches to discussion in chapter five.

#### *4.4.1.3 Spontaneous nature of discussions*

The last feature of the repertoire of RE as a discursive space was the idea of the discursive space as arising spontaneously, perhaps prompted by a comment or question from a pupil which might even be somewhat or wholly intolerant. This feature was found in all departments but not explicitly discussed by all teachers, occurring in the interviews with Yasmin BH, Anna NH and Sadia WR. In the next extract, Anna NH identifies the benefit of what she terms “moments between the moments”, a phrase she uses to describe how pupils may ask questions or make comments outside of a planned for learning activity (see 4.4.1.1). This raises an interesting ideological dilemma about the role of intolerant moments in promoting mutual respect and tolerance, which I return to in chapter five.

<<59.05>>

- 1 **Rebekah:** so are there ever occasions when young people in key stage 3 don't show tolerance and mutual respect?

2     **Anna NH:** oh yes all the time  
3     and I hope for them  
4     and I kind of like actively goad them (.hh) to do it  
5     **Rebekah:** [(.hh)]  
6     **Anna:** no no I don't mean it as brutal as that at all in any  
      sense

[...]

11    but at the same time that those little questions  
12    ooo you know  
13    those questions come up and those talks are had

In responding to my question in line 1, Anna expresses positivity towards pupils who are on occasion intolerant or not mutually respectful. This is seen in lines 3 and 4, where Anna expresses “hope” for such instances. The use of laughter (.hh) in line 4 in conjunction with Anna’s qualification in line 6, repetition of “no” and emphasis on “at all” function to show that Anna does not hope for such moments in the sense of promoting intolerance herself. The need for her to clarify her statement in line 4 is probably also caused by my response of laughter in line 5 and shows how Anna takes care not to position herself as someone who actively promotes intolerance. Nonetheless, in lines 11-13, Anna focuses on the benefits of pupils asking genuine questions and the use of voicing in line 12 works to convey a sense of pupils’ engagement in these discussions. This suggests that Anna constructs spontaneous discussion as a valuable means of promoting tolerance and mutual respect, particularly when focused on issues of genuine concern to pupils.

The benefit of spontaneous discussion was also highlighted by Yasmin BH, as seen in the following extract.

<<19.60>>

1     **Yasmin BH:** they just don't know sometimes  
2     **Rebekah:** mm  
3     **Yasmin:** when they say stuff that it comes across really like  
      controversial  
4     **Rebekah:** mm  
5     **Yasmin:** sometimes they say it cos they want a reaction  
6     and sometimes in a debate you kinda need it you need a one  
      £kid to be like that one£  
7     that's like erm says something so opposite to everyone else

8 because it engages them though and they love it  
9 **Rebekah:** yeah  
10 **Yasmin:** cos then they can really um discuss it  
11 but I think it's like there's no point having a go at them  
12 it's just literally like educating them

Yasmin identifies two separate features of the types of comments made by pupils which lead to discussions. In the first possibility, in line one, Yasmin positions the pupils as innocent; whilst they may make inappropriate comments this is not constructed as being because they hold prejudiced views but because of the pupil's lack of knowledge, which they cannot be blamed for (l11 and 12). The second possibility is that pupils may make controversial statements because they "want a reaction" (l5). Rather than criticising this, Yasmin points to how this engages other pupils with the debate. The suggestion that these controversial comments enable pupils to then "really um discuss it" (l10) implies that a higher quality, perhaps more meaningful, discussion arises because of these comments. Yasmin's suggestion, spoken whilst smiling (l6), perhaps shows that she knows this is a slightly controversial statement to make. Her speech spoken whilst smiling along with the hedging use of "kinda" (l6) also work to soften the suggestion and to perhaps make clear that it is not an approach which can be openly suggested.

Lastly, most teachers (Amara BH, Yasmin BH, Anna NH, Rahim WR, Fahima WR, Sadia WR) also talked about how the use of responsive questioning can provide an important means of exploring or counteracting pupils' ideas, which can be a way of promoting mutual respect and tolerance. These questions did not appear to be planned by teachers but arose spontaneously as the discussion developed. An example of how this might work in practice came from Sadia WR, in which she also positions her own identity as significant.

<<26.10>>

1 **Sadia WR:** the way I do it with my students is well (.)  
2 kind of play devil's advocate  
3 so yeah so say for example they'll come up with  
4 erm oh no but this is-isn't right  
5 I'm like well why why is your way right?  
6 I don't understand (.)  
7 why is what you're saying right?

8 and they think just because they see a headscarf and I'm  
Muslim as well

9 they think oh no she's automatically gonna have the same  
beliefs

10 **Rebekah:** mm

11 **Sadia:** erm or a lot of the time they'll say oh that doesn't  
sound

12 that sounds a bit silly for example (.)

13 for example you will you'll say something about a religion like

14 this religion believes that this happened or this miracle  
happened

15 and they'll be like well that doesn't sound logical

16 and then I'll just turn around and say well is it does it sound  
logical for example

17 for erm a man to be able to split the moon in half

18 cos that's what the Muslim belief is

In this extract Sadia makes use of active voicing (Wiggins, 2017, p. 166) (see 4.3.4) to show the questioning approach which she uses with pupils, beginning with her statement in lines 3-4 of pupils challenging an idea. The term "like" (15 and 15) prefaces the instances of reported speech. Wiggins (2017, p. 166) suggests that reporting speech helps to "increase the factuality" of the account. Sadia characterises her dialogic approach as playing devil's advocate in line 2. This idiom works to show that Sadia's reported speech does not necessarily reveal her own opinions but are statements made in her role as an RE teacher. In line 8, Sadia identifies that pupils focus on her external appearance as a sign she will share their views, suggesting that how pupils position her identity has implications for the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance. However, in lines 16 to 18 Sadia explains how she uses her knowledge of Islam to challenge pupils' misconception that miracles in other religions are not believable through a process of questioning pupils' beliefs from the perspective of a non-Muslim person. These lines, along with the exemplar questions reported by Sadia in lines 5 to 7, construct tolerance and mutual respect as being promoted through a dialogic exchange. In 2.4.5.3 I raised the topic of the use of dialogue in RE, which Sadia appears to suggest is significant here, and I return to this in chapter five.

#### 4.4.2 Using real life examples

A second key interpretative repertoire all the teachers in my study employed when talking about how they promote mutual respect and tolerance was using real life examples. Three types of real life examples were discussed by teachers: stories or examples about religious people; stories or examples from teachers own lives; and pupils' own stories and experiences of religion. I illustrate each one in turn.

##### 4.4.2.1 Real life examples and stories about religious people

Five teachers (Amara BH, Yasmin BH, Anna NH, Fahima WR, Sadia WR) talked about how they made use of real life examples or stories about religious people as a means of promoting tolerance and mutual respect. The examples and stories which these teachers discussed were all contemporary religious figures including Martin Luther King and Malala (racial and social justice campaigners), as well as stories from the media. In the case of Anna NH, she particularly emphasised that her approach to RE teaching was "rooted in human narrative". The term human appears 26 times in Anna's interview, compared to 15 or fewer times in the interviews with all other teachers. Whilst this is a crude guide it arguably points towards the centrality of humanity in Anna's ideas about promoting tolerance and mutual respect. The following extract serves as an exemplification of how these five teachers talked about using real life examples of religious people. Anna is talking about a unit of work entitled forgiveness, studied in year 9 in which pupils study the story of Gee Walker, a Christian who forgave the people who murdered her son Anthony Walker in a racially motivated attack in 2005.

<<23.33>>

- 1 **Anna NH:** seeing the raw humanity of co-
- 2 you've just lost your son
- 3 can e-you know is Gee Walker
- 4 like a superhuman to do that?
- 5 what you know are there any benefits to her?
- 6 is it c-completely erm (.)
- 7 is it completely what's the word when it's just (.)
- 8 really kind of like altruistic is it completely altruistic?
- 9 **Rebekah:** mm
- 10 **Anna:** is it completely rooted?

11 just purely because Jesus said you know forgive you know not  
seven  
12 times but seventy times  
13 like how does it actually work?

[...]

15 **Rebekah:** how does that can you explain how that using Gee  
Walker story might enable the promotion of tolerance or respect?

16 **Anna:** because if you just say 'be tolerant' or 'be respectful'  
teenagers won't!

17 **Rebekah:** ok

18 **Anna:** it's another thing to kind of like say well you know  
bugger off

19 you know £I'm not going to engage in that idea£

[...]

24 but if you draw them in  
25 and you know and they they think about the times in their lives  
(.)

26 where it's been hard to forgive

27 **Rebekah:** yeah

28 **Anna:** or where they have forgiven

29 and like you know what is it like phenomenologically

30 what is it like to forgive what does it feel like? (.)

31 you know erm why might you do it?

32 why might you not do it?

In this extract, Anna explains that whilst the unit of work focuses on forgiveness, the human story of Anthony and Gee Walker is central to pupils' engagement with the topic. This is seen in line 1 where Anna emphasises that pupils are engaging with the "raw humanity" of the challenging issue of forgiveness. Anna's use of the term raw implies a direct engagement with Gee Walker's account of showing forgiveness. In this extract Anna repeatedly verbalises questions (lines 4, 5, 8, 10, 12, 30, 31, 32) which are constructed as the types of questions which she asks pupils when studying this topic. These questions, alongside the querying in lines 11-12 of whether Gee Walker's forgiveness is solely because of Jesus' teaching works to construct the exploration of Gee Walker in this unit of work as more than just a brief exemplar of a Christian person showing forgiveness. This use of a religious person's story could be seen as providing a particular mode of engaging with otherwise abstract substantive knowledge about Christianity. The multiple questions Anna raises function

to emphasise the depth of engagement she strives for. It is arguably the depth and richness of engagement with the authentic human story, in this instance from Gee Walker, which Anna constructs as central to enabling the promotion of tolerance and mutual respect.

The inefficacy of merely sharing the concepts of mutual respect and tolerance with pupils is seen in Anna's exclaimed denunciation of this (116). Instead, Anna articulates that pupils need to be "draw[n] in" (124), illustrating the value she places on the importance of asking pupils deeper questions, arising from the engagement with the human story of Gee Walker. The phrase "draw in" perhaps also works to position pupils as hesitant to engage with either RE or the concept of mutual respect. In response to this, Anna proposes that pupils also need to engage with their own experiences to explore the topic of forgiveness (125-32). As in the first half of the extract, Anna's voicing of multiple questions functions to highlight the depth of engagement which she suggests is needed when engaging with other people's and pupil's own stories and experiences, in order for them to have the potential to promote tolerance and mutual respect. Anna's approach arguably draws on aspects of Jackson's (1997) and Erricker's (2010) pedagogical approaches (see 2.4.4 and 2.4.5), and I return to these in chapter five.

#### *4.4.2.2 Real life examples from teachers' lives*

The second feature of the repertoire of using real life examples refers to how five teachers (Amara BH, Yasmin BH, Rahim WR, Fahima WR, Sadia WR) discussed how they made use of examples from their own lives or modelled the significance of the values for themselves. This was typically done to demonstrate the importance of mutual respect and tolerance to pupils, and also involved teachers positioning themselves as forming a bridge between the world of the classroom and the external or 'real world' outside the school. In the following extract Fahima WR explains how she shares the significance of mutual respect and tolerance in her own life with pupils.

<<42.40>>

1       **Fahima WR:** mutual respect is something I like to promote (.)

2 in day to day life (.)  
3 when I talk about that (.)  
4 that is when I think they realise oh actually she's promoting  
mutual  
5 respect because she's (.)  
6 actually that's something she actually does in real life  
7 and I think that's when students are like  
8 Miss really why would you do that?

[...]

13 suddenly everyone else starts listening  
14 oh (.) ok (.) oh (.) right that makes sense!  
15 and it clicks in a bit more and  
16 it's oh she's not saying it cos she's a teacher  
17 she's obviously we know she's a teacher  
18 but she's stepped down a little bit

Here Fahima constructs mutual respect as something she personally promotes and agrees with (l1-2 and l6). She then builds upon her construction of the significance of this as a pedagogical approach through the use of active voicing (Wiggins, 2017, p. 166), which she uses to share the reactions of pupils when she expresses to them the importance of mutual respect in her personal life (l4 and 8). In line 8, Fahima constructs pupils as showing surprise in learning about her personal values and experiences. This is furthered through Fahima's construction of using personal examples as highly engaging for pupils, as implied by her suggestion that everyone "starts listening" (l13). In addition, through further voicing (l14), Fahima articulates how using personal examples can result in pupils reflecting on their existing viewpoints, and the metaphor of "click[ing]" is used to suggest a sudden change in perspective. Towards the end of the extract (l16-17), Fahima discusses how whilst she is typically positioned as a teacher by pupils (l17), using personal examples can result in a change, with the metaphor of "stepped down" (l18) implying a hierarchical levelling and re-positioning of herself by pupils. This refers to how pupils position her not only as a teacher but also as a fellow human who genuinely believes in the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance; this itself is a means of promoting the values.

As part of using their own lives as examples and modelling the significance of mutual respect and tolerance to pupils, teachers also positioned

themselves as a bridge to the outside or external world, which pupils were simultaneously positioned as not being part of. This can be seen in the following two snippets.

<<27.49>>

1     **Yasmin BH:** I feel like (0.2)  
2     they've not seen the world enough  
3     whereas teachers  
4     when you're older and stuff  
5     you have seen the world  
6     and you've seen how other people can be treated due to  
different faiths etc

<<1.05.11>>

1     **Anna NH:** they're not at that stage  
2     where they're able to go and explore the world  
3     and see lots of different counterfactual situations  
4     you know and so (.) if you can get them there

In the first snippet Yasmin establishes a contrast between other adults and herself (I3 and 4) and pupils (I2) who are positioned as lacking experience of the wider world. A similar positioning is seen in the snippet from Anna, who constructs pupils as not yet having had the opportunity to “go and explore the world” (I1-3). Alongside these positionings of pupils, teachers position themselves as being able to provide examples and insights from the wider world which might enrich pupils’ understanding. In line 4 of Anna’s discussion, she emphasises the word “there”, referring to the classroom. This works to locate the classroom space as different to the outside world and to suggest her role is to bring her insights from the outside world into the classroom.

#### *4.4.2.3 Using pupils’ stories*

The third feature of the repertoire of using real life examples was seen in how four teachers (Emily BH, Amara BH, Anna BH, Rahim WR) constructed the use of pupils’ stories and experiences of religion as playing an important role in the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance, particularly in terms of pupils who are themselves religious. Closely connected to this was a positioning of pupils as experts in knowing about a religion, resulting in teachers positioning themselves also as learners. This repertoire and

subject position are illustrated in the connected extracts shared by Emily BH.

<<31.20>>

- 1     **Emily BH:** it promoted such a mutual respect in the classroom  
2     that one of the girls who'd been on Hajj  
3     actually felt the  
4     and she's not a (.) bubbly outgoing charismatic kinda girl  
5     she felt the (.) place to come up to the front and tell us about  
her experiences  
6     **Rebekah:** mm  
7     **Emily:** and everyone was awestruck (.)  
8     and everyone was looking at her and just (.)  
9     listening to her  
10    and it was almost like the atmosphere in the class changed  
11    **Rebekah:** how so?  
12    **Emily:** because there was just this (.) peace and quiet  
13    which you £don't get in the classroom much£ (.hh)  
14    and this like a sense of understanding  
      [...]
- 21    and then everyone clapped

Emily recounts a story from when teaching about Hajj (pilgrimage in Islam) of a year 7 pupil who felt comfortable to share her own experiences of Hajj with the class. Emily uses a three-part list in line 4 to emphasise that this was out of character for this pupil. Throughout this extract Emily uses detail and a narrative structure, which Wiggins (2017, p. 161 and p. 166) observes can help to make an account seem more credible, to recount the impact of this moment on the rest of the class. For example, in lines 7-9 Emily emphasises the positive attention other pupils gave to the pupil. In lines 11-14, after my invitation to Emily to expand on her assessment that the atmosphere changed, she uses laughter (l13) to underscore the unusual nature of the "peace and quiet" (l12) this moment prompts. Emily also uses an emotion category of the class being "awestruck", reinforced through the account of the class "clapp[ing]" (l21). Wiggins (2017, p. 171) suggests that emotion categories can be used to enhance the credibility of a claim and also to create contrast. Here, both factors are arguably in play because Emily constructs this moment as unusual in the classroom (l13). Overall, this moment might also be considered one of a dialogic Interaction in Williams *et al.*'s (2019, p. 223) terms (see 2.4.5.3) because it involves

personal exposure to a diverse other, a topic which I return to in chapter five.

