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**A study of the context, development, implementation and impact of a  
Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom.**

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York St John University

School of Education, Language and Psychology

July 2024

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Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom**

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of  
PhD

York St John University

School of Education, Language and Psychology

July 2024

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## Abstract

My experience of working in Bradford, suggests that although much maligned for its divisions, poverty and social problems, the city's diversity of culture, ethnicity, language and religion, has resulted in innovative approaches to multicultural education, aimed at encouraging 'communities of contrasting backgrounds to live together harmoniously' (Bowen 1997, p116).

In this thesis I argue that although not unique, multiculturalism in Bradford is *different*. Successive innovative education projects demonstrate a response to this *difference*. I assert that collectively they evidence the existence of a distinctive 'Bradford' model of multicultural education, one which situates learning outside the classroom. I consider why a distinctive model has evolved in the Bradford context, identify its key features, as evidenced by retrospective and contemporary cases and provide evidence of its impact. I explore the model's potential to transfer across spatialities, focusing on its use as a framework for learning in a cathedral setting.

To achieve this, I chronicle three projects retrospectively and focus on one contemporary case study. The latter stories the experiences of 23, predominantly Muslim, primary school children, all volunteers, who took part in a project, which situated learning outside the classroom in Bradford's Anglican Cathedral. I identify emerging themes across the cases, inferring generalisations and highlighting the possible implications of my findings for future practice.

Through conceptualising and offering new insights into an existing phenomenon, I conclude that a contextual, distinctive, yet transferable, Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom exists and that its implementation has a positive impact on both children and adults, helping to facilitate communities of 'contrasting backgrounds' to live together well.

## Abbreviations

BMDC – Bradford Metropolitan District Council

CHVP – Community Heritage Volunteer Project

CHV – Community Heritage Volunteer

EB – Education Bradford

KSUSOMAD – Kokeshi: Stand up, Speak out, Make a difference

LA – Local Authority

LEA – Local education authority

LOtC – Learning outside the classroom

TLN – The Linking Network

SUTH – Stand up to Hatred

SACRE – Standing Advisory Council for Religious Education

SMSC – Spiritual, moral, social and cultural education

RE – RE

RI – Religious Instruction

RWV – Religion and world views

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## 1. Introduction

It is my intention in this thesis, to explore the development, implementation and impact, of multicultural education initiatives in Bradford, a city in the north of England. My research is a culmination of a professional life spent mainly in Bradford, working as a teacher, a local authority consultant for religion, diversity and cohesion, a facilitator in peace and heritage education and as a senior lecturer in initial teacher education. It reflects my enduring belief that Bradford, with its diversity of culture, ethnicity, language and religion, offers potential for the mutual enrichment of those living across the district and beyond.

The experience of working with diverse children and adults, leads me to assert that Bradford, much maligned for its divisions, poverty and social problems has many positive attributes (Bowen 1997, Cattle 2001, Darlow et al. 2005, Ouseley 2001, Thomson 1997). The city has been at the forefront of developments in multicultural education over time, encouraging understanding, contact, dialogue and encounter between children and members of the wider community; thus, helping disparate groups and individuals to learn to live together well.

This not inconsiderable endeavour continues. Dave Bowen, a pioneer of multicultural and interfaith work in Bradford observed that:

If an exploration of the art of encouraging communities of contrasting backgrounds to live together harmoniously can continue here, then the city will have demonstrated something vital to the rest of the world. (Bowen 1997, p116)

My professional biography has afforded countless opportunities to both experience and reflect upon the 'art of engaging communities'. In this study I have chosen to concentrate on one particular means of doing so through education. I provide examples of both the process and impact of a specific multicultural approach, one which purposefully engages culturally and religiously, diverse children and adults. This distinct way of working I suggest, represents something 'vital', something of importance, that Bradford has to share with the 'rest of the world'(Bowen 1997, p116).

Successive local education policies and practice in Bradford, have led to the design and implementation of individual, distinct, projects which have been consistently upheld as successful in

helping diverse communities to live together (Ajegbo 2007, Barrett 2012, Cameron & Dewey 2020, Kerr et al 2010). Feedback, evaluations and reports have suggested that children and teachers have consistently valued these, identifying them as transformational. Multiple professional and policy making bodies and possibly more importantly, parents, carers and community members, concur (Anne Frank Trust UK 2009, Home Office 2014, DCLG 2019, Ofsted 2020, SERCO 2010).

Having been involved closely since 2004, I was acutely aware of the positive reaction both locally and nationally to these multicultural initiatives, which were often cited as 'best practice' (Ajegbo 2007, Barrett 2012, Home Office 2014). This prompted my research interest. I wanted to know why participants and observers alike deemed these projects, to have impact, what these initiatives shared and what made them distinct. My move into the heritage sector, latterly as a cathedral educator, where a similar model was used (adapted, but none the less recognisable as having much in common with previous projects) led me to speculate that a peculiar Bradford way of working had emerged over time, but was on the whole unrecognised.

Through this research I investigate this phenomenon further; storying and providing a synopsis of the development, implementation and impact of three projects retrospectively and comparing and contrasting these with a contemporary cathedral based initiative; uncovering a range of evidence to suggest that a Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom exists and that this is something worth sharing. Thus, conceptualising an existing phenomena, offering new insights and making an original contribution to knowledge.

## Context

As a city, Bradford has always attracted migrants, sojourners and settlers from different countries, who have brought with them a variety of cultures, languages and religions (see chapter 5). Bradford has also always been known as an innovator and leader in education (Adams et al 1970, Bowen 1992, Cameron and Dewey 2020, Lilley 1997, Thomson 1997, Singh 2000, Walsh 1933). Church Sunday schools and day schools flourished from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (see chapter 6). In 1870 the first Education Act, was driven through Parliament by Bradford MP William Forster; Margaret McMillan, Fred Jowett and Miriam Lord (all Christian Socialists) introduced education, welfare and health initiatives for children in Bradford's Board Schools, which were later adopted across the country (Adams et al 1970, Liley 1997).

Since the late twentieth century, Bradford Metropolitan District Council (BMDC) has overtly attempted to address the needs and wants of diverse children growing up in an increasingly multicultural city (Thomson 1991, 1997, McLoughlin 2014). Although attempts have not always been successful, the aspiration to value religious and cultural diversity and to promote cohesion in schools, has remained constant. Even in recent times when Government moves to discredit diversity and equality services has been prevalent (Eardley and Gilder 2024), BMDC has continued to acknowledge and address the challenges presented by life in a multicultural city (McLoughlin 2014); supporting education initiatives aimed at helping diverse individuals and communities to live together well.

The projects I examine here, are rooted in this Bradford context; they are a continuation of the city's tradition of innovation in education. They are also a response to Bradford's long multicultural journey, a journey which although not unique, *is different*. They constitute an *informed response to this difference* and when viewed collectively may be conceptualised as a distinctive Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom.

### Purpose

My purpose in this thesis, is to explore this informed educational response to life in a multicultural city, one shaped by multicultural and educational theory and discourse, national, and international policies and events, but in particular by a distinctive local context. I endeavour to conceptualise and explain how and why, a particular model of multicultural learning outside the classroom has evolved in Bradford, identifying the key features of this, through a consideration of three retrospective cases (The Schools Linking Network (TLN), Stand up to Hatred (SUTH), Kokeshi: Stand Up, Speak out, Make a Difference (KSUSOMAD)) and one contemporary case (the Community Heritage Volunteer Project (CHVP)). I utilise evidence gleaned from these cases, to indicate the potential of the model to transfer across spatialities, focusing in particular on its use in a Cathedral setting. I also seek to identify evidence of the impact of this model of multicultural learning, focusing in particular on its impact on children, but also on teachers, parents and the wider community.

### Key questions

To this end I consider four key questions, each one of which encompasses a number of related sub-questions:

**1. Why and how did a Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom evolve?**

- How and why, does multiculturalism remain a valid sociological, philosophical and educational discourse?
- What makes Bradford's experience of multiculturalism distinctive and why?
- How and why has religion influenced education and curricular content?

**2. *What are the model's key features?***

- What does the model look like in practice and why?
- Does learning outside the classroom in alternative spaces, have value and why?

**3. *Is it possible to use the model in different spatialities?***

- Why and how, is this model employed in a Cathedral setting?
- Is the model adaptable to the space in which learning is situated? How and why?

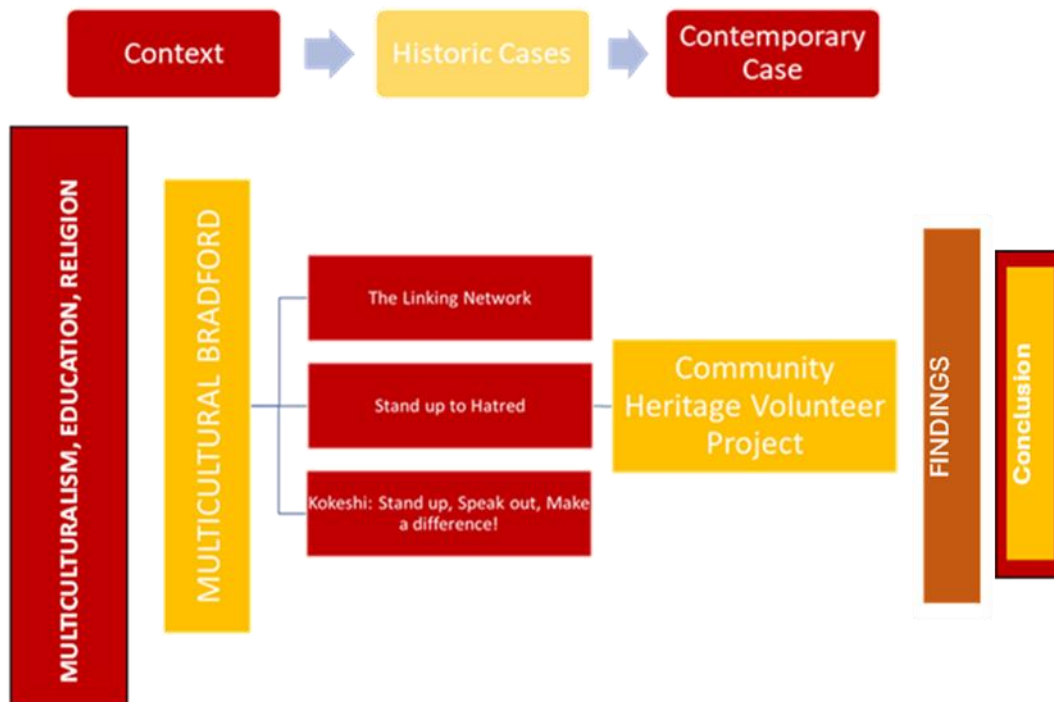
**4. *Is there evidence that the model has impact?***

- Is participation transformative, how and why?
- How far does it counteract divisions and aid community cohesion. Why?
- Does the model help people to live together well? How and why?

I also consider the possibility of the model's suitability to facilitate learning and aid community cohesion in other towns and cities; in so doing evaluating the accuracy of the assertion that Bradford has something 'vital to share with the rest of the world' (Bowen 1997 p116).

## Structure

The structure, foci and process of my research is synthesised in the diagram below. In essence it is based around my key questions and the sub-questions which needed to be addressed, in order to provide answers to the former.



*Structure, foci and process of this research*

The foci and process informed my chapters, which cover the concept of a multicultural society, multicultural education, the Bradford context, religion and education, learning outside the classroom, cathedral education and retrospective and contemporary case studies. As would be expected the thesis also includes a chapter on methodology, a synopsis of findings and a conclusion

I accept that the content is wide, but this breadth is important because understanding ‘reality’ is contextual (Ballard 1994, Braun and Clarke 2013, Conteh 2003), and the Bradford context is complex and certainly not narrow. Understanding Bradford’s reality is reliant on amassing and interpreting knowledge about the theories, policies, people, situations and experiences that have created the city in its current form. It is impossible to understand recent and contemporary, innovative developments in education in Bradford, without doing so. Therefore, I argue that as the Bradford context is defined by myriad factors, that these need to be explored, storied and evaluated to achieve an accurate picture of the phenomenon under investigation (Conteh 2003, Rashid et al 2019).

Consequently, the literature with which I have engaged is also wide. I consider the distinctive, historic and contemporary experience of multiculturalism in Bradford (chapter five), highlighting the problems and possibilities, posed by different communities co-existing in one demographic location; exploring how cultural and religious pluralism has influenced the curriculum and prompted

contextual and potentially transferable education initiatives, aimed at helping diverse people to live together well.

However, Bradford does not exist in isolation, the city has been influenced by generic social and educational multicultural theory (see chapter three), discourse and policy initiatives, not least the tension between multiculturalism and interculturalism. National and international events have also influenced the local context; therefore, I consider the impact of key events such as the Satanic Verses controversy, 7/7 and Prevent on the community, on cohesion in Bradford and in particular on education and the curriculum.

My review of literature highlights the centrality of religion. Although nationally, formal religious affiliation (particularly among the young) is on the decrease, this is not the case in Bradford (BMDC 2021). The city boasts the second largest Muslim population in the country (BMDC 2022) and the fourth youngest (NOS 2022). Consequently, in chapter six I consider in some detail, the enduring historic and contemporary relationship between religion and education; particularly the impact of this on learning inside and outside the classroom in the Bradford context.

As one of the cases is located in Bradford's Anglican Cathedral, it was essential to explore the role of a cathedral in a multicultural city and the use of a Christian sacred space as a location for learning outside the classroom (LOtC). In turn, this suggested the importance of understanding the generic theory and practice associated with religious education and world views (chapter six), space, place and LOtC (chapter seven) and the role and purpose of cathedral education (chapter eight).

Thus, evidence of my engagement with literature is not confined to one chapter. Literature permeates the whole of my thesis; it is interwoven with and informs the construction of a mosaic picture of Bradford and sheds light on the informed development of a model of multicultural learning outside the classroom.

In the second part of this thesis (chapters nine and ten) I explore three cases retrospectively and then a contemporary project. The three historic projects shed light on the evolution and solidification of a Bradford model. Although independent of each other, there is (even at a superficial level) an apparent interrelatedness; I consider the projects chronologically drawing on personal observation, notes, primary and secondary sources e.g. project handbooks, reports, articles, feedback and evaluation documentation (see chapter two and nine). This allows a

considered storying of each one and the creation of ‘thick descriptions’ (Geertz 1973), enabling the identification of shared elements and differences across cases.

My fieldwork (chapter ten) located mainly in a cathedral, provided an opportunity to assess how far a contemporary project, added weight to the concept of the existence of a Bradford model. I story the experiences of twenty three, predominantly Muslim, primary school children, all volunteers, who took part in learning in the Cathedral setting, attempting to impinge as little as possible on their experience, while learning as much as possible. Thus, I drew on materials which were routinely produced by participants, using observation, participant observation and mosaic methods to amass authentic information.

The recurring themes identified in the literature review and the retrospective cases, were used as a lens through which to view the contemporary project, allowing comparisons and generalisations to be inferred and highlighting the possible implications of my findings for future practice. These are presented in my synopsis of findings (chapter eleven) and conclusion (chapter twelve) where I present my conclusions and identify areas for further research and investigation.

### Multicultural education

All four of the projects which I explore are multicultural, which means that (somewhat against the current trend) they reject minority cultures being absorbed into the majority; endorsing an ideal where members of marginalised groups maintain their distinctive identities, yet are able to achieve in and contribute to, a cohesive society of which they are an integral part (Armstrong 2020, Modood 2015). This recognises that inequalities, prejudice and discrimination exist (Gundara 2000) and that it is important for people to interact, to negotiate, understand and ultimately value multiple cultures, in order to (re)construct fair and equitable communities (Kastoryano 2018, Modood 2020).

Different responses to culturally plural societies have emerged over time. In the UK these include movements which have sometimes challenged the idea of multiculturalism, for example interculturalism. Although each has its own specific aims and implications for theory, policy and practice, they are not completely distinct, or unconnected; there is a *‘shared thread’* running throughout.

This *thread* is the assertion that in multicultural societies and communities, diverse people need to learn how to live together; inequalities and tensions exist and the potential for conflict is real



(Gundara 2000). Through education (while recognising that alone this is not enough to bring about change (Ilich 1971)), learners may be helped to see value in their place in society, understand commonality and difference and transform aspects of the world in which they live (Modood 2020).

Viewing multiculturalism as a continuum with a thread that runs throughout, allows educators to take a critical and developmental approach (Mansouri & Modood 2020, Zriba 2014); to draw on earlier theory and practice to inform the present (Kastoryano 2018), and to navigate the ever shifting, 'politically shaped educational landscape' (Waite 2017, p4). Such reflection and reflexivity results in praxis which is more than just a reaction against what is current, involving 'a constructive development of purpose, methods and subject matter' (Dewey 1938, p22), in order to provide appropriate curricular content and strategies for teaching and learning.

My acceptance of this, positions my research clearly within the 'multicultural' camp. I suggest throughout that multiculturalism remains a valid sociological, philosophical and educational discourse (Armstrong 2020, Modood 2020); a useful contemporary response to the challenges associated with a diverse society (Crowder 2013); a theme which I will develop in more detail in subsequent chapters.

### Case studies

The entangled nature of this research is obvious, the methodology and the methods employed, reflect this complexity (see chapter two). TLN, SUTH, KSUSOMAD and the CHVP, may be seen as individual cases. Therefore, my research is aligned with case study methodology and methods (chapter two). This allows evidence to be viewed through a variety of lenses, revealing the multiple facets of a dynamic phenomenon, influenced by a specific context (Baxter and Jack 2008, Rashid et al 2019).

Case studies are useful in project and curriculum evaluation enabling 'the systematic collection, analysis and interpretation of data, that bear on the effectiveness, efficiency or otherwise of the programme meeting its goals' (Jaeger 1978, p132). The use of retrospective cases is a non-interventional process, constituting an observational review, or reassessment of evidence, to help analyse previous events of interest (Sanctis et al 2022). Comparing these with a contemporary case, allows for triangulation and makes it possible to make tentative, or 'fuzzy' generalisations (Bassey 1999).

I have striven to refrain from pre-judging outcomes, to ensure authentic, honest results and minimise bias in my conclusions. However, case studies, often place the researcher in close proximity to that which is being studied and there is the potential for prior knowledge and experience to impinge upon the story reported. I acknowledge my personal closeness to the subject of my research, but see the value as well as the potential difficulties in being an 'insider'; the 'closeness' of experiencing that which is being investigated, allowing for rich and colourful descriptions of phenomena, which in turn increases the knowledge and understanding of the essence of experiences to participants (Clarke 2013, Savin-Baden and Powell Major 2013, Smith et al 2009).

### Summary

The following chapters consider the development of multiculturalism, exploring multicultural discourse and theory, the specifics of the Bradford context and the impact of these factors on education policy and practice. They suggest why a distinctive model of multicultural learning outside the classroom has evolved in Bradford and identify the model's key features, as evidenced by retrospective and contemporary cases, seeking evidence of its impact, exploring its potential to transfer across spatialities and focusing on its use in a cathedral setting. In so doing conceptualising an existing phenomenon which aims to help 'communities of contrasting backgrounds to live together harmoniously' (Bowen 1997, p116) and explaining a distinct way of working, which arguably constitutes something of importance which Bradford has to share with the 'rest of the world' (Bowen 1997, p116).

## 2. Methodology

This chapter explains briefly the epistemological, ontological and methodological perspectives, which influenced this research and the methods used to collect data, highlighting the key ethical considerations, which informed the process.

### A multicultural perspective

As I suggested in the introduction, my work is rooted in multicultural theory, which recognises the world as complex and multifaceted; acknowledging that humans construct different versions and understanding of reality depending on culture (Nisbett 2005, Waring 2017). Critical multiculturalists directly challenge assimilation, sometimes described as conservative multiculturalism (Jenks 2001), but accept aspects of interpersonal, contact and relationship based, liberal multiculturalism, which values cultural diversity (Jenks 2001).

Critical multiculturalism aims to identify and address social inequalities; agency, active citizenship and involvement in democracy and the means by which these may be achieved by members of society (Alismail 2016). Critical multiculturalists place value on the maintenance of cultural diversity, multiple identities and perspectives, but also on what groups and individuals share; they raise questions about social justice and incorporate anti-racism into multicultural theory, policy and practice (McLaren 1994).

According to Jenks (2001) a critical multicultural education framework defines teaching as a paradigm, in which teachers and students consciously engage in the construction of knowledge and critique the various forms of inequities and injustices which are embedded in a particular educational system (Alismail 2016). In so doing, striving to help individuals and groups gain the empowerment needed to engage in culturally responsive and responsible practice, as informed citizens (Gundara 2000). My personal stance on multiculturalism and multicultural education, is aligned with this discourse. I believe critical multiculturalism and multicultural education, present a valid, contemporary response to people living together in diverse societies.

I assert that multiculturalism is not limited by precise boundaries (even though attempts have been made to delineate aspects, with descriptive terms), but draws upon various, interrelated, sometimes apparently conflicting and often interdependent methodologies (approaches to

research topics). This flexibility allows for a match between methodology, methods (the means by which evidence is collected and collated) and the overarching aims of a research undertaking.

For experiences and realities to be understood, they need to be viewed through more than one lens. A rigidly singular approach fails to allow the flexibility necessary when exploring multiculturalism or multicultural education (Nisbett 2005). A qualitative and interpretive perspective allows theories and methodologies to be understood as linked, entwined and complementary (Coe 2017); the thoughtful use of multiple methods allowing evidence to be obtained and employed creatively.

### The process

My research did not involve the creation of a new project, or an extension to existing education practice. It identified an extant phenomenon, located at least in part, in spaces outside the classroom. Paying attention to lived experiences, it aimed to be contextual, inclusive and socially relevant (Nielsen 1990), allowing participant voices to be heard, collectively and individually. In line with critical multicultural perspectives, I considered children's, teachers' and (to a lesser extent) community members' experiences, emotions and perceptions as sources of knowledge, providing opportunities for real stories to be shared, in so doing 'disrupting the comfort and ignorance of others' (Gabriel 2019, p28).

The friendly, yet professional relationships that existed between the participants and I, in all the projects presented as cases, but particularly in the contemporary one, aided the possibility of stories being shared. The disclosure to participants of my personal views, through collaborative planning, implementation and evaluation of the project, resulted in an informal, yet professional, ethos and reduced the hierarchical relationships within the research process. I considered and acknowledged existing power relations and their influence on this, attempting to mitigate these through focusing on collaboration with both children and adults, reducing exploitation through a renegotiation of the 'subject/object' relationship (Oakley 1981). This encouraged participants' involvement in the research process (Cresswell 2014), but because I was actively involved with those and that researched, this meant that complete neutrality or objectivity, was unlikely (Burr 2003, Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2011).

I considered retrospectively and chronologically, three successive multicultural learning outside the classroom initiatives drawing on personal observation, notes made at the time and primary and secondary sources e.g. project handbooks, reports, articles, feedback and evaluation documentation. This allowed ‘thick descriptions’ (Geertz 1973) to be compiled and enabled the identification of shared elements, themes and differences across cases.

I also explored the development, implementation and impact of a contemporary project. This involved observation and participant observation, focussing on the experiences and responses of a group of majority Muslim children from one primary school, who were volunteer guides and peer educators at Bradford Cathedral over the course of the 2021-2022 academic year.

The sample group consisted of children who ‘volunteered’ to lead the Year 5 element of Lapage Primary School’s whole school citizenship project in partnership with Bradford Cathedral. *My aim was to impinge as little as possible on the normative project experience, but to learn as much as possible about this.* Consequently, I drew mainly on materials which were routinely produced by the children and adults involved, using mosaic methods to amass authentic information.

## Research and literature

I commenced my research with the understanding that there was little literature or peer evaluated research already in existence around the specific initiatives which I wished to explore, with the exception of the Linking Network (TLN), which has been the focus of research (Ajegbo 2007, Cameron and Dewey 2020, Raw 2006, Shannahan 2018). Stand up to Hatred (SUTH) and Kokeshi: Stand up, speak out, make a difference! (KSUSOMAD) were the subject of a book chapter by Barrett (2012) and feature in a number of un-published reports and practitioner articles.

These sources are cited and discussed (including their validity as objective secondary source materials) and provide useful insights, pertinent to the general subject under investigation. I consulted a range of academic writing and peer-reviewed articles, pertinent to the wider field of multiculturalism, interculturalism, multicultural education, religion, the Church and learning outside the classroom. Primary sources, including Government legislation and historical documents. National and local reports, and policy initiatives (from the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty first centuries) were also consulted.

## Paradigms

Researchers use different paradigms depending on their purposes and their positionality. They base their research questions and objectives around these. A research paradigm then, reflects the researcher's philosophy and ideals (Lather 1986). It is made up of overarching principles and conceptions and contains the summary values and notions that shape how a researcher views the research arena and interprets and acts within it (Pervin and Mokhtar 2022).

Like all educational researchers, I am concerned with making an original contribution to knowledge, through exploring what I know and how I know it (Hancock and Algozzine 2017). This involves employing paradigms (a set of assumptions, a design for collecting and interpreting data), based on ontological and epistemological assumptions (Barker 2003) and linked to concepts of reality (ontology) and knowledge (epistemology), which in turn shape methodology, methods and ultimately the outcomes achieved (Maree 2015).

Ontology, 'the study of being,' questions the nature of reality and humanity in the world (Crotty 1998, Denzin and Lincoln 1998). It raises questions about what counts as real evidence and about whether reality exists on its own, independent of the researcher. Ontology may be realist, critical realist or relativist (Rashid et al 2019). Realist ontology is positivist, it assumes that reality exists independent of an observer's perceptions and operates according to immutable natural laws. A positivist understands the world as one reality, assuming that this is independently measurable; aiming to understand and explain phenomena scientifically (Rashid et al 2019).

As my research is based on a subjective interpretation of phenomenon in a social context, a positivist approach was inappropriate (Rashid et al 2019). A relativist ontology, which assumes the existence of multiple, socially constructed realities ungoverned by natural laws and that different people come to know things in a variety of ways, accepting the subjective positionality of the researcher, is more applicable. Rashid et al (2019) stated that, human beings constantly construct and reconstruct the reality in which they live and that how they interpret the world is governed by experience. Social Constructivists see knowledge as developing through interactions; 'reality' is understood to be fluid, socially, culturally and politically constructed, through specific social processes, which are contingent upon human perception. This in reality is as true for the researcher as the researched, which implies that completely objective, value-free research is impossible (see page 34 and 35).

Epistemology, the means by which the origins of knowing and the construction of knowledge are explored (Morehouse and Maykut 2002), may be characterised as objective (governed by the laws of nature), or subjective (constructed, reconstructed and interpreted by individuals). The former is positivist, the latter relativist.

Social Constructivist learning theories are relativist. They uphold that new knowledge is reliant upon experience, people acquire new knowledge through building upon what they already know. Knowledge is therefore a product of human interaction within an environment (Bruner 1960, 2006) and does not constitute a constant entity to be discovered (Taylor 2018).

Social constructivist epistemology sees knowledge and learning as a process, rather than transmission; the acquisition of knowledge being influenced by context and on-going relativism. The cases I consider are process driven; acknowledging that social meaning and individual and shared realities are constructed through interaction in and with the environment. Constructivism is multifaceted, emphasising power structures; it has emancipatory intent and may take a critical stance towards accepted ways of understanding the world (Burr 2003, Kennedy and Lingard 2006, Papert and Harel 1991). I believe it therefore provides an appropriate vehicle for investigating education and learning (Harris 2010, Savin-Baden and Howell Major 2013).

Ontology and epistemology provide 'convenient tools' with which to identify and communicate specific perspectives and assumptions (Rashid et al 2019). They inform the choice of methodology and methods; influencing how studies are implemented and the conclusions drawn. They constitute 'a basic set of beliefs that guide action' and a 'philosophy' or frame of reference used to develop findings (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

I stated earlier that my approach to multiculturalism and multicultural education is both liberal and critical, not least because I do not accept cultural essentialism and argue against minority cultures being absorbed into the majority. Cultural essentialism runs the risk of ignoring racism, and inequalities and exaggerating unity, treating cultures as static and potentially solidifying differences, which are in reality fluid and individualistic (Ballard 1994, Phillips 2009); in so doing, failing to acknowledge the cultures and identities, which are evidenced in a variety of lifestyles, beliefs and values (Benhabib 2002). A non-critical, purely liberal approach to multiculturalism and multicultural education, runs the risk of depoliticising culture, ignoring individual and group experiences, the wider societal context and denies the desirability or possibility of change.

I recognise that socially constructed inequalities, prejudice and discrimination exist (Gundara 2000), and the importance of people interacting to negotiate, understand and ultimately value multiple cultures. This allows for the possibility of (re)constructing a fair and equitable society (Kastoryano 2018, Modood 2020) through multicultural praxis, which both challenges and reimagines multicultural communities and education (see chapters three and four). I endorse an ideal where members of marginalised groups maintain their distinctive identities, yet are able to achieve in and contribute to, a cohesive society of which they are an integral part (Armstrong 2020, Modood 2015). Taking a more critical stance while still holding liberal principles, allows the exploration of the 'institutionalization of unequal power relations in education' (May and Sleeter 2010, p 1) suggesting ways to address these through theory and practice.