<<34.02>>

- 1 **Emily:** and I was like wow
- 2 and it was it was an experience for me as well
- 3 because I didn't know half the things she told me about

In the second snippet, Emily recounts her own response to the experience discussed above. She uses a further emotion category, “wow” (I1), to describe her own response. She also acknowledges that she did not know “half” (I3) the information the pupil shared. This works to position Emily as a learner and the pupil as the more knowledgeable party, perhaps in line with Erricker’s (2010, p. 136) identification of a shift in classroom dynamic when starting from the experiences of pupils (see 2.4.4). This raises interesting questions about the role of pupils’ knowledge in the classroom and arguably contrasts with the teacher as a bridge to the outside world repertoire discussed above. This is because here Emily suggests that the teacher is not necessarily the expert. This could be seen as representing an ideological dilemma about what type of knowledge is most valuable in the RE classroom when promoting mutual respect and tolerance; I return to these issues in chapter five.

#### 4.4.3 The importance of substantive knowledge in promoting mutual respect and tolerance

The third key interpretative repertoire which teachers in my study used to talk about how they promote mutual respect and tolerance was the identification of the important role played by substantive knowledge. Some teachers also queried its efficacy and others pointed to the interplay between substantive and personal knowledge. I discuss these topics in this section.

##### 4.4.3.1 Substantive knowledge

No teachers in my study suggested they explicitly promoted mutual respect or tolerance by teaching a lesson where the title or central topic of the lesson was one of the two concepts. Indeed in 4.4.2.1 Anna NH was overtly critical of the efficacy of simply saying “be tolerant”. However, many of the teachers did construct imparting knowledge about religions and beliefs, which might be considered “learning about” religion in Grimmit’s (1987, p.

225) terms or “substantive knowledge” in Kueh’s (2020, p. 135) words (see 2.4.2), as a key way they indirectly promoted mutual respect and tolerance.

Whilst all teachers talked about substantive knowledge, three teachers (Emily BH, Yasmin BH and Rahim WR) particularly constructed it as playing an important role in promoting mutual respect and tolerance. This is illustrated in the following example.

<<10.04.2>>

- 1 **Emily BH:** by starting off with the knowledge
- 2 **Rebekah:** ok
- 3 **Emily:** and the understanding of why
- 4 **Rebekah:** mmhm
- 5 **Emily:** why someone believes what they do
- 6 why someone acts the way they do because of their belief
- 7 and I think that leads to the empathy the compassion
- 8 (.) the mutual respect and tolerance

In this extract the repeated emphasis on the word ‘why’ shows the centrality of this in Emily’s approach to teaching and constructs a connection between pupils knowing the reasons behind people’s beliefs and pupils having mutual respect and tolerance for them. This is noteworthy because Emily does not propose that pupils merely need factual knowledge about the content of other people’s beliefs; here she emphasises the importance of them knowing the underlying reasons for those beliefs. The starting point for mutual respect and tolerance is constructed by Emily as being about knowledge (l1). It is this which “leads” (l7) to the development of a number of values (l7-8) including mutual respect and tolerance. The construction of knowledge as a starting point perhaps suggests that it will be insufficient alone. Whilst the starting point is knowledge (l1), Emily refines this to be knowledge and understanding about someone’s beliefs (l5). In line six there is a further development, as Emily proposes that knowledge about beliefs can lead to knowledge about how beliefs inform someone’s actions. The emphasis on “that” (l7) functions to draw together the preceding ideas. Collectively the knowledge of the various aspects leads to the development of pupils’ values. In this section, Emily does not however discuss the development of pupils’ knowledge about their own beliefs; the focus is solely on knowing about the reasons for other people’s beliefs.

Although the repertoire of substantive knowledge as important for the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance was seen in all three departments, there were variations in terms of the content of the substantive knowledge the teachers suggested was most significant. This depended on the context of their different pupil demographics (see figure 6). It was also closely connected to teachers suggesting pupils were likely to have misconceptions about particular religions and beliefs and that correcting these enabled the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance. For example, the analysis of the KS3 scheme of work from each department showed that all three covered Islam as a topic. In the interviews at Barehill, Yasmin and Amara both spoke of addressing the misconception held by some pupils that “just because this child's a Muslim doesn't make them a terrorist” (Amara BH) and at Newton High, Anna similarly spoke of engaging in “those inevitable conversations about terrorism and stuff like that and misunderstandings of jihad”. At Westridge School, the three teachers also talked about the importance of teaching substantive knowledge to challenge pupils’ misconceptions about Islam, however they identified that misconceptions were likely to be about Shi’ah Islam, as seen in the following discussion with Fahima WR.

<<05.10>>

1       **Fahima WR:** especially with the mindset that the year sevens  
 2       have when they come to the school  
 3       that everyone's a Muslim  
 4       because it is obviously a majority a majority Muslim school (.)  
 5       but I think it's so important because of the the misconceptions  
 6       that they have  
 7       when they come in the school  
 8       they don't know a lot about other religions  
 9       they've got all these misconceptions  
 10      it's so important as teachers  
 11      that we challenge those  
 12      break those (.)

[...]

21      learning about the differences that people might have in their  
 22      own religions  
 23      so all Muslims do this  
 24      all Christians do this  
 25      just teaching them that's not the case

Fahima starts by explaining that at Westridge the majority of pupils are Muslims (13). She identifies that year 7 pupils (the youngest in the school) have a misconception that all other people are Muslims. Fahima constructs this lack of knowledge about other religions as problematic (15-6). In this construction, Fahima also positions teachers as people who can and should address the misconceptions which pupils hold (18). Her description of the need to “challenge” and “break” (19 and 10) the misconceptions functions to suggest that this is perhaps difficult, or that the misconceptions are well established in the “mindset” (11) of pupils. However, there is no sense of Fahima blaming pupils. This is seen in the inclusion of “just” at the start of line 24, which functions to make her idea sound like a straightforward suggestion in which pupils are positioned as not knowing, and herself, as a teacher, as someone who is able to provide them with knowledge they are missing.

From line 21 onwards, Fahima emphasises that misconceptions also exist in relation to pupils’ understanding of their “own religions”, with the emphasis in her speech showing the shift in focus to the religious backgrounds of pupils. The speech in lines 22 and 23 could be interpreted as Fahima voicing the ideas of pupils, with the term “so” serving to indicate that these are not her phrases. Here Fahima identifies a need to correct pupils by teaching them about diversity within religions, as well as imparting knowledge about other faiths.

At Westridge School, a further element of substantive knowledge was the suggestion from all three teachers that pupils should be educated not only in facts about religion and beliefs but additionally in accurate ways to learn about religion and belief, as described here by Rahim WR.

<<1.10.30>>

- 1 **Rahim WR:** there are a few things one is the news (.)
- 2 because when their parents might be watching the news
- they’re sitting there as well (.)
- 3 **Rebekah:** yes yeah
- 4 **Rahim:** and there are a lot of videos or whatever circulate as
- well
- 5 I know right
- 6 and also what’s discussed in family in relatives

- 7 in the Mosque or (.) er when they go to the Madrassah and so  
on
- [...]
- 11 a teachers got to be very very sharp and smart to pick that up  
12 **Rebekah:** yes  
13 **Rahim:** someone's comments someone says something for  
example  
14 without being angry or agg- or anything like that  
15 just within that right to de-defuse  
16 and then try to clear that out

In this extract Rahim suggests that pupils are exposed to a wide range of sources of information about religion. These include the news (I2), videos (I4), family (I6), the Mosque (I7). As well as explaining his own awareness of these, seen in line 5 through the emphasis in speech, Rahim affirms the importance of other teachers being “sharp and smart” (I11) regarding their own knowledge of the sources of knowledge pupils have access to. As in the discussions above from Sadia and Fahima, Rahim constructs the teacher as needing to take a measured and calm response. This is seen in lines 14-16 where Rahim suggests that anger, and perhaps aggression, an incomplete phrase (I14), are not appropriate reactions. Two metaphors of defusing and clearing out are used in lines 15 and 16 to suggest how the teacher should address misconceptions acquired from these sources of knowledge. The metaphors serve to create a dramatic construction of the action needed on the part of the teacher to proactively address pupils’ misconceptions. The images of defusing and clearing out point to a construction of eradicating misunderstandings held by pupils. Rahim’s construction thus positions the teacher as potentially in opposition to other sources of knowledge in the pupils’ lives and as having a responsibility to address misunderstandings, but also raises a question about who decides which sources of knowledge about religion are valid.

#### *4.4.3.2 Querying the efficacy of substantive knowledge*

Although Emily BH, Yasmin BH and Rahim WR all discussed increased knowledge about religions and beliefs as forming an important means of promoting mutual respect and tolerance, there were also signs that Emily and Yasmin problematised and queried the efficacy of this. Rahim did not

raise the same critique of substantive knowledge. The issue that improving pupils' knowledge does not necessarily always lead to mutual respect and tolerance for other people's faiths and beliefs is highlighted in the following speech from Emily BH.

<<38.18>>

- 1 **Emily BH:** we have a lot of fundamental and evangelical  
Christians in the school
- 2 so one side of the argument one boy turned around and said I  
think all
- 3 homosexuals are going to hell
- 4 all gays are going to hell he said
- 5 so then firstly we had a conversation about why we don't call  
them gays
- 6 and call them homosexuals
- 7 but then it was a case of well unpicking
- 8 **Rebekah:** right
- 9 **Emily:** what he was saying and why he was saying it
- 10 and looking at the biblical scripture
- 11 so what we did was we looked at where the bible talks about  
homosexuality being subversive in almost a way
- 12 and then we looked at scripture that promotes mutual respect  
mm like Galatians 3:28 and Mark 12:31
- 13 and (.) even though we did both of them things
- 14 I came to a bit of a sticking point where
- 15 (.) neither was seeing the other side

In this extract, Emily highlights that a tension arose in her classroom regarding pupils' views on homosexuality. Emily's statement about pupils' Christian beliefs (l1) constructs the context of the school as significant in what follows. It is also notable that in line 4 Emily uses voicing to reformulate her statement in line three, sharing the more offensive, but arguably more truthful account of what was said. This points to the success of my interviews in enabling participants to speak frankly (see 3.7.2). The voicing here also works to create distance between the speaker and the words and makes clear that Emily is not accountable for this speech.

Here, substantive knowledge is constructed as important for addressing intolerance in the classroom. This is evidenced in line nine, where Emily once again talks about understanding why beliefs are held, which she mentioned repeatedly in previously discussed extracts. In lines ten to twelve, the engagement with Biblical scripture suggests that Emily

constructs knowledge about Christianity as a potential means through which the pupils might be enabled to better understand the beliefs of each other. However, in lines thirteen to fifteen, Emily suggests that this was not a successful approach. This highlights an ideological dilemma, in that whilst substantive knowledge might lead to tolerance and mutual respect, this is not necessarily the case. Emily constructs this as a “sticking point” and the metaphor works to emphasise the complexity of the situation and arguably to show her own feelings about it. Her use of the personal pronoun “I” at the start of line fourteen arguably suggests that she positions herself as responsible for resolving this tension in her classroom and sees herself as acting as a mediator between the two “sides” (l15). This ideological dilemma in which Emily aspires to use substantive knowledge to promote tolerance and mutual respect also raises a question about the extent to which the role of the RE teacher is to mediate and resolve conflicts of beliefs in their classroom, or whether an acknowledgement of the disagreement could be sufficient, topics which I return to in chapter five.

#### *4.4.3.3 Self-reflection and developing your own perspective*

The final feature of the repertoire of the use of substantive knowledge was an identification by some teachers (Emily BH, Amara BH, Anna NH, Fahima WR) of the importance of providing opportunities for pupils to critically reflect on substantive knowledge. They suggested this could enable pupils to reformulate or adjust their own perspectives, and that it was in these moments that the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance occurred. This is seen in the subsequent two extracts from Amara BH.

<<24.09.5>>

- 1 **Amara BH:** sometimes they go quiet
- 2 when they go quiet it's cos they're really taking it in
- 3 and thinking about themselves or things like that so
- 4 **Rebekah:** mmm what do you do when it goes quiet?
- 5 **Amara:** I love it (.hh) I love it because (.)
- 6 sometimes silence is (.)
- 7 reflection self-reflection

Amara identifies the importance of silent moments in her classroom. Her repetition of the word love and moment of laughter (.hh) in line five work to show her delight at the fact that such moments occur in her classroom. She

constructs these moments as being occasions when the pupils are “taking it in” (I2) which serves to suggest that it can take time for pupils to process new ideas. In line three, Amara constructs the process of “taking it in” as also involving the possibility for pupils to reflect on themselves. Amara continues this by talking about how this process can extend across into the next lesson:

<<24.55>>

- 1 **Amara:** so they might talk about it again
- 2 **Rebekah:** aha
- 3 **Amara:** yeah=
- 4 **Rebekah:** =and then=
- 5 **Amara:** =sometimes there's food for discussion with their  
peers
- 6 or they might see their (.) their peer differently
- 7 **Rebekah:** mm
- 8 **Amara:** and have a different kind of respect

Here Amara constructs pupils’ development of respect for a peer as a process, extending across more than one lesson. Using the repertoire of the classroom as a discursive space (see 4.4.1), Amara notes that sometimes pupils’ reflections on what they have learnt extends into a discussion in the next lesson (I1 and I5). This construction implies that mutual respect takes time to promote and cannot be brought about instantaneously. Instead, drawing on a metaphor in line six of seeing someone differently to describe how pupils might change their viewpoint, Amara constructs respect as being promoted by having time to think away from the classroom, in which pupils digest what they have learnt; new knowledge does not necessarily have an immediate impact on pupils’ views. Amara concludes by suggesting that this process results in a different type of respect (I8). There is an implication here that there was a pre-existing level of respect for peers, perhaps respect for them as fellow persons. However, Amara arguably constructs this newfound respect as the preferable one, suggesting it might a form of respect which extends beyond personhood.

#### [4.5 Chapter summary](#)

Throughout chapter four I have used representative extracts from participants to illustrate the interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas

and subject positions (see 3.9.2) which were present in the discussions with my participants about how they construct and talk about promoting mutual respect and tolerance. I have also presented key contextual information about each department and their scheme of work (4.2) in order to enable the words of participants to be seen in context, a key feature of CDP (Wiggins, 2017, pp. 44-45) (see 3.9.2.). At times I have drawn attention to moments where participants' discussions cohere with or differ from existing scholarship, and I now turn to situate these findings explicitly in light of the literature reviewed in chapters one and two.

## Chapter Five – Discussion of findings

### 5.1 Introduction and overview of main findings

My research has explored the construction and promotion of tolerance and mutual respect in three RE departments comprised of seven teachers. In chapter four I presented my findings from the CDP analysis of my data (see 3.9) (Edley, 2001, pp. 197-205). In 4.2 I provided a vignette of each RE department before analysing the findings in relation to the two research questions (see 4.3 and 4.4), thereby allowing participants' words to be seen in context. As a reminder, the two research questions (RQ) are:

**RQ1.** How do teachers of Religious Education (RE) construct the concepts of tolerance and mutual respect?

**RQ2.** How do teachers of Religious Education (RE) talk about the promotion of tolerance and mutual respect in terms of their pedagogy with pupils in key stage three (pupils aged 11-14)?

In this chapter I look across the findings from the three RE departments and present a cross-case analysis to directly address my RQs. The aim is to demonstrate the significance of my findings from chapter four in light of the literature reviewed in chapters one and two. This chapter is followed by chapter six where I present a discussion of my contribution to knowledge, acknowledge the limitations of my research, identify recommendations for RE practitioners and policy making, and ideas for future research.

I start by considering the findings relating to RQ1. First, I explore to what extent the teachers constructed mutual respect and tolerance as FBV and ask to what degree they identified and engaged with the practical and political problems the requirement to promote FBV raises, drawing on the literature examined in 2.2. Then, informed by the conceptual framework of the breadth of potential constructions of mutual respect and tolerance developed in 2.3, I consider which theoretical constructions of mutual respect and tolerance the teachers in my study drew on and which they did not. As explained in 2.3, this framework does not form a rigid typology. Working from a social constructionist standpoint, I hold that the concepts may be formulated and reformulated during data generation, as well as varying between times and contexts (see 3.3). Hence here the intention is

not to arrive at a normative definition of tolerance or mutual respect but rather to explore which theoretical constructions teachers use and consider what this might suggest about the extent of their critical engagement with the concepts. My use of CDP (see 3.9) enabled me to closely examine the language, subject positions and ideological dilemmas of participants, and I draw on insights from this to inform this discussion.

In 5.3, I address RQ2, drawing mostly on literature discussed in 2.4. In 4.4, I illustrated how the teachers employ a wide range of approaches to promote mutual respect and tolerance. Here, I re-structure these into a discussion which draws on the theoretical pedagogical approaches to RE examined in 2.4 and seek to move towards a pedagogical bricolage for critically promoting mutual respect and tolerance in RE. I begin with a reminder of the concept of a pedagogical bricolage (Freathy *et al.*, 2017). Then, with reference to Critical RE (Wright, 2007), conceptual enquiry (Erricker, 2000; 2010), interpretive RE (Jackson, 1997) and discussion and dialogue, I explain how the teachers in this research are pedagogically agile, weaving together a range of pedagogical approaches. This bricolage is underpinned by a particular classroom environment, the hallmarks of which are the creation of a frank and honest space and RE teachers who are reflexive, positionally aware practitioners. Overall, I aim to illustrate how this pedagogical bricolage for promoting mutual respect and tolerance might help to address the deficiencies of the non-critical approaches to promoting FBV which Vincent (2018; 2019a; 2019b) and Bamber *et al.* (2018) identified as widespread in their studies (see 2.2). The implications of this synthesis of empirical data with existing RE pedagogical theories for other RE practitioners are set out in chapter 6.

## 5.2 RQ1: How do teachers of RE construct the concepts of tolerance and mutual respect?

### 5.2.1 To what extent do the teachers construct mutual respect and tolerance as FBV?

In 1.2 and 2.2 I established that my research was inspired by a statement from the Department for Education (2014, p. 5) asking teachers to “promote” a set of FBV. My study thus draws on, but also seeks to move beyond, existing literature which has examined the securitising and

nationalistic connotations of FBV, to examine the construction and promotion of mutual respect and tolerance in detail in the context of RE. Whilst policies about promoting FBV were the starting point for my research, this was not always reflected in my participants' constructions of mutual respect and tolerance. As highlighted in 4.3.7, there were variations in the extent to which participants engaged with the status of mutual respect and tolerance as FBV, with Anna NH being the only participant to mention that mutual respect and tolerance were FBV before I raised this. In addition, there were differences in the degree to which they identified the practical and political problems raised by FBV, including question of whether the values should indeed be labelled as 'British' (see 2.2.3) and the risk that they contribute towards Islamophobia (see 2.2.1). I now examine these variations in relation to the literature reviewed in 2.2.

Only one participant, Anna NH, voiced an overt direct critique of FBV. In 4.3.7 I showed how Anna NH commented on the "sense of colonial" and "very Western" aspects of FBV, showing an awareness of the historical context of FBV, which Germaine Buckley (2020, p. 27) suggests is so important and often missed (see 2.2.3). It is though striking that Anna is in the minority among my participants in being overtly critical of FBV. No participants talked about the origins of FBV in Prevent, which I examined in 1.2 and 2.2. Given this, it is perhaps unsurprising that my participants do not appear to share the concerns raised by respondents to Busher *et al.*'s (2017) survey who were worried that Prevent stigmatised Muslim communities (see 2.2.1). Instead, in being largely uncritical about mutual respect and tolerance as FBV, my findings could be seen as supporting Vincent's (2019a, p. 23) proposal that, most commonly, schools and teachers have absorbed the FBV policy requirement. There were however signs that my participants have absorbed mutual respect and tolerance specifically as part of RE, a point to which I return below, rather than as part of the overall school ethos or values, which Revell and Bryan (2016, p. 349) and Mcghee and Zhang (2017, p. 938) found to be typical (see 2.2.3).

What could be interpreted as a more subtle critique of FBV came from Rahim WR in response to an interview question in which I stated to all participants that tolerance and mutual respect were FBV. Rahim, who

shared his identity as Muslim during the interview, critiqued the exclusivity of FBV in his statement that they are “not just British values” but also values in Islam (see 4.3.7), thereby mirroring Panjwani’s (2016, p. 337) finding that the content of the FBV was not considered incompatible with Islam by his Muslim participants. Interestingly though, Rahim does not share the more critical stance of Panjwani’s participants who additionally felt that despite the compatibility of the values, they were rooted in suspicion of the Muslim community. Instead, Rahim along with Sadia WR and Fahima WR, who themselves also identified as Muslim, constructed the existence of FBV as a positive thing for their pupils, highlighting the Muslim beliefs of most of their pupils as significant in relation to this. The discursive device of contrast was used by Rahim, Sadia and Fahima to argue for the presence of greater diversity in the UK, as compared to other countries and places such as Pakistan, as meaning that a collective set of values was beneficial. These three Muslim RE teachers’ construction of FBV as essentially positive for their Muslim pupils thus provides a contrast with the findings from Farrell (2023, p. 208) and Farrell and Lander’s (2019, p. 476) research in which participating Muslim RE teachers felt the FBV policy results in Muslim pupils feeling targeted by “the forces of a dominant white society” (see 2.2.4). One interpretation could be that my findings show how FBV have been absorbed by these Muslim teachers, not just as school values, as Vincent’s (2019a, pp. 23-24) and Jerome *et al.*’s (2020, p. 163) research finds to be common, but moreover as values which they are particularly invested in because they see them as beneficial for their pupils. The teachers at Westridge could therefore be seen as adopting an uncritical stance towards FBV. Moreover, it is interesting that the teachers at Barehill and Newton High, which do not have a majority of Muslim pupils, are more neutral about FBV and do not similarly identify the benefits of FBV for their pupils. This arguably serves to add weight to the arguments reviewed in 1.2 and 2.2.1 that Cameron’s rejection of state multiculturalism has contributed to the stigmatisation of Muslim communities. The teachers in all schools in my study appear to pass by Hart’s (2021, p. 192) suggestion that they could critically engage with FBV by pointing out how Muslim pupils might experience FBV unjustly. Of particular concern is the fact that the Muslim RE teachers in my study seem unaware of the some of the political and

practical problems with FBV and Prevent, lending support to Ragazzi's (2016, p. 275) observation that greater attention should be paid to the ways in which Muslim communities have become involved in policing themselves.

Although the teachers in this study did not prioritise constructing mutual respect and tolerance as FBV until prompted by me as the interviewer, once asked, all participants commented on this. As noted above and illustrated in 4.3.7 through Fahima's WR observation that "as a teacher that's my role in RE", all participants appear to re-position the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance as part of the aim and purpose of RE, rather than solely as part of FBV. This has echoes of McDonnell's (2021, p. 390) research in which she found that RE, Citizenship and PSHE teachers who already see themselves as values' educators accommodate FBV within their practice. Similarly, Farrell's (2016, p. 291) student RE teachers, although uneasy with the nationalistic overtones of FBV, realigned the values within the FBV as part of RE. My participants provide further empirical examples of how this re-positioning of FBV within RE works. This provides a contrast with Vincent's (2019a, p. 23) identification of how FBV are re-packaged and re-located as school values or school wide initiatives such as a school council to facilitate the promotion of democracy. It is not the values' status as FBV which is dominant in my participants' constructions but the identification of the contribution which they, as RE teachers, can make to preparing pupils to be part of a religiously diverse society in which pupils will need the values of tolerance and mutual respect. This suggests that my participants may be aligning themselves with Dinham and Shaw's (2015, p. 3) identification of the purpose of RE as improving religious literacy, referring to preparing pupils for encounters with diverse beliefs in everyday life (see 2.4.3).

Building on this, as well as constructing the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance as part of the aim of RE, five teachers (Emily BH, Amara BH, Anna NH, Sadia WR and Rahim WR) furthermore positioned themselves as having a personal motivation for promoting mutual respect and tolerance. The personal reasons were unique to each participant, and this was exemplified through the words of Amara BH who spoke of the importance of "really" promoting mutual respect and tolerance as a Black woman (see

4.3.7). Here, Amara's emphasised 'really' suggests an awareness that other, perhaps tokenistic promotion of mutual respect and tolerance might occur, suggesting an awareness of the possibility of taking a more critical stance. Overall, the identification of the subject position of teachers being personally invested in the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance suggests that, aside from their status as FBV, these five teachers are committed to the concepts. The teachers in my study thus do not seem to primarily construct the promotion of tolerance and mutual respect as necessary to fulfil a statutory duty but because they re-locate the concepts within the subject of RE and are positive about the contribution which RE can bring to the promotion of them. In 5.3 I return to explore further what this looks like in pedagogical terms.

#### 5.2.2 Constructions of mutual respect and tolerance: degrees of criticality

In the previous section, I discussed that whilst there are moments of criticality in participating teachers' identification of the implications of mutual respect and tolerance being FBV, there is also evidence of absorption as well as re-location of mutual respect and tolerance as part of RE and as linked to the positionality of being an RE teacher. I now turn to consider which, if any, of the theoretical constructions of mutual respect and tolerance reviewed in 2.3 the teachers drew on when talking about mutual respect and tolerance and ask whether they identify any of the potential problems inherent within the concepts such as Popper's (2012 [1945]) paradox of tolerance (see 2.3.2). I also explore what this might suggest about the teachers' levels of critical engagement with the concepts. This is important because as identified at the start of 2.3, the absence of explicit definitions of mutual respect and tolerance by the Department for Education (2011; 2014) does not necessarily translate to broad and open interpretations of concepts by practitioners. There are signs that the concepts may be narrowly or uncritically constructed (Bamber *et al.*, 2018, p. 443), constructed as applying to some groups in particular (Vincent, 2019a, p. 27) and suggestions that the requirement to promote FBV across the whole school rather than in specific subjects is a contributing factor in inhibiting critical engagement with the concepts (Starkey, 2018, p. 152).

In 3.9.2.2 I explained how I paid close attention to a wide range of discursive devices such as hesitations, pauses and laughter when analysing the interview data in order to carefully examine how mutual respect and tolerance were constructed. In chapter four, given the social constructionist stance from which the study was conducted (Burr, 2003, p. 48) I did not seek to uncover a singular definition of mutual respect or tolerance but rather examined these discursive devices in order to provide rich examples of how all participants constructed and reconstructed mutual respect and tolerance during the interviews. For example, the discursive practice of hedging was seen in all teachers' accounts, referring to how participants marked talk as "provisional, tentative or conditional" (Wiggins, 2017, p. 152). There was also evidence of silences, pauses and hesitations (Wiggins, 2017, p. 150) in the discussions with all teachers. For example, Emily BH both hedges and hesitates in her construction of mutual respect as a form of agape love, such as in the line "I think that's what I'm talking about (.)" (see 4.3.3). The presence of these devices arguably shows that the teachers in this study did not construct mutual respect or tolerance as singular definitive concepts. Rather, they put forward and explore their ideas during the course of the interview itself and show moments of critical engagement with the concepts discussed. At points, my own speech also contributes to the co-construction of the concepts of mutual respect and tolerance and works to prompt more critical engagement with the issues. For instance, as seen in 4.3.4, I ask Anna NH "why is respecting everybody's opinions an issue?" which works to move the discussion in a particular direction.

One other common discursive device was the use of contrast. This was used by participants to construct mutual respect and tolerance and to distinguish between the values. This was exemplified in Emily's BH comment (see 4.3.1) of "that's just tolerance that's not mutual respect". Amara BH, Yasmin BH, Anna NH and Sadia WR all also made use of contrast in discussing their understanding of mutual respect and tolerance. It should be noted that as I was interested in both mutual respect and tolerance, I asked participants about their ideas on both, which may have contributed towards their tendency to draw comparisons between the two. However, at the start

of 2.2.3, I observed that Heyd (1998, p. 12) describes tolerance as a “sub-category of respect”. Scanlon (2003, p. 193) also suggests that tolerance, and particularly instances of disagreement, should be contained within a “framework of mutual respect”. That is to say, the distinction between the two concepts is not necessarily absolute. In my research, participants appear to likewise engage in mulling over different possibilities regarding the relationship between the concepts, rather than falling back on any singular construction. This avoidance of narrowly defining mutual respect and tolerance could be seen as pointing towards the teachers showing a degree of critical engagement with the concepts during the interviews.

Having considered the discursive devices which were common in my participants’ constructions of mutual respect and tolerance and the significance of these, I now examine the constructions themselves more closely. In 2.3 I developed a rich conceptual framework of possible constructions of mutual respect and tolerance which I draw on here. In 2.3 it was notable that many scholars address just one of tolerance or respect, with the latter also being more common than discussions of the more precise concept of mutual respect. For example, Darwall (1977) and Dillon (2018) write exclusively about respect, whilst Warnock (1990), Mendus (1989) Galeotti (2001) and Gardner (1993) address tolerance. On the other hand, Forst (2003) examines tolerance but includes a conception of tolerance of “as respect” (Forst, 2003, p. 74) (see 2.3.2.2). I additionally observed that in their empirical philosophical research into tolerance and respect, Anker and Afdal (2018, p. 54) found that teachers have a “more expansive account” of tolerance than that portrayed in theoretical literature (see 2.3.2.2). In addition, I noted their caution that whilst respect is often constructed as a “more active” concept than tolerance, empirical philosophy should avoid distinguishing between the concepts before engagement with empirical data (Anker and Afdal, 2018, p. 49). My findings appear to extend this suggestion from Anker and Afdal because the teachers drew on a range of the theoretical constructions of mutual respect and tolerance, and as I will now explore, the boundary between the two was not always clear cut.

Regarding tolerance, in 4.3.1, I showed how all participants drew on a repertoire of tolerance as accepting but not embracing. This repertoire

appears to use the hallmarks of the overarching concept of tolerance discussed in 2.3.2 as entailing objection, acceptance and rejection (Mendus, 1989, p. 8; Forst, 2017, section 1; Forst, 2020, p. 5). Echoing the debate in 2.3.2.2, the participants in my study differed in terms of whether the objection component was comprised of dislike (Warnock, 1990, p. 126) or moral disapproval (Nicholson, 2012, p. 160). Based on Nicholson's (2012, p. 160) emphasis on the need for moral disapproval to constitute the objection component, it could be contended that Emily BH does not in fact construct tolerance when she proposes that tolerance can stem from dislike of something (see 4.3.1). Alternatively, the presence of constructions of tolerance as stemming from both moral disapproval and dislike in my data could be seen as lending weight to Anker and Afdal's (2018, p. 49) claim that teachers draw on more expansive accounts than those in the literature by exemplifying how the concept of tolerance need not be defined as arising from solely moral disapproval or dislike.

Looking at the acceptance component of tolerance, as illustrated in 4.3.1 through the example of Emily BH, there was less variation between my participants' constructions. This was seen in how all teachers discussed tolerance as acceptance but stopped short of suggesting that it involved really embracing the other party; the idea of more fulsome acceptance or engagement with the other person was instead constructed as comprising mutual respect (see 4.3.5). My participants' construction of tolerance as accepting but not embracing can be seen as in line with some of Forst's (2013, p. 26) conceptions of tolerance. Forst (2013, p. p. 26) proposes four potential constructions of tolerance (see 2.3.2.2). The first two, permission and co-existence, require a lower level of what he terms "mutuality of recognition", which I take as meaning that whilst the other person is acknowledged, the parties do not find something of intrinsic worth in the other person's beliefs or actions. This results in a peaceful co-existence between the two parties (Forst, 2003, p. 74). Similarly, Anker and Afdal (2018, p. 49) also identify this form of tolerance in their empirical research, labelling it tolerance as endurance.