Many critical multiculturalists, position their work within a Critical Realist theoretical framework. At one level, this defines objective reality as existing independently of experience and individual perception, an understanding which differs to my own; on a second level it recognises the role that individual, subjective interpretation plays in defining reality, a position with which I have more empathy. Critical realists maintain that people are bounded by a physical and social world and that this needs to be acknowledged.

Taylor (2018) argues that on a Positivist/Subjectivist continuum, Critical Realism occupies the middle ground. The former being a philosophical position which emphasizes the empirical analysis of objective phenomena and the latter the individual's perception of reality. My study is concerned with interpreting the social world e.g. schooling and education, culture, religion and racism. These are all socially constructed, shaped, experienced and interpreted by groups and individuals. It could be argued then, that my research is positioned at the Subjectivist end of the continuum identified by Taylor (2018). However, my work is interpretive, it suggests that social truth is embedded in social surroundings. Interpretivism explores truth through understanding, rather than testing a hypothesis, exploring and storying participants' subjective experiences, notions and beliefs in social and cultural context (Rehman and Alaharti, 2016).

As such it is founded on an assumption that people's perceptions, ideas, thinking, and the meanings that are significant to them, can be understood through researching their cultures (Boas 1995). Therefore, the methods used cannot be compared to those used in physical sciences, because humans translate their surroundings and behave based on interpretation (Hammersley 2013).



Through adopting a relativist ontology, (in which an event may have several interpretations, rather than constituting a fact that can be determined via a particular method), interpretivists seek to gain a deeper understanding of the event and discover the complex issues pertaining to a particular phenomenon in a specific context (Creswell, 2007). For interpretivists the meaning of reality is socially constructed through the experiences of social narrators (Whitley, 1984), meaning that there could be more than one interpretation of findings derived from the data and more than one way of researching a phenomenon.

Interpretivism has a 'trespassing tendency' which defies discipline boundaries, takes a pragmatic view of paradigms and combines different methods, including social constructivism, phenomenology, and hermeneutics (Scauso 2024, Taylor 2018). Drawing on the Interpretivist tradition, I acknowledge that 'to truly reflect the social world, research often needs to take account of different paradigms, as opposed to taking a rigid position as delineated by one or the other. 'It is an oversimplification - and an unnecessary constraint - to see all research as having the characteristics of one of a small number of paradigms' (Coe 2017, p8). Dichotomies are often artificial, making it 'sensible to make pragmatic choices' dependent upon what is being investigated, the purpose of research and key questions identified (Silverman 2017, p 12); it is often necessary to be 'methodologically messy'(Taylor 2018). Recognising an overarching methodological space for research, allows the use of a proliferation of theoretical approaches.

Educational research seeks to contribute to the improvement of education in practice. This research certainly does. I agree with Biesta (2020) however, that there is often a lack of reflection on what this actually means and how research may really help in terms of bringing about positive change. This is partially due to the perceived requirement, to locate ones research in one particular paradigm, this may be limiting. Being pragmatic or 'methodologically messy', can help the researcher to have more focus and control over the project, reducing the possibility of being influenced by the most recent 'theoretical fashion' (Biesta 2020) and more accurately resulting in appropriate educational improvement.

Based on the premise that social reality is shaped by human experience and social context, Interpretivism, is well suited to researching human behaviour and socio-cultural issues (Rehman and Alaharti 2016). It provides the freedom to employ different methodologies, such as narrative study, case study or ethnography, to describe objects, people, or events; to comprehend them in their

socio-cultural contexts and to provide in-depth understanding of the life experiences of the subjects or narrators (Tuli, 2010).

It is for these reasons that I favour a relativist, social constructivist paradigm (which allows interpretive research), rather than Critical Realism per se, even though I am against an essentialist view of culture and wish to explore the potential of critical multiculturalism and multicultural education. This, and my willingness to 'trespass' across paradigms and methodologies, while grounding my research in a qualitative, essentially Social Constructivist paradigm, could be seen as problematic; not least because it makes both objectivity and generalisations difficult (see page 34 and 35). However, operating in a wide overarching methodological space, allowed me to be flexible and to construct a detailed picture of the phenomena studied.

My emphasis on the dynamic, changing nature of experience and interaction and the centrality of specific contexts, could suggest a tension between this subjective, interpretive, qualitative approach and the idea of a transferable model. However, the Bradford model that I conceptualise is not static, it has a fluidity. It is a social construct in itself, constantly shifting in terms of specifics (e.g. content or space). It is not a rigid entity, truth or reality. It is a framework, a tool which may be used in a variety of learning situations, to generate (or allow the construction of) experiences and interactions, in different environments, as appropriate to differing contexts, needs and wants. It suggests the efficacy of a process led strategy for learning; a replicable way of working, which is transferable and may be adapted to reflect the experiences, contact and interaction within specific social contexts.

## Methodology

Positivist research methodology is generally aligned to quantitative research, relativist methodology, to qualitative research. As my focus is relativist, concerned with subjective realities, social contexts and human complexity, this necessitated the use of a qualitative methodology. Qualitative researchers structure questions in a way that focuses on understanding how and why (Berryman 2019), assuming that truth and knowledge reflect differences in culture and life experiences (Ryan 2018).

Using qualitative research methodology, allowed me to ask how and why a Bradford model of multicultural education outside the classroom evolved, its features, impact and the possibility of its transference. It enabled me to explore, interpret and better understand social constructs and the experiences of children, teachers, community members, cathedral staff and volunteers; individuals

with diverse perspectives, multiple versions of knowledge and varied contextualised realities (Ballard 1994, Braun and Clarke 2013). A qualitative approach allowed me to better view the world through the eyes of participants and revealed multiple facets of the phenomenon under investigation (Baxter and Jack 2008, Clark 2003, Clark and Moss 2005, McKenna, Richardson and Manroop 2011).

Morse and Chung (2003) writing about nursing, stated that a qualitative study enables a holistic perspective to be taken. Through considering multiple dimensions, different interpretations and contexts, a relatively complete picture of the whole may be constructed. This is particularly pertinent to the study of culturally diverse experiences of education in a variety of situations and spaces (Clarke and Moss 2005).

My fieldwork was based in normative, rather than contrived or controlled settings. It focussed on the ways in which things were already being experienced. The primary instrument of data collection was myself, and the participants, who generated verbal, written, artistic and digital data (Savin-Baden and Howell Major 2013). Through qualitative, comparative case studies I considered a rich tapestry of methodologies and theories (Waring 2017), employing a combination of research methods (Morgan 2014). This 'liberated' rather than 'inhibited' discovery and helped to ensure that 'fertility' was not 'sacrificed to orderliness' (Thomas and James 2006, p8), allowing me to successfully explore intertwined phenomena, in a variety of spaces.

## Case studies

A case study may be a research method or a methodological choice (Creswell, 2013, Thomas 2013, Stake 1994) providing meaning in context (Day Ashley 2017) and allowing the exploration, explanation and evaluation of the characteristics of particular, contextualised education initiatives; shedding light on 'why a particular programme did or did not work' (Yin 2014, p114). Case studies are 'revelatory', inferring causal mechanisms, themes and pathways, which help to demonstrate how and why x and y are connected (Day Ashley 2017). They provide evidence to support the validity of conclusions drawn from research (Hedges 2017, Robson 2011). Although often qualitative and characterized by interpretivist, phenomenological, ethnographic and constructivist paradigmatic philosophies, case studies may also be quantitative, or a combination of both (Starman 2013).

Qualitative case study methodology explores a phenomenon within a particular context, using data sources amassed through various methods and viewed through a variety of lenses (Baxter & Jack 2008). The consideration of context is centrally important because this creates difference (Conteh

2003, Kaarbo & Beasley 1999). It is usual for a real-time phenomenon to be explored within its naturally occurring context, but the consideration of historic cases retrospectively, may also add to the richness and validity, of the conclusions drawn from research into current issues.

### Retrospective and contemporary cases

Retrospection in education research (reflection followed by reflexivity) is central to curriculum development (Pine 2008). Reflection on the interaction between teachers, students, subject matter, policy and context (those things which constitute the curriculum) and on personal accounts of experience, are central in developing good curricular practice. Retrospective accounts often offer ‘the most precious source of knowledge - our own experience’ (Pine 2008, Schwab 1973).

Studying both current and historic cases is a comparative endeavour, exploring facts, relations, or processes in order to find differences or similarities across cases, which share a common focus or goal and context (Goodrick 2014, Starman 2013). This is an intellectual operation, an instrument of observation (Heintz 2010), which attempts to establish the existence of relationships between units or events. A comparison is based on the determination of (partial) sameness (commensurability) and therefore also on the determination of differences, usually involving the assumption that cases are identical in some fundamental respect (Kosmützky et al 2020).

Comparative methods (as employed in this research), rather than limiting investigation to an individual case context, allow the consideration of more than one, referring back to earlier cases, ultimately making it easier to generalise about causal questions – how and why a particular programme worked or failed to work (Starman 2013). This is useful in increasing understanding of how context influences the success of an ‘intervention’ in achieving specific outcomes (Goodrick 2014). Amir and Tamir (1981), suggest that retrospective evaluations, provide a particularly useful approach to the study of longitudinal education initiatives, such as those projects which I conceptualise as constituting a Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom.

However, considering cases retrospectively and attempting to compare and synthesise data, to integrate these and compare and contrast findings with a contemporary case, is not without its challenges. Retrospective cases may raise concerns ethically. There may be a lack of opportunity to secure participant agreement when using historic data or evidence. In my research retrospective subjects were anonymised and the majority of the information and evaluations accessed, were generally already in the public arena or had been collected on the understanding, that they might be

used and made public in the future. That said I was acutely aware of the ethical implications, but this is only one of the difficulties in using a combination of retrospective and contemporary cases.

Focusing on retrospective cases is a non-interventional process, constituting an observational review, or reassessment of evidence, to help analyse previous events of interest (Sanctis et al 2022). This means that the researcher has no control over the subjects, the collection of data, or its original interpretation (if consulting reports or previous research findings); involvement in a contemporary case conversely provides an opportunity for first hand collection of primary evidence and to intervene as necessary to glean specific data.

When using retrospective cases, the researcher stands at a distance from the phenomena under investigation, even if (as in my situation), they have firsthand experience of the cases. This distance may be as problematic as being too close, leading to the misinterpretation of the experience of subjects or narrators. Likewise, the passage of time means that sources, personal and collective recollections of events (which form part of my storying of TLN, SUTH and KSUSOMAD) may be skewed; I am aware that viewing historic cases and interpreting them retrospectively through a contemporary lens, runs the risk of distorting both the collection and analysis of data.

However, there are advantages; conflict exists between the use of singular case studies and the search for generalisation. A singular contemporary case study, although specific and often unsupported by other forms of validation, provides detailed, useful, contextualised knowledge (Silverman 2000), but considering multiple cases (even retrospectively), with similar common goals, comparing and contrasting, provides triangulation, aiding validation and allowing movement from the particular to the general. Day Ashley (2017) stated that through identifying recurring themes across cases and making comparisons, it is possible to infer generalisations. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) caution however, against being naively optimistic, arguing that it is not a given that an aggregation of information from different cases will result in a complete or accurate picture.

At best it is possible for qualitative researchers using a mixture of retrospective and contemporary cases, and integrating these into one piece of research, to make 'fuzzy generalisations', using findings from multiple cases, contemporary and retrospective, to suggest generalised principles, ideas or knowledge, while being cautious about claiming certainty or universalism (Bassey 1999). However, this does not detract from the importance of doing so, or the usefulness of case studies in

general. They remain valid, creating better understanding while suggesting and encouraging areas of study, to be productively explored and understood further (Stake 1994).

The 'historic' cases, considered retrospectively in this research, are important in demonstrating how a way of working developed over time in Bradford. Comparing and contrasting these with a contemporary project helping to illustrate, support, or alternatively contradict and undermine evidence provided and conclusions drawn about the current case (Petrina 2020). In storying the historic projects, it was essential to consult existing data, recorded originally for reasons other than this research purpose and to use a range of secondary and primary sources. This of course raises issues of validity and ethical considerations, which I will return to presently.

## Methods

A method is a specific research technique, often grounded in a singular methodology. In qualitative research singularity is not always appropriate; the phenomena under study being placed to the fore, as opposed to any one set of methodological principles (Atkinson and Hammersley 2007). This suggests that eclectic means, which allow for creativity and imagination, are useful in attempting to appropriately study a problem, or collect evidence about an issue or case. Such an approach results in impactful research (Becker 1996), avoiding the limitations of following one particular method and/or tried and tested procedure. The outcome is not a picture achieved by 'painting by numbers', but a complicated (often unfinished) 'original picture'.

Case study and comparative case study methodology, pragmatically employ varied methods and sources to interrogate cases. These include 'archival records, documents, open ended interviews, focused interviews, structured interviews, surveys, direct and participant observation' (Yin 2009, p860). Case study methods often draw on phenomenology and ethnography, which stress the suitability of methods for purpose.

Where there is a lack of literature (as in this research) ethnographic methods are useful because they involve observation, first-hand experience and interviews 'in the field'; producing evidence from which dense descriptions of a phenomenon, based upon immersion in a community or group may be documented (Thorne 1991). This immersion enables the research process to be negotiated with participants, rather than imposed from above. It allows a focus on phenomena, 'things', as they appear and increase understanding of participants' experiences (Savin-Baden and Howell Major 2013, Smith et al. 2009).

Where case studies are concerned with change or transformation, activist methodology and methods, aligned to critical theory are also pertinent. An activist approach involves a variety of methods and aims to increase understanding of the ‘root causes of inequality, oppression, violence and related conditions of human suffering’ (Hale 2001, p13). Activist methods are broad to delimit research, probing boundaries and definitions which appear to be ‘fixed and given’ (Hale 2001) and suggesting fluidity and interconnectedness (Armstrong 2020, Kastoryano 2018).

Like the Reggio Emilia approach (Edwards 1998, Hall 2014) mosaic methodology acknowledges the many languages of children and the value in exploring children’s varied multi-media responses to experience. Mosaic methods are useful in case study research as they help create a detailed picture (Clark and Moss 2005); they may be summarised thus:

1. Multiple: recognising the different ‘voices’ of children and the many ways in which these are expressed; using these as a form of evidence.
2. Participatory: children are considered experts, agents in their own lives.
3. Reflexive: they include children, practitioners and parents in reflection on meaning; and interpretation.
Focused; on children’s lived experiences: they focus on how these influence lives lived rather, rather than on knowledge gained.
4. Adaptable: they may be applied in a variety of institutions and spaces.
5. Embedded in practice: providing a framework that has the potential to be used in research and to inform teaching and learning; removing the chasm between research and practice.

(Clark 2005)

Mosaic methods are particularly useful when focusing on learning outside the classroom (LOtC), which routinely generates multi-media, individualised responses to a shared experience (Waite 2017). Placing the child at the centre of the research allows for the collection of authentic evidence and a dialogic, interpretive, creative approach to studying children's learning experiences (Clark and Moss 2005), resulting in a varied, rich evidence base and generating meaning in context. Such disparate data makes generalisations difficult but mosaic methods provide particular, individualistic evidence, resulting in a useful if complicated picture, which provides a rich source of evidence from which to extrapolate meaning. If there are gaps in the overall mosaic, these are useful, because they suggest areas for further research, (Clark and Moss 2005).

I looked for and identified iterative themes for exploration and analysis in literature, across a range of primary and secondary sources (particularly those pertinent to the retrospective cases) and undertook fieldwork research, over the course of one academic year, involving twenty three, nine and ten year old children, from an inner city primary school and employed multiple methods to collect data to help answer my key research questions (see page 17).

#### Retrospective cases

1. Reflection on participant observation and observation, child and adult participation; personal notes.
2. Retrospective data trawl of literature, reports, policy documents, legislation, archival/historic participant feedback.
3. Project evaluations, reports and practitioner articles.

The table on the following page details the sources used for data collection.



Data Collection - Retrospective Cases		
TLN	SUTH	KSUSOMAD
Notes from initial planning meetings.	Planning documents.	Process map.
Observation; CPD sessions, linking sessions, celebration events, evaluation meetings.	Teachers' resource.	Planning documents.
Teachers' resources.	DVD generated by participants.	Teachers resource.
Children's work e.g. Identity shields, questions for their linking partner etc.	Exhibition content. Children's posters for the exhibition. Observation and notes of interaction/dialogue between children/children and adults.	Exhibition content. Art work, written work, Online questionnaire results (hand held devices used in sessions at the Yorkshire Craft Centre (YCC)). Posters generated in workshops at the exhibition. Vox -Pop/video recordings, at/for speakers corner and celebration event.
Researchers' in residence papers on impact.	Observation notes: sessions IEC, Cartwright Hall, public opening of exhibition, celebration events.	Observation/notes: sessions in school, YCC, public opening of exhibition.
Twitter (now X) feed.	Observation and participation Anne Frank House, House of Commons, House of Lords.	Graffiti wall transcription, participants comments.
Website	Parent and carers comments – exhibition and at Civic Reception.	Observation/notes speakers corner events and community celebration.
Annual reports (see TLN website)	Comments in Cartwright Hall visitors', book.	Teacher evaluations – YCC.
Teacher feedback.	Participant feedback.	Participant feedback - YCC
Participant feedback.	Teacher evaluations questionnaire, end of project report; emphasis on impact.	Annual reports – children and teachers responses to the experience collected in school at the close of the year's project; emphasis on impact.
Contemporary discussion and (notes taken) with current TLN team.	Press reports, professional articles.	Press reports, professional articles.

#### Contemporary case

1. Data trawl of literature, reports, policy documents, legislation.
2. Observation and participant observation, using schedules (based on emerging themes), of teaching and learning, in classrooms (2 sessions) and in the Cathedral (5 sessions).

3. Normatively generated written work, application letters (24), thoughts and words sheets (5 x 23), Cathedral detective sheets (23).
4. Verbal responses and feedback (in school and in the Cathedral), recorded during and after sessions.
5. Digital responses to the experience at the Cathedral (iPad images produced by one child, video footage produced by children and teachers).
6. Art work, collaborative and individual, produced by Year 5 – (approximately ninety children), drawings of the Cathedral (6).
7. Participative meeting notes (from five review meetings 6-2 adults present, plenaries at the Cathedral – 24/23 children, end of project evaluation meeting - 10 children).
8. Semi structured interviews (1 project evaluation meeting with two teachers , 1 with 14 children).

The contemporary fieldwork employed a pre-determined data collection processes, e.g., the use of semi-structured observation schedules (see table on page 41 and Appendix 1) and questions. Additional data was generated as a result of unplanned, informal interaction with parents, visiting teachers, carers, clergy, congregation members and community representatives; notes were made immediately after these interactions. Unsolicited written communication was received detailing adult responses to the project and comments on websites and social media platforms, also provided evidence of impact (Appendix 15).

<b>Data Collection – Contemporary Case</b>	
<b>Community Heritage Volunteer Project CHVP</b>	
	Notes from initial planning meetings, review meetings with school and cathedral staff, volunteers and children, during and after the completion of the project.
	Planning documents.
	Teachers' resource.
	Observation and participant observation; in school and at the Cathedral; use of semi-structured observation sheets, transcription of notes.
	Interaction/dialogue between children/children and adults.
	iPad footage, photographs and DVD generated by child participants
	Children's work e.g. posters, artistic depiction of Bradford, application letters.
	Parent and carers comments; member of the public's and congregation's feedback and comments community celebration.
	Teacher evaluations and feedback written and verbal.
	Child participant feedback, written and verbal, including thoughts and words sheets
	Annual reports and reviews, Lapage, Cathedral; reports to stakeholders and outside organisations.
	Children and teachers responses to the experience collected in school at the close of the year's project; emphasis on impact.
	Press reports, professional articles.
	Twitter (now X) feed Lapage and the Cathedral
	Websites Lapage and the Cathedral.

## Objectivity

Neutrality is usually upheld as the ideal, but this is almost impossible to achieve in qualitative case study research (Burr 2003) as it requires the world to be viewed from no position at all. The personal nature of knowledge and experience, means that such complete objectivity is untenable and the idea of neutrality a myth (Finlay 2002). I was closely involved with the retrospective and contemporary projects considered in this research. I accept that approaching these 'cases' with a completely open mind and allowing data to speak for itself (Pring 2015) was difficult. Such situations present a challenge; not prejudging details or outcomes is not easy. Even when recognising multiple realities, bracketing out previous knowledge and assumptions is difficult; there is always the potential for prior knowledge and experience to impinge upon the story reported. This could be seen as a limitation of constructivist, interpretive, qualitative case studies, but 'closeness' also allows a rich and colourful description of phenomena (Smith et al 2009) and increases understanding of participants' experiences (Savin-Baden and Howell Major 2013).

Case studies allow internal participation and this encourages reflexivity (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, 2012) yielding new, detailed knowledge, that an external, completely objective observer might not

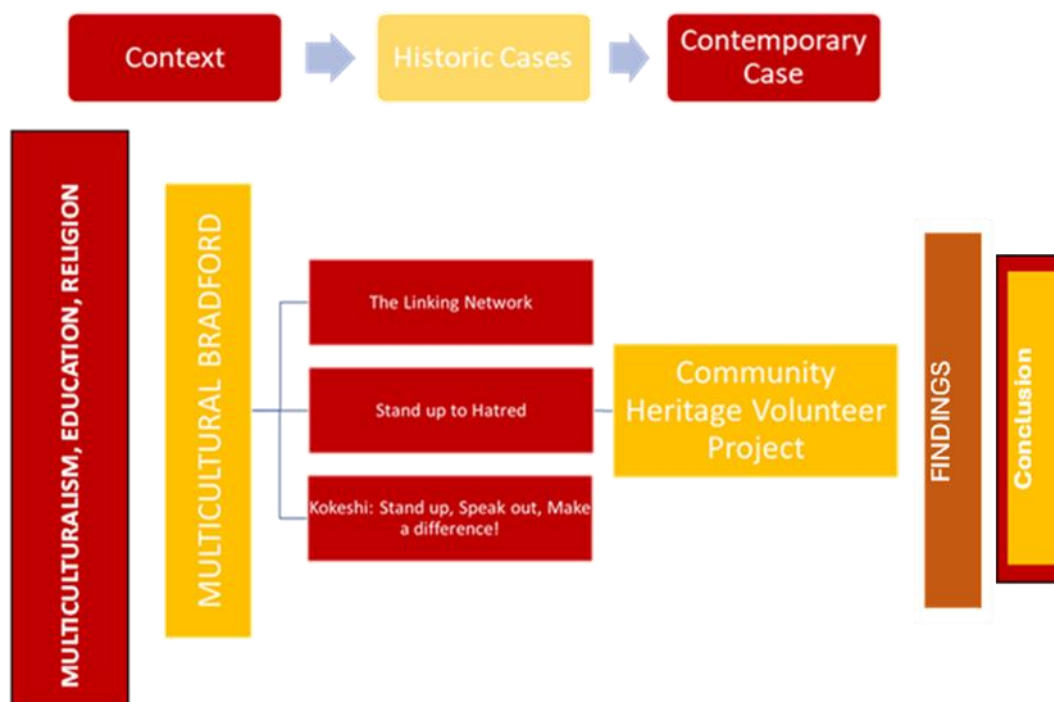
understand or grasp. Case study methodology (in line with Interpretivist philosophy) demands that when ‘closeness’ occurs, researchers must acknowledge their positionality, identify their potential bias and make it clear how this might influence their interpretation and analysis of data when drawing conclusions.

However, it is not uncommon for a researcher to have ‘multiple insider and outsider positions’, or to cross the line between inside and out (Clarke 2013). Positive personal relationships allows access to participants, spaces and resources; they encourage honesty, shared frames of reference and useful knowledge of context (Mercer 2007). Consequently, far from stepping back from closeness, through transparency (making sure it was obvious what I was doing and why) I actively encouraged a sense of closeness and partnership in my research endeavour.

This said, I attempted to be reflective and reflexive and to refrain from pre-judging outcomes, striving to provide honest, trustworthy results. Failing to acknowledge my personal positionality would have been disingenuous, inappropriate and impinged on the validity of my findings.

### Thematic Analysis

I collected evidence and data for this research through the process detailed in the diagram below, in so doing identifying concepts and themes for further investigation and analysis.



Through an iterative process of reviewing, refining, and defining themes, emerging from my engagement with appropriate literature and the cases investigated, I began to identify a coherent and consistent representation of common patterns. This was an ongoing, iterative process (Kiger and Varpio 2020, Ryan and Bernard 2003). Such qualitative data analysis is not a repetitive, mechanical task, it is a reflexive process, the key to sparking insight and developing meaning. The qualitative data analyst is constantly on the hunt for concepts and themes that, when taken together, will provide the best explanation of what's is going on in an inquiry. It involves multiple rounds of revisiting data, as additional questions emerge, new connections are unearthed, and more complex formulations develop along with a deepening understanding of the material (Hopwood and Srivastava 2009).

For example, on commencing this research, I had no concept of children as volunteers, having a positive impact on learning. In the course of comparing and contrasting cases, I noted an emphasis on involving children as volunteer participants, which became ever more prevalent over time. Volunteering to act to help others, appeared to have a positive effect on children, increasing their confidence in operating in multicultural situations and willingness to engage in intercultural contact. This led me to review literature which explored the efficacy of the role of volunteering in engendering positive attitudes towards and improving community cohesion (page 257). I compared the data I collected about children as volunteers, with recent research into adult volunteering experiences (Abrams, Horsham and Davies 2023, Liu et al 2021). This iterative, reflective process ultimately prompted me to state in my analysis of findings, that volunteering has a positive impact on children and is an area worthy of in depth future research.

Qualitative, thematic analysis then, is fundamentally an iterative set of processes. It is inductive, patterns, themes, and categories of analysis emerge out of the data 'rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis' (Patton, 1980, p 306). However, patterns, themes, and categories do not emerge on their own. 'They are driven by what the inquirer wants to know and how the inquirer interprets the data ..... according to subscribed theoretical frameworks, subjective perspectives, ontological and epistemological positions, and intuitive field understandings' (Hopwood and Srivastava 2009, p76 ). It is not an objective application of analysis procedures, it is a subjective, reflexive process.

There is no singular rule as to what themes might look like:

They can be static words like nouns or action words (gerunds ending with 'ing') or metaphors as well. The aim, however, remains that the themes should provide a conceptual and theoretical level of insight into a phenomenon (Mishra and Dey 2022, p 187–192).

They may be observable, involve participants perceptions, experiences, feelings, values and emotions. Contextually bound, they need to be broad enough to capture multiple aspects of a phenomenon, while narrow enough to make it feasible to result in in-depth understanding (Mishra and Dey 2022). Clarke and Braun (2006) argue that 'reflexive themed analysis' in qualitative research is characterised by a six-step process:

A - Six step process	B - My research process
1. Familiarisation with data (including a review of literature)	Literature, reports, evaluations, legislation, policy, primary sources.
2. Assigning preliminary codes/concepts to data in order to describe the content	Highlighting recurring words and comments e.g., multicultural in documentation, literature, taught sessions in school, at the Cathedral and multi-media responses to experience.
3. Search for patterns or themes in concepts/ codes	Retrospective cases: cross referencing across cases. Contemporary case: Comparing and contrasting historic cases with the current one; identifying what patterns transfer and where there may be divergence.
4. Review themes	Review of the themes side by side across the retrospective and contemporary cases; an ongoing process, spanning the whole research endeavour.
5. Name themes	Retrospective and contemporary cases, ongoing and flexible; themes emerged early on, but it was important to check and re check these; synthesise and present diagrammatically.
6. Write up.	Retrospective and contemporary cases: an ongoing process. Returning to previous literature and research to inform the writing of the whole.

As may be discerned from column B in the table, this process is not linear, a researcher often retraces their steps (I certainly did), making continual reference to their key questions, reflecting upon these, the emerging data and amending or adding to the concepts or themes to be analysed. Srivastava's (2009) framework for reflexive themed data analysis, suggests three questions to help

interpret data and come to conclusions. The iterative, qualitative, reflexive researcher should continually ask:

1. What is the data telling me? (explicitly engaging with theoretical, subjective, ontological, epistemological, and field understandings)
2. What is it I want to know? (according to research objectives, questions, and theoretical points of interest)
3. What is the dialectical relationship between what the data tells me and what I want to know? (refining the focus and linking back to research questions)

(Hopwood and Srivastava 2009)

Reflexive themed analysis then is not a rigid process or a singular method. It is an ‘umbrella’ for a family of approaches which share a focus on developing patterns of meaning, from qualitative data (Braun and Clarke 2021). It offers theoretical ‘flexibility’, but this does not mean that ‘anything goes’. It requires deliberate and systematic thought about what data to collect, how and why, and the extrapolation of meaning without bias (Braun and Clarke 2021, Mishra and Dey 2022).

When consulting research papers and literature, with my key questions and sub questions (page 17) and Srivastava’s framework in mind, I identified concepts linked to multicultural and educational discourse and the local context. A number of central themes emerged worthy of more detailed consideration (Mishra and Dey 2023), for example the discourse about the divisions between and the interrelated nature of, multiculturalism and interculturalism (Cantle 2015, Kastoryano 2018, Modood 2015), the historical and contemporary significance of religion in Bradford (Bowen 1991, 1997, Thomson 1991, 1997, McLoughlin 2014, BBIWY 2024) and the importance of specific spaces as containers for learning (Harrison 1970). I highlighted and recorded such emerging themes, attempting to be deliberate and systematic.