Forst's (2003, p. 74) second two conceptions of tolerance as respect and esteem were not present in any of my participants' constructions of

tolerance. These constructions of tolerance are characterised by an openness towards difference. In tolerance as respect, a qualitative equality approach sees parties recognise the importance of their distinct identities to the person. Going further still, an esteem conception of tolerance arises when the parties find something merit worthy in the other person's beliefs, whilst not going so far as to embrace it fully and take it as one's own position (Forst, 2003, p. 75). Although Forst discusses these conceptions under the heading of tolerance, the teachers in my study could be seen as drawing on these ideas in their constructions of mutual respect. This is interesting because it suggests the separation between mutual respect and tolerance may not be clear cut in practice and that empirical data could inform a broader reading of theoretical constructions. However, as my participants did not draw on these conceptions of tolerance as respect or esteem, there is also an implication that their constructions of tolerance could be broader and that they miss opportunities to explore the full remit of what tolerance might entail, which would enable a more critical engagement with the concept.

There were signs that some teachers engaged with exploring the limitations of the concept of tolerance, providing evidence of a degree of critical engagement. Four teachers (Emily BH, Yasmin BH, Anna NH, Fahima WR) utilised a repertoire of tolerance as unsatisfactory (see 4.3.2). Two of these teachers labelled tolerance as having negative connotations and another suggested it was problematic. This suggests that at least some teachers in my study did not accept tolerance as something to be taken at face value or as necessarily desirable. However, despite using this repertoire, no teachers brought up issues connected to the paradoxes of tolerance from Horton (1994, p. 13) or Popper (2012 [1945], p. 581) relating to whether it is ever acceptable to tolerate something that is morally wrong or tolerate the intolerant (see 2.3.2.2). That is to say, participants do not appear to engage with the complexity of tolerance as highlighted in the theoretical literature. The repertoire of tolerance as unsatisfactory is instead used to position tolerance as unsatisfactory in comparison to mutual respect, which teachers constructed as the preferable concept to promote within RE. This additionally raises a question about whether the potential utility of tolerance

for instances of strong disagreement is overlooked by my participants. For example, in 2.4.5.3 I showed how Iversen's (2019, p. 322) research notes that RE classrooms could be termed communities of disagreement, to highlight that pupils may encounter opposing viewpoints. In constructing tolerance as unsatisfactory and connecting the preferable promotion of mutual respect to their role as an RE teacher, some teachers in my study arguably reveal an idealistic and even undesirable expectation that mutual respect is always the preferable goal.

Looking specifically at my participants' constructions of mutual respect, all teachers predicated their constructions of mutual respect on personhood (see 4.3.3). That is to say, mutual respect was constructed as being something which is shown to another person, as summarised in the words of Emily BH "you might not agree with them but you accept them as a person" (4.3.3). This repertoire could be understood as originating in the thinking of Kant (1981, p. 36) (see 2.3.1.1), whose argument that people should be treated as ends in themselves has resulted in a widespread discourse that respect should be shown to people because they are intrinsically valuable as persons and not because of the benefits to oneself. Given the influence of the Kantian conception of respect, it was perhaps to be expected that this repertoire would be widespread in my own data too. In 2.3.1.1 I additionally noted the absolute nature of respect based on personhood, as seen in Darwall's (1977, p. 45) recognition respect and Hudson's (1980, p. 71) observations. This means that when respect is centred on personhood, there is no evaluation of the person or their characteristics as there would be in Darwall's (1977, p. 46) appraisal respect. It is thus arguably recognition respect which is at play in my participants' use of the interpretative repertoire of mutual respect as predicated on personhood, in that personhood is identified as the defining reason respect is shown. The viewpoint of the other party might be disliked or disagreed with, but respect is constructed as due because they are another person. Teachers favouring recognition respect as the basis for their constructions of mutual respect aligns with Barnes' (2015, p. 56) proposal that this would be preferable in the context of RE, however it is

notable that my participants do not engage with considering whether it is practically possible to enact such a promotion.

There were however findings that some teachers engaged with the question of whether pupils' opinions should be afforded recognition respect or not. In 4.3.4 I explored an ideological dilemma (see 3.9.2.4) about whether mutual respect should be shown for all opinions, illustrated through two contrasting excerpts. On the one hand, I examined Fahima's WR suggestion that if you have an opinion "I can't really say anything about that". On the other hand, Anna NH was unique among my participants in explicitly condemning the idea respect should be shown for all opinions because "all opinions are not equal" (see 4.3.4). Fahima arguably constructs opinions as being worthy of Darwall's (1977, p. 45) recognition respect; opinions should be shown respect regardless of content. In contrast with this, Anna could be seen as drawing on Darwall's (1977, p. 46) appraisal respect because she suggests opinions should be evaluated and not necessarily shown respect, or be shown differing amounts of respect depending on the nature of the opinion. Underscoring this, Anna provides a strong delineation between showing recognition respect for the person ("there's respecting the individual") whilst not respecting their viewpoint. The contrast between Anna and Fahima, informed by the distinction between these two types of respect from Darwall, perhaps provides a helpful tool teachers might utilise to aid pupils to distinguish between respect for persons and opinions. This could enable pupils to be critical and discriminate between different viewpoints and truth claims, which might not all be worthy of respect. This might thereby avoid the problems of a pedagogy of intolerance which Lundie and Conroy (2015, p. 287) suggest arises when teachers flatten the differences between religions, which inhibits critical engagement with different truth claims (see 2.3.3).

However, Anna's approach perhaps does not get right to the heart of the complexity of what people seek in being respected. In 2.3.1.1, I noted Davies' (2015, p. 71) critique that it may not be realistic to separate respect for a person from respect of their beliefs, which is what would be necessary in the context of RE if Barnes' (2015, p. 56) preference for recognition respect is adopted. Volf (2016, p. 122) moreover observes that people do

not seek to be respected just as persons but also in regard to significant aspects of their identity, such as their religious beliefs. Whilst drawing a distinction between respect for persons and opinions may help enable pupils to critically engage with the ideas they encounter, it is also questionable whether this is a desirable end point for mutual respect in RE and from the perspective of believers' themselves. It is potentially overly simplistic to separate the two forms of respect in this context. Volf's (2016, pp. 123-135) ideas on how respect can be shown highlight the importance of the process of critical engagement with beliefs and being ready to acknowledge the positive benefits to the believer of following their religion. These perhaps provide alternatives to resorting to respect for persons as the fundamental form of respect, and arguably better represents the type of respect desired in the context of people's different faiths and beliefs.

The other major repertoire in my teachers' constructions of mutual respect was mutual respect as engaging with another person (see 4.3.5). On this topic, in 2.3.1.2 I noted Somerville's (2009, p. 140) identification of the relational nature of mutual respect and examined how Gutmann and Thompson (1990, p. 76) suggest it involves "constructive interaction" with the person who is disagreed with. I also examined Rawls' (1971, p. 337) assertion that it entails being ready to give reasons for your position. My participants' construction of mutual respect as engaging with another person mirror these features from the theoretical literature. For instance, in 4.3.5 Amara BH describes mutual respect as "more personal" and "having a discussion" and Anna NH suggests it is a "two way process". Two participants (Amara BH and Yasmin BH) also positioned themselves as offering a contrast to pupils' parents, who they positioned as less comfortable with this type of engagement. This highlights an awareness of the potential presented by their role as RE teachers to help pupils critically engage with different people and perspectives.

Whilst most participants talked about engagement as conversational, Rahim WR was unusual in highlighting the behavioural dimension of mutual respect as something which can be "show[n]" (see 4.3.6). This could involve "keeping quiet" or "attending a cremation ceremony", even if you disagree with the ritual. One interpretation could be that Rahim does not construct

mutual respect here because he does not identify the characteristics of “constructive interaction” which Gutmann and Thompson (1990, p. 76) suggest mutual respect involves. Alternatively, it could be seen as representing a practical example of Dillon’s (2018, section 1.1) observation that respect can be understood as both an attitude and a behaviour. Rahim’s WR discussion of mutual respect as seen in human behaviours and as enacted builds on Anker and Afdal’s (2018, p. 55) research which identified primary school pupils’ practices of respect, but not teachers (see 2.3.1.2). It does so by showing the detail of what might comprise a “constructive interaction” (Gutmann and Thompson, 1990, p. 76). It additionally evidences that constructions of mutual respect might also be directly linked to how it is promoted, as Rahim suggests it can be enacted through speaking or not speaking or being physically present or absent.

My participants’ constructions of mutual respect do not only identify the fact that it comprises engagement with another person as key, but additionally emphasise the significance of the content of the engagement. This is interesting because it exemplifies how teachers’ constructions of mutual respect were not entirely distinct from their talk about how they promote the values, building on Anker and Afdal’s (2018, p. 51) suggestion to consider respect and tolerance as enacted, not purely theoretical, concepts and illustrating that this also applies to mutual respect. For example, in 4.3.5 I discussed how Anna NH constructs mutual respect and the process of engagement as pupils being “challenged to think”, pointing towards the importance of being able to articulate your justification for your position, which Rawls (1971, p. 337) and Gutmann and Thompson (1990, p. 76) identify as important in mutual respect. Anna NH constructs mutual respect as arising when pupils have the chance to explore diverse and divergent views, a proposal which aligns with the thinking of Wright’s (2007) and Easton *et al.*’s (2019, p. 9) Critical RE (see 2.4.3.2). On the other hand, Sadia WR focused on constructing mutual respect as occurring when pupils found similarities underlying different outward practices (see 4.3.5). For example, talking about prayer, Sadia WR suggests pupils might see “we’re both trying to gain (.) the same kind of thing from it”, resulting in mutual respect. This appears to potentially contradict the suggestion discussed

2.4.3.2 from Lundie and Conroy (2015, p. 285) and Wright (2003, p. 285) that tolerance and mutual respect are more likely to arise when pupils thoroughly engage with exploring the differences between beliefs. Lundie and Conroy (2015, p. 285) describe approaches which flatten the differences between religions, as Sadia appears to here, as pedagogies of intolerance. Instead, they suggest that a fulsome engagement with diverse views enables a more thorough explanation of the points of difference.

These two contrasting constructions of mutual respect from Anna NH and Sadia WR highlight the extremes of the breadth of constructions my participants employed, demonstrating that there does not appear to be a singular construction of either mutual respect or tolerance by the in-service teachers in this study. This suggests that there is some critical engagement with how mutual respect and tolerance are constructed because the teachers think about the concepts for themselves. They reformulate their ideas during the interviews and avoid relying on a definition from the Department for Education (2011; 2014) or other policy sources. At the same time, there are also indications that the teachers in my research do not all engage with the potential issues of constructing mutual respect as based on similarities, which the theoretical literature does identify, suggesting that further engagement with theory by teachers' might help to support a greater degree of critical engagement with the concept.

5.3 RQ2. How do teachers of Religious Education (RE) talk about the promotion of tolerance and mutual respect in terms of their pedagogy with pupils in key stage three (pupils aged 11-14)?

Informed by the literature on pedagogy and the three RE pedagogies reviewed in detail in 2.4, here I examine how, in pedagogical terms, the teachers in my study talked about promoting mutual respect and tolerance. My aim is to illustrate what a pedagogical bricolage for promoting mutual respect and tolerance might look like. This builds on my identification in 1.5 and 2.4 of Freathy *et al.*'s (2017, p. 429) proposal to reconceptualise RE teachers as "pedagogical bricoleurs". In doing so, they draw on Denzin and Lincoln's (1994) characterisation of qualitative researchers as working as different types of bricoleurs. In the context of RE, Freathy *et al.* (2017, p.

429) suggest that utilising a bricolage approach can enable exploration of different representations of the world, allow the use of different methodologies and create space for personal reflection and reflexivity. They argue that adopting a bricolage approach can also help RE to overcome the problems outlined in 2.4.2 regarding the unclear aims of the subject. Freathy *et al.* (2017, p. 435) suggest that there is no singular pedagogical choice for RE and observe that those reviewed by Grimmitt (2000) have different epistemological and ontological stances (see 2.4.2). They moreover note that teachers may use a range of approaches, even when they conflict epistemologically, to address the aims of a particular unit or piece of work (Freathy *et al.*, 2017, p. 436). In the following discussion I consequently draw on this proposal alongside my own findings from chapter four regarding the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance in KS3 RE and consider what the features of a pedagogical bricolage for this might be. I also identify two components underpinning the bricolage. These relate to the classroom environment and are the presence of a positionally aware, reflexive teacher, who creates a classroom as a frank and honest space; I explore these first. Then, I examine which aspects of the RE pedagogies reviewed in 2.4 are drawn on by my participants, and which are neglected. I end by examining the constraints of my participants' pedagogical bricolage.

### 5.3.1 A pedagogical bricolage: underpinning features

#### 5.3.1.1 *Reflexive and positionally aware practitioners*

In 2.4.1, I established that pedagogy can be considered as more than teaching technique. It involves a teacher who is critically reflective and who considers how their learners' beliefs can be supported and conditions for learning optimised (Waring and Evans, 2015, p. 28). Drawing on insights from critical pedagogy, I examined how pedagogy requires awareness of the socio-cultural context of pupils and identified how the teacher or pedagogue is themselves a crucial aspect of pedagogy, with Freire's (1996 [1972], p. 10) denunciation of a hierarchical banking model of education rejecting the positioning of the teacher as the knower, and pupils as ignorant. In my research, the analytical tool of subject positions (see 3.9.2.5) resulted in the identification of multiple findings about how the teachers in my research positioned themselves and others, as well as how

they saw themselves as positioned regarding promoting mutual respect and tolerance, and I now explore this further.

A key finding about positionality was that some teachers from all schools (Yasmin BH, Anna NH, Fahima WR) saw the fact that they were positioned as RE teachers by pupils as an important enabling factor for the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance (see 4.4.1.1). This was seen in Fahima's WR explanation that "when people find out I'm RE teacher (.) they say oh what do you think about this type of Muslim" (4.4.1.1). Fahima suggested that because of her identity as an RE teacher she was able to engage in discussions which promote mutual respect and tolerance on break duty, in the corridor or when covering lessons for other subjects. In doing so, she constructs the discursive space of RE not as part of a physical classroom but as a moveable entity, which she as an RE teacher creates regardless of her physical location. Fahima proposed this meant pupils would initiate conversations which enabled her to promote tolerance and mutual respect. Fahima's observations reveal the importance of teachers being ready and willing to engage with pupils when opportunities arise, rather than seeing learning as only occurring during lesson time. Freire's (1996 [1972], p. 62) proposal of teachers and students as dialogic co-investigators who collectively explore problems and ideas together is insightful here (see 2.4.1). Fahima uses being positioned as an RE teacher as a dialogue opener; pupils perceive her as willing and able to explore topics related to religious difference and diversity with them. Fahima grasps this moment as a potential opportunity to promote mutual respect and tolerance and is ready to meet pupils where they are at in order to explore their ideas. This could be seen as pointing to the importance of having designated RE teachers in a school because pupils position them as adults who they can explore ideas with.

The topic of positionality also extends to how pupils are positioned by teachers in my study. In order to use many aspects of the pedagogical bricolage which I unpack in 5.3.2, some teachers in all schools in my study position pupils as pedagogically valuable. This flattening of the traditional classroom hierarchy was seen in 4.4.2.3 through Emily's BH description of the powerful impact of a Muslim girl in her year 7 RE class spontaneously

sharing her experience of going on Hajj (Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca) and her expression of “wow [...] it was an experience for me as well” because she too became a learner. Along similar lines, in 4.4.1.2 Amara BH explained that she gives pupils “the opportunity to speak and I listen and then I notice that they give the same respect to me so when I do speak they’re listening”, pointing to a hierarchical flattening of valuing pupils’ contributions and a mutually respectful relationship and classroom environment that in itself contributes to promoting mutual respect and tolerance. Likewise, Yasmin BH proposed that there’s “no point having a go at them” if a controversial statement is voiced, instead, this is framed as an educational opportunity (see 4.4.1.3). Shor’s (1992, p. 201) application of Freirean principles to a pragmatic example of problem-posing education and articulation of the importance of teachers recognising how both teachers and pupils start a class “at less than zero and more than zero simultaneously” is significant here (see 2.4.1). By positioning pupils and teachers as both bringing resources, experiences and intentions which can enable critical study and, at the same time, as bringing obstacles, thoughts and language which can inhibit it, teachers in all schools in my study identify how re-aligning the traditional hierarchical teacher-pupil relationship and avoiding positioning students “as deficits” (Shor, 1992, p. 202) can be an important step in enabling the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance. From this position, intolerant comments are not seen as the sum total of the pupil. Rather, the teacher also strives to find the ways in which the pupil is “more than zero” which could be hidden cognitive or affective resources, life experiences or curiosity for new insights, alongside also being critically reflective about the ways in which they themselves as teachers are also both more and less than zero in relation to the given topic (Shor, 1992, p. 201). To do so, in line with Donnelly’s (2004a, p. 276) suggestion discussed in 2.4.5.3, teachers also need to be aware of their own positionality in relation to the topic studied. This cross-case theme of positioning pupils as valuable pedagogical resources in the classroom is significant in underpinning the constructivist, pedagogical bricolage which I set out in 5.3.2.

A final feature of positionality was teachers' identification of a correlation between their own personal belief in the importance of mutual respect and tolerance and their pedagogical approaches in promoting them. This results in teachers' positioning themselves, and being positioned by pupils, as authentic promoters of mutual respect and tolerance. That is to say, they were personally invested in the idea of promoting the values, rather than necessarily doing so because it was a policy requirement, as was also highlighted with regard to teachers' constructions in 5.2.1. As illustrated in 4.4.2.2, five teachers (Amara BH, Yasmin BH, Rahim WR, Fahima WR, Sadia WR) explained how they drew on personal stories and modelled the importance of the values to pupils in their own lives as a means of promoting mutual respect and tolerance. This included Fahima's WR suggestion that it led to pupils realising she authentically promotes mutual respect because "that's something she actually does in real life", which helped pupils to buy into the concept. Elsewhere in the data there were examples of teachers' modelling and enacting mutual respect and tolerance in their everyday classroom practice, which they felt further contributed to them being positioned as authentic promoters of mutual respect and tolerance by pupils, as well as functioning to promote the values themselves. For example, several teachers talked about the importance of modelling listening in the classroom as a way of promoting mutual respect (see 4.4.1.2). This is similar to Anker and Afdal's (2018, p. 54) finding that teachers embodied tolerance by sitting down on the floor with pupils (see 2.3.2.2). This suggests that the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance might arise when pedagogical approaches are accompanied by teachers' authentic enactment of tolerance and mutual respect in the classroom.

#### *5.3.1.2 A frank and honest classroom environment*

Closely connected to participants being reflexive and positionally aware practitioners was their identification of how they were skilled in creating a distinctive discursive space where pupils feel able to frankly and honestly express their views. This was illustrated in 4.4.1 where I showed how teachers constructed RE as contrasting with both home environments (Anna NH) and other subject spaces (Emily BH, Yasmin BH, Anna NH, Sadia WR), as exemplified in Yasmin's BH observation that "those kinds of

conversations don't arise in every classroom". These constructions can be seen as emphasising the teachers' identification of the rarity of the space RE provides for exploring different opinions and beliefs, which makes the subject suited to the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance. I now consider the features of the space the teachers talked about.

The construction of the frank and honest discursive space was often connected to the concept of a safe space, with some teachers (Anna NH, Sadia WR, Yasmin BH) using the term 'safe' in their interviews. Without using the word 'safe', other teachers (Amara BH, Fahima WR) described how they aimed for their classroom to be a place where pupils could ask questions and voice opinions. Amara BH, for instance, talked about the importance of creating an environment in which pupils felt they could speak and be listened to and contrasted this with other spaces which she felt limited this. Amara BH's description of the possibility that when pupils share their ideas "I may not agree (.) they might not agree with me" additionally included an acknowledgement that a frank and honest space entails the possibility of pupils encountering opinions they disagree with. This accords with Jackson's (2014, p. 48) description of the RE classroom as a safe space (see 2.4.5), where he suggests the term functions as shorthand for a "desired classroom atmosphere" in which pupils can explore different viewpoints, which may also differ from their classmates' opinions. This idea of a space in which pupils can encounter diverse and potentially conflicting viewpoints was present across all schools, although not in all teacher's accounts, with Yasmin BH, Anna NH and Sadia WR commenting on it as a positive feature of their classrooms. I return to examine the nature of the discussions which teachers talked about using in 5.3.2.

In addition to RE being a space where diverse and differing views could be heard, some teachers went further in characterising the space as one in which it might even be possible for pupils to voice intolerant or disrespectful comments, and that moreover, these might represent crucial moments for promoting mutual respect and tolerance. This was seen in Yasmin's BH statement that "in a debate you kinda need it" (see 4.4.1.2). In Anna's NH case, she also observed that she "hope[s]" for such moments, which often arise spontaneously. This reveals an interesting ideological dilemma that

the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance can occur precisely because of an unplanned intolerant or disrespectful moment in the classroom. Existing literature points to the benefits of disagreements leading to more engaging discussion (O'Grady and Jackson, 2020, p. 92) and highlights the importance of setting ground rules for discussion (Jackson, 2014, p. 56) (see 2.4.5.3). However, the features that my participants identified of unplanned for controversial comments, "pings" (Anna NH) of questions and even intolerant moments in being part of the classroom environment which enables the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance appears to be less widely recognised. In addition, the fact that these teachers identify the importance of this in an educational climate in which there are concerns about honest and frank discussions being chilled as a result of Prevent (Eaude, 2018, p. 77; Thomas, 2020, p. 23) perhaps serves to highlight their particular importance. As discussed in 2.2.2, Panjwani (2016, p. 338) and Faure-Walker (2019, p. 376) identify that the very thing that is needed in response to the Prevent duty and securitising requirement to promote FBV is spaces which encourage free enquiry and critical dialogue. My findings provide further empirical evidence of the importance of not chilling conversations in the name of mutual respect or tolerance. Instead, my participants articulate that a classroom environment which is conducive to the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance is one in which pupils can frankly and honestly explore diverse ideas, even those which might risk being intolerant or disrespectful themselves. The teachers in my study do not argue for tolerance of the intolerant (Popper, 2012 [1945]) but rather highlight the practical significance of Horton's (1994, p. 13) observations about the importance of tolerance existing concomitantly with freedom and autonomy (see 2.3.2.2). This is because they do not argue for the promotion of intolerance but rather for an educational space in which intolerant moments might arise as part of allowing freedom of expression and, ultimately help facilitate, the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance.

### 5.3.2 Towards a pedagogical bricolage for the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance

Having established the underpinning features of a bricolage for promoting mutual respect and tolerance, here, I draw particularly on the three RE pedagogies reviewed in 2.4 of Critical RE (Wright, 2007), the conceptual enquiry approach (Erricker, 2000; 2010) and interpretive RE (Jackson, 1997) to examine how, in pedagogical terms, teachers in my study talked about promoting mutual respect and tolerance. Informed by Freathy *et al.*'s (2017, p. 429) concept of the "pedagogical bricoleur", my aim is to explore how a bricolage approach might enable a more critical promotion of mutual respect and tolerance, thereby addressing some of the political and practical problems with promoting mutual respect and tolerance as FBV which were examined in 2.2. I begin by setting out how substantive knowledge forms a crucial, but alone, insufficient, part of a bricolage for promoting mutual respect and tolerance. I explore how the means of encountering substantive knowledge is constructed as significant by my participants and consider the use of real-life examples and pupils' self-reflection within a bricolage approach. This is followed by an examination of how my participants talked about using discussion to promote mutual respect and tolerance, which builds on the underpinning feature of a frank and honest space discussed in 5.3.1.2. Lastly, I identify several caveats and constraints of moving towards a pedagogical bricolage as a means of promoting mutual respect and tolerance.

In line with the concept of bricoleur described by Denzin and Lincoln (2018, pp. 4, 16) which they find originates from French meaning someone who works with their hands using devious means, is practical and gets the job done, I propose that the pedagogical bricolage set out in the following section can also be imagined as a dry-stone wall. The dry-stone wall is comprised of stones of different shapes and sizes, which can be assembled and reassembled over time by a skilled waller. The waller chooses the right stone to fill the gap, sometimes trying out several possibilities, rotating stones to see how they might best fit or using two or more stones together. In the event of a stone becoming dislodged, they use the fallen stones or others nearby to remake the wall. The wall comprises a foundation of a

course of stones running underground, akin to the frank and honest classroom space examined in 5.3.1.2 which underpins the pedagogical bricolage. Like the waller who carefully chooses the right stones, the reflexive and positionally aware teacher examined in 5.3.1.1 selects the most appropriate pedagogical approach or approaches in response to the learners in their classroom and the topic covered. The teacher is pedagogically agile, deftly selecting, using and moving between the approaches. Rather than relying on one means alone, they combine items, developing pedagogically bespoke moves and countermoves. Just as the waller may need to remake and mend the wall over time, similarly, the teacher does not see the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance as an instantaneous or singular task but is pragmatic and makes and remakes their pedagogy, seeing learners as in the process of becoming mutually respectful and tolerant.

#### *5.3.2.1 Substantive knowledge*

The first feature of the pedagogical bricolage I consider is the role of substantive knowledge. When talking about how they promote mutual respect and tolerance, using substantive knowledge was often one of the first ideas put forward by teachers. By substantive knowledge, I refer to Kueh's (2020, p. 135) description explained in 2.4.2 of the "stuff" we refer to when we teach our pupils". This builds on Grimmit's (1987, p. 225) identification of one of the aims of RE as learning about religion, referring to "the beliefs, teachings and practices of the great religious traditions" and exploring ultimate questions (see 2.4.2). All teachers in all departments suggested that substantive knowledge contributes to the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance, however three teachers (Emily BH, Yasmin BH, Rahim WR) particularly emphasised its importance (see 4.4.3.1). For instance, Emily BH constructed tolerance and mutual respect as being promoted through "starting off with the knowledge [...] and the understanding of why [...] that leads to [...] mutual respect and tolerance". Substantive knowledge for Emily thus could be considered to comprise facts and information about a religion, which might include teaching pupils about the reasons why a belief is held. At Westridge, Rahim similarly suggested that if pupils knew the reasons behind beliefs, they would show tolerance

and mutual respect. This ready identification of substantive knowledge as a means of promoting mutual respect and tolerance could be seen as indicative of the emphasis on it in current debates about the aims of RE, for instance from Kueh (2020, p. 135) and Ofsted (2021) (see 2.4.2).

Whilst the teachers in my study all constructed substantive knowledge as a means of promoting tolerance and mutual respect, the content of, and emphases within, the substantive knowledge taught differed between departments. This was firstly seen in the design of the schemes of work, which were outlined in the vignettes of each department in 4.2. Secondly, in 4.4.3.1 I identified how some teachers constructed correcting misconceptions, by providing pupils with what they perceived as correct substantive knowledge, as leading to the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance. The misconceptions teachers pointed to varied between the three schools and thus so too did the content of the substantive knowledge which was constructed as needed for the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance. The variation between departments was perhaps to be expected because of the way the RE curriculum is determined at the local level (see 1.4). However, what is arguably striking is the unifying feature of how the teachers in each school constructed the substantive knowledge content of their KS3 curriculum as responding to the needs of their pupils in terms of addressing misconceptions, building on the topic of the importance of teachers' understanding their pupils' positionalities, as set out in 5.3.1.1.

One example of this, discussed in 4.4.3.1, was how the topic of Islam was covered in all three schools' scheme of work. At Westridge School, Fahima made clear that pupils were likely to have misconceptions about Shi'ah Islam: "that's the one question that every student in year 7 asks, why do Shi'ah Muslims do this? erm are they considered as a proper Muslim?". In turn, the teachers at Barehill Church of England School and Newton High identified different misconceptions pupils might have about Islam. This indicates that the teachers did not construct tolerance and mutual respect as being promoted through providing pupils with a given set of substantive knowledge. Rather, it occurs when they encounter substantive knowledge which is about people who hold different views to themselves, or substantive knowledge which corrects misconceptions the teachers

perceived pupils as holding. Here the practices of teachers could be seen as reflecting aspects of Erricker's (2010, p. 85) conceptual enquiry approach to RE (see 2.4.4). Erricker's five-stage process begins by exploring pupils' existing experiences and knowledge of the concept studied before introducing different perspectives from within the religion. This could consequently represent an effective model for also identifying misconceptions pupils might hold and provide a chance for the teacher to consider how new content might compare to pupils' previous experiences. Grounded in a constructivist, narrative approach, Erricker's pedagogy challenges the idea that there is a fixed set of knowledge which should be conveyed about concepts and religions studied. This could help RE teachers to be critical practitioners by thinking broadly about misconceptions and whether any misconceptions might represent valid alternative, even if minority, understandings of beliefs and practices.

Whilst teaching pupils substantive knowledge was a popular idea for promoting mutual respect and tolerance, there were also moments when some teachers (Emily BH, Yasmin BH) problematised relying on substantive knowledge as the sole means of promoting tolerance and mutual respect. The findings reveal an ideological dilemma of teachers simultaneously constructing increasing pupils' substantive knowledge as useful for promoting mutual respect and tolerance, whilst also querying whether there was indeed a correlation between the two. One instance was seen in Emily's BH example of sharing substantive knowledge and Biblical teachings about why homosexuality might be accepted by Christians, hoping that some Christian pupils who disagreed with homosexuality might be convinced to tolerate it. However, she found that in spite of this, "neither was seeing the other side" (see 4.4.3.2). This finding lends empirical support to the identification of the limitation of increased understanding identified by Hannam and Biesta (2019, p. 58) and Barnes (2002, p. 74) (see 2.4.2). They suggest that increased understanding does not automatically equate to increased respect for another and can also lead to disrespect or hate. In identifying that substantive knowledge has limited efficacy for promoting mutual respect and tolerance, Emily BH and Yasmin BH go some way towards being critical of the potential of substantive knowledge for

promoting mutual respect and tolerance. However, they arguably miss the chance to fully critically engage with the limitations of substantive knowledge. Here, Wright's (2003; 2007) pedagogy of Critical RE (see 2.4.3) is perhaps being under-utilised or overlooked in relation to substantive knowledge. Wright argues that an authentic critical engagement with the truth claims of different religions, rather than a simplistic exchange of similarities and differences, may bring about "deep respect". This suggests that for substantive knowledge alone to contribute to the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance, it needs to be presented in ways which enable pupils to engage with the full truth of the beliefs explored, even if these may be difficult for pupils to hear about because they conflict with other ideas or because they do not seem to be respectful. This might enable a more critical promotion of mutual respect and tolerance.

Thus far the discussion has explored the potential and limitations of substantive knowledge as a means of promoting mutual respect and tolerance. The fact that teachers in my study identified that substantive knowledge alone does not seem to be completely successful for promoting mutual respect and tolerance could be seen to echo Jackson's (1997, p. 141) observation that whilst knowledge and understanding may be "necessary conditions" for removing prejudice they do not necessarily foster tolerance (see 2.4.5.2). Instead, as seen 4.4.2, participants also talked about the means through which pupils encounter substantive knowledge in RE. On this point, all the teachers in my research identified the use of real-life examples as a significant pedagogical approach in enabling the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance, an approach which closely aligns with Jackson's (1997) interpretive approach to RE (see 2.4.5).