The next step involved the same process, but focussing on the retrospective cases and latterly the contemporary case. During my fieldwork I made notes before, during and after taught sessions and in meetings (Appendix 8), highlighting codes (either with a marker pen or electronically). The thoughts and words sheets (twenty three sheets generated in each of five sessions located in the Cathedral) suggested reoccurring themes (Appendix 11), as did notes compiled on semi-structured observation schedules, which were designed to allow me to record anything of interest, rather than to be restrictive (Appendix 1). This data was cross referenced with iterative concepts and themes

which emerged from my continual engagement with literature; it prompted further reading into unexpected areas e.g. into the concept of space, place and emplacement (Massey 2005, Tuan 1977).

My lists of the initial concepts indicated themes for analysis (Braun and Clarke 2021, Ryan & Bernard 2003) In turn these influenced my focus, data collection and evidence base; their prevalence and interpretation throughout the research process, suggesting patterns of meaning (Kiger and Varpio 2020) and informing my conclusions.

1 - Initial concepts	2 – Developing concepts	3 – Emerging themes	4 – Themes	* Additional CHVP
<i>Permeating: context multicultural, multifaith Bradford</i>				
Multiculturalism <b>Bradford</b> Interculturalism	Culture Religion Conflict Cohesion Education	Context Contact Dialogue Conflict Religion Cohesion Community Understanding	Contact Alternative space Cultural navigation Agentic learners Active citizens Dialogue Interpretation	Common ground  Sacred space  Emplacement
<i>Permeating: identity, heritage and belonging</i>				

*Central themes arrived at through employing an iterative, reflexive qualitative approach*

## Ethical considerations

As a qualitative study, based in the fields of education and social science, I foregrounded ethical issues from the outset (Appendix 17). Research which directly or indirectly involves or impacts upon human participants, necessitates ethical considerations (Brooke, te Riele and Maguire 2014); the purpose needs to be clear, permission from ‘gatekeepers’ and consent from participants (those subject to the conditions being researched and/or involved in formulating strategies to transform the conditions) is essential (BERA 2011, 2018, Hale 2001). Seeking permission is problematic when considering cases retrospectively, where evidence and data has already been collected for other purposes and is contained in a variety of documents.

Grant (2018) suggests that documents are useful, providing information which a researcher may not be able to observe, but stresses that there are things to consider carefully when doing so. For example, chronology, when was a document produced? What was the original purpose



of the document? How might this reflect associated power dynamics? For example, some of the TLN documents, SUTH and KSUSOMAD evaluations, were partially compiled to either justify funding or to apply for more. Therefore, this needs to be acknowledged when considering the impartiality of the evidence which they present.

This does not detract from the fact that the examination of pre-existing documents and artefacts from daily life, is a useful qualitative research method one which helps demonstrate how individuals, groups, organisations and societies function. Grant (2018) writing about health care research, argues that the use of documents in addition to other methods, provides a richer understanding of complicated issues, concluding that, wherever possible, ethnographic researchers should consider the use of documents, alongside methods such as observations and interviews.

The feedback and project evaluations consulted, used anonymised information collected at the time, on the understanding that it might subsequently form part of reports, publications, press releases and associated articles. I am aware of this, as I was party to the collection of information at the time, but there is no written evidence to prove that this was the case. TLN granted permission for their documents to be used in this research. However, several other organisations who collected information for evaluation purposes (e.g., Education Bradford), no longer exist. I was mindful that this meant that I could not formally ask for permission to use the materials. However, the main ones consulted, were open access and in the public domain.

### Gatekeepers

Extant organisations routinely have gatekeepers controlling access to the people (and documents) associated with them. This may be for reputational reasons, but more often to ensure the welfare, safeguarding and wellbeing of those for whom they are responsible (Brooke, te Riele and Maguire 2014). In both a cathedral and in a school there is a stratified system of gatekeepers, so negotiation is key.

Permission was sought before the CHVP fieldwork from the schools' Senior Management Teams and from their most senior gatekeepers, the Nurture Academy Trust's (NAT) Board of Trustees. This was done by writing to the Chair of Trustees, attending a full Board Meeting, then meeting with the heads of schools. Once the participating teachers and support staff

were identified, they were written to, then a consultation meeting was held and written permission was sought to confirm their involvement in the project.

In terms of Cathedral gatekeepers, negotiation was a complex process, with a hierarchy of Chapter, bishops, deans, canons, lay staff and volunteers to be consulted. Initially a copy of the research proposal was circulated to the Bishop, Dean and Director of Education and Visitors for approval; staff and volunteers who were likely to be involved were also appraised of the purpose and breadth of the study; permission for their involvement was sought in writing. A verbal summary of the research proposal and the CHVP was presented at Cathedral staff meetings.

### Participation and consent

Ideally participation in any research process should be voluntary and agreed. Adult consent and the ability to remove this if they feel necessary, is important, but relatively straightforward. I asked adults involved in the project verbally if they would like to be involved in the project. This was then backed up with a letter, making it clear that they could withdraw at any point and providing email and telephone contact details to ease access in doing so (Appendix 2). All teachers and two support staff agreed to be involved. The incidental involvement of visitors to the Cathedral, congregation, parents, carers and community members, which resulted in many useful comments and observed behaviours, posed more of a problem ethically. I verbally asked to use comments and to quote them in my research when possible (e.g., when engaged in direct conversation) stressing complete anonymity, but written consent was not sought.

Consent becomes even more problematic when dealing with young children. Do they acquiesce or really agree to take part? Do they have the confidence and power to retract consent? Children's participation in research, is far from straightforward. Various approaches involve children in data collection activities (Gibbs et al 2013), which are normative, flexible and adaptable. They may include (as in this research) a mosaic range of media, drawings, maps, diagrams, digital means, spoken and written responses to experiences. Theis (1996) says that this enhances children's creative reflection and in many instances enables them to advocate, providing a rich source of data (Clark and Moss 2005).

This does not change the ethical dilemma of children's ability to consent, the implications of their involvement, anonymity and confidentiality. Although focusing on humanitarian crisis situations, Maglio and Pherali's (2020) assertion that researchers must be accountable for the research participants involved and the ways in which information is gleaned and subsequently used, is true of any research endeavour which involves children.

The British Educational Research Association (BERA), in its Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (2018), offers advice in line with Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, stating that children should be helped to give their fully informed consent. Where they do not have the capacity to do so (for example due to age, maturity or level of understanding), then researchers must also seek the collaboration and approval of parents, carers or guardians (BERA 2018, p7).

In accordance with these guidelines and my ethics approval (June 2022), respect for the safety and well-being of child participants were at the forefront of this research (Maglio and Pherali 2020). Children who volunteered for the CHVP contemporary project, were asked to let their teacher or myself know if they changed their mind and did not want to be involved and any withdrawal of consent was acted upon immediately (see chapter ten). The children were aged 9-10, so letters were sent home via the class teachers, requesting that they were allowed to take part, *but only after the children themselves had volunteered to become a CHV and applied for the role* (Appendix 3 and 10).

There was no compulsion to take part in the school/cathedral initiative and if a child wished to volunteer at the Cathedral, but to not be included in the research that wish was respected. This did not occur, had it done so the child would have not been included in the review/evaluation meetings and their comments and work (in any media), would not have been included in the data set.

Participating teachers asked written permission for the children to be photographed or filmed during their tenure as CHVs, stressing that both anonymous information and images might be used in school, on the Internet, in reports, in evaluations of the project and publications. Although a small number of children (four) could not be filmed or photographed (as a result of an agreement with the school predating the CHVP), there were no objections to any of the children who wished to volunteer, being involved either in the project or the research.

The children were informed from the start to expect to see me making notes, both in school and at the Cathedral. The purpose of this, was explained as being to see if the CHVP worked, what they experienced, if it helped them to learn and be able to do new things and to discover what might need to be changed to make the CHVP better in the future. They were assured that no one would be mentioned by name, that I was interested in how and what they learnt at the Cathedral, not in individuals.

They were reminded of this throughout their involvement in the CHVP. I stressed to the children that saying 'no' to a powerful adult, or stepping down part way through the project might feel to be difficult, but that this was perfectly acceptable. The genuine establishment of intergenerational, collegiate working in this instance and the CHVs participation in the structure and content of the project throughout, seemed to result in children being increasingly willing to speak out if they were unhappy, or for that matter when they were happy. One boy eventually, after three sessions said 'No, this is not for me' and stepped down. His wishes were respected, demonstrating these ethical principles in practice and reinforcing the idea in the CHVs minds, that they were in every sense respected *volunteers*.

Although children, teachers and other participants have not been named in my thesis, the main organisations have. The school involved in my contemporary fieldwork; Lapage Primary is not anonymised at the request of the Chief Executive Officer of the Nurture Academies Trust. He wished it to be known that the school had instigated and been fully involved in the Community Heritage Volunteer Project. The Dean of Bradford Cathedral was keen for the story of innovative education at the Cathedral to be told and therefore no attempt has been made to anonymise this setting.

### Authority and reputational power

As a researcher one is in a position of power (BERA 2011), particularly when viewed by children as a teacher (which was undoubtedly how the CHVs saw me), but adults too may see a researcher as an authority figure. To my surprise, one of the 2021-2022 Year 5 teachers involved in the CHVP, was one of my former ITE students. I had been her Course Tutor, but also later had been known to her as a senior member of staff in the LA and as an Ofsted inspector. This prior knowledge obviously had the potential to magnify the likelihood of me being seen as an authority figure.

Mitigating such reputational power, was a serious ethical consideration, as if undue influence, or perceived pressure remained unstemmed, outcomes could have been potentially skewed and the authenticity of findings threatened. This was lessened through collegiate working, teachers becoming participants, not just in the project, but actively in the research, offering their ideas, opinions and interpretations as partners in the endeavour; appraised at every stage of what I was thinking, doing and the conclusions which I was beginning to form. The emphasis on participation, enabled teachers to operate as researcher practitioners, understanding research 'as a way of thinking, of approaching life, of negotiating, of documenting' (Rinaldi, 2006, p 192, Seidel 2001) both inside and outside the classroom.

The friendly, yet professional relationships created, aided the possibility of stories being shared. The disclosure to participants of my personal views, through the process of collaborative planning, implementation and evaluation of the project, resulted in an informal, yet professional, ethos, reducing the hierarchical relationships within the research process and encouraging parity of esteem.

### A risky business

Educators and teacher practitioners often fear being judged inadequate in terms of their professional practice. This means that involvement in research includes an element of risk, which might result in teachers being cautious about what they say and do, masking reality and thus ultimately bringing into question the authenticity of research findings. Again, in this instance, these factors were overcome through collegiate working, which emphasised shared professionalism and the equal worth of both practitioners and researcher.

There is an element of risk for anyone who embarks upon research. This study deals with contentious areas and themes (e.g., multiculturalism, multicultural education, community cohesion, personal and societal change). These frequently attract negativity and opposition from individuals, groups, politicians and the media, particularly in an era where to be viewed as woke, is now far removed from the original African American vernacular meaning of being alert to racial prejudice and discrimination. According to Cammaerts (2022) 'woke' and 'wokeness' have been weaponised by the political right, turning the words into insults, used against anyone fighting fascism, racism or other forms of injustices and discrimination. The label 'woke' signifying a supposed 'progressive over-reaction'.

In the past in Bradford both theorising about and introducing multicultural initiatives has resulted in taunts, conflict and less than positive press for those leading the way. This has damaged the local and national reputation of the city (Bowen 1991, Alam 2006, Bujra and Pearce 2011) and put groups and individuals at risk. Dave Bowen received a death threat in 1991, due to his cross community work on the 'Satanic Verses' incident in Bradford; in 2010 I was the subject of a negative, fictionalised, newspaper article about my work on community cohesion in Saudi Arabia. I consequently received abusive mail and latterly a public apology from the right wing newspaper concerned. Therefore, I undertook this research, which involved mainly Muslim children, taking over a Christian sacred space as guides and peer educators, acutely aware of the possibility of receiving negative comments, media attention and even threats from certain sectors of the wider community.

To date this has not been the case. However, to be fore warned, is to be fore armed, aiding resilience and helping me to remain mindful, that initiatives which are in essence attempts to implement education for change, are unlikely to be seen as desirable by all (Conteh 2003). The work may be misinterpreted and/or misrepresented. It is important to be sensitive to this, to the perceptions, needs and wants of others and never presume complete agreement. It is important to listen and respond professionally to views, which may be different, even diametrically opposed to one's own.

This necessitates awareness of the possibility and undesirability, of being drawn into un-professional debate, when research draws challenges from academics, practitioners and stakeholders (e.g., clergy, missional groups, members of the wider community); demanding the ability to clearly articulate purpose and motives and respond professionally to challenge (BERA 2011). Such discord if managed professionally, may be profitably factored into the information and conclusions drawn (BERA 2011).

### A continuous process

Ethics were important throughout the life cycle of the research, not dealt with at the outset and then ignored. Over the past three years, there have been significant changes in personnel at the Cathedral. This combined with Covid related illness among school staff, has necessitated consent being renegotiated, the purpose and process of my work being constantly explained. I attended meetings at the school and the Cathedral (June 2022), in order to ensure the

continuing transparency and voluntary, informed, participation of those touched by, or central to this research, demonstrating ethics in practice. A handbook for adults participating in the CHVP was produced (in collaboration with lead teachers, children and Cathedral staff), to clarify roles, responsibilities and purpose (Appendix 4). This was distributed across schools and Cathedral staff and gatekeepers.

### Dissemination

Continuing this theme of disseminating information, the progress of this research was shared with appropriate stakeholders throughout the process e.g., the children, the NAT Board of Trustees, Senior School Management Team, lead teachers and support staff, the Bishop, Dean, clergy and lay staff. The 2021-2022 CHV cohort were given feedback and appraised of changes made due to their input prior to the 2022 handover session. Thus, reaffirming their active role as volunteer participants, their agency, advocacy and change making ability.

The finished thesis will be shared with the NAT's CEO, the lead teacher at Lapage, the Director for Education and Visitors at the Cathedral and the Dean. Such dissemination of findings is ethically crucial; closing the circle opened up by initial dialogue about the research and its purpose, therefore discharging my commitments to those involved (Hale 2001).

### Summary

The methodology and methods employed in this research are qualitative; essentially grounded in a Relativist, Social Constructivist paradigm and drawing pragmatically on multicultural theory. I accept the validity of more than one perspective and the existence of multiple versions of reality (Ballard 1997); viewing context as central in shaping individuals' and groups' experience and understanding of this reality (Braun and Clarke 2013, Conteh 2003, Rashid et al 2019). Case study methodology, has been employed, drawing on phenomenology, ethnography and the pragmatic use of multiple, mosaic methods; therefore, exemplifying the Interpretivist's 'messy' productive trend of 'trespassing' across paradigms, methodologies and methods (Taylor 2018, Biesta 2020).

Considering and integrating data from comparative, retrospective and contemporary cases, I identified themes for analysis. The consideration of multiple cases provided triangulation of evidence; increasing the validity of the conclusions drawn, helping to story the ways in which 'the art of encouraging communities of contrasting backgrounds to live together' has been practised in Bradford over time; creating a picture which may be used to inform future multicultural education

praxis. Thus, supporting the idea that Bradford, may indeed have something 'vital' to share with 'the rest of the world' (Bowen 1997, p116).



## Part One – Review of Literature

This section looks at a range of literature. The content is necessarily wide and explores both generic and specific local themes. It begins by engaging with multicultural theory and discourse, in particular highlighting the relationship between intercultural and multicultural positions, their interrelatedness and arguments for and against multicultural education. It then moves on to consider these in the local context, exploring the importance of religion and the role of a cathedral in a multicultural city. It considers learning outside the classroom generally, in sacred spaces and in particular in a cathedral setting.

My review of literature clarified my theoretical positionality. At the outset I was mindful to view the retrospective and contemporary cases as essentially intercultural; framed by the soft community cohesion approaches (Thomas 2016) prominent after the 2001 disturbances in Bradford and the reports headed by Cattle, Ouseley and Denham (2001). A review of literature suggested that this was a false premise, an oversimplistic view and that multiculturalism remains the main driver and a valid sociological, philosophical and educational discourse (Armstrong 2020, Modood 2020). It prompted me to see Bradford's experience of multiculturalism as distinctive (Bowen 1997, McLoughlin 2014, Thomson 1991, 1997), helping to frame my key questions (see page 17).

These research questions reflect the need to have knowledge about the experience of cultural diversity in the city, including religious pluralism. They focus on how and why these influenced education policy and practice, in order to achieve a more nuanced understanding, of how and why a Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom evolved. They helped identify the reoccurring key features of the conceptualised model in practice; to explore how the spaces in which learning occurs outside the classroom, have value and why; suggesting the possibility of the model's transference across spatialities and the impact of this way of working not only on participants, but on community cohesion.

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### 3. A Multicultural Society

Although I refer to Bradford exemplars, this chapter seeks mainly to provide a brief synopsis of key theoretical frameworks, the wider context which has informed the development, implementation and impact of a Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom. I discuss the concept of a multicultural society and consider national and local multicultural discourse, policy and practice, and the move towards interculturalism; suggesting that these apparently different positions are interrelated and complementary (Armstrong 2020, Modood 2015, Zriba 2014).

The UK in the twenty first century may be described as multicultural, as demonstrated by its ever-changing population (Ashcroft and Bever 2018) and the inherent multiplicity of social, cultural, ethnic, national, religious and perceived racial differences (Crowder 2013). Although cultural pluralism provides testimony to the diverse nature of human society (Fennes and Hapgood 1997) it does not automatically lead to harmonious communities. With difference comes the potential for misunderstandings, prejudice, discrimination and conflict (Cantle 2001, 2004, Gundara 2000, Thomson 1991); particularly where groups and individuals have obvious physical differences and issues of identity, race, religion, power and colonialism come into play.

#### Culture

At the epicentre of multicultural theory is the concept of the existence (uneasily or otherwise) of groups and individuals with different cultures. Johnson (2013) states that culture is a contested concept, while stressing its importance, complexity and relevance to the political discussion, which shapes basic institutions, for example schools. The concept and reality of culture is difficult to define. Johnson (2013) cites Kroeber and Kluckhohn's (1952) study to support this claim. They stated that between 1920 and 1950 alone, one-hundred-and-fifty-seven definitions of culture were presented (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952). Culture then, remains ambiguous and a simple, adequate definition is unlikely to suffice. However, it remains important to try to say what culture 'is' in order to understand why it is important (Johnson 2013) and why multiculturalism continues to have currency.

Culture may refer to the arts and heritage, but may also be understood as an anthropological concept alluding to attitudes, practices, beliefs and world views (which are often manifested in the former type of culture (Bigger 1999)). Culture is evidenced in linguistic, socio-economic diversity and differences, in ethnic, racial, religious, local, national and international belonging (Fennes and Hapgood 1997). These things are integral to human life. Geertz (2000a) argues that culture is the

meaning which is placed upon experience and how we navigate ourselves through events and contact with others (Christopher 2021). This means as Aurenheimer (1990) persuasively argues, that all culture is dynamic and ever changing, not static. It also suggests that to be able to navigate cultures, one's own and those of others, is a useful attribute in multicultural societies.

Culture is often seen as synonymous with a nation or a people (Kymlicka 1995). In multicultural contexts one is able to observe differences in culture and recognise the existence of those who do not conform to the majority culture. However, multiculturalism is often more complicated than this, if what Geertz (2000a) argues is accepted, then it is also individual and concerned with a person's inner, as well as external life. There are also experiences influenced by varied lifestyles, social movements and voluntary associations, which are connected to culture, but not linked to traditional markers (e.g., nationality, ethnicity or religion), suggesting that Kymlicka's (1995) definitions are rather too simplistic (Young 1997).

The adherence to the former perspective alone, may be described as cultural essentialism, a view of diversity which runs the risk of exaggerating the unity of cultures, solidifying differences which are in fact fluid and also often individualistic (Ballard 1994, Phillips 2009); ignoring sub-cultures and identities, as evidenced in a variety of lifestyles, beliefs and values (Benhabib 2002).

It is important to know what culture is, but it is essential to go further, to 'go beyond showing *that* culture matters to investigating *how* culture matters' (Raeff et al 2020, p 1). This involves exploring how culture influences, attitudes, behaviour and action (racism or radicalisation for example), thus enabling the design of culturally sensitive and effective programs to address practical and applied issues.

We live in the midst of globalization and new migrant patterns that are affecting lifespan development around the world. Social media facilitate contact among people of diverse cultures, and make such contact easy and fast. While increased cultural contact promotes the development of mutual understanding among people around the world, alas it also sometimes engenders conflict among people of different cultural circumstances. Within diverse cultures, divisiveness makes it difficult for people to recognize common concerns and to develop ways of cooperating toward common goals (Raeff et al 2020, p1)

Viewing cultures as monolithic, separate and homogeneous entities, is not only misleading, but has the potential to place traditional cultural practices beyond criticism, which may result in vulnerable population's (particularly women's) rights not being upheld as a result (Benhabib 2002).

Multiculturalists like Ballard (1994) and Modood (2005) also caution against cultural essentialism, recognising and emphasising that cultural groups are not homogeneous or static (Aurenheimer 1990), asserting that it is inappropriate to act as if certain phenomena or practices are permanent or essential, as over time change occurs.

The conception of cultures being 'fluid, interactive and overlapping' makes it less easy for multiculturalists to make judgments or generalisations about the experiences, wants and needs of distinct minority cultures (Patten 2011). However, taking a non-essentialist view of culture is pertinent, not contradictory to the normative agenda of multiculturalism (Patten 2014); by including those seen traditionally as non-cultural groups casting the net wider, going beyond that identified by Crowder (2013) and recognising culture, as complicated and more than just something associated with nationhood or ethnicity (Kymlicka 1995).

### Identity

The essence of culture could be argued to be identity (along with concepts of heritage and belonging), involving both individual and group self-determination. So, when valuing and recognising particular relationships inherent to those who share a culture or religion for example, one needs to recognise characteristics which have a significant identity-related role in individuals' conception of what is good, who they are and why (Thomson 1991). It is true that for many in Bradford, religion (particularly Islam) is a lived reality, part of who they are, but religious belonging does not constitute the whole of an individual's identity (Vinie 2021).

In a globally connected, digital world it is increasingly common for identity and the concept of self, to be fluid and influenced by multiple factors, cultures and sub cultures, involving a spectrum of knowledge. It is possible for individuals to identify with, or internalise, more than one culture.

As Blaylock (2021) suggests, we live in a state of universal reciprocity, our identities are never solitary, but always connected (Buber 1970). This leads Vora et al (2018), to suggest that the existence of a completely mono-cultural person, belonging to a single cultural group is less than accurate, as many people essentially have multicultural identities. This is not a new concept. In 1994 Ballard observed that 'just as a person may be bilingual, they may also be multicultural'. As a result

of 'knowledge of and participating in a number of cultures, being able to switch competently behaviour and language codes as appropriate when operating in different arenas' (Ballard 1994, p31).

Multicultural individuals are often skilled cultural navigators (often a stated aim of interculturalism), with a sophisticated ability to manoeuvre their way through different known social situations, suggesting a need for a subtle conceptual shift, away from simplistically grouping individuals together as belonging to one cultural category. However, acceptance of a nuanced complexity of cultural belonging in plural societies (Ang et al 2007, Vors et al 2018) should not be read as implying that culturally plural individuals, find navigating cultures, how best to behave in certain new cultural contexts, a simple or straightforward process (Ballard 1994, Bhamra 2016), or that they are inherently culturally competent.

Likewise, the existence of multicultural individuals, does not mean that multiple cultural groups, each with shared understanding, experiences, cultural codes and associated normative and operative behaviours do not exist (Shaw 1994). This complexity means that amassing accurate information about, responding to and navigating culture (particularly the culture of other people, to which easy access may be denied) is not easy or straightforward (Ballard 1994, Bhamra 2016, Bigger 1999).

People develop their own reality, but do not have the right to expect their version to be universally agreed (although policy such as the Government edict on teaching British values in schools (DfE 2014) may contradict this), but they have the right to a fair opportunity to express their version of reality and therefore who they are. Critical multiculturalism attempts to guarantee the conditions necessary for individuals to have a fair opportunity to self-determination (Patten 2014, p109), to 'talk back to power' to share and have their stories heard, where necessary 'disrupting the comfort and ignorance of others' (Gabriel 2019, p28).

In 2000 the Runnymede Trust published a report entitled *The Future of Multicultural Britain* (2000) also known as the Parekh Report, which constructed British identity in terms of cultural diversity and ethnic heterogeneity (Zriba 2014). The report was the outcome of a longitudinal investigation of the contemporary state of race relations in Britain. The first part entitled 'A Vision for Britain', explored the foundations and contours of British identity, rethinking the national story and highlighting its inclusive and multi-ethnic character. It stated that Britain just like all other nations and communities

is an 'imagined community', which may be 're-imagined'. Therefore, identities are in a state of flux or to use the report's phrase are 'identities in transition' (Parekh 2000 p27).

The Parekh Report criticised the unidirectional and race-oriented concept of Britishness as an identity, which was constructed to include the mainstream White majority, While excluding non-white minorities: 'Britishness, as much as Englishness, has systematic, largely unspoken racial connotations', for non-White minorities, whose native countries were once under British imperialist rule 'Britishness is a reminder of colonisation and empire' (Parekh 2000, p 38). Despite this the report found that compared to Englishness, Britishness is a preferred source of identification, because Englishness entails Whiteness. Consequently, ethnic minorities tend to combine Britishness with other identities, thus, creating what can be called hyphenated identities such as British-Indian, British-Muslim. It is uncommon to combine the term English with other identities. The Parekh Report stated:

Britain confronts a historic choice as to its future direction. Will it try to turn the clock back, digging in, defending old values and ancient hierarchies, relying on a narrow English-dominated, backward-looking definition of the nation? Or will it seize the opportunity to create a more flexible, inclusive, cosmopolitan image of itself? Britain is at a turning point. But it has not yet turned the corner. It is time to make the move"(Parekh: 15).

The Parekh Report highlighted an emerging concept of British identity as 'less unified, more diverse and pluralistic' dynamic and diverse (Parekh 2000, p.36, Zriba 2014). Thus, individuals and heterogeneous, multidimensional groups may 'reimagine' their identity, making multicultural nationhood possible (Modood 2020).

## Race

Race is linked to identity and culture, but although these concepts are interrelated, they are distinct (Thomson 1991, Parekh 2000, Zriba 2014, Rogers 2018). Race is a social construct (the same could be argued of culture and ethnicity) and usually associated with physical characteristics and power (or a lack of power) based on the colour of an individual's skin (Mills 2015, Feagin 2020). Race is often associated with ethnicity, which in turn is linked to cultural expression (the sharing of a heritage, a cultural, linguistic, geographical and often religious background). Ethnicity involves personal identification as an individual and may not always be immediately, visible. If race is understood as referring to biological and physical differences (rather than as a social mechanism, linked to power and oppression) then it is arguable that racial identity, is immediately discernible and non-negotiable.

Thomson (1991) in her work on the experiences of South Asian first generation immigrant children in Bradford, noted that race was important in identity, both as an internal concept and one assigned by others, being closely linked to culture, ethnicity, nationality and religion. 'I knew I was Pakistani long before I knew I was English, just as I knew I was Muslim long before I knew I was British' (Malik 2010). Certainly, my experience suggests, race is not only part of the political fabric inherited from European imperialism (Mills 2015), impinging upon equity and community peace and conflict (Thomson 1991), but forms part of individual and group identity, a sense of self and often pride (Clifford 2015). Racial identity then is a multidimensional construct that includes self-identification with a delineated racial or ethnic group and often an attachment to other group members (Clifford 2015).

Race, Smedley (1998) argues, is a cultural phenomenon, which has come to be central to identity. She argues that it needs to be seen as divorced from biological attributes and interrogated as a cultural phenomenon, which has resulted in social constructs based upon physical variants. This she states (particularly in the USA) has resulted in the stratification of society, institutions and organisations which at best disadvantage and at worse subjugate certain 'races'. McPherson's (1999) report into the murder of the Black teenager Stephen Lawrence, brought the term 'institutional racism' into common discourse in the UK and demonstrated the:

Deep rooted structural and institutional exclusion that keeps non-white groups out of power, with little voice or agency, their concerns simply not taken seriously.

(Christopher 2021, p59)

In Bradford in the 1970s and early 1980s, institutional racism was evident in the Council and in schools, due more to a lack of interrogation of institutions and the curriculum, than overt intention (Thomson 1991); the Local Authority (LA) and schools were well intentioned, but still complicit in racism, due to a failure to identify flaws in social institutions and policies (Thomson 1991).

One such policy was the bussing of immigrant children (which I will touch upon again presently) from the areas where they lived, to the suburbs to aid integration, ignoring the impact of this on the children and families concerned. Thomson (1991, 1997) also identifies the omission of the LA and Council to include local 'minority' representatives in discussions (initially) about what they wanted from systems such as education as evidence of racism. 'Status differentials' meant that 'there was

little consultation with the minority communities' (p8), resulting in racial prejudice being perpetuated and children being expected to change to 'fit in' with the existing school system (Thomson 1991, p9). Suggesting that there was a reticence (on the part of the dominant community) 'to face racial prejudice' and 'to listen to requests for change from Black people' (Thomson, p 9).