#### *5.3.2.2 Real life examples and self-reflection*

The participating teachers all talked about using real life examples including stories about religious people (4.4.2.1) and pupils' own stories (4.4.2.3) to bring to life the concept or substantive knowledge being explored. This suggests that the mode of encountering substantive knowledge was identified as important by teachers in terms of how they promote mutual respect and tolerance. One type of story teachers talked about using was accounts from religious people, as illustrated in 4.4.2.1 through the

example of Anna NH who explained how she taught about forgiveness in Christianity through exploring the experiences of Gee Walker, a Christian whose son was murdered in a racially motivated attack. Anna constructs this story as being at the centre of her teaching, rather than being used as a brief example to illuminate or engage pupils with the substantive knowledge. For example, Anna described using the story to ask “how does it actually work”, referring to the substantive knowledge that “Jesus said you know forgive you know not seven times but seventy times”. She develops this further by explaining how this might lead pupils to reflect on times they have forgiven and to consider “phenomenologically what is it like to forgive”, which I interpret as proposing a deep engagement with the concept of forgiveness. This appears to offer pupils a chance to connect their own ideas and experiences to the story studied and to then reflect on their ideas. Here Anna’s pedagogical approach could be seen as in line with Jackson’s (1997, p. 130) interpretive RE (see 2.3.3.4) because of the central position given to the narratives of believers, which are the insider accounts at the heart of Anna’s pedagogy. Anna’s talk about drawing on the lives of religious believers in tandem with encouraging pupils to reflect on their own lives could be seen as an example of what Jackson (2000, p. 135) terms edification. This is because Anna avoids a focus purely on the concept of forgiveness or on the truth claims of Christianity, as Wright’s (2007) CRE might employ, in favour of additionally encouraging pupils to engage in a personal dialogue between their own experiences of forgiveness and those of Gee Walker, a process through which she hopes mutual respect and tolerance might be fostered. In addition, it should be noted that Anna does not use this approach solely to engage pupils but because she believes that alternatives such as imperatives to “be tolerant” do not work to promote the concepts. In giving high priority to the experiences of pupils, Anna’s pedagogy can also be interpreted as utilising many of the principles of Erricker’s (2010, p. 85) conceptual enquiry approach because she focuses on the relationship between concept and learner. Similarly, in line with Hannam’s (2022, p. 82) identification that a benefit of conceptual enquiry is its engagement with the “messiness of human experience”, Anna positions pupils as capable of reflectively engaging with their own experiences and seeks to avoid a reductive account of Christian beliefs about forgiveness.

Anna's practice can be interpreted as being informed by both interpretive RE and a conceptual enquiry approach, leading to a more critical promotion of mutual respect and tolerance.

As well as using real life stories and narratives from religious people, four teachers (Emily BH, Amara BH, Anna BH, Rahim WR) also discussed how the use of pupils' stories could be helpful for promoting mutual respect and tolerance of those with different beliefs. This also entails positioning pupils as the expert in the experience of their own faith, rather than the teacher, who instead becomes a learner, as discussed in 5.3.1.1 regarding Emily's BH experience of learning about Hajj from a Muslim pupil. In terms of the RE pedagogies reviewed in 2.4, Emily's BH approach can be interpreted as providing a further illustration of how Jackson's (1997, p. 111) interpretive RE can be used to promote mutual respect and tolerance. As discussed in 2.4.5.2, Jackson (1997, p. 96; 2000, p. 132) has developed resources which use the insider accounts of children's experience of religion as a teaching and learning resource. However, Gearon (2013, p. 130) has critiqued the use of children's accounts of religion. This is because they are likely to be misrepresentative of religions and many religions may not accept them as a representation of their own beliefs and practices. Whilst Gearon's concern seems valid, it is notable that it is not shared by the four participants in my study who instead construct the power of the pupils' stories as arising precisely because of their status as peer accounts. The identification by Williams' *et al.* (2019, p. 222) of firsthand interaction with diverse others as the most effective approach used by RE teachers to facilitate inter-group understanding lends further support to my participants' advocacy for this approach as a means of promoting mutual respect and tolerance. There is though a question about whether and how RE teachers could help pupils to understand that their own accounts are not the only sources of knowledge about religions and beliefs and that other, even conflicting, experiences may exist. It could therefore be argued that using children's accounts alongside a pedagogical approach like Wright's (2007) CRE might allow for a greater level of critical engagement when using children's experiences in the classroom.

Thirdly, as illustrated in 4.4.2.2, five teachers (Amara BH, Yasmin BH, Rahim WR, Fahima WR, Sadia WR) talked about using examples from their own lives as part of their pedagogy when promoting mutual respect and tolerance. The findings show these could be used alongside or instead of either pupils' examples or truth claims from religions, thereby illustrating how teachers in my study combine and switch between pedagogical approaches. For example, Fahima WR talks about how adding an example from her own life to teaching substantive content leads to "it click[ing] in a bit more" (see 4.4.2.2). Whilst Erricker (2010) articulates the importance of using pupils' experiences in the classroom and Jackson (1997, p. 111) favours insider accounts from religious people, as well as more recently noting the possibility of starting RE from the perspectives of pupils (2000, p. 142), neither discuss the possibility of using teachers' experiences in pedagogical terms. In 2.4.5.2 I also explored how Everington's (2012, p. 343) small-scale study identifies that RE teachers use personal life knowledge as a means of bonding and bridging. Like Everington's participants, some teachers in my study appear to adopt a broad view of what constitutes relevant knowledge to share with pupils (see 4.4.2.2), by talking about how, as adults, they can draw on their different experiences of the world to promote mutual respect and tolerance, but not blaming pupils or positioning them as deficient because of this. This places my participants in alignment with Shor's (1992, p. 201) preference for teachers to consider how both they and students are more and less than zero and to use everyone's experiences pedagogically, rather than relying solely on pupils entering the academic terrain (see 2.4.2). My findings thus add weight and depth to Everington's (2012, p. 343) identification that RE teachers can effectively use personal life knowledge in the classroom by illustrating how this may form part of a pedagogical bricolage of the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance.

In all the examples discussed in the preceding paragraphs, it appears that it is giving pupils the opportunity to critically reflect on the meaning of the concept or beliefs studied in their own lives which is constructed as being significant for promoting mutual respect and tolerance. This appears to be true whether those beliefs are encountered through the narratives of

religious believers, peers, or teachers. The role of reflection was also explicitly identified as significant by other teachers, as highlighted through the example of Amara BH in 4.4.3.3 who talked about the importance of reflective moments of silence in lessons and the possibility that pupils might “see their (.) their peer differently” after having time to reflect on what they had heard. As discussed in 2.3.2, Grimmitt (1987, p. 226) uses the term learning from religion to describe how RE might enable pupils to recognise and evaluate their own beliefs. More recently Ofsted (2021) has identified “personal knowledge” as a key element of high quality RE, referring to pupils being aware of their own values, beliefs and ideas about the content they study (see 2.4.2). However, these definitions do not seem to take account of the significance of self-reflection and the iterative nature of how reflection alongside engagement with substantive knowledge is constructed as significant in the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance by the teachers in my study. Jackson’s (1997, p. 130) interpretive approach refers to a process of teaching RE by starting with the experience and language of believers, before looking at pupils’ experiences and then “oscillat[ing] between the two”. Erricker’s (2010, p. 83) conceptual enquiry approach can also start from the experiences of children. However, the findings from my study point to the particular significance of the process of pupils’ exploring and reflecting on their own ideas for the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance, suggesting it forms a key part of a bricolage for promoting the concepts. My participants appeared to some sometimes plan for such moments but, like Jackson (2000, p. 136) who notes the inefficacy of delaying reflection to a future lesson (see 2.4.5.2), my participants also point to taking advantage of these moments when they arise spontaneously. Whilst the findings from my study suggest self-reflection can usefully be combined with any of the RE pedagogies reviewed in 2.4 to help support the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance, this can only be achieved if RE teachers are cognisant of and have the right skills to capitalise on moments for self-reflection as and when they emerge. This entails resisting the temptation noted by Grimmitt (1987, p. 225) to avoid shallow, added on reflective moments, in favour for seeing these as a key part of the bricolage for promoting mutual respect and tolerance.

### *5.3.2.3 Using discussion: opening up and closing down dialogue*

In 5.3.1 I established that one key underpinning feature of the pedagogical bricolage is the creation of a classroom space which enables and permits frank and honest discussion. Here, I return to this topic to explore further the nature of the discussion which such a space might permit. This is significant because, as highlighted in 5.3.1, the frank and honest space allows for the exploration of disagreements. However, my findings in 4.4.1.2 suggest that, for the most part, the teachers in my study did not identify the challenges of creating and maintaining a safe space when disagreements arise as explicitly as Iversen (2019, p. 315) and Flensner and Von Der Lippe (2019, p. 284) do. These scholars identify that the teacher may have difficulty extending the safe space beyond the boundary of the classroom and propose relabelling classrooms as communities of disagreement to make clear to pupils that they may encounter disagreement (see 2.4.5.3). This could indicate that overall, my participants were not overly critically engaged with the practical complexities of what they sought to achieve in their creation of a frank and honest space. On the other hand, there were signs that during the interviews themselves, some teachers (Emily BH, Yasmin BH, Anna NH, Rahim WR, Sadia WR) explored the question of maintaining a safe space when disagreements arose and reflected on whether all pupils in the classroom feel tolerated and/or mutually respected during such moments. This was illustrated in 4.4.1.2, through the contrasting examples of Emily's BH 'agree to disagree' corner and Anna's NH careful discursive unpicking of a homophobic comment. The CDP tool of the ideological dilemma (see 3.9.2.4) helped to illuminate how both teachers found tensions between seeking to enable pupils' freedom of expression whilst also striving to promote tolerance and mutual respect, echoing concerns about the chilling effect on classroom dialogue highlighted in 2.2.2 (Thomas, 2020, p. 27), which I now explore further.

Emily BH talked about how tolerance could be promoted through using an "agree to disagree" corner as a means of helping pupils to see that they can acknowledge different views, without having to agree with them. This could be seen as in line with Emily's construction of tolerance as accepting but not embracing as highlighted in 4.3.1 and discussed in 5.2.2; a construction of

tolerance which was used by all my participants. Emily's promotion of tolerance could be interpreted as aligning with a construction of tolerance that recognises the existence of a different perspective but does not find any merit in it, which Forst (2017, section 2) observes can be considered a practical solution to difference. This is reinforced in Emily's identification of the utility of the approach in instances of "solid belief against solid belief", which she suggested was pragmatic in the context of the religiously diverse pupil demographic at Barehill. Although she did query whether she should "unpick it [euthanasia] further", suggesting awareness that this means of promoting tolerance might not always be the most suitable, Emily's closing of the discussion in the name of promoting tolerance could nonetheless be interpreted as the most appropriate option for this situation in her context.

An alternative interpretation of Emily's approach could be that her aims to promote tolerance in fact result in the silencing of debate and the chilling of dialogue. This links to the concerns raised by Thomas (2020, p. 27) regarding the impact of Prevent on classroom discussion (see 2.2.2) and Bamber *et al.*'s (2018, p. 443) identification that an uncritical promotion of tolerance can result in the foreclosure of spaces for discussion (see 2.2.3). It is noteworthy that no teachers in my study explicitly talked about Prevent and so it is not possible to infer a direct connection between it and the approach Emily articulates here. However, it could be suggested that Emily's reluctance to promote tolerance through a more dialogic approach might provide further evidence of the ways in which the blurring of counter-terrorism with education policy, as documented in 1.2, has resulted in teachers being less keen to explore divisive issues in the classroom (Faure-Walker, 2019, p. 372) in favour of what Eade (2018, p. 77) labels promoting "simplistic, binary views". That is to say, here Emily promotes tolerance by suggesting that something is either tolerated or not tolerated. There is no grey in-between and no opportunity for pupils to remain on the fence; the opportunity to dialogically examine their stances more deeply is closed down. This approach to promoting tolerance can be seen as linking to Gardner's (1993, p. 89) concept of deliberative tolerance (see 2.3.2.2). Whilst acknowledging its potential, Gardner critiques that this form of tolerance is problematic because it does not require pupils to change their

underlying attitude or prejudice, but merely to refrain from acting in a given situation, which appears to be Emily's approach here.

Anna NH also talked about promoting tolerance through verbal discussion of disagreements but articulated a contrasting approach. In 4.4.1.2 I showed how the hallmarks of Anna's approach are: emphasising the humanity of all pupils, including those who make prejudiced comments, "dismantl[ing] the comment through distancing it from the pupil who made it and using a range of questions to explore it. The types of questions Anna talks about posing could be seen as having similarities with Erricker's (2000; 2010) conceptual enquiry approach, such as by asking hypothetically about other people's perspectives. Lastly, Anna explicitly celebrates the conversation as "precious" with the whole class. Anna additionally acknowledged that adopting such an approach is crucial because the classroom is otherwise unsafe. Here, Anna appears to embrace the proposal from Faure-Walker (2019, p. 372) and Panjwani (2016, p. 338) that teachers should provide opportunities for pupils to develop their critical thinking skills through genuine dialogic encounters. In doing so, Anna's approach could be seen as resting on a construction of tolerance as something more akin to Anker and Afdal's (2018, p. 57) conception of tolerance as openness, in which differences are seen as representing possibilities for exploration. It is perhaps this sort of dialogic encounter which helps to promote the type of dispositional tolerance which Gardner (1993, p. 94) characterises as a form of tolerance which is connected to the character of a person, in contrast with the deliberative tolerance mentioned above. Interestingly, neither Emily nor Anna talked about explicitly sharing the concept of tolerance with their pupils in these situations, as Jackson (2014, p. 56) suggests might be useful. They might additionally consider sharing the specific type of tolerance they seek to promote to enrich pupils' understanding of the breadth of potential constructions of tolerance.

### 5.3.3 Caveats and constraints of the pedagogical bricolage

The discussion in 5.3.2 has shown that whilst teachers in my study talk about using a range of pedagogical approaches to promote mutual respect and tolerance, doing so is not always straightforward. In this section, I highlight some of the caveats and constraints on the use of a pedagogical

bricolage to promote mutual respect and tolerance in RE which emerged in my study. Firstly, the data revealed some practical constraints regarding teachers' capacity to use the pedagogical bricolage described in 5.3.2. In the vignettes of each department (see 4.2), I noted that at Newton High and Westridge School, KS3 RE is taught for 1 hour a week, and at Barehill to pupils in year 7 and 8 for 1 hour a week and pupils in year 9 for 2 hours a fortnight. This lends support to the idea put forward in 5.3.1 that the subject space offered by RE is distinctive because it is not a subject which pupils study every day. However in 2.4.5.3 I also noted the arguments from Jackson (2005, p. 11) that values should be promoted through school ethos and Orchard (2015, p. 44) who comments that encouraging community cohesion should not be the preserve of RE teachers alone. These comments raise a question about whether the teachers in my research are perhaps aspirational or idealistic about the capacity of the curriculum space of RE in terms of promoting mutual respect and tolerance. Simply put, although Fahima WR identified scope for promoting mutual respect and tolerance outside of the physical RE classroom (see 4.4.1.1), RE teachers have limited curriculum time available for enacting the pedagogical bricolage.

Relatedly, in 5.3.1 I discussed the importance of the pedagogical bricolage being used by teachers who are reflexive and positionally aware practitioners. In 4.4.1.2, it was notable that my participants contrasted their positionality as RE teachers with colleagues who were positioned as less skilled at promoting mutual respect and tolerance because of their discomfort with difficult conversations and discussion. This was seen in Anna's NH construction of other teachers as "very very uncomfortable with those moments between the moments" (4.4.1.1) and additionally in Rahim's WR (4.4.3.1) observation that the subject knowledge of teachers enables them to "be very very sharp and smart to [pick] up" subtle misconceptions or prejudices which they can then address, implying that non-RE teachers might miss such moments. Here, Rahim WR points to the need to reactively and proactively adapt to the context of the learners in relation to the topic studied, as discussed in 5.3.2. This highlights the possibility that RE teachers may need to consider how to help colleagues develop the confidence to manage difficult discussions when they arise, if

they are indeed less comfortable with them as the RE teachers suggest, as given the limited contact time in RE, it is arguably unrealistic for RE teachers to be the sole promoters of mutual respect and tolerance in a school. A similar point can be considered regarding student teachers and early career teachers. The teachers in this study had between two and sixteen years of classroom experience and all talked about learning to promote mutual respect and tolerance in the classroom, rather than through teacher training or professional development sessions. Therefore, given the pedagogical agility required to use the pedagogical bricolage described in 5.3.2, this suggests further thought may need to be given to how RE teachers develop the pedagogical knowledge and skills to do so.

Lastly, the pedagogical bricolage depicted in 5.3.2 and underpinned by the features in 5.3.1 should not be seen as wholly separate from the teachers' constructions of mutual respect and tolerance set out in 5.2. The significance of this was illustrated in 5.3.2.3 regarding how Anna NH and Emily BH both talk about the promotion of tolerance through discussion but arguably seek to promote different conceptions of tolerance. If RE teachers are to critically promote mutual respect and tolerance, they must also critically engage with thinking about different interpretations of the concepts themselves. This suggests a need for greater engagement with the breadth of theoretical constructions of mutual respect and tolerance so that RE teachers can consider whether they seek to promote tolerance as acceptance (Forst, 2013) through encouraging pupils to agree to disagree, or tolerance as esteem (Forst, 2013), perhaps through an exploration of the reasons for people's different views; I return to this point in 6.4.1.