### Racism

The social construct of race and racial identity is inextricably linked to prejudice, discrimination and inequalities. This results in 'un-peacefulness' (Thomson 1991) and an unjust society. Beckford (2021) states that racism prevails when there is a lack of education and action and when very few people are aware of the history of racism and the role of education institutions in maintaining this. Interestingly (particularly in the context of this research, which is partially concerned with contemporary Cathedral education), as a Christian, he notes that the Church has historically been complicit and has failed so far to make reparations for their involvement in events such as the enslavement of African people. He argues (like Parekh 2000) for proactive anti-racist policies and practices, for legislation, but also for the introduction of a critical, multicultural whole school curriculum which is anti-racist.

As multiculturalism aims to increase the possibility of a just society, it follows that it ignores racism at its peril. Critical multiculturalism in both policy and practice attempts to reduce this not only through valuing and celebrating difference and commonality, but by exploring the origins of racism, not least the influence of colonialism (Beckford 2021), encouraging active citizenship and civic agency (Modood 2020).

Christopher (2021) claims that although multiculturalism and anti-racism share a common focus on the creation of social justice, that they are separate entities, with different emphasis. The anti-racist movement grew out of an understanding that in practice multiculturalism could be superficial, skirting the big issues in favour of a 'soft' approach (Thomas 2016). Best, critical, multicultural practice I would argue is anti-racist. It involves diversity, not being seen as a barrier to understanding or societal participation, but as a strength, balancing law (Parekh 2000), social policy and classroom practice. It involves an exploration of language, customs, traditions and religions; identity, heritage and belonging, but also encompasses an exploration of the origins of racism, the influence of trade and colonialism on the past, present and future. As such it may constitute a beginning investigation or a critique of politics and power.



Therefore, contrary to Christopher's (2021) claim that multiculturalism deals with internal lives and anti-racism external lives, multiculturalism is nuanced, contextualised and has the potential to increase understanding of racial injustice and cultural diversity; encouraging the application of new knowledge to real situations, in order to re-construct a just society, where people live together well (TLN 2022).

However, the challenge to achieve this is ongoing. Ashcroft and Bever (2016, 2018) noted in their research that post-Brexit, experiences of racism and discrimination increased amongst individuals from minority groups in the UK, as did feelings across cultures and ethnicities that society was becoming increasingly divided. This suggests that measures are still needed to effect change, to reduce prejudice, discrimination and encourage thinking citizens able to seek solutions to conflict based on negotiation (Gundara 2008). This remains imperative in multicultural, liberal, democratic societies (Modood 2020).

### Vulnerability

In multicultural societies, groups and individuals are often vulnerable to prejudice, inequality and racism.

Vulnerability is a fundamental feature of the human condition, biologically imperative and permanent, but also connected to the personal, economic, social and cultural circumstances within which individuals find themselves at different points in their lives.

(Brown et al 2017, p3)

Levey (2008) emphasises that no one should feel vulnerable to the extent that they can see no future, or be so 'vulnerable as to feel unable to choose (or reject) the collective identities fashioned by the various groups to which they may belong' (Levey 2008, p250). Vulnerability to inequality, prejudice and discrimination is faced and experienced, by many groups and individuals, who are perceived to be culturally, religiously or physically different to the majority. Critical multiculturalists assert that 'the plurality of racisms and the distinctive needs and vulnerabilities of different groups' need to be recognised; that what is needed are policies and practices which acknowledge and 'tackle racial and religious discrimination' (Modood 2013a, p 41).

However, 'normalising' the concept of vulnerability may 'reinforce rather than challenge pathologies of difference'. Raising concerns about risks to certain groups resulting in anxieties about risks from

them (Brown et al 2017). For example, the Prevent Duty has been criticised for targeting young Muslims, ostensibly because of a perceived vulnerability to radicalisation; in so doing, heightening Islamophobia and resulting in Muslims (young men in particular) being seen as a threat to society and arguably reinforcing divisions, stereotypes and legitimising prejudice (Busher et al 2017, Thomas 2016, 2017).

There is also an ever present danger in equating the defence of the rights of a culture, with the rights of groups and individuals. This has the potential to place traditional cultural practices beyond criticism, which may result in vulnerable population's rights (particularly women's) failing to be upheld (Benhabib 2002). This means that cultural essentialism, needs to be challenged and the presentation of cultural groups as homogeneous or static, avoided (Aurenheimer 1990, Ballard 1994, and Modood 2005), not least because over time change does (and arguably should) occur.

Critical multiculturalism which focuses on raising awareness of vulnerabilities and challenging their origins, has the potential to impact positively and to empower. Having been involved in the preliminary work for the multicultural Stand up to Hatred (SUTH) project (discussed in detail in chapter nine), during the making of an unscripted video, a teenage Muslim girl on camera, pointed to her hijab and announced, 'I am Muslim and I have the right to choose to wear the hijab.' Removing this and throwing it to the ground, she continued 'but I also have the right to choose not to.' In so doing demonstrating and confidently expressing her right to choose as a young British - Muslim woman (her personal identification).

Multiculturalism may be understood as sensitive to the vulnerability of minorities and majorities. Armstrong (2020) argues multiculturalism which identifies and addresses vulnerabilities, instead of culture alone, provides a normatively unified basis to make claims for being treated differently, in order to be treated equitably in a non-ideal world; acknowledging that individuals (and groups) suffer because their culture is vulnerable.

## Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is a response to the problems and possibilities, inherent in multicultural societies. It constitutes a body of theory and political ideas, reflected in policy and action at 'national and local' level (Modood 2015, p 11, Modood 2020). Multiculturalism addresses inequalities, racism, prejudice and discrimination (Crowder 2013) and rejects the idea of minority cultures being absorbed into the majority; endorsing an ideal in which members of marginalised groups maintain their distinctive

identities, feel safe, achieve in and contribute to, a cohesive society, alongside those who are in the majority (Modood 2015). Multiculturalism recognises individuals as 'positively peculiar' and defends 'their right to develop their unique capabilities to the fullest' (Nieuwenhuis 2010, p190).

Multiculturalism is not static and has been understood over time in different ways.

### Conservative, liberal and critical

Jenks et al (2001) identified three basic, theoretical multicultural frameworks, *conservative*, *liberal*, and *critical*. As I will discuss presently, these are reflected in successive theoretical and practical approaches to multicultural education (Alismail 2016).

In *conservative multiculturalism* marginalised groups are expected to assimilate into the mainstream culture (Gorski, 2006); their voices and perspectives are neither accepted nor appreciated (Zriba 2014); equality comes from acceptance of the dominant cultures, its values and norms. Conservative theories of multiculturalism see race as ahistorical and universal and often fail to consider economic or class aspects of diversity (Alismail 2016).

*Liberal multiculturalism* is more concerned with human relationships; it recognises cultural diversity and pluralism, accepts and celebrates difference (Grant & Sleeter 2006). Liberal multiculturalists seek to create conditions which encourage equal opportunities for all, by recognising and valuing diversity; supporting projects which encourage contact and an appreciation of difference. McLaren (1994) claims however, that this approach may ignore the fact that difference is often linked to inequality; failing to identify or challenge existing barriers to equality, to be activist or transformative.

*Critical multiculturalists* (Modood 2015, 2020) directly challenge conservative multiculturalism, but subsume aspects of liberal multiculturalism into theory, policy and practice. They caution against assuming that because there are laws to promote justice and democracy, that these rights are experienced in daily life; social inequalities are identified, citizenship, democracy and the means by which these may be achieved are explored (Alismail 2016). Critical multiculturalism places value on diversity, multiple identities and perspectives, but also on what is shared, raising questions about social justice and incorporating anti-racism into its practice (McLaren 1994).

However, this approach is not without its critics, it is contentious and frequently attracts negativity and opposition from individuals, groups, politicians and the media, as a 'woke' response to diversity. According to Cammaerts (2022) the terms 'woke' and 'wokeness' have been weaponised by the

political right. They are now used as an insult against anyone who fights fascism, racism or other forms of injustice and discrimination. Being woke is criticised as a 'progressive over-reaction', rather than as signifying being alert to racial prejudice and discrimination, the original African American, vernacular meaning of the word woke.

It is '*critical multiculturalism*' which is closest to my understanding of best multicultural policy and practice; I reject assimilation, see value in diversity and accept the importance of intercultural contact and the emphasis that liberal multiculturalism places on interpersonal relationships. In short I believe that critical multiculturalism, presents a valid, active contemporary response to both the problems and possibilities of people living together in multicultural societies. Unless otherwise stated it is this approach to which I refer when using the term 'multiculturalism'.

### Changing populations

In both policy and practice multiculturalism focuses on the negotiation of misunderstandings inherent in situations where population changes are not universally welcome. In the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s, Zriba (2014) states 'Bradford was seen as an extended family, with the same inherited institutions and loyalties'; thus, people were protective of this and new arrivals from different cultures were seen as a threat (p10,11).

A former Lord Mayor (writing in the late 1960s when economic migration from the Indian Sub-Continent to Bradford was at its height) claimed that it was impossible for the city to have 'happy citizens' if it was 'hopelessly choked with people whose way of life and habits are so much at variance from our own' (Conteh 2003, p 29). This statement demonstrates that diversity (with all its potential to enrich) may lead to fear, mistrust and prejudice, one culture being upheld as superior to others (Murphy 1987).

The Lord Mayor's views mirrored the colonial idea of 'us' and 'them', implicitly calling for cultural assimilation – the need for immigrants to adjust to and fit in with the British way of life (Zriba 2014, p 11). Assimilation may be viewed as the initial philosophical, educational and policy response to an increasingly multicultural society (Zriba 2014):

where the process affecting the relationship between social groups are seen as one way, and where the desired outcome for society as a whole is seen as involving least change in the ways of doing things of the majority of the country and its institutional policies.

(Modood 2007, p47-48)

As Christopher (2021) and Forest and Kearns (2000) suggest, communities, particularly those which are economically poor, often fear change, particularly the loss of previously accepted community traditions and shared understandings. When migration changes a community, this is interpreted and experienced subjectively. Divisions, alienation, and polarisation may occur, leading to misunderstandings and conflict among minority and majority groups. Multiculturalism seeks to counter this and to establish a just peace (Fennes and Hapgood 1997, Montada 2012, Thomson 1991).

### Agency

Deconstructing and reconstructing institutional and structural conditions, or at least making adjustments to these to improve life experiences, is a feature of multiculturalism (Ferree 1948, 1997). This process involves increasing equity, self-determination, self-development and opposing injustice, domination and oppression, 'the main impediments to the achievement of genuine agency' (Young 2000, p48).

Agency is the ability to instigate personal change through one's actions and to take responsibility for extending justice to others proportionately to one's ability to do so (Ferree 1997, Miller 1999). Self-determination is reliant on individuals being afforded dignity (Nieuwenhuis 2010) and equality:

by being human, we are all equal – equal as persons, equal in our humanity. One individual cannot be more or less human than another, more or less of a person. The dignity we attribute to being a person rather than a thing is not subject to differences in degree. The equality of all human beings is the equality of their dignity as persons.

(Adler 1981, p165)

Equality is a theoretical abstraction and self-contradictory, because people are unique individuals Nieuwenhuis (2005); 'even identical twins are never completely equal' they 'remain different in a variety of interesting and intriguing ways' (Nieuwenhuis 2010, p190). Therefore, it is indefensible to assume that equality can be understood to mean being absolutely the same, although objects that share similar characteristics are equal (or should be) because of that which they have in common, not least shared humanity (Nieuwenhuis 2010).

## Interculturalism

Proponents of interculturalism (Cantle 2001, 2012, 2015, Gundara 2000, Sze and Powell 2004, and Zapata- Barrero 2017) view it as a distinct process, separate to multiculturalism; one which develops a community wide narrative; projecting diversity as a positive and stressing common values and the creation of cohesion. Interculturalists claim that multiculturalism is ineffective, encouraging little more than passive coexistence and learning about the other (Cantle 2015).

Interculturalism, emerged in Québec, as a response to Canadian multiculturalism (which advocated a multicultural mosaic) being branded a failure, particularly by politicians. Consequently interculturalism, which enshrined the national character of Québec's French majority culture (Bouchard 2015) and stressed the need for minorities to integrate (e.g., by learning and speaking French) while still maintaining aspects of their own culture (Armstrong 2020), was promoted as a valid alternative.

In Europe by the beginning of the twenty first century, multiculturalism was suggested as being at the root of misunderstandings and conflict, between culturally diverse groups and individuals. The Council of Europe's, White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, strongly suggested that European multiculturalism was dead, due to its emphasis on the rights of minority cultures, which fostered communal segregation and mutual incomprehension, undermining the agency and rights of individuals (Council of Europe 2008).

In the UK successive Governments and academics (Cantle 2004, 2015, 2020, Gundara 2000, Sze and Powell 2004, Zapata-Barrero 2017) upheld interculturalism as a viable alternative to managing cultural diversity (Armstrong 2020, Grillo 2017, Kastoryano 2018). The claim was that multiculturalism, failed to 'join the dots' between minority and majority cultures or to 'move with the times' (Cantle 2015). It had failed to respond to a changing world, one transformed by the 'impact of the internet, the impact of social media, the impact of virtual connections', failing to factor this into current 'political understanding' or 'multicultural thinking' (Cantle 2015, p5). Multiculturalism it was claimed, because of its focus on a narrow subset of cultures had failed to include those who transcend the traditional notion of culture, e.g., the LGBTQ+ movement, or migrants and to address cultural anxiety among the majority population (Cantle 2001, 2004).

The suggestion that multiculturalism places individuals and minorities before majorities (Kymlicka 2016, Modood 2017, 2018), creates (or at the very least reinforces) a picture of division, segregation,

racist attitudes and behaviours. In the aftermath of disturbances in Bradford, Cantle (2001) described the city's communities as polarised, expounding his 'parallel life thesis'. This simplistic picture of cultural groups, conflated ethnicity and race with religion and concentrated on divisions (see chapter five), largely ignoring the root causes of racism and inequality. It had a negative impact on community relations locally and long lasting ramifications for the city's reputation nationally, solidifying the idea of a divided city and discrediting multicultural policy and practice (Alam 2006).

Interculturalism by being more local than national (or international), fails to address structural, political contexts or racism (Christopher 2021). It foregrounds a consideration of the experiences and anxieties of the majority (Cantle 2015) and places the responsibility for inequalities misunderstandings, conflict and the creation of diversity and cohesion, squarely on the shoulders of local communities (Christopher 2021, p 59). Thus, failing to respond to or address wider national and international contexts and events, e.g., the rise of the far right, 9/11, the Manchester Arena bombings, attitudes to migrants and asylum seekers and the increasingly prevalent 'anti-woke' movement.

However, successive governments and policy makers have favoured Cantle's (2001) intercultural, bottom up approach, with its focus on contact and dialogue (which Meer and Modood (2012) claim to be essential multicultural tools). Consequently, interculturalism in name at least, has on the whole replaced multiculturalism as the favoured response to diversity in a multicultural society.

### What's in a name?

Armstrong (2020) pointed out that the death of multiculturalism has been pronounced many times, but in essence, when challenged, even disparaged, it has proved resilient (Joppke 2018). Therefore, it is possible to argue that rumours of its death have been greatly exaggerated.

A desire to distance interculturalism from multiculturalism and to rebrand the latter, is evident (Moskalenko and McCauley 2020, Thomas 2017). The political and the rhetorical backlash against multiculturalism is real (Kymlicka 2016); its reputation has been severely damaged and discredited, therefore, to use a different label makes sense.

It is possible to argue that the move to interculturalism, serves a rhetorical or a political function (Levey 2012), because 'the M-word' has become tarnished (Vertovec 2010, p92); in essence the difference is in semantics; those who champion interculturalism as an alternative to multiculturalism

waging a war of words rather than substance. arguably based on a misrepresentation or a caricature (Joppke 2018).

For example, in Bradford the 'Multicultural Education Service', was renamed the 'Diversity and Cohesion Service' in 2004, just as I took up post as 'manager for diversity and cohesion'; twelve months earlier I would have been the LA's 'multicultural adviser'. The job description was the same., the title different. Likewise, Zapata-Barrero (2017) gives an example of Barcelona changing the name of its already contact based multicultural approach to diversity, to 'intercultural' in 1997, as a result of the growing dissatisfaction with the prevalent existing multicultural and assimilation models across Europe; their approach remaining observably the same (Zapata – Barrero 2017).

However, criticisms of 'multiculturalism go beyond labels, 'social ontology', racial prejudice or 'negative press'' (Kymlicka 2012, p24). At least some scepticism is based on legitimate concerns about multiculturalism's tendency to alienate people, by prioritising minorities (particularly at social policy and education level), over the majority White, working class (Armstrong 2020); reinforcing divisions, prejudice, encouraging a rise in nationalism and the belief that cultural and social 'silos' are acceptable (Cantle 2001, 2004, Denham 2001). Likewise, multiculturalism's social justice credentials have been called into question e.g., its apparent failure to challenge inequalities that may exist within some cultural and religious groups (Modood 2015). Even when failures and shortcomings are exaggerated (Armstrong 2020, Joppke 2018), the backlash (in what is now a social media driven, populist, post Brexit era) means that multiculturalists ignore these criticisms at their peril.

Proponents of interculturalism (Cantle 2001, 2012, Sze and Powell 2004, Zapata-Barrero 2017), claim that unlike multiculturalism, their focus is on common bonds rather than difference, 'viewing diversity as an advantage and a resource, centring on community cohesion and reframing common public culture, placing diversity within, rather than without' the unified wider society or community (Zapata-Barrero 2017, p1). Kastoryano (2018) highlights interculturalism, as a local and community based approach, rather than a national one.

However, multiculturalism routinely focuses on commonality and difference and as Modood (2015, 2020) states, this may be observed in policy and practice at both local and national level. A critical multiculturalist would recognise the omission of these aspects as being pitfalls to be avoided (Cooling 2021); likewise, any failure to take seriously the economic, social and colonial institutions and structures which underpin racism, inequality, discrimination and prejudice (Christopher 2021).



Therefore, for many multiculturalists, interculturalism is neither normatively nor politically distinct (Boucher & Maclure 2018, Kymlicka 2016, Meer and Modood 2012, Modood 2015, 2017, 2018). Even Zapata-Barrero (2017) who insists that interculturalism forms a new paradigm, agrees that it shares multiculturalism's basic mantra of equality, diversity and justice.

Despite semantic changes, tensions still exist in ethnically and culturally diverse towns and cities in the UK (and across Europe). This could be argued to be evidence of the failure of successive policies; but through nourishing 'discourses on the failure of multiculturalism', also failing to prove the success of interculturalism (Kastoryano 2018, p11). This suggests that it's only a matter of time until 'interculturalism', like 'multiculturalism', is discredited and a new 'transnational' theory of diversity is proposed, building upon the existing narrative, and resulting in yet another re-labelling of multiculturalism (Kastoryano 2018).

#### A complementary relationship?

Most analyses of multiculturalism and interculturalism, have been single-theory-oriented (Kastoryano 2018), which has led to multiple, contested and controversial interpretations, often based on a distorted vision of the former (Joppke 2018). However, increasingly there is debate around the entwined and interrelatedness of multiculturalism and interculturalism (Armstrong 2020, Ashcroft and Bever 2017, Modood 2015), acknowledging their shared purpose and emphasising a complementary relationship between the two (Adler 1981, Nieuwenhuis 2005, 2010).

Cantle argued that multiculturalism only involves distanced 'learning about' the other, fostering cultural segregation and undermining intercultural understanding (Cantle 2016). Zapata-Barrero (2017) states that multiculturalism involves the promotion of intercultural encounters, like Meer and Modood (2012) noting that interculturalism's key features, contact and dialogue, are essential multicultural tools. Therefore, suggesting that interculturalism is neither normatively nor politically distinct (Boucher and Maclure 2018, Kymlicka 2016, Meer and Modood 2012, Modood 2015, 2017, 2018).

The concept of interculturalism presupposes multiculturalism. It is one of the means by which multicultural ideals may be transferred from theory into practice, involving action and the acquisition of competencies and skills, inherent to functioning successfully in multicultural situations. They may be seen as interdependent; both multiculturalists and interculturalists being concerned with creating more peaceful, cohesive, equitable communities. Modood (2015, 2016,

2017) clearly depicts interculturalism as inherent within, not substitutive of, but complementary to, multiculturalism.

### Cultural competency

A shared aspect of both multiculturalism and interculturalism (particularly the latter), is the concept of 'cultural competency'. This involves the ability to communicate effectively and appropriately with people from different cultures, while understanding and respecting differences and adapting to them (Cantle 2012). According to Sze and Powell (2004) being competent in this way, allows cultures to be exchanged and to be modified and evolve, like a form of currency. In turn this currency allows the instigation of social change, e.g., the upholding of human rights, citizenship, the right to work, education, health care and housing; thus, leading to the development of inclusive policies, which ultimately facilitate cultural integration (Cantle 2012).

The idea of cultural competency was critiqued by Beagan (2018) as having conceptual limitations, not least because culture is often reduced to race and ethnicity, ignoring other identities; framing race and ethnicity as residing only in the 'other' and failing to problematise dominant cultures or power hierarchies; competence being understood as something that can be attained, and then measured in terms of learner confidence and/or comfort. This does not necessarily transfer to a variety of cultural situations and the ability to work competently or effectively or appropriately across difference (Beagan 2018). However, when competency is viewed as an ongoing process, honed in and applied to multiple, real situations, an individual's confidence and comfort may result in contact and dialogue being productive. Therefore, cultural competence is advantageous in navigating cultures.

The value of developing cultural competencies was upheld by the Blair Labour Government (non-statutory Guidance on the Duty to Promote Community Cohesion in Schools 2007, Community Education Standards 2010), as being central to the creation of community cohesion and latterly by successive Conservative administrations, as an aid to integration (Integration and Cohesion Green Paper 2018); placing emphasis on 'contact-based' policies, 'aimed at fostering communication and relationships among people from different backgrounds' (Zapata-Barrero 2017, p1).

### Citizenship

Citizenship is a core component of multiculturalism, but this is 'a focus it shares with other '-isms' such as ..... interculturalism' (Modood 2015, p 11, Zapata-Barrero 2017). Citizenship is a theoretical

and practical (active, agentic) response to diversity, as part of a community wide egalitarian agenda, it is not just simply a legal framework, or a matter of rights and responsibilities. It constitutes:

..... a relationship with each other which has to be expressed within an ethical, principled framework. The law, legal entitlements and legal protections are part of that. They are, if you like, the skeleton, and citizenship is the whole body, the flesh on the skeleton. This ethical framework is informed by key ideas like liberty, equality, fraternity or unity and democracy. (Modood 2015, p 11)

According to Modood knowing what citizenship is, is important, but the development of skills, values, attitudes and the application and active use of these in real situations, is essential. This enables diverse people to move beyond passive coexistence and the acquisition of knowledge and understanding of the other, towards agentic participation in the restructuring of a just and cohesive society (Modood 2015, Cattle 2015). Citizenship (what it means, how it works and how to be an active citizens), is central to both multiculturalism (particularly multicultural education) and to interculturalism, demonstrating further synergy.

### National and local

Although the generic aims of multiculturalism may remain constant, national and international events influence the interpretation and transference of these into policy and practice, as do distinct local contexts. Communities have culturally complex diverse needs and wants, peculiar to their historical and current experiences, necessitating individualised responses; it is not a case of one size fits all (Alam 2006, Ballard et al 1994, Bowen 1991, 1997, Thomson 1991, 1997, Lewis 2007).

Therefore, interculturalism's focus on local communities, is also a valid component of multiculturalism. As Shannahan (2018) observed, the possibility of building inclusive and cohesive communities, is related to where we live; experiences in inner city communities or on outer city estates, are quite different from life in a gentrified city centre, a suburb, market town or village. This makes a difference to the way we see the world and skews our ideas about other people living in different communities (Shannahan 2018).

Shifts and tensions in local communities, have been a catalyst for the development of local multicultural initiatives, which have focused on contact, dialogue and interaction, between individuals and groups, using intercultural strategies for multicultural means and leading in Bradford (as will be discussed further), to the development of locally designed multicultural education

projects, tailored to the needs of the city. Like Armstrong (2020), Meer and Modood (2012) and Modood (2015), I argue that the shared elements of multiculturalism and interculturalism, suggest that these two responses to culturally plural societies, are not completely distinct; the latter being a valid way of implementing the former (Modood 2015).

### Summary

In this chapter I have argued that multiculturalism is far from dead (Armstrong 2020). Its core claims, although not unscathed, are still viable and multiculturalism remains a compelling theory 'for the management of diversity in liberal democracies' (Armstrong 2020, p1). Multiculturalism and interculturalism share a purpose, they are inextricably linked, one being reliant on the other. Therefore, they should not be viewed as mutually exclusive (Joppke 2018), rather as entangled and entwined, their interconnectedness complementary and useful (Armstrong 2020, Mansouri and Modood 2020). Viewed together these two positions provide an important narrative which productively inform, current and future, theory, policy and practice (Kastoryano 2018).

## 4. Multicultural Education

This chapter considers successive attempts to transfer multicultural theory into policy and practice. Although it makes reference to the Bradford context, the focus is on the generic, wider picture which has informed the development, implementation and impact of a Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom. I discuss the changing landscape of multicultural education and the concept of a multicultural curriculum. The continuing multicultural narrative discussed in chapter three, has resulted in attempts to change the curriculum in schools, so that it reflects ‘a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races that now make up our society’ (Banks and Banks 2007, p5); providing education which recognises and addresses the realities faced by children growing up in culturally diverse, often confused, troubled and sometimes dangerous world (Banks and Banks 2007).

Multicultural education is a response to societal change and an observable increase in cultural diversity in society (Thomson 1991). Essentially the purpose of multicultural education is to:

1. Help all children access education, learn and to achieve
2. Increase understanding of cultural diversity in order to minimise misunderstandings and conflict
3. Address inequalities, prejudice and discrimination, through a critical, reflective, reflexive, active and transformational process.

Critical multicultural education involves teachers and children consciously engaging in the construction of knowledge, critiquing various inequities and injustices. In so doing striving to gain the empowerment needed to take culturally responsive and responsible action as informed citizens (Alismail 2016, Gundara 2000). To have impact, multicultural education must be embedded in institutions, pay close attention to the experiences of children and focus on issues of social justice (Skeeter 1996).

### The curriculum

The idea of ‘curriculum’ is itself contested and denotes various things, including the provision of a range of subjects, bodies of perceived knowledge e.g., maths, English, history; the things which are tested and examined. However, the curriculum may also be understood as much wider, involving a

range of varied *experiences* provided by schools (Kelly 2009), which ‘promote the intellectual, personal, social, and physical development’ of all pupils (DES 1995a, page 11).

Curriculum is experienced in different forms, *overt* (explicit), *hidden* (implicit) and *null* (excluded) (Milner 2017). The *overt* curriculum is enshrined in legislation and is often linked to a system of assessment and exams. Both the implicit and null (or excluded) curriculum are the result of less obvious ‘contextual circumstances’ such as the accessibility (or lack) of resources, complex interpersonal relationships, culture, ethnicity, skin colour, class, language, poverty and privilege (Milner 2017). ‘The implicit curriculum may be intended or unintended, but it is never stated; it is a ‘hidden curriculum’ ‘ (Milner 2017, p88).

It is within the implicit curriculum that one finds the dialectics at play as they emerge based on patterns of interaction, not because of an explicit plan of action.

(Fernandez 2014, p 200).

It is comprised of unofficial values and perspectives which are learnt in school, such as appropriate social behaviour and language. Fernandez (2014) points out that such things are rarely taught or learnt in a thirty minute lesson, rather they are transmitted and absorbed through the ethos of the school, through relationships, the learning environment and by those with power.

The overt curriculum is also influenced by relationships, by language, social and power structures. Like the hidden curriculum, it upholds cultural and societal norms, e.g., how different ethnic groups or classes of people are viewed and treated. These are reflected in the culture of an institution (Milner 1983, 2017). Currently in maintained schools, the overt curriculum encompasses the subjects of the National Curriculum and RE (Education Reform Act 1988) and through this, the promotion of the spiritual, moral, social and cultural (SMSC) development of children (Education Act 2002) and British values (DfE 2014). The latter Government policies, justified as important in preparing children for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of later life (DfE 2002, 2014); reinforcing Bartlett and Burton’s (2012) assertion that the assimilation agenda remains close to the surface in formal education.

The null curriculum constitutes things which are learned through the silences ‘the taboos, the deliberate evasion of engagement that take place in the learning environment’ (Fernandez 2017); the things which exclude a child from specific content or from certain potential learning experiences. It may be intentional (e.g., the placing of Black children in ‘remedial’ classes in the 1970s, or no

modern foreign languages being taught in secondary schools for those who failed the 11+, or interventions which remove certain children from the classroom). Just as often, exclusion occurs due to lack of thought, to a failure to see value in certain cultural expressions, combined with ignorance and a lack of knowledge (e.g., Muslim children being expected to take part in Christian religious education or worship, or not allowing Orthodox Christians to take Christmas day (6<sup>th</sup> January) as a holiday).