#### 5.4 Chapter summary

The re-structuring of my findings from chapter four to answer my two research questions has revealed where there are moments of criticality in how my participants construct and promote mutual respect and tolerance. Whilst not tending to bring up the topic of FBV themselves, once raised, some participants (Anna NH and Rahim WR) did voice critiques of mutual respect and tolerance as FBV. In addition, teachers in this study re-position mutual respect and tolerance as part of the purpose of RE and, in some cases, as concepts the teachers are personally invested in. These findings

build on existing literature which explores how RE teachers might be able to adopt a more critical stance towards the requirement to promote FBV (Farrell 2016; McDonnell, 2021; 2023). However, there were also signs that the Muslim RE teachers in this study were less critical about FBV than those in other research (Farrell and Lander, 2019; Panjwani, 2016; Farrell, 2023). In 5.2, I showed the breadth of ways my participants construct tolerance and mutual respect. For example, tolerance is constructed as arising in instances of both dislike and moral disapproval (Warnock, 1990, p. 125). Teachers also talked about both recognition respect, centred on personhood, as well as appraisal respect (Darwall, 1977). They additionally identified how mutual respect can involve both verbal and physical engagement with another person. Whilst the findings did not show teachers drawing on any single construction of tolerance or mutual respect, the analysis in relation to existing theoretical constructions revealed that they did not draw on the full remit of potential constructions. For instance, their constructions of tolerance centre on tolerance as permission or co-existence (Forst, 2003, p. 73) rather than the more expansive accounts of tolerance as openness (Anker and Afdal, 2018, p. 57) or esteem (Forst, 2003, p. 73). Likewise, whilst some teachers identify some problems of tolerance, there is scope for more critical engagement with the issue of where the limits of tolerance lie (Popper, 2012 [1945], p. 581).

In 5.3, I illustrated the breadth of approaches which RE teachers in this study talked about using to promote mutual respect and tolerance, with the aim of exploring whether this might facilitate a more critical approach to promoting mutual respect and tolerance. Whilst there was consensus in the findings regarding the use of substantive knowledge as a means of promoting mutual respect and tolerance, no one approach was identified as a definitive means of promoting the concepts. Instead, the teachers in this research talk about combining pedagogical approaches, often drawing on approaches which can be identified as aligning with Jackson's (1997) interpretive RE and Erricker's (2000; 2010) conceptual enquiry pedagogy. This combining of approaches by practitioners who are pedagogically agile and who switch between possibilities to respond to the contexts of their classrooms can be conceptualised as a pedagogical bricolage (Freathy *et al.*,

2017, p. 429). The bricolage is comprised of a range of pedagogical possibilities rooted in RE pedagogy and is underpinned by a classroom environment that is frank and honest and requires practitioners to be reflexive and positionally aware.

## Chapter six – Concluding thoughts

In this chapter I start by revisiting the original aims of my research, as a reminder of the rationale for and context in which my research has been conducted. This is followed by an exploration of the limitations of the research and how they were addressed. I then discuss the contributions to knowledge my study has made, followed by recommendations arising from the findings and discussion. Most of these recommendations are for RE teachers, who have been the foci of this research, but some consider RE policy making. In 1.4, I explained how, because there is no national curriculum for RE, the curriculum is designed at the local level; there is no single policy maker for RE. Here, I therefore use the term policy making to denote the wide range of sources which inform RE policy, including professional bodies and RE networks but also classroom teachers. I then identify some potential directions for future research. The chapter ends with my personal concluding thoughts about the study.

### 6.1 Reflection on the aims of the research

The initial inspiration for my research was a policy statement from the Department for Education (2014, p. 5) asking schools and teachers to promote a set of fundamental British values (FBV) including “mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs” (see 1.2). In 1.2 and 2.2, I showed how FBV stem not from education policy but from the Prevent counter-terrorism policy. I highlighted the practical and political problems the requirement to promote FBV poses for teachers, the lack of guidance on how the concepts of mutual respect and tolerance should be interpreted and the existence of just five bullet examples of guidance about how they might be promoted (Department for Education, 2014, p. 6). My own experiences as a secondary RE teacher also informed my interest in whether and how other practitioners were engaged in promoting mutual respect and tolerance (see 3.4). This led to the formulation of my two research questions, which can also be considered as mechanical intellectual puzzles, focused on “how something works or is constituted” (Mason, 2018, p. 12) (see 1.5). I sought to explore how RE teachers construct mutual respect and tolerance and how, in pedagogical terms, they talked about promoting the concepts. On this latter point, I was interested in whether pedagogical approaches from

RE might enable a more critical engagement with mutual respect and tolerance. Using a nested case study approach, the study examined this topic with regard to seven RE teachers in three departments. Data from semi-structured interviews was analysed using CDP, enabling an in-depth, critical analysis of how RE teachers construct and promote the concepts. Before highlighting the most significant contributions my research has made, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of the study.

## 6.2 Limitations

As mentioned in 3.6 and 3.7, the Covid-19 pandemic resulted in some constraints to the data generation methods I could choose from because restrictions were placed on me by my institution regarding researcher safety. In addition, Westridge School was not able to permit visitors on site, meaning I conducted interviews with teachers there using Microsoft Teams (see 3.7.2). In 3.7.1 I explained that I had originally hoped to supplement my use of semi-structured interviews and document analysis with lesson observations to enrich my understanding of the case study departments. Unfortunately, this was not viable due to the pandemic. Instead, I adopted detailed semi-structured interviews and CDP (see 3.9.2) to facilitate comprehensive engagement with the experiences of participating teachers. I consider this led to very rich insights about how these RE teachers construct and promote mutual respect and tolerance. I would speculate that using Microsoft Teams has not led to differences in the quality of data generated, and arguably enabled these teachers to participate when most convenient for them.

Another limitation could be that my research looked only at RE teachers' perspectives, rather than also considering pupils' views. In the pilot study I trialled focus groups with pupils (see 3.7.1). These were not used in the main study, partially because of the volume of data this would have generated and because of the realisation from my analysis of the pilot study that this did not explicitly address my research questions. Upon enquiring about the viability of holding an online focus group with pupils with Heads of Departments, they felt this would be very challenging alongside increased workload due to the Covid-19 pandemic. For these reasons I decided it would be disadvantageous to pupils and unnecessary to pursue this in my

current study, with the precise focus on RE teachers' experiences allowing for incisive and original insights in relation to my research questions. However, this could be a possibility for future research.

In order to examine the RE teachers' perspectives in-depth, my research employed semi-structured, individual interviews as the primary means of data generation. This method aligned with the social constructionist epistemological stance of the research (see 3.3) because it enabled participants to construct and reconstruct their ideas as we spoke and for the use of probing questions to explore key ideas as they emerged (see 3.7.2). One limitation of interviews is that they must be carefully planned to be useful (Bailey, 2018, p. 110). On this point, I used a critical friend to help check for any unclear questions. Another limitation of using interviews was arguably my own inexperience in executing the interviews themselves because I am a novice researcher. Stake (2006, p. 22) notes the ability to ask a question in a way which teases out nuance grows with experience. In my study, I think that my shared positionality with my participants of being an RE teacher helped because it enabled rapport to be built more easily, which Hennink (2020, p. 133) notes is particularly important when researching sensitive topics. I felt this meant I was able to encourage participants to expand on moments of interest during the interview itself.

Lastly, the research project explored the experiences of teachers in three purposefully selected RE departments using a multiple nested case study (Creswell, 2019, p. 208). A strength of this was that it enabled exploration of a range of perspectives from teachers working in different contexts (see 3.6). However, Denscombe (2021, p. 103) notes that it can be challenging to delimit the boundary of each case. In my research, I mitigated against this by carefully considering the boundary of each case as well as by creating inclusion and exclusion criteria for who the participants would be (see 3.5.2 and figure 7). Another limitation of multiple case studies is the heavy workload in terms of recruiting cases, data generation and analysis which Stake (2006, p. 30) observes must be careful and repetitive to ensure that points are not missed or misrepresented. Coe (2021, p. 137) similarly notes the challenge of striking a balance between providing rich

insights into individual cases alongside ensuring a consistent approach across cases to facilitate cross-case comparison.

When generating the data for my study, I addressed these points by using the same interview schedule (see appendix A) for all participants and introduced the interview in the same way to each participant. However, data generation in the interpretive paradigm involves human interaction and meaning making with participants (see 3.2) and so there were inevitably small variations between my interactions with different teachers. Using CDP to analyse the data through the framework shown in figure 9 also provided a structured approach and helped to ensure consistency across cases. This aided in terms of achieving the balance which Stake (2006, p. 39) notes multiple case studies require of exploring both the uniqueness of each case and finding key points of difference as well as similarities. Similarly, when writing up the findings, I started by providing a vignette of each case (see 4.2). I also added labels to refer to their school (BH, NH or WR) after the pseudonymised name of each teacher. These decisions helped to situate participants' contributions in their different contexts throughout chapters four and five. A final key concern regarding the use of case studies is to what extent the researcher can produce generalisable findings from their case study (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2018, p. 380). In 3.5.2 I explained how, through using the concept of the naturalistic generalisation (Stake, 1978, p. 5), I advocate for a shift from the researcher producing generalised conclusions to readers finding moments of transferability to their own context (Melrose, 2010, p. 600; Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 124). To make this a possibility, I have provided a detailed account of each case in chapter four and in section 6.4, I present a caveat regarding the extent of the applicability of the proposals.

### 6.3 Original contributions to knowledge

My research has made original contributions to knowledge in three main areas. Firstly, it makes a theoretical contribution in identifying a pedagogical bricolage of how teachers might more critically promote mutual respect and tolerance in RE, responding to the political and practical problems posed by the requirement to promote FBV (see 2.2). The data generated was particularly strong in providing empirical examples of how

different teachers talk about using a range of approaches to promote mutual respect and tolerance. This capturing of in-service teachers' practice also comprises a contribution to knowledge. Secondly, the study has taken the exploration of FBV in a distinctive direction, building on but moving beyond existing research to focus on how the subject space of RE might provide possibilities for a more critical construction and promotion of mutual respect and tolerance. Thirdly, the research makes a methodological contribution in exemplifying the utility of CDP in educational research. I now expand on each of these contributions.

### 6.3.1 A pedagogical bricolage

The main theoretical contribution of the research is the identification of the pedagogical bricolage of approaches which teachers in my study talked about using to promote mutual respect and tolerance, drawing on Freathy *et al.*'s (2017, p. 435) concept of the pedagogical bricolage as denoting the "repertoire of strategies and practices" RE teachers utilise. The findings from my research demonstrate that RE teachers do not use any singular pedagogical approach to promote mutual respect and tolerance. Instead, they draw on and weave together a range of approaches. They particularly identify the applicability of those which are aligned with Jackson's (1997) interpretive RE and Erricker's (2000; 2010) conceptual enquiry approach. This pedagogical bricolage affords a more critical approach to the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance in RE, responding to the political and practical problems posed by the requirement to promote FBV (see 2.2). The analysis of data from my three case studies led to the identification of the following core features of the pedagogical bricolage:

- The important, but limited, role of substantive knowledge (Kueh, 2017; Ofsted, 2021). The content taught may need to differ between contexts and should connect to the context of pupils (Erricker, 2010) to most fully support the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance. Some teachers also highlight the significance of how truth claims are presented (Wright, 2007).
- The use of real-life examples including those from pupils, teachers and peers. Teachers identify using insider accounts from religious people (Jackson, 1997) as well as those from pupils (Jackson, 1997;

Erricker, 2000; 2010) and themselves. They highlight the potency of pupils engaging directly with insider accounts from peers, in line with the findings from Williams *et al.* (2019). However, teachers do not engage with the challenge of how and whether the validity of these accounts should be explored with pupils (Gearon, 2013; Wright, 2007).

- The use of teachers' personal life knowledge in the classroom to aid in the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance. Whilst Everington's (2014) research finds that teachers use their experiences to engage pupils, my research extends this by identifying it as pedagogically significant. Some teachers also feel sharing their own experiences contributes towards them being positioned by pupils as authentic promoters of mutual respect and tolerance.
- The role of iterative self-reflection by pupils about how the ideas they learn about compare to their own experiences (Jackson, 1997, p. 130; Erricker, 2010). In line with Jackson, teachers identify that this should comprise a key part of teaching, rather than reflection being seen as an add-on to the end of lessons or topics.
- The construction of the RE classroom as a discursive space in which pupils can frankly and honestly express ideas and where intolerant comments might even lead to discussion and dialogue which promotes mutual respect and tolerance. Some teachers combine dialogue and discussion with other approaches, such as using it to explore pupils' experiences. Other teachers talk about the process of discussion itself as also contributing to the enactment and promotion of mutual respect and tolerance in their classrooms (see 5.3.1). As seen in 5.3.2.3, although discussion is identified as important for hearing, exploring and unpacking ideas, using discussion can be challenging and should arguably be accompanied by a clear understanding of what type of tolerance and/or mutual respect is being promoted.

The pedagogical bricolage summarised here illustrates how teachers do not use one method to promote mutual respect and tolerance but are pedagogically agile, combining different aspects of existing RE pedagogy to

promote the concepts. The research also identified how, ideally, the bricolage is used in a classroom environment where frankness and honesty are prioritised, which reduces the possibility of pupils' contributions being chilled (Thomas, 2020, p. 27) and where practitioners themselves are positionally aware (see 5.3.1). My study identifies that being positionally aware does not only relate to teachers reflecting on their own identity (Donnelly, 2004a, p. 275) but also entails positioning pupils as pedagogically valuable, rather than "as deficits" (Shor, 1992, p. 202).

McDonnell (2021, p. 390; 2023, p. 234) and Farrell's (2016, p. 295) papers identify that contemporary pluralistic RE pedagogies might offer a more critical approach to the promotion of FBV and highlight some examples of what this might comprise. My thesis explores this proposal in-depth and makes an original theoretical contribution in providing a thorough and detailed analysis of the pedagogical bricolage of approaches which in-service RE teachers talk about using to promote mutual respect and tolerance when teaching pupils in KS3. It connects these to existing RE pedagogy, particularly from the work of Wright (2007), Jackson (1997) and Erricker (2000; 2010). In doing so, my study illustrates how by using a pedagogical bricolage, RE teachers may be able to move towards a more critical promotion of mutual respect and tolerance, which represents a response to the practical and political problems raised by the requirement to promote FBV, discussed in 2.2, and avoids the uncritical promotion of FBV which existing research highlights as problematic (Vincent, 2019a, p. 19; Bamber *et al.*, 2018, p. 443).

Related to this theoretical contribution, my research also contributes to addressing an empirical gap. In order to identify the pedagogical bricolage detailed above, it has captured detailed, concrete examples from in-service RE teachers in a range of contexts in England regarding how they talk about promoting mutual respect and tolerance in their classrooms. As seen in 2.2, existing empirical research has typically focused on exploring teachers' experiences of promoting the collective FBV (Vincent, 2018; 2019a), rather than looking at specific concepts within FBV, with scholars often focusing on student teachers' experiences (Bamber *et al.*, 2018; Farrell, 2016; Sant and Hanley, 2018). My use of CDP to analyse the data supported a thorough

engagement with the nuance of RE teachers' practices. For example, my findings capture how teachers identify intolerant or disrespectful comments not as problematic but as prime moments for promoting mutual respect and tolerance (see 5.3.1.2). Likewise, the analysis in 5.3.2.3 of Anna NH and Emily's BH contrasting approaches to the use of discussion to respond to an instance of intolerance demonstrates how RE teachers construct both closing down and opening up dialogue about divisive issues as approaches suitable for promoting mutual respect and tolerance. I consider that alternative data generation methods such as questionnaires would have been considerably less effective for generating these in-depth insights.