It is possible to learn through the null curriculum, but it is often a negative experience. For example, the History curriculum 'adopts a grand narrative' that pushes the history of the non-dominant to the margins at best and often into obscurity (Mahmud and Whitburn 2016); resulting in the exclusion of Black British and South Asian figures in history lessons and suggesting that they are unimportant or do not exist. This reinforces incorrect and negative views, the product of a society dominated by male, White, middle class, privilege and power (Milner 1983).

The Black Curriculum history report (2020) stated that:

Being excluded from the national curriculum and relegated to Black history month, sends the message that Black people are not valued, their contributions to Britain are irrelevant, and their stories (outside of slavery and Windrush) are not important.

(Arday 2020)

This is not just a matter of providing an incorrect or incomplete version of events. Individuals learn best when they have positive emotions about learning, when they feel that they belong (Maslow 1943) and when their identity and heritage is valued. Ignoring the history and culture of home is unlikely to make children, feel they belong (Adler 2020, Conteh 2003, Ekman 2003); implicitly devaluing by omission and making it more difficult for children to learn (Little and Willey 1981). This means the curriculum fails to have impact, its content, values and assumptions failing to reflect the wide range of cultures, histories and lifestyles evident in society.

Teachers are a key to this, they have the power to influence the experiences of children and the explicit, implicit and null curriculum. Banks et al (2001) stress if teachers are to increase learning opportunities for all they must be knowledgeable about the social and cultural contexts of teaching and learning, while remaining mindful that children are not solely products of their cultures and vary in the degree to which they identify with them. It is important that teachers are

knowledgeable about their children's backgrounds and are able to be appropriately culturally responsive to all (Banks et al 2001).

### Culture and changing schools

To be culturally responsive although important, is not easy. The complex cultural pluralism of the wider society is mirrored in many schools. Even where they appear distinctive of one cultural group, in reality schools rarely are and all children are growing up in a culturally diverse world. This suggests that wherever a school is located, whatever its population, a multicultural curriculum is necessary. However, this may only be developed over time; it is a longitudinal process, there are no short cuts and no quick fix (Skeeter 1996).

Schools are normatively culturally biased, exclusive, White, middle class institutions of learning (Coard 1977, Goodman 1971, Illich 1971, Milner 2017, Skeeter 1996). Like Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), Illich (1971) suggests that they ensure the maintenance and reproduction of society, by passing on cultural values and norms, from one generation to the next. These represent the properties, characteristics, behaviours and orientations of the dominant class group (Bartlett and Burton 2012).

This suggests that Black and Asian children, along with White working class children, are at a cultural disadvantage in an education system where White, middle class culture is:

everywhere and nowhere, denied, yet continually enacted, infusing the minutia of everyday interactions, while the privileged for the most part, continue to either deny or ignore its relevance to lived experience . (Reay 2006, p 9)

Applying the idea of 'cultural capital' to multicultural discourse, Richard Willey (1977, 1981) argued that white ethno-centric 'culture' had 'value' in schools, while non-White cultures, were devalued or remained mostly ignored. Children without access to, or prior knowledge of the culture of the school therefore had limited access to education, pedagogic transmission being largely ineffective as children had no initial frame of reference and lacked:

linguistic and cultural competence and that relationship of familiarity with culture, which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture.



(Bourdieu 1977, p 494)

This suggests through placing value on cultural knowledge and understanding (which only certain children have) some are able to learn and succeed in education and therefore in society, while many others are seriously disadvantaged, making it necessary for the curriculum in schools, its associated 'practices, discourses, rules and divisions of labour, to change' (Waite 2017, p18).

Cultural diversity in schools has always existed, but has been arguably largely ignored. The perceived need being to stress the value of the culture, properties, characteristics, behaviours and orientations, of the dominant class group, as those to be aspired to (Bartlett and Burton 2012); cultural difference, being seen as a disadvantage and something to be overcome.

Cultural diversity became more visible in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when significant numbers of Black (mainly African Caribbean) and South Asian economic migrants from the former British colonies and some 'twice migrants' fleeing from countries where they were no longer welcome (Ballard 1994, Bhachu 1985, Thomson 1991), began to arrive in the UK (Zriba 2014). Initially most of the predominantly male economic migrants attracted by the promise of work in the industrial cities and towns in the Midlands and the north of England, planned to amass enough money to return rich to their countries of origin. However, this fast became a 'myth of return' (Shaw 1994). Family members began to join the initial migrants; sojourners became settlers, becoming *desh pardesh*, at home abroad (Ballard 1994).

Consequently, in cities like Bradford, the cultural, ethnic and religious make-up of the school age population began to change. There was already a small settled Jewish population and European Voluntary Workers and refugees had settled in the city in the 1940s and early 1950s. They had their own languages, cultures, religious practices and founded their own places of worship and social clubs. However, they were White and on the whole soon absorbed (at least superficially) into the host community.

The Black and South Asian immigrants of the 1960s and 1970s, brought with them cultures (dress, religion, dietary requirements, languages and social practices) which along with their skin colour, made them observably very different to the majority population (Ballard et al 1994, Bowen 1981, Thomson 1991). Britain's colonial legacy meant that they were widely considered to be inferior, which legitimised hostility, racism, prejudice and discrimination:

Immigrants who came from diverse cultures and countries were represented and essentialized in monolithic and static stereotypes. They were indifferently constructed as alien and a potential threat to a widely believed in homogenized and well-defined national identity. (Zriba 2014, p 6)

Enoch Powell. In his 1968 infamous 'Rivers of Blood' speech, warned against permitting an influx of dependants of these first generation migrant workers:

It almost passes belief that at this moment 20 or 30 additional immigrant children are arriving from overseas in Wolverhampton alone every week - and that means 15 or 20 additional families a decade or two hence. (Powell 1968, paragraph 14)

He argued that this 'source of future generations' heralded a population shift which would result in 'a sense of alarm and of resentment 'among the host population (Powell 1968, paragraph 22).

### Assimilation

Such attitudes and political agitation, resulted in a policy of cultural assimilation, based on the premise that 'British' culture was the ideal and cultural difference something to be overcome. The policy of assimilation was aligned to *conservative multiculturalism*, described by Parekh (2000) as an attempt to encourage minorities to adopt a new way of life, to live, think, speak and behave like the majority:

The choice before the minorities is simple. If they wish to become part of and be treated like the rest of the community, they should think and live like the latter; if instead they insist on retaining their separate culture, they should not complain if they are treated differently. (Parekh 1998, p2)

Zriba (2014) defines, this as the 'no policy' phase, an era characterised by doing nothing, one where policy makers and educators hoped that ignoring difference would make it go away. Thomson (1991) writing about Bradford, states that little was done initially to accommodate immigrant children in mainstream schools, but initiatives to aid assimilation did exist. For example, the policy of bussing, which was implemented to disperse children from ethnic minorities across the District, in order to minimise the number in schools and thus aid assimilation.

The perceived need to assimilate, helped perpetuate an education system and curriculum, which ignored what immigrant children brought with them to the classroom (Little and Willey 1981); it reflected (as is still argued today) Britain's colonial past and this influenced power relations, institutional structures and the experiences of those being educated (Tate and Gabriel 2018, Nikoli Tlal and Makhalemele 2018).

Assimilation policies in schools involved enforcement of school uniforms and/or the banning of culturally or religiously specific clothes and involvement in Christian education and worship (the religion of home being ignored in favour of the national religion). The use of mother tongue in school was often prohibited, children not only being:

discouraged from speaking their mother tongue, but actually reprimanded for doing so in situations where the use of English would have seemed stilted and unnatural. (Edwards 1985)

Bradford was the last city in the country to stop bussing in 1980. Its language centres (an alternative to bussing, but still with the purpose of assimilation) where learners with English as a second language were placed before being introduced into mainstream schools, remained in existence until the 1990s. Both practices were instrumental in segregating rather than integrating children (Thomson 1997). Along with concerns about the teaching of Christianity and Christian worship in schools, such policies mobilised some parents and community leaders to agitate for institutional and curricular change; some going further and making separatist demands for the education of their children (Ballard et al 1994, Bowen 1991, 1997, Gundara 2000, Thomson 1991, Valentine 2008).

Zriba (2014) argues that this exemplifies assimilationism as a spectacular failure; immigrant communities in cities like Bradford (particularly the Pakistani, South Asian community) displayed 'a tenacious retention of traditional beliefs and lifestyles' (Shaw 1994), demonstrating a reluctance to forego distinctive ties of kinship, language and religion (Ballard 1994). Once returning home was understood as 'myth' and awareness of their rights as citizens developed, maintaining the heritage and culture of home (particularly religious culture) became imperative, as did their children's access to education; consequently, they began to agitate for change (Conteh 2003, Thomson 1991, 1997).

As discussed further in chapters five and six, religion has consistently been to the fore in Bradford's multicultural journey. Large numbers of Muslims settled in the city in the mid-twentieth century;

smaller numbers of Hindus and Sikhs also made Bradford their home, leading to a growing awareness that statutory non-denominational Christian religious education and worship in maintained schools, was inappropriate. Community representations were made to BMDC for the content of religious education and school worship to be changed; for halal and vegetarian school meals to be provided, for bilingual support and for community languages to be taught in secondary schools (Edwards 1985).

The possibility of the establishment of Muslim faith schools began to be seriously discussed (Singh 2000, Valentine 2008). There was already a precedent for faith schools, with a religious character (Hadwen 2021). Jewish schools, Catholic and Church of England voluntary aided schools, received some state funding (Steinberg 1989). The Muslim community understandably wanted parity.

### Liberal

The 'rise of liberal multicultural education' in the 1980s, could be viewed as a social movement with the purpose of instigating institutional and curriculum change, influenced by wider sociological and educational landscapes (Conteh 2003, Edwards 1985, Thomson 1991). This more liberal approach focused on human relationships and the need for diverse people to learn to live together well; recognising and encouraging an appreciation of cultural diversity, highlighting shared attributes and celebrating difference (Grant & Sleeter 2006); in so doing seeking to provide equal opportunities and access to education for all; based on the premise that racism prevails when there is a lack of education and action (Beckford 2021).

Liberal multiculturalists' rejection of assimilation, their activism and agitation for change to the curriculum and schools as institutions, was contested by some (Skeeter 1996). The increasing, research based evidence that many children found accessing learning in school difficult for cultural reasons, was not always understood, accepted, or applied (Thomson 1991) and few people were aware of the history of racism, or the role of education institutions in maintaining discrimination and inequalities (Beckford 2021). However, liberal multicultural discourse in Bradford was bolstered by ethnic minority activism, meaning that a move away from assimilation, towards liberal multicultural education (although by no means with the full backing of all educationists or members of the majority community) met with some success.

BMDC implemented a multi-faith RE syllabus in 1983 (see chapter six) and introduced halal and vegetarian school meals in the same year; *bilingual support in school became commonplace* (through a designated English as a Second Language (E2L) Service) and the teaching and examination of

community languages in secondary schools *was* introduced (Edwards 1985, Thomson 1991). Concessions were made so that school uniforms did not prevent children from wearing culturally or religiously appropriate dress.

The Inner London Education Authority's Language Project was introduced in some schools. Its purpose to increase awareness of the variety, richness and the interrelatedness of language; it challenged the lack of status accorded to non-European languages. It also involved learning outside the classroom (LOtC) encouraging community 'language trails'.

There were certainly genuine reservations in some quarters about the educational desirability of bilingualism. But attitudes towards the mother tongues of newly arrived immigrants cannot be explained solely in these terms. There would appear to be a hierarchy of preferences for other languages, with western European languages like French and German at the top and 'exotic' languages like Urdu and Gujarati at the bottom  
(Edwards 1985)

This status differential cannot be explained just in terms of colonialism or racism (although it is no doubt related) and remains evident. In 2015 I was supervising a student teacher in Manchester. The class teacher explained to me that most of her class had English as an additional language, they were EAL, but that Rehana (who had newly arrived from France) wasn't EAL, she was bilingual because she spoke French. The inference was that Rehana's bilingualism was desirable (she was actually multilingual as she spoke Punjabi too and was learning Arabic), her peers' fluency in Punjabi was not.

In 2018 in a school in Huddersfield I watched a student teacher who self-identified as British Asian Muslim, struggle in a maths lesson with a child who was new to English. I asked what language the child spoke, the student replied Punjabi. I asked if the student could speak Punjabi 'Of course!' so I suggested she tried communicating in the child's mother tongue; surprised she said she wasn't aware that she was allowed to use Punjabi. She was also somewhat embarrassed about using her mother tongue.

Changes began to be made in the 1980s to the content of the curriculum, not just in terms of language teaching or RE (the latter being at the forefront of curricular change in Bradford), but in history, art and science for example, various cultures were represented and an exploration of similarities and difference encouraged. This restructuring of the curriculum was intended to increase access to learning, to ensure children with different cultural characteristics to those normatively

valued and represented in school were not excluded, encouraging feelings of being valued and belonging, in turn helping children to achieve (Maslow 1943, Ekman's 2003).

However, such a liberal multicultural curriculum has been criticised as 'tokenistic', involving only minor adjustments to content (Stone 1986, Adler 2020) e.g., multifaith RE, or Black history. Such superficiality being claimed to ignore issues of social justice (particularly the legacy of superior and inferior cultures, concepts of British greatness or the consequences of the colonial past); allowing racism and inequality to remain unchallenged (Tate and Gabriel 2017). Therefore, uncritical, liberal multiculturalism acted as 'an instrument of control and stability, rather than one of change' (Mullard 1982, in Cohen and Cohen 1986, p5); designed to 'integrate rather to enable serious cultural differences to be expressed' (Bartlett and Burton 2012, p 284).

To avoid 'tokenism' it is necessary to transcend positivist knowledge transference. Alone, the incorporation of multicultural content fails to provide opportunities for dialogue and interaction between children (and children and adults), only serving to create (or increase) the distance between the learner and the things or people, being studied. Hoeg (1994) argues, that in so doing, establishing or reinforcing both as 'other' in the mind of the learner. If it becomes a purely academic exercise, children may learn new facts (as interpreted and passed on by a teacher, screen or book), but fail to develop authentic understanding or relationships; merely skimming the surface, learning about, rather than from cultural difference. Thus, a liberal multicultural curriculum may involve a shuffling of content, rather than a paradigm shift (Cooling 2023).

In short, learning about Hinduism, Benin, the Transatlantic Slave Trade, Aboriginal art, or the rise of National Socialism in Germany is important, but has limitations. To talk about the Nazis' policies in Europe in 1938, is never as powerful as talking to a Holocaust survivor, watching a video of Muslims in a mosque, is unlikely to engender the same depth of understanding as visiting one, or discussing with a Muslim, what being a believer means to them in their daily life (Vince 2021).

Alone then, the inclusion of a study of marginalised cultures in the curriculum, while a valuable move in the right direction, may only pay lip service to difference; failing to ensure that children acquire the 'skills and knowledge, which they need to make their own way, in the society in which they live' (Stone 1985, p6). Critics argue that lack of access to education, or low self-esteem, are not only the result of an absence of representation of a child's culture in school (Stone 1985); Verma and Pumfrey (1994) claim that focusing on these leads to mainstream subjects being replaced with ones

which have a lower status e.g., Black studies, or Urdu, resulting in new barriers to achievement, rather than removing those already in existence. If the disenfranchised are to succeed, they need to learn to master the use of the existing elite culture and have a coherent view of the world and their place within it (Stone 1985).

The Bradford experience strongly indicates that parents from minority ethnic, religious and cultural groups want their children to succeed in the present education system (Thomson 1991, 1997), but that they also want some changes to curriculum content and the use of 'a variety of teaching materials and the representation of their own history in school' (Stone 1985, p7); changes which address the liberal multicultural, anti-exclusion agenda and also involves discourse on anti-racism, equality and justice (Zriba 2014).

### Critical

Multicultural education to be effective, while incorporating liberal attributes, must also be critical and analytical on a number of levels; educators continually questioning 'the aims and objectives of what is taught' and how; not just reimagining traditional curriculum content and what is learnt, but also the process and strategies for teaching and learning (Waite 2017). This change in emphasis, means that there exists the possibility of reimagining and positively disrupting the binary teacher pupil relationship (Asare et al 2019, Jobb 2019). It is not enough to have experiences and knowledge reinterpreted and told by others, it is necessary to gain knowledge first hand *and* to have the opportunity to 'talk back to power'; allowing real stories to be shared and heard, even if this involves 'disrupting the comfort and ignorance of others' (Gabriel 2019, p28).

Through first-hand experience and interpretive opportunities, children begin to understand and know each other better; in so doing developing 'cosmopolitan values and perspectives' and the confidence to 'take action to create just and democratic multicultural communities and societies' (King 2020, p211). For Grimmitt (2000) this involves pedagogy which promotes interaction between children and the content they are studying and active as opposed to passive learning. The key to success in such endeavours is the word 'confidence' Turner and Cameron (2016); successful encounters and interaction, developing in individuals and groups the confidence to explore the cultures of others and to reflect honestly on their own.

In this way critical multicultural education challenges cultural essentialism; acknowledging that not everything coming from a culture, can or should be accepted (Zapata-Barrero 2017). While valuing

diversity and establishing an inclusive environment, where everyone belongs, also providing opportunities for children to discuss, listen and appropriately challenge; broadening the current curricula, to develop a multicultural diverse National Curriculum and re-conceptualise 'Britishness' so that it incorporate 'all of our histories and stories' (Arday 2020).

The Bradford projects which are the focus of this research (TLN, SUTH, KSUSOMAD and the CHVP) are aligned to this approach; while attempting to help children to learn how to live together well in a multicultural society, encouraging, agency, activism and a critique of power differentials. They may be seen to embody critical multicultural education in practice, in part through the use of intercultural means.

### Intercultural strategies

Critical multicultural education makes use of intercultural strategies, by providing opportunities for children to learn about difference and commonality through contact (Cantle 2001, 2004), dialogue and interpretative learning opportunities (Barrett 2012, Raw 2006, Cameron and Dewey 2020); increasing the possibility of creating active, agentic learners, progressively equipped with social action skills, with which to improve the world in which they live (Grant and Sleeter 1986, Suzuki 1984); encouraging children to be 'searchers, partners, designers, explorers, investigators, and thinkers' (Chia and Goh 2016).

This approach acknowledges that all human existence is grounded in relationships, that 'face to face' contact ('rapport face de face') is necessary to increase both knowledge about others and self-understanding (Levinas 1964). This involves dialogue, speaking and listening; both are essential to the process of identifying shared points of reference, commonality and divergence. Positive contact is characterised by a shared belief that people are responsible for one-another, plus 'mutuality, directness, presentness, intensity and ineffability' and the ability to manage disagreement, so that if not resolved, it is at least acknowledged and understood (Buber 1923).

Allport (1954) drawing on Buber's work, stressed that under appropriate conditions interpersonal contact is effective in reducing prejudice between majority and minority group members. This 'Contact Hypotheses' has been applied to managing societal cultural plurality (Cantle 2001, 2004, 2015); emphasising the importance of establishing positive relationships between culturally different groups, particularly at local community level; supporting a bottom up approach to creating cohesive, multicultural communities.



It is accepted that purposeful, intercultural contact is never straightforward, entailing a bold leap into the experience of the other (Buber 1923). Such an adventurous endeavour is worth the risk, as it enables the exploration of difference and commonality, equality, class, religion, ethnicity and race (Nesbitt 2009). Positive intercultural contact is often a source of personal enrichment, but also has the potential to transform behaviours and attitudes, bringing about change through human interaction (Nesbitt 2009).

Intercultural contact is an important aspect of effective multicultural education (Meer and Modood 2015) involving first-hand experience of different cultural realities. Contact may be enhanced when situated outside the classroom, providing space for higher order learning and teachers to be less didactic and more facilitative (Chia and Goh 2016), challenging the traditional default position of the school curriculum and facilitating its reconceptualisation (Asare et al 2019).

Encounters outside the classroom, have the potential to place children at the centre of learning, to value prior knowledge and experience, encouraging the sharing of stories and providing opportunities to listen to accounts of other peoples' lives; to interpret, compare and contrast, in order to extrapolate meaning (Mirza 2019). The posing and answering of questions, reasoned argument and counter argument, do not necessarily result in an agreed or universal truth (Alexander 2004, Nesaria 2015, Vygotsky 1978), but in increased knowledge and understanding (Bakhtin 1981). Through this process children learn how to regulate their emotions, behaviour and responses and often form cross-cultural relationships (Barrett 2012, Cameron 2020, Raw 2006, Shanahan 2018, Turner and Cameron 2016).

The salience of the use of intercultural means in the community should also not be underestimated (Gundara 2000). If multicultural education fails to include at some level parents, carers and community members, then it is unlikely that misunderstandings, stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination will diminish. In fact, racism and the idea of 'narrow ethnicised identities' may be reinforced, 'resulting in adults undoing the work of the school' (Gundara 2000, p76-77). If changes are made to the curriculum, so that a child's life, history and culture are represented and valued, to then discover that these are not held important in the wider community, might result in resentment and negative responses and outcomes (Mullard 1982). Therefore, the curriculum needs to extend beyond the school day and gates; to increase understanding of diversity among parents, carers and

the wider community, as life-long learners and partners in the education of children and young people (Thomson 1991).

Community wide multicultural education seems increasingly necessary. Duffy et al (2022) state in their research that the overall trend post Brexit is towards people seeing the UK as divided by 'culture wars' (although Black and ethnic minority survey respondents were less likely to agree). They argue that it is the tone of the discussion, as much as the outcomes, which matters here; the nature of the current conversation, with its implicit aggressive majoritism, increasing the risk of division (Duffy et al 2022).

### Teacher education

Teachers influence the experience of children throughout their time in formal education. Through them the ethos, relationships and values of a school become obvious; the strategies they use, strongly influence children's experiences, in fact 'teachers cannot be separated from the curriculum' (DES 1985a, page 11). The implementation of a multicultural curriculum necessitates teachers have an 'irrefutable commitment to the incorporation of the mantra that 'all students ..... should have an equal opportunity to learn in school' (Banks and Banks 2007, p 3). It requires that those who 'dare to teach' (Richardson 1992) are confident, competent leaders and classroom teachers, able to bridge 'impermeable, cultural, ethnic and religious borders, envision new possibilities, invent novel paradigms and engage in personal and visionary action' (Banks and Banks 2007, p5).

For curricular change to take place and be effective, educators need the knowledge and skills, to operate effectively in a multicultural society and the confidence to deal with members of the communities in which they work (Banks et al 2001, Cattle 2015). If children are to value and learn about multiple cultures, beliefs, values, community languages, religious traditions, world views, the legacy of colonialism and the importance of a just society, then it follows that teachers need this knowledge too (Arday 2020, Arora 2005, Cattle 2015, Conteh 2003, de Hoog et al 2019, Race 2018, Richardson 1992).

Conflicts which emerge and resurface between different cultural groups, are often rooted in history and heritage. Social and political events impact on individuals, families and cultural groups (Busher et al 2017, Thomas 2016, 2017, Raw 2006) e.g., the war in Ukraine and events in Palestine. Knowledge about the history of these, aids understanding of current relationships and future possibilities,

enabling teachers to help children negotiate them sensitively and intelligently (Richardson 1992, Thomas 2016).

Teachers (and support staff) naturally interpret the curriculum in line with their own experiences, ideologies, culture, context, subject knowledge and concepts of 'best' professional practice, (Bartlett and Burton 2012, Busher et al 2017, Richardson 1992, Thomas 2016). These normatively reflect the dominant culture of the school system, of which educators are usually a product (Arday 2020, Lynch 1986, Richardson 1992). Consequently, teachers may not have the knowledge, or personal experience necessary to implement a multicultural curriculum.

Teachers remain generally representative of the majority population (Demi and Huat 2022) and there is a long-standing mismatch between the teacher workforce and school population (Arora 1992, 2005, Richardson 1992, Demi and Huat 2022). Teachers from minority cultures are particularly conspicuous by their absence in schools outside the inner cities, which often have small numbers, or even no children at all, on role from Black or minority ethnic groups. Demi and Huat's recent research found that children from such backgrounds make up 31 per cent of the population in English schools. The majority of school leaders (93 per cent), teachers and teaching assistants (86 per cent) and other staff (87 per cent) are White British by ethnic background (Demi and Huat 2022). The Hamilton Commission (Morgan & Scarlett 2021) found that 46 per cent of schools in England had no Black or minority ethnic teachers at all.

In 1982 Bradford's (and the UK's) first Black headteacher Carlton Duncan was appointed, he was one of a very small minority of Black and ethnic minority teachers and experienced constant racism (Duncan 2011). I taught in two of the largest middle schools in the city between 1982 and 1987 (60% of the children being from Black and South Asian backgrounds). I only had one Black colleague over that period of time. In an attempt to address this lack of representation the local teacher training college Department of Teacher Education, under the leadership of Don Hassall, offered access courses for individuals from Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) groups, which accredited prior learning.

Many, immigrants like Carlton Duncan, realised when they arrived, that teacher education qualifications from overseas (even though gained in a Commonwealth country) were not adequate if they wanted to continue to teach in the UK (Duncan 2011). Bradford College's innovative strategy

meant that teachers like him could 'top up' their qualifications and join the teacher workforce relatively quickly.

The college actively campaigned to attract BAME students to their teacher education courses. This recruitment drive was successful; I studied in Bradford in 1981, on my course there was one student who was African Caribbean, two British Asian Muslims, one Sikh and one Iranian Parsi; by the time I returned as a lecturer at the end of the 1980s, a quarter of my undergraduate cohort was from ethnic minority groups and most of them local. I observed when teaching a group of first year students in 2022, that that only six of the 60 students were not from an ethnic minority group, the vast majority being female and of Pakistani Muslim heritage. This was not the case when teaching students on similar courses in Huddersfield or Manchester (2013 – 2018), where the cohorts remained overwhelmingly representative of the White majority.

A diverse teaching force brings with it different perspectives and life experiences, exposing children to a variety of languages, cultures and ethnicities, evident in local communities and society at large. Demi and Huat (2022) argue that this is important, regardless of the demographic of the school population, bringing 'rich cultural diversity to the school community'; BAME teachers serving as role models and helping to raise aspirations and close the achievement gap (Chia and Goh 2016).

Teachers and student teachers may be unaware of their own ignorance; ideological assumptions become 'naturalised' to the point where they are seen as irrefutable common sense (de Hoog et al 2019). Many know little about the culture, language, religion and history of the children they teach; others may be unable to recognise in their own situation the need for a multicultural curriculum (e.g., in schools in Bradford on the outskirts of the city, colloquially - and tellingly - known as 'the White Highlands'), believing that because there are few or even no children from Black or ethnic minority groups in their classrooms, that there is no problem (Davidson et al 2018).

However, all schools have a moral obligation to 'provide children with an understanding of 'both the multi-ethnic nature of British society and of Britain's place in an interdependent world' (Willey 1981, p7) in order to prepare them for future life (DfE 2002, 2014, Demi and Huat 2022). This is impossible if teachers ignore the cultures and people, who constitute world majorities, because in the UK they are in the minority. Teachers are central to ensuring the curriculum reflects the needs of a 'new Britain' (Willey 1981, p7) and in aiding the development of a new multicultural nationhood (Modood 2020), wherever they teach, which may necessitate confronting deep lying assumptions, values and

beliefs and being willing to adapt, in order to advance and promote the values, principles and ideals of a socially just curriculum (Nieuwenhuis 2008).

In the 1980s and 1990s this was recognised and consequently the content of Bradford College's primary (in effect 4-13) undergraduate and post graduate courses increasingly reflected the changing nature of the local population and attempted to tackle the negative experiences of Black and minority ethnic teachers and pupils (Arora et al 1994, 2005). Student teachers studied multilingualism and language awareness, there were modules on race and racism, multicultural education, community religions (including visits to places of worship); the content of the foundation curriculum areas reflected the variety of cultures and histories found in the city and involved students in learning outside the classroom; all innovations which are agitated for today (Arday 2020, Demi and Huat 2022, Race 2018), because 'prejudice is fed by ignorance' and 'meeting and knowing members of other cultural groups' is important (BMDC 1987, P 9).

However, things have changed. In 2004 when I was programme lead, student teachers at Bradford College's University Centre (then Margaret McMillan) received 36 hours of multifaith RE over four years as an undergraduate and they also had a week long foundation curriculum experience, which focused on Bradford as 'A window on the World'. Students on the same courses at the University of Huddersfield in 2017 had 8 hours of multi-faith RE over three years and a 6 hours 'diversity' unit. This demonstrates a shift in emphasis; the focus now being placed on attainment, the importance of modelling, interventions, synthetic phonics, special needs, behaviour management and of course progress.