### 6.3.2 Mutual respect and tolerance as fundamental British values

In 2.2 I explained how, through a close focus on mutual respect and tolerance in RE, my research sought to draw on, but also move beyond, existing research which has tended to focus on the nationalistic and securitising aspects of how schools and teachers promote FBV. My study consequently makes several contributions to the field of literature about FBV in schools. As highlighted in 2.2.4, there are a handful of existing studies about RE and FBV (Farrell, 2016; Farrell and Lander, 2019; McDonnell, 2021; McDonnell, 2023; Farrell, 2023) and my study adds to this growing body of research. The detailed and contextually grounded data generated in my study contributes novel findings to this field of literature.

Regarding Islamophobia, my study found that only two teachers (Anna NH and Rahim WR) directly critiqued FBV, lending support to Busher *et al.*'s (2017, p. 54) and Vincent's (2018, p. 231) identification that although this is a risk because of the origins of FBV in Prevent, not all stakeholders are conscious of this concern. The three teachers who self-identified as Muslim at Westridge School, which has a majority Muslim pupil demographic, constructed FBV as generally positive for their pupils, citing pupils' Islamic backgrounds as significant to this. My findings therefore contrast with Farrell (2023, p. 208), Farrell and Lander's (2019, p. 496) and Panjwani's (2016, p. 337) research with Muslim teachers because the teachers at Westridge School did not identify the risk that FBV stigmatise young British Muslims. This is interesting because it shows that there are Muslim RE teachers who uncritically buy into the requirement to promote FBV, perhaps

lending support to Ragazzi's (2016, p. 275) call for greater examination of how Muslim communities might have become involved in self-policing (see 2.2.1).

Farrell (2016, p. 291) and McDonnell's (2020, p. 390) studies both point to how RE teachers accommodate and reframe FBV as part of RE, which Farrell suggests works to provide an alternative to the totalising discourse of Britishness. My study makes an original contribution in providing an enriched picture of how this reframing works from the perspective of in-service RE teachers, who teach across a range of contexts. Using CDP to analyse participants' constructions facilitated an original insight into the intricacies of how all participants re-locate mutual respect and tolerance as part of the purpose of RE (see 4.3.7, 5.2.1 and 5.3.1.1). The use of CDP enabled the identification of subject positions (see 3.9.2.5), which showed how all teachers construct promoting mutual respect and tolerance as linked to their position as RE teachers. Five of the teachers additionally position themselves as having a personal motivation for promoting mutual respect and tolerance. My research thus highlights a connection between teachers' personal motivations for promoting the values and their professional identity as RE teachers. This enhances the existing picture of FBV as being re-located as school values (Vincent, 2019a, p.23) and appropriated into the curriculum space of RE (Farrell, 2016, p. 239; McDonnell, 2021, p. 390) to show how RE teachers' commitment to the promotion of the concepts within FBV may be rooted in their personal values or experiences and how participants link this to being positioned as authentic promoters of the concepts.

Lastly, in terms of constructions, my research provides an original contribution in showing how, at times, teachers eschew narrow definitions of the concepts of mutual respect and tolerance in favour of problematising, exploring and querying their meaning. This builds on the findings from Farrell (2016, p. 293; 2023, p. 212), Bamber *et al.* (2018, p. 444) and Vincent (2019a, p. 24) who identify that some teachers do critically engage with FBV by illustrating how this occurs with regard to mutual respect and tolerance. This adds weight to Starkey's (2018, p. 152) suggestion that the exploration of the concepts within FBV in the context of a subject like

Citizenship, rather than at the whole school level, might facilitate more critical engagement with them; my study shows how this might be the case in RE. On this point, the contributions regarding how mutual respect is constructed are especially notable because, as observed in 2.3.1, the concept of mutual respect has been less widely explored through empirical educational research than the broader concept of respect. Whilst cohering with existing thinking which identifies the relational aspect of mutual respect (see 2.3.1.2), my empirical findings extend theoretical discussions of the topic by highlighting the significance of the content of the engagement between people and the, sometimes enacted, nature of mutual respect (see 5.2.2).

#### 6.3.3 Critical discursive psychology: a methodological contribution

Finally, my research provides an original and important example of how the analytical approach of CDP can be used in educational research. As illustrated through its use in chapters four and five to identify interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas and subject positions, CDP enabled me to engage in a thorough, nuanced and critical analysis of participants' constructions and talk about promoting mutual respect and tolerance, set within the wider context of the different pupil demographics and KS3 RE schemes of work from each department. My study thus provides a practical exemplification of Wiggins' (2017, pp. 44-45) assertion that CDP is beneficial for studying participants' constructions in context (see 3.9.2). As noted in 3.9, CDP has been employed in a handful of published pieces of educational research, such as Parry's (2020) work on the school to work transition and Gibson's (2009) research on Citizenship, and so my use of it provides a further example of how it can be usefully applied to educational research.

#### 6.4 Recommendations

In 3.5.2 I explained how I draw on Stake's (1978, p. 6) proposal of a naturalistic generalisation as the theoretical aim of my research. Although my study did not seek to develop a generalisable theory about how mutual respect and tolerance should be defined or promoted, the conclusions arrived at in my research enable the reader to determine moments of transferability to their own setting (Melrose, 2010, p. 600). To enable

readers to assess the relevance of the findings for their context, in 4.2 I provided a detailed vignette of each participating department. It was also important to me, with my background as a secondary RE teacher, that the findings would be useful to other RE teachers. Consequently, here I identify three recommendations for RE practitioners and one for RE policy making, as outlined in 6.1.

#### 6.4.1 Recommendations for RE practitioners

**Recommendation one:** RE teachers should have ongoing opportunities to critically reflect on the meaning of the concepts of mutual respect and tolerance.

My research identified the wide range of ways tolerance and mutual respect may be constructed in the theoretical and empirical literature (see 2.3). My study found that whilst there were degrees of criticality in how my participants constructed mutual respect and tolerance, the breadth of potential constructions from the literature was not fully reflected in the data generated. For instance, only some participants explored tolerance as unsatisfactory, tolerance was largely constructed using ideas which align with Forst's (2003, p. 74) horizontal constructions of the concept, rather than forms of tolerance which recognise something of merit in the other perspective, and not all teachers used recognition respect and appraisal respect (Darwall, 1977) to delineate between respect for opinions and for persons. To help address this, opportunities for critical reflection about mutual respect and tolerance could be embedded initially in teacher education but also be continued by Heads of Departments incorporating critical reflection into department meetings to facilitate ongoing chances for teachers to engage with broader, more critical constructions of the concepts. Given that teachers in this study identified the importance of being positioned as authentic promoters of tolerance and mutual respect (see 5.3.1.1), further critical reflection could support teachers to consider the significance of the concepts in their own lives and help them to determine whether and how to use these in the classroom (see 5.3.2.2). It could also help to support a more critical promotion of the concepts because it would enable teachers to be specific in identifying what type of tolerance or mutual respect they seek to promote in any given situation.

**Recommendation two:** RE teachers should have a thorough understanding of RE pedagogy. This would enable them to employ and refine a pedagogical bricolage for more critically promoting mutual respect and tolerance in their context.

Overall, the study identifies that a pedagogical bricolage can enable a more critical promotion of mutual respect and tolerance in RE, responding to the political and practical problems raised by the requirement to promote FBV (see 2.2). The research identifies how substantive knowledge is a useful, but alone insufficient, means of promoting mutual respect and tolerance. Despite its prominence in current debates about how RE should be taught (Ofsted, 2021; Kueh, 2017), teachers in this study suggested that how pupils encounter substantive knowledge also matters in relation to promoting mutual respect and tolerance. The pedagogical bricolage described in 5.3.2 highlights how teachers might use a range of approaches to present substantive knowledge to pupils. Teachers particularly highlight real-life examples and the importance of pupils having the chance to reflect on how their ideas and experiences compare to those they learn about, approaches which align with Jackson's (1997) interpretive RE and Erricker's (2010) conceptual enquiry approach. Some teachers utilise examining the truth claims of different traditions (Wright, 2007) and all make use of discussion, with some favouring this as an opportunity to explore and critique a range of perspectives and others using discussion as a chance for pupils to hear the views of diverse others who are present within their classroom (Williams' *et al.*, 2019). Notable is that no teacher talked about using a singular pedagogical approach to promote mutual respect and tolerance. Instead, they each articulate using a range of approaches. The analysis in 5.3.2 shows how RE teachers need to be pedagogically agile, sometimes combining or moving between approaches to respond to the pupils in their classroom.

For teachers to be able to use a pedagogical bricolage approach to more critically promote mutual respect and tolerance, they must be pedagogically literate. They need to avoid a reliance on substantive knowledge alone and have a good knowledge of contemporary, pluralistic RE pedagogies and theory in order to be able to select the approach best suited to the context

of their learners. However, this study also showed that teachers do not necessarily engage with the complexity of combining approaches, seen for instance in their willingness to use pupils' experiences and worldviews in their classroom without considering whether these would be identified by other adherents of the same tradition as reflective of their experience (Gearon, 2013, p. 130). This suggests that RE teachers could benefit from being more aware of the theoretical background of different pedagogies so that they can think critically about how to combine them. Teachers' thorough understanding of pedagogy could extend to broader critical reflection on the underpinning questions of what it means to be a teacher and a pupil and how are they related, drawing on insights from critical pedagogy (Freire, 1996 [1972]; Shor, 1992). This could enable practitioners to think through the issue highlighted by this study of the classroom environment and hierarchy, which are also key components of how teachers can more critically promote mutual respect and tolerance (see 5.3.1).

**Recommendation 3:** RE teachers should consider how they might distribute their knowledge and skills about the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance, and potentially other values, within their schools.

The RE teachers in this study positioned themselves as having skills and experience in how to promote mutual respect and tolerance and the findings from my research illustrate the breadth and quality of their knowledge and skills. Alongside this, my research identified the limited contact time afforded to KS3 RE in the case study schools of between 1 and 1.5 hours per week (see 4.2 and 5.3.3). It is therefore suggested that it is unrealistic for RE teachers to see themselves, or to be, the sole promoters of mutual respect and tolerance in a school. Instead, RE teachers should consider how they can share their skills with other staff in order to work towards a sustainable and collective approach to values education.

#### 6.4.2 Recommendation for policy making

**Recommendation 4:** RE policy making should engage with and draw from empirically informed research which explores the complexity of constructing and promoting mutual respect and tolerance, and other values, to avoid a tokenistic approach to values promotion in RE.

The findings from my study illustrate the breadth and complexity involved in the of construction and promotion of mutual respect and tolerance. This was seen in 2.2 and 2.4 in the analysis of theoretical and empirical literature which identified the wide range of ways the concepts can be constructed and promoted. It was also seen in how my research identified 9 interpretative repertoires alongside many ideological dilemmas and subject positions regarding how RE teachers construct and promote mutual respect and tolerance (see 4.3). The pedagogical bricolage presented in 5.3 evidences how pedagogically agile practitioners weave together a range of approaches, rather than seeing mutual respect and tolerance as being promoted through the use of a singular tool.

Although the statement which inspired this research, the requirement for teachers to promote “mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs” (Department for Education, 2014, p. 11) could be interpreted as requiring simply sharing concepts with pupils, my research suggests that RE teachers focus on the significance of mutual respect and tolerance in the lives of real people, not only religious people but also in the lives of pupils and teachers (see 4.4.2 and 5.3.1.1). For example, mutual respect is constructed as requiring engagement and interaction with another person. Teachers talk about enacting this principle in their own classrooms, as well as sharing real-life examples as a means of promoting the concept. Whilst many teachers in my research talked about taking advantage of spontaneous opportunities to promote mutual respect and tolerance (see 5.3.1.2), the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance does not arise serendipitously but occurs when RE teachers skilfully manage these moments.

Policy making about values promotion in RE should draw from empirically informed research which reflects the complexity of promoting mutual respect and tolerance. In doing so, RE policy making may be able to help support RE teachers to engage with the richness of the concepts, seeing their complexity as opportunities for exploration with pupils and thus avoid a tokenistic approach to values education.

## 6.5 Areas for future research

My research focused on how RE teachers construct and promote mutual respect and tolerance. In recommendation 3 (6.4.1), I suggested that the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance cannot however be achieved by RE teachers alone. To develop a fuller picture of how mutual respect and tolerance might be promoted in schools, future research could use CDP to explore how other subject teachers construct and promote mutual respect and tolerance and consider to what extent they understand this as part of their role. This could inform recommendations about how teachers of different subjects can work together to promote mutual respect and tolerance.

One key theme which emerged in this research was seeing how participating teachers connect the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance to their motivation for teaching RE and make use of personal life experiences to promote the concepts (see 4.4.2.2 and 5.3.2.2). Gray (2018, p. 703) suggests a narrative research approach is beneficial for capturing the "lived experiences" of participants. Taking a narrative approach to consider how and why key events in the lives of RE teachers have shaped how they construct and promote mutual respect and tolerance might therefore provide a means of building on the findings from this study and enable the development of greater understanding of the pedagogical principles underpinning this.

Lastly, future research could investigate further the findings from this study regarding the bricolage of pedagogical approaches for promoting tolerance and mutual respect (see 4.4 and 5.3.2). This study had several boundaries, focusing on three case study schools and exclusively on mutual respect and tolerance. Future research could explore the transferability of the bricolage to other settings, for example, to see whether RE departments in schools with different pupil demographics utilise the same bricolage. Or, taking the pedagogical bricolage identified here as a starting point, it could consider whether RE teachers use the same bricolage when promoting other values.

## 6.6 Final reflections

One privilege of undertaking my doctoral research has been the gift of time to consider what mutual respect and tolerance mean, how they can be promoted and the potential implications of this. As reflected on in 3.4, I locate myself as both an insider and an outsider regarding different aspects of the study. As a result of this, I too have engaged in constructing and reconstructing mutual respect and tolerance throughout the research. I am excited to draw on my own increased knowledge in my future secondary school teaching and work with student teachers. The participating RE teachers' experiences have been central in my research, and so it feels appropriate to conclude by reflecting on a comment made by Amara BH at the end of her interview.

- 1      **Amara BH:** this is actually a very interesting topic
- 2      it's made me actually think about what I do
- 3      which I didn't actually think like that
- 4      I just do what I do

As highlighted by Amara, it was gratifying to find that my participants enjoyed engaging with the research and the chance to think deeply about the meaning of concepts which they construct as embedded in their everyday practice. Amara's words capture the very essence of my research, illustrating the co-construction of the answers to my research questions, in which the insights generated in discussions with teachers have interacted together with my own reading, research and detailed analysis of teachers' ideas. My research did not set out to provide a normative definition of mutual respect or tolerance and nor did it aim to conclusively show how mutual respect and tolerance could be promoted. Instead, drawing on insights from seven practitioners in three RE departments, it has teased out the nuance of the mechanical puzzle (Mason, 2018, p. 12) of how RE teachers construct and promote tolerance and mutual respect in the context of KS3 RE.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A – Interview Questions

1. Please can you tell me a bit about what teaching KS3 RE involves in your school?
2. How would you describe the purpose of RE?  
HoD: How would you describe the ethos of your department?
3. The Department of Education requires that all teachers promote “mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs” – what would you say this means to you?  
Did you know that these are part of a set of fundamental British values?
4. Do you think there is any difference between the concepts of tolerance and mutual respect?
5. Looking at your KS3 schemes/units of work, do you think there are any topics where you particularly promote tolerance and/or mutual respect?
6. In your teaching of KS3, to what extent would you say you promote tolerance and mutual respect as explicit topics in RE lessons?
7. Can you tell me about KS3 lesson(s) in which you think there are opportunities to promote tolerance?
8. Can you tell me about KS3 lesson(s) in which you think there are opportunities to promote mutual respect?
9. Can you describe the culture of your KS3 classroom please?

10. Are there any challenges to promoting tolerance and mutual respect at KS3?

11. Are there ever occasions when KS3 pupils don't show tolerance or mutual respect for those with different faiths and beliefs?

12. Can you tell me about how you think you have learnt to promote tolerance and mutual respect in your RE teaching?

Appendix B – Simplified Jefferson transcription system from Potter and Wetherell (1987, pp. 188-189)

(.)	Short pause
(0.1)	Timed pause in seconds
(.hh)	Laughter
<u>word</u>	Emphasised word
.hh	Exhaled breath or sigh
£word£	Spoken whilst smiling
[speech]	Interrupted speech
word=	Continuous speech, no pause between
** **	Word omitted to maintain anonymity
?	Voice rising, indicating question
!	Voice expressing surprise