But the need remains for teachers to understand and accurately reflect (not only in terms of recruitment) the wide variety of lived cultural experiences (Arora 2005, Arday 2020, Asare et al 2019, Mortimer 1992). Thus, teacher education, should prepare students for their future roles, empowering them to carry out their responsibilities in multicultural classrooms (Chia and Goh 2016). Likewise, continuing professional development (CPD) is necessary, to address the cultural gap between the nation's teachers and students. Therefore, teachers must 'be immersed in comprehensive and quality programmes of multicultural education' (Alismail 2016, p140), which should involve:

- un-covering and identifying personal attitudes toward racial, ethnic, language, and cultural groups

- acquiring knowledge about the histories and cultures of the diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, and language groups within the wider society and within their schools
- becoming acquainted with the diverse perspectives that exist within different ethnic and cultural communities (an awareness that these communities are not monolithic)
- understanding the ways in which knowledge within institutions and popular culture can perpetuate stereotypes about racial and ethnic groups
- acquiring the knowledge and skills needed to develop and implement an 'equity pedagogy'; an understanding of the ways in which children may have equal opportunity, to attain academic and social success in school.

(Banks et al 2001)

The Teachers' Standards no longer require teachers to have a sound knowledge of the problems and possibilities posed by the existence of multiple cultures (Demi and Huat 2022). Any suggestion of cultural competence (and even then tenuously) is confined to *Part Two* (a teacher's professional responsibilities). Student teachers are expected to respect the rights of others; they must not undermine fundamental British values, including democracy, the rule of law or individual liberty; they must encourage mutual respect and demonstrate *tolerance* of those with different faiths and beliefs (DfE 2011).

The need for any evidence to be provided to demonstrate that a student teacher has the skills or knowledge necessary, to teach culturally diverse children, or to prepare children for life in a multicultural society, is also conspicuous by its absence and missing from the Initial Teacher Training Core Content Framework (DfE 2019). This strengthens Bartlett and Burton's (2012) assertion that the assimilation agenda remains close to the surface in the UK in terms of politics, policy and practice; often being re-branded as integration, in the name of cohesion.

As Alismail (2016) states this is unacceptable, as only through balanced courses, is it possible to prepare preservice teachers to teach culturally diverse children. Without major changes:

the rich possibilities to develop positive attitudes to inclusion and interculturality, offered by the presence of plurilingual and pluricultural children in primary school classrooms will continue to be overlooked. (Stunell 2020)

To an extent the education of teachers, or to use the Government's current terminology their 'training', demonstrates a rise in majoritism in the UK as a policy position (Gillborn 2008). It heralds a return to the teaching of one culture in schools based on the assertion that multicultural (and therefore by default intercultural) polices have failed, that diversity is destabilising, reinforces divisions and is a cause of conflict (Wright and Taylor 2011).

### Woke classrooms

Richardson (1992) argued that teaching is a risky business and that one has to 'dare to be a teacher'. This is still the case, not least because of the increasing trend towards people being more likely to see the UK as divided by 'culture wars'. The content and tone of the discussion in the media increasingly suggesting, a move towards an implicit aggressive majoritism and an increasing risk of division (Duffy 2022). This means that teachers who implement a multicultural curriculum are at risk of being described as 'woke'.

Duffy et al (2022) found a clear shift to this term being used as an insult, rather than a compliment. Just over a third of their survey respondents (36%) considered it an insult if someone called them woke – an increase from a quarter (24%) in 2020. Perceptions of woke were more negative among all age groups surveyed, but especially the oldest: in 2020 42% of people aged 55 and above considered the term an insult. The proportion of the public as a whole who consider being woke a compliment was only 26%.

Headlines such as 'Inside the woke classroom: what are they teaching your children at school?' (The Telegraph, Melanie McDonagh, 5th September 2021), suggests that a woke teacher, rather than being understood as empowering children, providing an awareness of societal conditions, history, appropriate challenge and change, is more than likely going to be portrayed in a negative light; 'daring to be a teacher' involves putting oneself at risk, not least of criticism and currently it is all too easy for teachers to be accused of indoctrination and 'political correctness' (Duffy et al 2022).

Implementing a multicultural curriculum then is no simple ask for teachers; there is little doubt that as members of society and as professionals, they are influenced by and faced with 'multifaceted dilemmas' (Reay, 2006, p292), not least if they 'dare to be woke' (awake, aware and actively attentive to important societal cultural and historical facts and issues); prepared to incorporate into their classroom ethos the mantra that *all children* should be exposed to a critical, multicultural curriculum and have an equal opportunity to learn in school (Banks and Banks 2007).

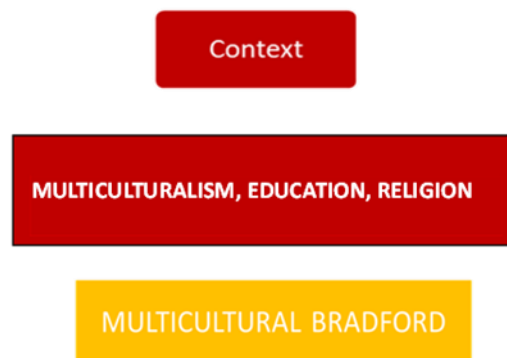
## Summary

Multicultural education is a response to societal change and an observable increase in cultural diversity (Thomson 1991). Successive attempts have been made to transfer multicultural theory into education policy and practice, in the context of a changing landscape. The continuing multicultural narrative has resulted in attempts to develop a curriculum in schools, that reflects 'a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races that make up our society' (Banks and Banks 2007, p5, Little and Willey 1981), while recognising and addressing the realities faced by children growing up in a diverse, confused, troubled and sometimes dangerous world. This is the generic, wider picture. It has informed the development, implementation and impact of a Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom. However, this model has also been influenced by the city's distinctive experiences of multiculturalism. The next chapter explores the specifics and impact of the local context in more detail.



## 5. One Landscape, many Views

This chapter explores in some detail the Bradford experience of multiculturalism, providing a synopsis of historic, recent and current contexts. It highlights the responses of policy makers and educators, to the problems and possibilities inherent in diverse people living together, in a district which essentially constitutes a community of communities (Parekh 2000). Bradford while not *unique* is *different* to other towns and cities (not least in the importance placed on religious difference and the influence of this on race relations and cohesion). The local context has informed the development and implementation of a Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom. This has evolved as a result of an ongoing ‘exploration of the art of encouraging communities of contrasting backgrounds to live together harmoniously’ and constitutes ‘something vital’ which Bradford has to share with ‘the rest of the world’ (Bowen 1997, p116).



### A multicultural city

If the UK as a whole is a multicultural society (Modood 2020) then Bradford is a microcosm. It has an ever-changing population, comprising complex, diverse individuals and groups who make up the whole (Bowen 1991, Thomson 1991). In the 1980s Bradford Metropolitan District Council (BMDC), described the city in an advertising campaign as a place with ‘one landscape and many views’, eluding not purely to the physical geography of the area, but also to the diversity of its people and communities.

The population of Bradford at the time of writing numbers approximately 542,100 (ONS 2021) and the city boasts one of the youngest populations in the UK (ONS 2022). In 2022, 22.8% of the District's population was aged under 16, Bradford had the fourth highest percentage of young people in England (Bradford BMDC 2022) and the highest in West Yorkshire (BMDC 2023).

In common with many other urban conurbations, Bradford is home to people of diverse heritage. In addition to those who identify as English, there are well established Irish, Polish, Italian, Serbian, Latvian and Ukrainian communities (Bowen 1981, 1991). Most of these settled in Bradford post-World War II (Hall 2013), although the Irish presence dates back to the nineteenth century when Bradford first became an industrial powerhouse; significant German and Austrian communities (in terms of impact if not numbers) made the city their home in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, due to Bradford's centrality in the worldwide wool and worsted cloth trade (McLoughlin 2014). The latter led to Priestly (1934) describing the city as 'Little Germany'.

In the mid twentieth century many migrants were attracted by the city's continuing economic expansion and employment opportunities in the thriving woollen industry. The majority of these came from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh; a smaller number originating from the Caribbean. In recent years (pre-Brexit) new economic migrant workers from across Europe have been drawn to Bradford. The city 'has a proud tradition of accepting people from all around the world, many who have fled from persecution in their home country' e.g., Kenya, Uganda, Syria, Iraq and Ukraine (BMDC Website, 2022).

J.B. Priestly remarked that in its Victorian heyday Bradford was a city of travellers 'whose suburbs reached as far as Frankfort and Leipzig' (Priestley 1934, p160). By the mid-twentieth century these travellers had made longer journeys and the 'suburbs' stretched much further, with Bradford becoming known as 'Little Pakistan', rather 'Little Germany' (McLoughlin 2014). This public image still dominates; the city being known for its large Pakistani/Kashmiri (mainly Mirpuri) community (Popleton et al 2013).

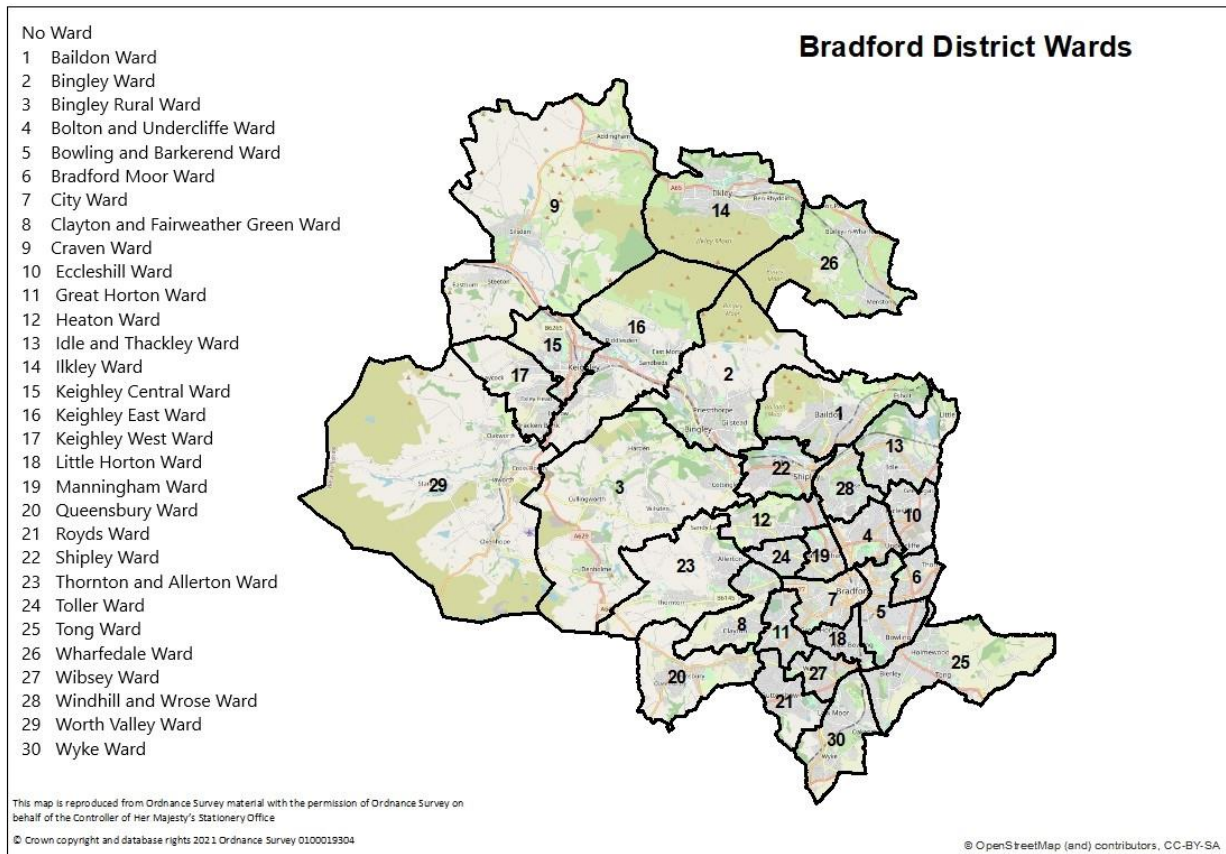
### Areas of settlement

Bradford may be a diverse city, but in terms of patterns of settlement the different ethnic, cultural and religious groups are far from evenly distributed across the district. This is partially due to economic circumstances and to those who share a language, place of origin, culture and often a religion, choosing to live close to each other. However, it is also due to 'White flight'; the process whereby members of the White, host community choose to leave areas which have an increasing proportion of non-White residents. In Bradford because of this the outlying areas of the district are colloquially known as 'the White Highlands' (Bagguelly and Hussain 2016, Phillips 2006).

In the twentieth century migrant workers mainly settled in Bradford's inner city, often near to their places of work where housing was cheap. Living in close proximity to each other also shielded them from a sometimes hostile wider environment (Valentine 2005). Irish, European and Eastern European migrants, usually moved out of the inner city into the suburbs and better housing, once financially able to do so. A similar trend was observed with Indian Sikh and Hindu migrant workers and their families, who looked to move to 'better' areas (Singh 2000).

However, a different pattern emerged with Pakistani migrant workers, many were less inclined to move out; they shared familial or *baradari* (paternal clan or tribal) ties (Lewis 2002), geographical origins, language, dietary needs and also importantly, the Muslim religion (Valentine 2005). Once the community no longer mainly consisted of itinerant male workers, but families, who saw themselves as *desh pardesh*, continuing to live in close proximity was seen as useful. It aided the maintenance of language, culture and religion (Shaw 1994). It provided protection from negative attitudes, racism and even hostility; prevalent due to the legacy of colonialism, a lack of knowledge and the host community's increasing alarm (Murphy 1987) and resentment about the immigrants' way of life being at variance with their own (Conteh 2003, Powell 1968).

The political map of Bradford below shows the different Bradford wards. The ones which continue to have the highest numbers of Pakistani, Muslim heritage families are 6 Bradford Moor, 7 City Ward, 11 Great Horton, 18 Little Horton and 19 Manningham (BMDC 2023).



*Map of Bradford showing political wards, 2023*

Considerable variation exists between wards with areas of affluence and others, particularly in the inner city, where poverty, vulnerability to crime, and poor housing are significant features. (Ofsted 2002, p 5)

The inner city remains home to many Muslims of Pakistani origin, some because they are unable to afford to move, others because they wish to remain among people who share their heritage, culture, mother tongue and religion. However, it is important not to over simplify the city's twenty-first century demographics; relatively new Eastern European and Black African migrants have moved into the inner city and many aspirational, fiscally secure British Asians of Pakistani and Indian origin, now also live in the suburbs, or surrounding villages (Bagguely and Hussain 2016, Phillips 2006).

Research has suggested that young British Asian Muslim are more likely to move areas than previous generations (Phillips 2006). One young man explained that Pakistanis 'will probably not move to a

strictly White area. As you earn more you want to move into better area, but will always look for an ethnic or Asian mix'. One young woman explained 'The ethnic mix of an area to me is important as I would like my children to mix with different groups' (Phillips 2006, p 36). This suggests little reluctance to move away from the inner city, or self-segregation. However, the willingness to move area is not always well received:

When I bought the house in this area (BD9) there was a good balance of English and Asian families. The English moved out slowly afterwards. I think they have a very sheltered view of the Pakistani community and don't want to get to know them. It's a shame. I would prefer to live with people with a varied cultural background'. (Phillips 2006, p 36)

These comments contradict the stereotype of an inward-looking population (Alam 2006). They suggest the reality is complex; mirroring the multiple identities, class, gender, age, competing personal choices, family obligations and varying levels of association with groups; factors which influence where any person chooses or aspires to live, regardless of cultural or religious heritage (Phillips 2006).

Where communities live has an influence on the cultural mix of school populations; schools across Bradford are located in the inner city, suburban and rural areas. Across all the schools in Bradford 140 different languages are spoken; in 2022 forty three per cent of pupils in primary schools (23,000 of 54,146) spoke English as an additional language (BMDC 2022). There remain schools which are distinctive of one cultural and often one religious group (BMDC 2022, 2023, Ofsted 2002, Raw 2006). However, there is an increasing number of schools with children from diverse cultures, ethnicities and religions (BMDC 2022). This suggests that the view that Bradford schools are divided neatly between those which are White and a those which are non-White (and mainly Muslim) is misleading. The reality is that the cultural mix in many schools is increasing, but some Bradford schools remain distinctive of one cultural group and particularly in the inner city schools, the dominant religion is Islam.

## Religion

Religion is a significant factor in schools and in the city (see chapter 6). With migration in the mid-twentieth century, religious plurality in Bradford increased (Bowen 1991, 1997). In general, the religious landscape in England and Wales continues to change. From 2001 to 2011, there was 'a fall in

the number of people identifying as Christians' and an increase in those identifying with minority religious groups or reporting no religion (ONS 2015, p1).

<b>Main religions in Bradford and England</b>			
	<b>Bradford District total number of people</b>	<b>Bradford District %</b>	<b>England %</b>
Christian	182,566	33.4%	46.3%
Buddhist	959	0.2%	0.5%
Hindu	4,757	0.9%	1.8%
Jewish	254	0.0%	0.5%
Muslim	166,846	30.5%	6.7%
Sikh	4,834	0.9%	0.9%
Other religion	2,074	0.4%	0.6%
No religion	154,305	28.2%	36.7%
Religion not stated	29,816	5.5%	6.0%

*Voluntary question on religion, census returns 2021 (ONS 2021)*

Responses to the 2021 census voluntary question on religious belonging, showed that the proportion of people who identify as Christian in Bradford fell from 46% in 2011 to 33.4% in 2021; nearly one-third (30.5%) of the district's population identified as Muslim - an increase of 5.8 percentage points since 2011. Just over one-fifth of the district's population stated that they had no religion (BMDC 2021), mirroring the national trend (ONS 2019); this group constituting a diverse population with a wide range of views (Cheruvallil-Contractor et al 2021). Christians remain the largest religious group in the city with Muslims not far behind, although nationally the group with no religion, is second behind Christianity.

Religion	Bradford (approx. population 542,100 2021).	UK (approx. population 66.97 million)
Christian	182, 556 (33%)	27.5 million(46.2%)
Muslim	166, 846 (30%)	3.9 million (6.5%)
None	154, 305 (28.2%)	22.2 million (37.%)
Source	BMDC 2022	ONS 2023

*Christian, Muslim and no religious affiliation, Bradford and nationally*

The spread of religious diversity is evidenced by the existence of many places of worship in the city e.g., Bradford Cathedral, Church of England (Anglican) churches, various evangelical churches, German Protestant, Moravian, Methodist, Quaker, Serbian Orthodox, Catholic, Polish Catholic, Ukrainian Orthodox, Unitarian, New Testament Church of God and non-conformist places of worship. Within the inner city there is 1 synagogue (established in the nineteenth century), 3 mandirs, 6

gurdwaras and well in excess of 100 mosques (McLoughlin 2006). The latter ensuring that Islam in particular is highly visible across the city.

### Interfaith

The multiplicity of religions in Bradford, has led to a succession of initiatives, with the purpose of bringing people of faith together. In the 1980s and 1990s, these included the establishment of an Interfaith Education Centre, regular 'Faith Trails' and conferences at Bradford College (Bradford College 2000). Today interfaith study groups and multifaith events are held at the University of Bradford. The LA's Stronger and Safer Communities Team places a spotlight on religion across the district and organises events to bring diverse people together (BMDC 2022). The Bradford Council for Mosques hosts interfaith events; mandirs, gurdwaras, mosques, and the synagogue (which was saved from closing by donations from local Muslims) hold community open days. The Cathedral (in partnership with West Yorkshire Police) co-ordinates a monthly walk to five places of worship (Cathedral News April 2023).

These ongoing initiatives are popular and useful in increasing knowledge and understanding, of that which is often seen as 'other', however their impact at community level remains dependent on who feels included and who is invited to 'join the debate'. Great emphasis has been placed on establishing good working relationships between faith leaders and those politically active in religious communities. However, 'community leaders' are often self-styled and seen as being in league with the establishment by younger members of their community (Bujra and Pearce 2011); their main aim being 'to promote, retain and protect faith and cultural identity' at all costs (Ouseley 2001: 10).

This top down approach to interfaith contact and dialogue, means that the religious majority, those who identify as members of a religion, but who may not necessarily be active in the politics of a religious community are in danger of exclusion and that grass roots 'direct 'local to local' connection between diverse people often remains 'very limited' (Church of England 2005, p31).

The focus on interactions between religions suggests exclusivity (Purdam and Watson 2021), reinforcing religious belonging as positive and the norm. This risks excluding the majority non-religious community from important intercultural dialogue and from joining a debate intended 'to inform wider understanding of religious identities and religious belief' in a world in which non-religious world views are now normative (Purdam and Watson, p 344).

Religious people may be different, they may not agree, but there exists shared aspects to religion (Smart 1989) which means that there is a possibility of understanding the other. This is more difficult if you have no religious point of reference (Kindermann and Riegel 2018), but becomes completely impossible, if you are not even invited to contribute to the discussion (Purdam and Watson 2021).

Perceived or real exclusion not only limits the acquisition of knowledge and understanding about the other, it often leads to negative feelings and views of religions and religious people, which may lead to misconceptions and even conflict. Consequently, it is wise to consider ways to include the large majority of the population who have no religious affiliation in subsequent initiatives; involving those who hold non-religious world views in intercultural, multifaith dialogue and debate.

It follows that this is also important in school. Bradford's first multi-faith syllabus was introduced in 1983 (see chapter six). In 2021 in recognition of the shift away from formal religion nationally, the content of the Bradford Agreed Syllabus for RE was widened to include a study of non-religious world views alongside religion.

### 'Little Pakistan'

Although there are a multiplicity of religions in Bradford, in many people's minds the city is associated with a large, highly visible Muslim population. Islam is currently the second largest religion in Bradford, the city also has the second largest number of Muslim citizens nationally (outside London), behind Birmingham (ONS 2023). In both cities Muslims make up over 30% of the population, way above the national average (BMDC 2022, ONS 2023). These statistics, Islam's highly visible presence and its association with people of Pakistani heritage (Poppleton et al 2013) has led to the city being variously dubbed as 'Little Pakistan' (McLoughlin 2014) or 'Bradistan'.

However, such labels do not necessarily have positive connotations. The image presented, being one of a city dominated by Muslims and the culture of Pakistan; a city 'swamped' by foreigners who are 'alien and a potential threat to a widely believed in homogenized and well-defined national identity' (Zriba 2014, p 6). The presence of large numbers of Muslims, increasingly resulting in feelings of 'alarm and of resentment', not among the 'immigrant population, but with those among whom they have come' (Powell 1968: 22).

Arguably, it is the large number of Pakistani heritage Muslims in Bradford which makes the city's experience of multiculturalism different. Racism and Islam in Bradford are often conflated. Anti-



Muslim feeling in the city was described as endemic among the majority population by Cattle (2001). Thomas (2017) highlighted an increase in evident mistrust and conflict in recent years; the events of 9/11, in New York and 7/7 in London, the London Bridge attacks and the Manchester Arena bombing in 2017, reaffirming the 'otherness' of Muslims; serving to associate Islam with violence and extremism and to heighten Islamophobia, (the unfounded fear, hostility and prejudice against Islam and Muslims (Umar 2018)).

Islamophobia was a term first used by the Runnymede Trust in 1997 in the report 'Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All'. The Muslim Council of Britain (2021) acknowledged Islamophobia as rooted in racism, targeting expressions of Muslimness or perceived Muslimness. This definition was debated, but not agreed by a cross-party committee in Parliament in 2019. In the same year BMDC adopted its own definition, describing Islamophobia as 'direct or indirect act(s) of hatred and discrimination against people (individuals or groups) of Islamic faith on grounds of their belief and practice' (BMDC 2019).

Islamophobia has been in the ascendancy (Din 2017, Runnymede Trust 2017, Thomas 2016, 2017, Umar 2018) nationally and internationally, resulting in further reputational implications for Bradford and its communities; the actions of an extremist Muslim minority, being presented (particularly by the right wing media) as normative.

On holiday in the New Forest in 2005, shortly after the 7/7 attacks, I was asked 'Aren't you scared? You know living in Bradford, with all those Muslims' demonstrating a commonly held assumption, based on ignorance and media reports, that one Muslim speaks or acts for all Muslims (Alam 2007). One young Muslim man explained:

The worst thing is having to justify what these four people (the 7/7 London bombers) did....  
 'You're Muslim, how can another Muslim do that?' How the hell am I supposed to know!  
 That you're all one, intertwined, and you know exactly what happens in your community.  
 Why should I have to apologise? (Alam 2007, p192)

The importance of looking critically at such assumption in schools as part of a multicultural curriculum, may not be overestimated. It is essential. However, what is also clear is that contact across religious, cultural and ethnic groups is of the greatest importance; without contact and

dialogue, you never really know someone and if you know nothing about a person it is possible to believe anything (Murphy 1987).

### A timeline

The Bradford context is not static, it is fluid, a changing landscape. This can best be understood through considering how relationships, politics, economics and education in the city changed and developed over time and the efforts made to work towards a sympathetic understanding of different cultures and races, and the establishment of a multicultural community of communities (Parekh 2000).

### New arrivals the 1960s and 1970s

As described in chapter three, twentieth century immigrants from the Indian sub-continent, particularly Pakistani Muslims, were far from universally accepted nationally (Thomson 1991, Jackson 2004, Zriba 2014). Their religion and culture was seen as alien; a perceived challenge to the accepted norms of the host population (Zriba 2014). However, initially this was not the picture locally. Early research into the Pakistani Muslim community in Bradford was positive. Muslims were described as respectful, law abiding and known for keeping themselves to themselves (Barr 1964).

Barr (1964) spent time in Manningham, exploring the reasons why given the presence of around 12,000, mainly Pakistani, immigrants, race relations were pretty good and why discord, had not come to the fore, as in Birmingham. This he surmised was at least in part due to Bradford's history of 'invasion by foreigners', which was retrospectively seen as positive. There was relatively full employment in the city and the new immigrants kept the mills, transport and NHS running. The availability of low cost, poor quality housing in Manningham, which was not on the whole needed or desired by the White population, meant that the new immigrants posed little competition to those already well established in the city (Barr 1964, Bowen 1992, Singh 2000).

Undercurrents of racism, 'subterranean resentments' amongst members of the majority community, did exist, but people lived a relatively 'harmonious co-existence', due to a shared belief that *'Ther a' reet sa long as they don't botha me'* (Barr 1964, 112:6). There was also an understanding (on all sides) that the mainly rural, peasant Mirpuri workers would eventually return home, so the rise of distinctly Pakistani Muslim areas didn't really matter; they would be short lived. A Council official stated, 'If we turn Kashmiri peasants into good little [sic] Yorkshiremen they will be unfitted to

resume life in Pakistan' (Barr 1964: 112:7). Demonstrating that the 'myth' of return was not an exclusively South Asian concept.

In terms of schooling, Bradford made provision for the children of immigrants as early as 1965, but this included bussing and then language centres, which were divisive and perpetuated the 'inequalities that they were intending to redress' (Thomson 1991, p8). Emphasis was placed on the integration of children into a competitive school system, and initially there was little consultation with children's parents. This combined with the 'inadequate preparation of the teachers for the task they were facing' meant that on the whole first generation immigrant children were expected to change, to fit the schools, rather than schools adapting to reflect a changing demographic. There was little awareness among policy makers, or teachers of the damage that could ensue, as a result of such an approach (Thomson 1991, 1997).

At home children were brought up with the language, religion and national allegiance of their parents, but attended schools that reflected mainstream English, language, culture and values; consequently, immigrant children had to deal with dual and often opposing cultural influences; those of the homeland and those of the receiving country.

As success in school is related to the extent to which the culture and values of the institution and home coincide (Conteh 2003) any mismatch must be negotiated and addressed (Little and Willey 1981). Immigrant parents' understanding of formal education was often very different to that which their children were experiencing, resulting in a lack of common ground (often a lack of a common language) and a failure to establish productive home/school partnerships, 'essential in an absence of a coincidence of home and school customs and values' (Thomson 1991, p44). This assimilation approach in schools was progressively judged to have been unsuccessful. Zriba (2014) described this as an era of 'doing nothing' in terms of social policy, which resulted in increasing discontent on all sides.

### Desh Pardesh 1980s and 1990s

Murphy took up anthropological-style residence among the increasingly settled Pakistani Muslim community in Manningham in the 1980s. She described the area as safe, with a low crime rate by British standards and a community who were on the whole law-abiding, but noted that this was no longer the commonly held belief across the city. Particularly those who were not 'well off', suffering 'consumer-society deprivation', unemployed, or living in poor housing, demonstrated obvious and

vocal resentment of Bradford's 'take-over'; criticising BMDC for only 'caring about Pakis' and decrying Pakistani Muslims for their 'filthy habits', criminality, (particularly 'drug pushing') and their religion (Murphy 1987). This led to rising support for the Far Right, particularly the National Front and ideologies of racial and cultural superiority, half-truths, suspicions and distortions; a symptom of fear, ignorance and frustration, resulting in a visible minority group being blamed for a social, economic and political situation which for many people had 'gone wrong' (Murphy 1987).

J.B Prestley (1934) suggested correctly that Bradford had always welcomed and subsumed, those who came from somewhere else. Even a cursory glance at the history of the city demonstrates this, but this should not be taken as suggesting a lack of conflict; this is always a possibility in diverse societies (Fennes and Hapgood 1997). Community unrest is not new, in 1851 there were anti-Irish Catholic riots in Bradford; German tradesmen and businessmen were attacked in 1914 (Hadwen 2018). In 1976 and 1981 the Asian Youth Movement and the United Black Youth League, were involved in conflict with the police after agitating, against the National Front (Our Migration Histories 2023).

Growing community unrest in the 1980s was due to the industrial decline of the city and high levels of competition for material resources. For instance, fewer than 20,000 jobs remained in a woollen industry, which two decades earlier had employed 73,000 workers (McLoughlin 2014). Tensions and conflict between some elements of the Muslim community and the wider non-Muslim population, came to a head with what became known as the 'Honeyford Affair'.

Bradford head-teacher, Ray Honeyford, alleged that the move from assimilation towards more liberal multicultural policies in Bradford schools (e.g., serving halal meat, condoning days off to celebrate festivals and extended holidays overseas) was placing cultural self-determination, over social integration and educational advancement (Bowen 1991, McLoughlin 2014, Thomson 1991). Honeyford's real target was the Council, which in 1981, was one of the first in the UK to embrace a race relations policy (a response to the legal pressure put upon councils to demonstrate compliance with Section 71 of the Race Relations Act (1976)). Honeyford was against this Council 'diktat' (McLoughlin 2014).

Counter claims and criticisms were levied concerning Honeyford's interactions with Asian parents which it was said betrayed clear racism and prejudice. A multi-ethnic alliance, led by a local White activist and involving Kashmiri parents, resulted in the head-teacher being forced to retire on an

enhanced pension in December 1985, but not before 10,000 Bradfordians had signed a petition backing him, demonstrating a strong strength of feeling in some quarters of the city against change. The flip side to this was an increase in cultural separatist demands from some members of minority communities, particularly Muslims, as a measure of self-defence (Bowen 1991, Hall 2013, McLoughlin 2014).

The ‘Honeyford Affair’ paled into insignificance when compared with what was to follow’ (Bowen 1992, p10). In 1989 Muslim concern over the publications of Salman Rushdie’s book the Satanic Verses spilled over into violent protest, when some members of Bradford Council for Mosques (BCM) burned copies of the book, in front of the city’s public library (Bowen 1992). The affair exposed tensions which may have otherwise remained dormant and set ‘community relations in Bradford back drastically’ (Bowen 1992, p 12).

The BCM was a well-respected local body (as it is today – the current Chair, is Lord Lieutenant of West Yorkshire). They had lobbied the Council and Government. The members who carried out the book burning did so out of frustration (Lewis 1994). By resorting to what McLoughlin (2014) describes as ‘street-style tactics’, they lost the high moral ground and had no control of the media frenzy which followed. TV images and videos of the book-burning, originally circulated by some BCM members, resulted in Muslims being widely compared with Nazis. Demands were made that they either assimilate to a British way of life or made their homes else-where (Asad 1993). Malik in her Bradford memoir remembers:

I thought what a bad man Rushdie was for hurting them like that. But then I was also angry with the Uncles and their sons for making us stand out, yet again. I didn’t want us to be described as fundamentalists, militants, fanatics, extremists and terrorists

(Malik 2010, p204)

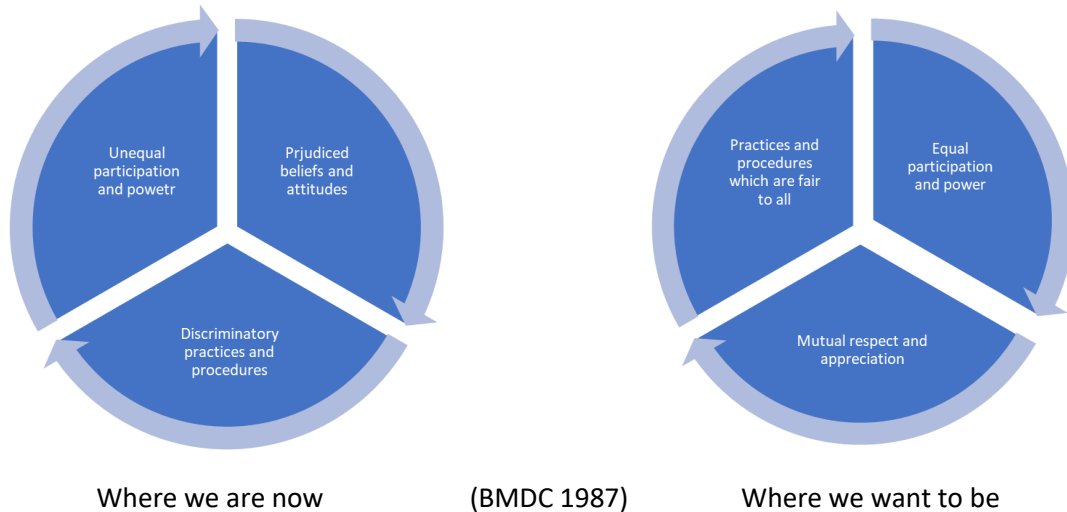
The recording and reporting of the Bradford Satanic Verses incident, did little to accurately present the wide range of Muslim beliefs and views in the city, reinforcing the image of a monolithic, fanatical religion. However, as Bowen (1992) noted the burning of the book, although it did much to polarise people on matters of principle and damaged intercultural and community relations, also motivated many, who ‘unafraid of controversy, sought conciliation and understanding’, through contact and dialogue ‘in the face of rage and conflict’ (Bowen 1992, p4).

Multicultural education was high on the Council's agenda as a means of aiding contact, dialogue and bridging divisions and conflict. Turning Point (BMDC 1981), the Council's race relations policy, stressed the need to reshape schools and increase opportunities for all children to achieve and succeed, involving a move from a monocultural to multicultural curriculum, in order to improve the life chances of *all* children (BMDC 1987). It encouraged opening up schools to local communities and parents, encouraging participation, dialogue and involvement; thus, enabling schools as institutions, to become responsive to the real needs of children and their parents (Thomson 1991). As a result, the Council gained a reputation as one of the most progressive in the country, willing to face the challenges presented in multi-cultural Bradford (McLoughlin 2014).

These changes were supported by the creation of a 'Multicultural Advisory Service' (Thomson 1991) led by two Inspectors (Barbara Davey and Akram Khan Cheema) and a team to support children with English as a second language (E2L). In 1983 Bradford's first (only the second nationwide) multi-faith RE curriculum was introduced (Thomson 1997). By 1987 the LA had established Europe's first Interfaith Education Centre and appointed an RE Advisor, an Advisory Teacher for RE and a team of Faith Tutors to support religion and worship in schools (BMDC 2000).

Towards Education for All, was Bradford's response to the Government's Swann Report (1985). Swann stressed that preparing children for life in a multicultural society involved more than just learning about diversity and 'other cultures'. It necessitated a need to 'to develop in all pupils both ethnic majority and minority, 'a flexibility of mind and an ability to analyse critically and rationally the nature of society today within a global context'; an understanding of 'the normality and justice of a variety of points of views' and to find this 'stimulating in itself' (Swann 1985, p324).

Swann advocated 'democratic pluralism, in which diversity' exists 'within a framework of commonly accepted values, practices and procedures' (Haydon 1987, p 25). Towards Education for All, re-stressed the importance of contact and personal experience in multicultural education, for members of both majority and minority communities alike and emphasised education for change (BMDC 1987).



This was a clear move from no policy (Zriba 2014) to a policy of critical multicultural education', its purpose to cultivate skills and abilities, to impart knowledge of facts and theories and to cultivate understanding of the beliefs of those near and far away' (Bruner 1996, p63). Multicultural content, language trails, visits to places of worship, intercultural contact and learning outside the classroom, were features of this new curriculum; aiming to encourage maximum understanding and minimise further conflict (Gundara 2000).

### Post Millenium - 2001 onwards

When community unrest again surfaced and developed into violence on the streets of Bradford in 2001, some saw this as a clear sign (as was claimed at the time of the Satanic Verses and Honeyford affairs), that the effectiveness of an innovative multicultural education and multiculturalism in general had failed. However, this conflagration had much to do with unemployment, racism and young men's social, economic and political disenfranchisement. The disturbances occurred in Manningham and involved mainly British Asian young men of Pakistani, Muslim heritage, but also young White men from the Holmewood council estate, located several miles away. Youths took to the streets, destroying property and confronting the police. The national and local media were quick to dub the disturbances the 'Bradford Riots' (Alam 2006). Choosing to focus predominantly on the violence in the Manningham area, rather than that on the Holmewood Estate.

Bradford Council's and the Labour Government's immediate response to the disturbances, was to commission reports into their cause (Bagguely and Hussain 2016). The report initiated by the Home Secretary David Blunkett and fronted by Ted Cattle, found that Bradford showed a depth of social polarisation, as a result of segregated communities living a series of parallel lives (Cattle 2001).

Whilst the physical segregation of housing estates and inner city areas came as no surprise, the report stated that the physical divisions were compounded by 'separate educational arrangements, community and voluntary bodies, employment, places of worship, language, social and cultural networks'. Cattle went on to say that this resulted in a series of parallel lives, which 'often do not seem to touch at any point, let alone overlap and promote any meaningful interchanges' (Cattle 2001, p9, 2.2).

In his report for Bradford Council Ouseley (2001) identified long standing White majority perceptions that multicultural policies favoured Black and minority ethnic groups, as significant drivers for pre-riot tensions (Thomas 2017). Racism, deprivation and crime, were all identified as contributory factors, but divided communities and a lack of intercultural contact were also highlighted as important. Local political and civic in-activity, in both majority and minority communities was also noted and a failure to develop dialogue-driven relationship between real people at ground level. This was compounded by fear of the charge of racism in some quarters, which inhibited critical dialogue about the state of affairs. Combined with a lack of interest from central Government, a background of contemporary unstable leadership in the Council, the penetration of local biradari politics and aging out of touch community leaders, this led to an unstable situation (Ouseley 2001).

All the reports laid the cause of unrest unfairly, squarely at the door of Pakistani heritage Muslims and their unwillingness to integrate; inferring that it was Muslim self-segregation, which had led to misunderstandings, conflict and the mobilisation of young men (Bagguely and Hussain 2016). They also suggested that the solution was to be found in Bradford, stating that although the:

Government clearly has a crucial role to play in empowering and enabling local communities, many of the solutions to the problems identified must be found and implemented at a local level (Denham 2001, p2)

In reality the causes of the disturbances were much more complex; a result of a collective failure of government and the Bradford Metropolitan District Council to address a social legacy of industrial and economic decline, combined with a high demand on increasingly scarce resources in a multicultural context (Bagguely and Hussain 2016, Bujra and Pearce 2011, Phillips 2006). The failure to acknowledge the impact of material problems and the social legacy of industrial and economic decline, was notable and more than likely intentional; an example of shifting the blame from those in power, to those without power.



Responses to events in the city after 2001, demonstrated that ‘leadership from above combined with leadership from below’ could mitigate previous failings (Bujra and Pearce 2011), particularly when young people played an active role in the process. The intergenerational, multicultural ‘We Are Bradford’ movement’ involved some of the young men who had been rioters and a significant number of women. It presented a united, rather than segregated city when anti-Muslim demonstrations were planned by the far right English Defence League in 2010, 2013 and 2015 (Hall 2013, Allchorn 2018). This is the oft ignored flip side of the picture of division and conflict, one of Bradfordians continually working hard together as a community of communities (Parekh 2000).

This coming together, like conflict, is nothing new. Diversity has continually been a source of enrichment, as well as a cause for concern. Bradford’s small Jewish community provided the city’s (and country’s) first Jewish (Polish) Mayor in 1864, the first Muslim Lord Mayor followed in 1985 and the first female Muslim Lord Mayor in 2011. Christian choirs sang at the opening of the Reform Synagogue in 1881. The annual Bradford Mela, launched in 1988, was the largest celebration of South Asian culture in Europe (Historic England 2017). As I write, groups and individuals are working to present Bradford as both diverse and unified, following its successful City of Culture 2025 bid.

The Dean of Bradford Cathedral on the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the disturbances commented that today Bradford:

is more secure in itself and is building on its strengths. We know how to work and stand together in responding appropriately to challenging moments. Indeed, I believe that this city has good experience to share with others. (Lepine, Telegraph and Argus, July 2021)

The importance of education, a constant refrain in national and local multicultural policy, was once again placed centre stage in 2001. Cattle (2001), Denham (2001) and Ousley (2001) all emphasised schools as important vehicles for creating cohesion, suggesting that ‘many of the solutions to the problems identified must be found and implemented at a local level’ (Denham 2001, p2). Ousley (2001) emphasised the need to build bridges between different communities, to reduce prejudice and encourage pride in being ‘Bradfordian’, concluding it was important to build upon Bradford’s positive assets and its existing *successful multicultural programmes*; emphasising the importance of an education, which prepares children to be active citizens and future leaders, through citizenship education and cultural awareness (Ouseley 2001).

Subsequent education policy and practice in Bradford combined Ouseley's suggestions, with those found in the national reports; rebranding multicultural education in Bradford, rather than starting again from scratch. This was a pragmatic move, serving a political function (Levey 2012), but allowing for consistency in educators' professional and moral purpose (Richardson 1992).

The 'Community Cohesion Review Team' (2001) led by Cattle, stressed concerns that schools across the Bradford district were often representative of one cultural and religious group, but made recommendations which to a lesser or greater extent were already being implemented, e.g., inter-school twinning, joint sports, arts and cultural programmes, teacher exchanges and joint working; shared curriculum activities and learning in another school, joint parental activities and technological links between schools (Cattle 2001). Their report emphasised the need for contact between diverse individuals and groups, stating that multiculturalism had failed.

Zriba (2014) claimed that the Cattle Report was the last nail in the multicultural coffin. It championed interculturalism and local, community cohesion initiatives. However, it also still emphasised multicultural policy and practice, suggesting that schools, should reflect different cultures, place emphasis on citizenship and respect for different faiths; stressing that a euro-centric curriculum and pervasive Christian teaching and worship should be avoided; that British history should be taught in a way which resulted in young people from Black and minority ethnic backgrounds feeling a sense of belonging and ownership; stressing that 'a failure to have a shared history is to condemn some sections of our nation to be forever strangers in their own country' (Cattle, p35, 13, 5.8.13, 2001).

So, although Cattle's report heralded the rise of the intercultural brand, a focus on community cohesion and much needed additional funding, it had little to say that was new; its recommendations resulting in the reinvigoration of a number of soft contact based approaches to community cohesion, building on existing good practice, while re-emphasising the importance of shared citizenship, dialogue and contact (Thomas 2017).

Post 2001 the local authority, Education Bradford (a private subsidiary company of SERCO), looked for more opportunities for contact between children from across the city through formalising contact in neutral spaces outside the classroom. The aim being to bring together culturally diverse citizenry (Wohl, 2016). Initiatives such as the Schools Linking Project, now The Linking Network

(TLN), involved positive contact theory based work and demonstrated impact at ground level (Thomas 2017, p3); not least through the provision of opportunities for dialogue and situating multicultural learning in the community (Raw 2006). Other projects followed, bringing children together, each one distinct, but with shared elements and a consistent critical multicultural emphasis.

The projects which are considered in chapters nine and ten, TLN, Stand up to Hatred (SUTH), Kokeshi: Stand up, Speak out Make a Difference (KSUSOMAD) and the Community Heritage Volunteer Project (CHVP), were all such projects. A response to the Bradford context, funded through national and local Community Cohesion and Prevent initiatives, they were part of Bradford's post 2001, rebranding of multiculturalism.

The Prevent strategy was introduced in the UK in 2003 as part of post 9/11 2001 counter-terrorism measures (CONTEST). In 2015, it became the Prevent duty, legislation which required social institutions and organisations, including schools, to put measures in place to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism, terrorist organisations or ideals. It again placed the onus on local communities to self-regulate (in terms of limiting radicalisation and extremism), shifting the blame away from central international policy or action, towards local community relations. Schools were named as having a central role (Busher et al 2017, Thomas 2016, 2017).

Critics of Prevent (of which there are many) claim that it singles out one sector of society (Muslims) as in need of correction; reinforcing prejudice, discrimination, and fuelling (even disseminating and normalising) Islamophobia (Qurashi 2018); failing to distinguish between permissible radical religion and impermissible harmful religion, presenting all members of a faith as having the same views, beliefs and characteristics (Riedel 2021).

The Prevent duty attempted to shift emphasis from Muslims, by naming right wing organisations e.g., National Action and the Atomwaffen Division as 'proscribed' illegal, extremist, terrorist groups alongside Islamic organisations such as Al-Qaeda. For many (Busher et al 2017, Thomas 2017) this was too little too late, Prevent was already not just tainted but 'toxic' with Islamophobia at its heart (Qurashi 2018).

Thomas (2017) described schools as being 'willing tools of state' in implementing Prevent, stating that its initial emphasis on the de-radicalisation and the re-education of Muslim communities, did

much to de-rail the success of softer community cohesion education initiatives. In Bradford schools, money was diverted from Prevent funding towards projects such as SUTH and KSUSOMAD. These addressed the causes of radicalisation, extremism and violence; exploring what positive action might be taken, through a multicultural curriculum and bringing children from different schools together in spaces outside the classroom to learn from and about each other.

Prevent remains a sub-text to successive Conservative Governments' integration and cohesion policy (DCLG 2018). In Bradford's schools it has largely been absorbed into the curriculum, through soft approaches and projects like TLN and the CHVP. Educators have addressed this by continuing to work to increase children's understanding of diversity and to minimise misunderstandings and conflict; addressing inequalities prejudice and discrimination, through religious education and a critical reflective, reflexive, multicultural curriculum.

## Summary

This chapter has chronicled some of the main elements of Bradford's historic and on-going multicultural experiences as a city, demonstrating how these have been reflected in aspirations, policy and practice. It is this context which has resulted the development of a distinctive Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom; understanding this, helps to provide answers to the question 'Why does a Bradford model exist?'

BMDC, individual schools, Bradford College, the University of Bradford, third sector, religious and community organisations, have all worked (sometimes against the odds) to encourage diverse citizens to interact, prioritising children and young people in their endeavours. They have rejected assimilation and separatism, advocating for democratic pluralism, in which diversity is valued. This does not mean that community discord, racism and Islamophobia are no longer a reality in Bradford. Achieving a just society is a longitudinal process and the need for communities to be honest about problems and to explore solutions, as participatory citizens is ongoing. It is unfair that struggling northern towns like Bradford post 2001, became the focus of central government policy discourse, which highlighted cultural problems, as the cause of conflict (McLoughlin 2014), while largely ignoring political, social and economic factors and the city's many positive achievements (Ouseley 2001).

Bowen (1997) suggested that there was a specialness about Bradford people's exploration of cultural difference, which although specific, had implications for other multicultural, urban conurbations. I

suggest that this is the case. The city's journey has not been plain sailing, often more being made of the difficulties it has faced, rather than its not inconsiderable achievements. However, Bradford has been progressive and willing to face the challenges presented by multiculturalism and multiple religions (McLoughlin 2014), which has led to multicultural innovation in education.

## 6. Religion and Education

Multicultural societies are usually multifaith (Jackson 2014). In the preceding chapter I argued that religion is significant in the Bradford context, with over 60% of the population answering the voluntary census question on religious affiliation in the affirmative. This goes against the national trend. Recent census information suggested that identification with a religion in the UK is on the decline. However, for many living in Bradford, religion remains a significant aspect of their identity, heritage and belonging (ONS 2021).

Religion in multicultural societies may be a cause of discord. In Bradford the existence of a large, non-White, Muslim community, means that racism is often conflated with religion (Busher et al 2017, Din 2017, McLoughlin 2014, Quraeshi 2018, Riedel 2021, Runnymede Trust 1997, 2017). This is aggravated by widely held incorrect assumptions, misunderstandings and ignorance about certain religions, particularly about Islam.

This lack of knowledge and understanding has resulted in Islamophobia (Thomas 2017) and increasingly since the escalation of aggression in Palestine and Israel, negative attitudes and reactions to Judaism and Christianity among some Muslims (Hansard:746, 2024, Lipscombe et al 2024). Those with no religious point of reference (Kindermann and Riegel 2018) often have a less than positive view of religion and religious people generally, often leading to further divisions and conflict (Purdam and Watson 2021). This strongly implies that to prevent the maintenance and escalation of polarisation, the study of religion as part of the school curriculum is essential (Jackson 2004, 2013, Thomas 2017).

Although some countries have a history of religious diversity, in the UK and many others, a multiplicity of religious and world views is relatively recent (Thomson 1991, 1997, Jackson 2004). In England there is a long history of religion constituting a central part of schooling. Historically a majority Christian nation, the focus in schools until the late twentieth century was exclusively on Christianity, suggesting a correlation between religion, culture and national identity (Jackson 2014).

In 2001 in his report on the 'Bradford Riots', Cantle stressed the need to avoid a curriculum with a Christian emphasis, arguing for a study of multiple religions (failing to note that Bradford had introduced multifaith RE in schools in 1983). Ouseley (2001) recognised the advances that Bradford had already made in this area. Like Cantle (2001, 2004, 2018) he stressed that multi-faith RE was

most powerful when it involved authentic experience, contact and dialogue in the community e.g., such as visits to places of worship, encouraging learning outside the classroom in alternative spaces.

This chapter explores the continuing, but shifting relationship between religion and education, with specific reference to the historic and contemporary local context. It chronicles the metamorphosis of religion in schools from Christian religious instruction to religious education, towards the study of multiple religions and non-religious world views. I suggest that religion in schools has impacted on community relations in Bradford, and influenced subsequent multicultural curriculum design, content and delivery. It has played an important role in the emergence of a Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom.

### The Church and education

The link between education, schooling and the Church in England dates back to the seventh century. Celtic Christian monasteries and nunneries and their Roman Catholic successors were centres of learning. The former (particularly in the north of England) teaching both boys and girls to read and write and spreading Christianity. By the twelfth century cathedrals had taken the lead (Colish 1997, Hanrahan 1964) and their schools had become 'full-time educational institutions' (Colish 1997, p176, Jackson 2015), where boys of noble birth were trained for the priesthood, or as secular administrators and leaders; ensuring their allegiance to the Church, while providing them with the literacy skills necessary to assume future positions of power.

In the sixteenth century, when Roman Catholicism was replaced by the national Church of England, the Anglican Church maintained power and control over formal education. The majority of the cathedral schools were replaced with foundation schools (e.g., Bradford Grammar School, 1548). Their reach was extended to include boys of the yeoman and mercantile classes (Jackson 2015), but learning usually came at a financial cost. The education of girls was minimal and on the whole viewed as unnecessary, demonstrating that inequality of access to education is far from a new phenomenon (Reay 2006).

### Sunday schools

In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was a growing movement to bring education to the masses (Thomson 1997). The rise of non-conformist 'free' churches, particularly the Methodists, with socialist principles, led to the widespread establishment of Sunday schools. The first in Bradford opened its doors in 1756. It led the way, providing a basic education for poor boys

and girls living in 'the dirtiest, filthiest and worst regulated town in the kingdom' (Government Inspector's Report 1830, in Jackson 2015); it was an expression of Christian belief in practice (Jackson 2015).

In 1822 the Bradford Parish Church (later to become the Cathedral) provided a Sunday school. Approximately 419 children attended and demand was such that by 1830, this number had risen to 848 (Parsons and White Directory, 1830); allowing the national Church in Bradford to claim to be doing 'something for the education of the town's children against an unstable and rapidly expanding background' (Adams et al 1970).

By 1843 the number of children attending schools on a Sunday across Bradford (most of them still non-conformist) was approximately 19,950 (Jackson 2015). The curriculum was based on the Bible and explicitly religious (Adams et al 1970), basic literacy and practical skills were taught; their purpose was religious, social and philanthropic. The schools were welcomed by workers who 'wanted to educate their children and could do so in no other way' (Koditschek, 1990, p289). From an academic point of view Sunday schools were 'hardly worth serious consideration. Their primary purpose was not to provide scholastic instruction so much as religious *training*, and what little they did in the way of secular teaching was supererogatory' (Walsh 1936, p53). However, they were 'instrumental in imparting elementary instruction to thousands of children, who, but for them would have remained in profound and hopeless ignorance' (Scruton 1888, p102).

### Day schools

The first day schools for the poor in Bradford were established by non-conformists; most levied a small charge. They focused on reading, writing, arithmetic and Christian religious instruction. Attendance was often intermittent at best, parents could not always afford to pay the fee and most children had to work, consequently they were unable to attend on any sort of regular basis (Adams et al 1970, Thomson 1997). For most children Sunday school was the only option.

### National schools

In 1811 the Church of England inaugurated the 'National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church in England and Wales' to provide 'elementary education' for the 'children of the poor' (Jackson 2015, Silver and Silver 1974). Challenging the rise of non-conformist teaching (and the subtle increase in religious diversity) the Church argued that the:



National Religion should be made the foundation of national education, and should be the first and chief thing taught to the poor, according to the excellent liturgy and catechism provided by our Church.’ (Silver and Silver 1974, p11)

This statement exemplifies that the Church had (and wished to retain) control of education. The first of Bradford’s national schools opened its doors in 1815.

### The British and foreign school society

In 1814, the ‘British and Foreign School Society for the Education of the Labouring and Manufacturing Classes of Society of Every Religious Persuasion’ was established. This formally highlighted religious diversity, as already evidenced by the growth in non-conformist places of worship and later by the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 (Adams et al 1970). It established non-denominational day schools, but the Church of England remained pre-eminent and the major player in the education of children.

### A ‘shul’ in Bradford

The growing recognition of religious diversity was confined to Christian denominations (Idle 2018). However, Jews had been allowed to worship openly in England since 1656, many years before Catholics were allowed to do so (Endleman 2002). As Bradford became a centre of woollen cloth production in the nineteenth century, a small Jewish community began to settle in the city. Most of these immigrants were affluent business people from Austria and Germany.

Bradford’s Jews were happy to remain somewhat anonymous (Endleman 2010), but their presence was well known; many were involved in politics, charities, educational and cultural institutions. Their secular leanings and affiliation with the Jewish reform movement, aided their rapid Anglicisation and the majority did not see a great need for a Jewish education for their children. However, in 1881 with a view to ‘upholding and advancing the cause of Judaism and providing for the religious teaching of Jewish children’ a shul (synagogue) was established (Aronsfeld, in Idle 2018, p144).

When the Reform Synagogue was consecrated, a Christian choir sang in English (an early example of interfaith co-operation). Many of the Jewish community could not read Hebrew, so the prayer books were in English and Hebrew (Idle 2018). However, once established the Sabbath shul served the purpose of providing instruction in the Jewish religion and Hebrew language; constituting a fore

runner to the supplementary schools and madrassahs, established to preserve the religion, liturgical language and mother tongue of home, by South Asian immigrants in the twentieth century (Thomson 1991, Hadwen 1996).

### The 1870 Education Act

The Christian education of the poor had a duality of purpose; the salvation and moralisation of the working class and the enablement of 'self-improvement and upward mobility' (Ittmann 1995, p110). Increasingly important, was the need in an industrialised society for a literate and numerate workforce. The importance of the education of the working classes began to be asserted nationally. Pressure being placed on the Government to introduce a universal system of elementary education. However, this was not without controversy and most contentious, was the issue of 'whether the Church or state should have authority to deliver education to the masses' (Jackson 2015, p14). The Church of England wishing to maintain overall control.

The right to a free elementary state education, was a result of Bradford MP Edward Forster's 1870 Education Act. This was 'a careful compromise, allowing religious bodies (particularly the Church of England) to continue their work in educational provision, while inaugurating a system of local school boards to make available places where existing provision fell short' (Jackson 2015, p14). The Act encouraged the propagation of the Christian religion and morals through 'instruction in the Christian faith'. It was argued that this would do 'great good, by removing that ignorance which we are all aware is pregnant with crime and misery, with misfortune to individuals and danger to the community (Forster 1870, Hansard; 199: 438-98).

Although the 1870 Act acknowledge difference through the inclusion of the non-denominational Cowper-Temple clause, it resisted dissent (Jackson 2015). It could be seen as aiming to assimilate, to encourage acceptance of the established order, to recommend 'the least change in the ways of doing things' (Modood 2007). It upheld religion (in this instance Christianity) as good for individuals and society, presenting Christianity 'as a unified set of educable, interdenominational moral values, one faith, with different traditions'. This is surprisingly consistent with the 'multifaith ethic of a century later' (Moulin-Stozek and Metcalfe 2020, p256), where religion was viewed as a single entity, expressed and experienced differently (Smart 1989).

The new elementary schools operated alongside existing National Church institutions, (e.g., Bradford's Parish Church School, which opened its doors in 1841). The Church was encouraged to

build as many schools as possible; a shortfall in places, would then be made up by the provision of schools, funded and organised by local education boards (Hansard 1870; 199: 438-98).

Post 1870, Church schools flourished in Bradford, emerging as 'more effective than before' (Adams et al 1970, p56). The Church authorities in 1907 reported that the dual system in the city was working well, stating that although they 'continued to defend the rights of Church schools' relations with the 'Education Authority had been free from difficulty' (Adams et al 1970, p56).

The Bradford Education Board was led by Christian Socialists such as Margaret McMillan, Fred Jowett and later Miriam Lord (Lilley 1997, Thomson 1997). Like the LA of the 1980s (Thomson 1991) Bradford's Education Board was seen as pioneering. The Board's provision of nursery education, free school meals, physical education, swimming pools, outdoor education, parental and community education were national firsts (Lilley 1997).

In 1876 Feversham Street opened as the first co-educational secondary school in the country. Just over a hundred years later in 1994 (not without controversy) the Feversham school building became the first voluntary aided Muslim girls' school in the country. Interestingly, this was possible due to the legacy of Forster's 1870 Education Act. This stipulated that religious schools other than those controlled by the Church of England were permissible, if the curriculum was sufficient, efficient and suitable; distinct from, but not separate to, the national system of education (McLoughlin 1998).

### The 1944 Education Act

In terms of continuing the relationship between religion and education, the 1944 Education Act was influential. Religion was designated as the only compulsory subject on the curriculum and in a nod to the existence of diversity of religious belief, the only subject that a child could be withdrawn from on grounds of conscience (Hull 1989). It made the traditional daily act of Christian worship a legal requirement, but again children could be withdrawn on grounds of conscience. The 1944 Act stressed that religion and worship should be non-denominational; the term religious education (RE) as opposed to Religious Instruction (RI) was used, marking a subtle shift in praxis (Jackson 2004).

Despite its religious and Christian bias, in many respects the 1944 Act was enlightened. It was informed by the 1933 Hadow Report, which focussed on child centred, discovery based learning (Harrison 1970) and suggested schools move away from Christian religious *instruction*, towards Christian religious *education*. The 1944 Act extolled the virtues of learning outside the classroom and

experiential, cultural, moral and spiritual education (Harrison 1970). However, in terms of religion it demanded schools focus on Christian belief and practice, which in an increasingly multicultural and religiously diverse society, became ever more problematic. In Bradford, the arrival of many immigrant, then second and third generation children, who were not Christian, presented schools and teachers with considerable challenges; necessitating the piecing together of fragmentary and often opposing discourses (Moulin-Stozek and Metcalfe 2020).

By the 1980s many schools faced difficulty in addressing the needs and wants of an increasing number of non-Christian children (and the wishes of their parents), while still fulfilling if not the word, at least the spirit of the 1944 Act. This challenge led to creative interpretations of the legislation, with many schools and some LAs flouting the law. In 1975 Birmingham produced a multi-faith Agreed Syllabus for RE (the first in the country), which included a section for older children on non-religious world views. Bradford introduced its first multi-faith syllabus in 1983, in an attempt to halt calls for religious separatism (in terms of religious teaching and worship) in schools (Thomson 1991, 1997) and provide a multicultural curriculum. After the 2001 'riots', this progressive move was supported by Cattle (2001) and Ouseley (2001), both stressing the importance of ensuring that schools reflected different cultures and emphasised respect for different faiths, avoiding pervasive Christian teaching and worship.

### The 1988 Education Reform Act

It was the 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) which was the first legislation to introduce major changes to religion in schools. This was an attempt to respond to increasing religious diversity. This said, the emphasis on religion, continued to suggest that religious belonging and worship were advantageous, paying scant attention to the growing number in the populace with no formal religious affiliation (Moulin-Stozek and Metcalfe 2020).

The Act unsurprisingly specified a study of Christianity as essential in schools, but also required the curriculum to include the *other major world religions represented in Great Britain* (ERA 1988, Hull 1989, Jackson 2004, Stozek and Metcalfe 2020). It continued to require schools to provide a daily collective act of worship, of a wholly, or mainly, or broadly Christian character. This emphasis suggesting that Christianity was first among equals. Children could still be withdrawn from worship and RE on grounds of conscience (Hull 1989).

The ERA stated that worship was completely different and additional to curriculum RE. In the Bradford context Christian worship was obviously inappropriate for many pupils. The ERA allowed schools to opt out of the provision of Christian worship, by asking SACRE (the local authority Standing Advisory Council for RE) for a determination. This allowed other forms of worship to be provided in school. The provision of worship was compulsory, but Christian worship was not (Hull 1989). Consequently, many schools provided separate worship at least once a week, which was characteristic of the faith groups represented in a school; an additional 'non-worship' option was usually provided for those whose parents wished their children not to take part in worship on grounds of conscience. The remainder of a week's assemblies were usually unrepresentative of any one religion (Hadwen 1996).

### Agreeing a syllabus

Interculturalism and community cohesion in a multicultural society has been described as a bottom up approach, placing the responsibility on local communities to effect change (Cantle 2001, 2012, 2015, Denham 2001, Gundara 2000, Ouseley 2001, Sze and Powell 2004, and Zapata- Barrero 2017). Through a requirement for LAs to produce a Syllabus of Religious Education, agreed by local members of the Church of England, *other denominations*, plus LA and teacher representatives (the suitability of which had to be re-appraised every five years) the 1944 Act, defined the content of RE as a *local*, rather than *national* responsibility.

The 1988 ERA reaffirmed this, but identified a need to widen representation on a LA's Standing Advisory Councils for RE (SACRE), to include members of religions other than Christianity, ensuring 'the local community and faith communities in particular' had a 'sense of shared ownership or partnership in the syllabus' (Smalley 2020, p267). This gave a legal voice to many who had previously been excluded from the debate over the purpose, content and delivery of religion in schools (Thomson 1997).

The hope was that children would not need to be withdrawn from RE if religious authorities in a locality had 'agreed' the content as suitable for all (Hull 1989). A less positive interpretation is that while not 'advocating theological universalism outright', an agreed syllabus vicariously appropriated the teachings of other religions to support Christianity (Moulin-Stozek and Metcalfe 2020, p256), ignoring the increase in secularism and proliferation of non-religious world views.

Also, by suggesting that Christianity be studied as first among equals, I would argue that the 1988 Act presented a barrier to critical multiculturalism, reinforcing, or at best ignoring inequalities, the colonial and often racist legacy of Christianity and the complexity of 'the plural cultures of today's world' (Smart 1989, p9); failing to help children to 'participate in civil society and contribute to public debates' or to equip them 'to become full citizens' (Barnes 2017, p 14).

### An illegal document?

As discussed in chapter five, in Bradford a plurality of religious and non-religious views in the mid and late twentieth century, meant that contentious and highly sensitive issues came to the fore and by the 1980s, misunderstandings, polarisation, inequalities and separatist religious demands (e.g., for Muslim schools and faith worship) were becoming increasingly evident (Murphy 1987, Bowen 1991, Thomson 1991, 1997).

In 1966 the LA had adopted the West Riding Agreed Syllabus (WRAS). Influenced by the work of Goldman (1964), Loukes (1961) and Smart (1958, 1961), it was child centred in the primary years and contentiously recommended 'comparative RE' in the final years of secondary schools, focusing on Christianity, Islam and Judaism (WRAS 1966). The syllabus pragmatically incorporated the progressive aspects of the 1944 Act, while adapting RE to fit a changing context. It stated that RE should, satisfy the religious needs of children and young people at all stages of their development, be related to real life and provide opportunities for shared experiences to be enjoyed. However, its content was overwhelmingly Christian.

Although before its time in many ways, WRAS increasingly did not match the changing reality of life in Bradford. The widely held (but not universal) view, was that a new 'multifaith' approach to RE, was long overdue and that a lack of understanding between religions (and in reality between religious and non-religious groups and individuals) was a potential source of local tension and conflict (Bowen 1991, 1997, Thomson 1991, 1997).

Bradford's increasing non-Christian population, particularly the Muslim community, began agitating for recognition and for a say in the religious education of their children (BHRU 1987, Bowen 1992, McLoughlin 2014, Valentine 2005). Local academics, teacher educators, LA officers and teachers began to argue for a new RE syllabus that would be more representative and help children to grasp the meaning and value of plural cultures (Smart 1989); a multifaith syllabus as part of a multicultural curriculum (Thomson 1997).

The Council took the decision to call an interfaith conference to plan a way forward, not least to facilitate multifaith and intercultural dialogue and contact; the aim was to come to an agreement on how children could be helped through a religious education to 'live together in diversity' (Antonsich 2016). In accordance with its aspiration to include the community in decision making (Thomson 1991, BMDC 2000), the LA widened Agreed Syllabus Conference representation, to include delegates from religions other than Christianity.

These representatives were co-opted onto the 'other denominations' committee; the rationale being that they would know 'how best to respond to local needs and circumstances' (Bradford SACRE 2021, p8). This move was pre-1988, so not backed by law and was repeatedly challenged; there was opposition from Christian clergy, organisations and individuals, but BMDC persisted, seeking to ensure that 'the local community and faith communities in particular' had a 'sense of shared ownership or partnership in the syllabus' (Smalley 2020, p267).

The Agreed Syllabus Conference itself highlighted a polarisation of opinion and mistrust between representatives. The only thing all parties could agree upon initially was that a new Bradford syllabus was necessary. 'Conferring was not easy' and 'at one point there was a staged walk out' (Thomson 1997, p106). In a nutshell some representatives feared that religion in schools, would always be solely aligned with Christianity and others were afraid that this would not always be the case.

However, ultimately this bold inclusion of multiple religions, paid dividends making purposeful, dialogue possible and building more informed understanding, between different cultural groups (Fennes and Hapgood 1997). 'There developed a warmth, a feeling of corporate responsibility and real friendship between the members of Conference' (Thomson 1997, p106); an awareness that everyone involved loved their children and needed to work together to bring about change (Thomson 1997).

The 1983 Agreed Syllabus Conference and the resulting document, 'Religious Education for Living in Today's World', demonstrated the benefit of valuing the stories and insights of diverse individuals (Gabriel 2020, Gundara 2000, Mirza 2020). However, although 'Agreed' by religious leaders and representatives of faith communities, as the new syllabus did not comply with the 1944 Act, it was arguably illegal.

Even when the 1988 Act became law 'Religious Education for Living in Today's World' could be criticised for not highlighting the centrality of Christianity. Recognising existing inequalities in schools, including the inferred superiority of one religion, it accorded parity of esteem to the five (later six) religions to be studied. The introduction asserted that:

Bradford, rich in a diversity of faiths and cultures needs to assert that the major religions Hinduism, Islam, Judaism and Sikhism as well as Christianity, have an equal right to the maintenance of their distinctive identities and loyalties of culture, language, history, religion, values and cultures. (BMDC 1983)

It must be noted that the encounter and dialogue which resulted in the syllabus, was almost exclusively between members of religious groups, to the virtual exclusion of non-religious community members; resulting in significant numbers of people feeling their voices were not heard and arguably excluding the needs and wants of the majority population (Cantle 2001, 2004, 2012, 2015).

BMDC provided a variety of resources to ensure the delivery of the new multifaith syllabus (Thomson 1997), including the first LA funded Interfaith Education Centre (IEC) in Europe, which opened its doors in 1987. Recognising that curriculum changes, necessitated a rejigging of the professional and cultural capital of the teaching force (Aurora 2005, Richardson 1992, Lynch 1986, Davidson et al 2018) the LA employed salaried 'faith tutors', based at the IEC. Their role was to support RE and faith worship; to be conduits for intercultural encounters between teachers, children and local religious communities (Thomson 1997). The IEC housed a library and religious artefacts which could be loaned for use in the classroom. It became a hub for teacher education, community events and meetings. It was also used as a base for children visiting places of worship (Thomson 1997) and later as a neutral space for children embarking on SUTH and KSUSOMAD and TLN activities.

### Opposition to change

In 1983 the introduction of multi-faith content was an attempt to ensure religion in a multicultural society, was not a cause of tension, inequality and violent conflict. This shift was by no means universally accepted (Moulin-Stozek and Metcalfe 2020); it was opposed by many who didn't want change in schools and criticised by others who felt that it did not go far enough (Thomson 1997).



Where a religion is upheld as the only truth, learning about another belief system is unlikely to be valued, particularly if mission is held to be a core component of a faith. Where, as in the UK, one religion has been preeminent, to suggest parity with other religions is unlikely to meet with everyone's approval.

Bradford's most recent 2024 Agreed Syllabus (shared with neighbouring LAs Calderdale and Kirklees) highlights the continuing debate about what should be taught in schools and how (Klutz 2016). An earlier version of 'Believing and Belonging in West Yorkshire' (BBIWY) recognised local and national population trends, including a study of both religious and non-religious world views to help: 'young learners to understand their own beliefs and those of others in the communities around them' (Bolton, in BBIWY, p4, 2021). Although a West Yorkshire wide initiative, the syllabus provided the flexibility for schools to take account of their own communities, allowing an exploration of:

community cohesion and the history, geography and politics of why people choose to live where they do and how they relate to the people around them.

(Garside, in BBIWY, p5, 2021)

When a study of belief is extended to include non-religious world views (Barnes 2015, BBIWY 2021, CORE 2018, REC 2013) this poses for some an unwelcome challenge to the centrality of religion. Those who in a still unequal society have power, influence and some control over religion in schools (for example the Church of England) may be wary of change and unwilling to 'allow power to slip from their hands' (Gundara, 2008, p50). A shift towards non-confessional, dialogical RE, or any move to help children become agentic, autonomous citizens may be seen as liberal indoctrination (Modood 2020).

What BBIWY aims to do (like previous Bradford Agreed Syllabi) is to place the study of religion and belief firmly in the mainstream, highlighting it as an integral part of a child's education. It argues for the use of intercultural means (authentic encounter, contact and dialogue) to deliver key aspects of a multicultural curriculum. It stresses the importance of bringing all people together (whatever their religious or non-religious beliefs and world views) with the aim of linking rather than dividing local communities (BBIWY 2021, 2024).

## A shifting RE paradigm

In Bradford the first multifaith Agreed Syllabus marked a clear shift in the RE paradigm. This movement continues, as evidenced by the 2024 Agreed Syllabus, allowing schools to respond to and reflect the wider societal and community contexts in which they operate, and presenting cultural diversity as an educational opportunity, rather than a difficulty to be overcome (O'Grady 2010). In so doing heralding a move away from instruction in the Christian faith, towards an understanding of multiple religions and world views and a post-confessional, inclusive religious education model (Genc and Uddin 2023).

An exploration of diverse religions is important in developing an understanding of humankind's experiments in living and in informing personal views of reality. To 'grasp the meaning and values of the plural cultures of today's world, we need to know something of the worldviews which underlie them' (Smart 1989, p9). This supports a multicultural curriculum and constitutes an important move from RE in the service of religion, towards RE in the service of the child (Hull 1996, Stern 2018). Such inclusive, post-confessional RE, is a legitimate subject among many others, part of the whole curriculum; an educational endeavour, rather than a veiled or sometimes explicit attempt (as in the National Schools) to propagate a single religion (Hobson and Edwards 1999, Hull 1996); moving religion in schools towards 'educational RE' and away from 'religionist RE' (Stern 2020).

It would be wrong to think that religionist RE is always aligned to Christianity. The Bradford experience demonstrates that although Agreed Syllabus conferences and SACREs may involve diverse people coming together because they love their children (Thomson 1997), that delegates are preoccupied with the maintenance of religion; the majority remaining unconcerned with the needs and wants of children, or the theory and practice of teaching and learning.

The politics of religious diversity, recognition, representation and separatism, are strong drivers (Gundara 2000, McLoughlin 1998) and adherence to a religion accepted as desirable. Therefore, even when the content is multifaith, a syllabus may be 'religionist' and not critically multicultural. A change in content alone, is not necessarily synonymous with a paradigm shift (Cooling 2023).

## Phenomenological

Such a shift is better understood through considering content and pedagogy. The 1983 Agreed Syllabus was influenced by the work of Smart (1968, 1971). He argued that religious phenomena manifests in things which all religions share, the ritual, mythological, doctrinal, ethical, social,

experiential and material, as evidenced in the social dimension of religion. These universal dimensions, allow religion to be studied as a single entity, all be it one expressed and experienced differently (Smart 1971, Smart 1989). This does not limit learners to a purely academic study of religion; it encourages authentic, first hand contact and interaction with religious phenomena; learning is not distanced, or always delivered through an expert intermediary (Smart 1989).

This approach to the study of religion uses intercultural (interfaith) means, to explore multicultural (multifaith) content, learning about and from religion, through contact and first-hand experience (Grimmitt 2000, Jackson 1997). It encourages the productive use of learning outside the classroom e.g., through visiting places of worship and is evidence of a shift in RE pedagogy, as well as content.

### Child centred

Such pedagogy may be accurately described as child centred, but this is not new or necessarily linked to content. Both, the Hadow Report (1933) and the 1944 Education Act, supported the teaching of Christianity in schools, but at the same time overtly espoused a child centred curriculum, extolling the virtues of learning outside the classroom and experiential, cultural, moral and spiritual education (Harrison 1970).

Before the 1988 Act became law, secondary school children were encouraged to apply Christian morals and Bible stories to their own daily lives (Loukes 1961); primary schools children to reflect on 'people who help us' before learning about 'Jesus as a helper'. This was intended to place the child at the centre of learning, while providing a grounding in Christianity, which could be then built upon through explicit Christian RE in secondary schools; a foundation on which young people could base subsequent choices, behaviour and actions as citizens (Copley 2011, in BJRE 2021, Goldman 1964, Loukes 1961).

Goldman and Loukes were arguably, the last widely influential academic proponents of teaching Christianity in state schools (Copley 2011, in BJRE 2021), their work spanning the period between the move from Christian to multifaith content (Moulin-Stozek and Metcalfe 2020). However, the child centred, interpretive pedagogy which they championed was appropriated by advocates of multifaith RE (Copley 2011, in BJRE 2021). The multifaith universalist approach, although focusing on connections and supporting religious belonging across divisions, like the pedagogy of Loukes and Goldman, was child centred and intended to prepare children for their present and future lives (Moulin - Stozek and Metcalfe 2020).

## Experiential

Such universalistic, child centred RE attempts to address the needs of children and young people at all stages of their development (WYAS 1966). It involves discovery, reflection, interpretation, response; provides opportunities for children to experience awe, wonder and mystery and to explore the spiritual, moral, social and cultural aspects of life, through interaction with religious phenomena; it is interpretive and experiential (Education Act 2002, Grimmitt 2000, Hammond et al 1990, Jackson 1997).

Such learning is particularly effective when located outside the classroom (e.g., in a sacred space) where there are valid opportunities for authentic contact, encounter and dialogue (Religious Education Council (REC) 2023). Experiential learning in alternative spaces, encourage children to reflect, interpret and respond to new experiences, in so doing increasing understanding of their own lives and those of others (Jackson 1997, Nesbitt 1998, 2004). Positive encounters with members of faith communities provides a deep seam of enquiry, enriching learning and contributing to spiritual, moral, social and cultural development (REC 2023).

Experiential RE goes beyond learning about, or the preservation of one or multiple religions (Hammond 1990, Hull 1996, Grimmitt 2000, Philips 2003, Kindermann and Riegel 2018, Wood 2019). It is concerned with individualised meaning, the notion of personhood and what it means to be human (Hobson and Edwards 1999). Through experiential learning a child's own views and ideas surface, allowing a degree of intellectual, moral and spiritual autonomy, facilitating agentic learning (Brillante and Mankiw 2015, Wood 2019).

## World views

Arguably today a study of religious belief alone does not go far enough, because as in the wider society, increasingly children in school have no formal religious belonging. Until recently this 'complex demography of religion and belief' was rarely acknowledged (Cooling 2020, p403). Children with no religion are often described as 'nones', which is neither useful or accurate (Purdam and Watson 2021). This suggests they have 'nothing' when in actual fact they have complex, diverse experiences, views needs and wants. Because they have no religious label they often find themselves unable to take part, or situate themselves within, debates and conversations about religion or diversity (Benoit 2019). The Commission for Religious Education (CfRE) argues that it is important therefore to:

explore the important role that religious and non-religious worldviews play in all human life. This is an essential area of study if pupils are to be well prepared for life in a world where controversy over such matters is pervasive and where many people lack the knowledge to make their own informed decisions. (CfRE 2018, p 3)

Religious and non-religious world views form a ‘kaleidoscope’ with ‘elements clustering in different patterns’ depending on context (Juan-Torres, Dixon and Kimaram 2020, p3). The omission of world views from RE then, is neither useful, nor presents an accurate picture of human experience.

There may appear to be a lack of universalism between non-religious and religious standpoints, but this is not the case. A child who does not believe in God, may still express his/her ideas when asked ‘What is the God like that you don’t believe in?’ (Hull 1990). The teacher is still able to capitalise on the shared universalism, derived from being human (Hobson and Edwards 1999). RWV is truly multicultural as opposed to just multifaith; it goes beyond interfaith debate and encourages intercultural dialogue. It offers an alternative to a curriculum, which presents religion as a rigid, unquestionable truth (Genc and Uddin 2023) and the reality of the transcendent and the spiritual as a given.

The inclusion of a study of non-religious world views provides a realistic contemporary lens – it is all too easy in a city like Bradford to grow up believing that religion is an important and defining aspect of everyone’s life. A study of RWV supports multiculturalism and ‘interculturalism by helping young learners to understand their own beliefs and those of others in the communities around them’ (Bolton, in BBIWY 2021, P4). Children are encouraged to recognise that the use of belief-based arguments (religious or ideological) to justify, discrimination, separation or even violence against people, are an unacceptable minority response to difference (BBIWY 2021).

### The Church and education today

Despite all the changes in the relationship between education and religion and a paradigm shift in Religious Education (Cooling 2021), as a member of the Religious Education Council for England and Wales the Church of England remains involved in the debate about religion in maintained schools (CRE 2023). There still exist schools which are both voluntary aided (funded by state and Church) and voluntary controlled (managed by the LA, but maintaining a distinctive Christian character) (Church of England 2024). These retain an emphasis on Christian teaching, beliefs and worship; most are linked to a parish church and clergy may be involved in the life of the school.

The 1996 Education Act stated that voluntary aided schools and those with a religious character (e.g., Jewish, Muslim or Catholic schools) may teach religious education other than in accordance with the locally agreed syllabus; the expectation is that this will be multifaith and reflect both Christianity and the other major world religions represented in Great Britain (Education Act 1996, ERA 1988). To this end each diocese has its own syllabus for RE (although academies may now use any syllabus they please). The Church of England continues to have a national 'Vision for Education'. This states that education should be for the 'common good' enabling diverse communities and individuals to flourish together. However, the vision remains set within a 'deeply Christian' context (Church of England 2016).

Therefore, although the relationship between religion and education has changed over the centuries, Christianity and national identity remain to a large degree conflated. The Church is represented in state education at every level, from the House of Lords to local SACREs. The school year remains based around the celebration of major Christian festivals and Christianity is still presented in legislation as 'first among equals'. In short schools still operate in country with a 'Christian' legacy and a national Church which continues to influence education and schooling.

## Summary

Multiple religions are usually a feature of multicultural societies and both nationally and in Bradford, this is a fairly recent phenomenon (Thomson 1991, 1997, Jackson 2004). The well-established relationship between the Christian religion, culture and national identity in the UK (Jackson 2014), has developed not just over decades, but centuries. This has resulted in Christianity being centre stage and Christian belief and practice (particularly that of the Church of England) informing (at times even controlling) the priorities, content and pedagogy of education and formal schooling.

Bradford's relatively recent large, non-White, Muslim community, and smaller numbers of Hindus and Sikhs have become *desh pardesh*, in a country which has historically seen itself as 'Christian'. Consequently they have experienced racism, linked not just to skin colour or place of origin, but to religion (Busher et al 2017, Din 2017, McLoughlin 2014, Quraeshi 2018, Riedel 2021, Runnymede Trust 1997, 2017). This has been aggravated by widely held incorrect assumptions about Islam (Thomas 2017), and negative attitudes and reactions towards other religions, particularly Judaism (Hansard:746, 2024, Lipscombe et al 2024).

In Bradford there is no doubt that religion remains significant; it has been to the fore throughout the city's multicultural journey. Contrary to the national trend, for many people religion remains important (ONS 2021). To tackle religious misunderstandings, and conflict the study of religion as part of a multicultural school curriculum is essential (Jackson 2004, 2013, Thomas 2017). If you know *nothing*, then it is possible to believe *anything* (Murphy 1987).

This does not mean that the continuing relationship between religion and education is uncontested (Stern 2020), but discourse, however difficult, is positive, even essential (Nodding 2015). It leaves the door open to change, and the continuing 'constructive development of purpose, methods and subject matter' (Dewey 1938, p22). This has already enabled religion in school to metamorphosis from Christian religious instruction, into phenomenological, interpretive, experiential education, with content reflecting the increasing plurality of religions and non-religious world views; providing a more accurate reflection of the 'demography of religion and belief' than previously (Cooling 2020, p 403, Peacock 2023). The content and pedagogy manifest in religion and world views education, adds much to a critical multicultural curriculum.

Although undeniably, nationally and locally, education remains inextricably linked with the Christian religion, Bradford has been progressive and willing to face the challenges presented by the presence of multiple faiths in the city (McLoughlin 2014). Religion and its impact on schools, has contributed to a distinctive Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom, underpinning its development and implementation, shaping its features, and providing a rationale for bringing religiously and culturally diverse children together, to learn outside the classroom.

## 7. Learning Outside the Classroom

A recurring theme in Bradford's experience as a multicultural and multi-religious city has been the emphasis on the need for contact between diverse individuals and groups at local level; both multiculturalists and interculturalists agree on this (Armstrong 2018, Cattle 2001, Ouseley 2001, Meer and Modood 2012). Allport's (1954) 'Contact Hypothesis' stated that under appropriate conditions, interpersonal contact was an effective way to reduce prejudice between majority and minority group members. In Bradford, responses to the local context and experience, has led to successful local initiatives which have brought people together, e.g., the 1983 Agreed Syllabus Conference; providing evidence that discussion, listening and conferring (even when difficult) has a positive impact on interpersonal relationships.

Although in multicultural classrooms cross-cultural and cross-religious dialogue may productively take place, reports published after the 2001 disturbances highlighted the value of moving learning beyond the school gates and into the community, allowing authentic encounter with that and those often seen as 'the other'. Successive Agreed RE syllabi encouraged interaction with the stuff, people and places associated with a religion; suggesting that learning outside the classroom could be profitably situated in sacred spaces.

Schools do not have a monopoly on education and learning (Stern 2018) and there is much to commend adventurous learning endeavours outside the classroom (Harrison 1970, Halvarson - Britton 2014). LOtC provides opportunities to learn, to explore and assert value in diversity, multiple identities and perspectives; to identify things which are shared and those which are different. LOtC is not subject specific, it may take place in a variety of spaces - cultural, religious, civic and natural. It may be located 'in the school grounds, on the high street, in the local park, in museums and art galleries, on mountain tops and rivers, in Britain's remote places, or elsewhere in the world' (Council for Learning Outside the Classroom Website 2022).

Moving outside into the real world, fosters curiosity about the place where children live, the wider world and its people, facilitating an understanding of continuity and change (DfE 2014). LOtC most importantly provides opportunities for 'dialogue with difference'; to clarify 'issues of existential and ethical interest and matters of personal significance' (O'Grady, 2019, p195, Halvarson - Britton 2014). Multicultural education outside the classroom which uses intercultural means, facilitates 'collaboration, alliances and negotiation of difference' (Church of England 2016, p2), often proving to



be one of the ‘most exciting, transformative aspects of learning outside the classroom’ (Waite 2017, p27).

This chapter considers how LOtC may be used to encourage collaboration, alliances and negotiation of difference across cultures. The Bradford projects storied in chapters nine and ten (The Linking Network (TLN), Stand up to Hatred (SUTH), Kokeshi: Stand up, Speak out, Make a difference! (KSUSOMAD) and the Community Heritage Volunteer Project (CHVP)), situated learning in alternative spaces. They brought culturally and religiously diverse children from across the city together, to learn from and about each other. This encouraged dialogue with difference (O’Grady, 2019), helped children to establish a common language and manage points of cultural divergence (Kingwell 2001, TLN 2022). With reference where appropriate to these initiatives, the use of space, the concept of emplacement and the idea of neutral and shared spaces are explored in this chapter, as are generic pedagogical approaches to LOtC, which may be employed, to encourage children to find ways to live together in diversity (Antonsich 2016).

### Space and place

Learning outside the classroom in an alternative space, is subtly different to learning in a place. Space is the complex container in which everyday life takes place and where ‘interrelations, as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny’ may be observed (Massey 2005, p9); these are open to multiple interpretations (Harvey 2009). Space is a ‘three-dimensional environment, in which objects and events occur’ (Harrison and Dourish 1996, p2), influencing behaviour, power and interaction; the influence of the space in which human interaction takes place, cannot be underestimated (Jobb 2019).

Space is more abstract than place (Agnew 2011, Tuan 1977), when space is given meaning (once it is better known and endowed with value) it shifts from space, to a being a significant place in the mind of an individual (Tuan 1977). Schools become significant places for children through familiarity and there is the potential for alternative learning spaces to become important places, particularly when contact with them is sustained (as between the CHVP participants and the Cathedral). The process through which a space becomes place is known as emplacement (Tuan 1977).

Hackett (2015) observed that children’s movements through museums demonstrated meaning making as an embodied process, enacted through ‘agentic movements’ during repeated encounters. As a result of this, space (after a conceptual mind shift) progressively represents an important and

meaningful place (Hackett et al 2016). Christenson (2003) asserts that this is replicable across children's spatialities. Therefore, it is possible for a previously unknown space to become a significant place for children, through engagement, encounter and contact.

## Culture

Space becoming place, through the process of emplacement, may be influenced by, but is not dependent upon culture, religion or world view. Spaces which provide 'an embodied encounter with identity and difference, inviting interaction, which is managed, but not fully controlled by, the usual pedagogical norms of the classroom' (Lundie and Conroy 2015, in Lundie et al 2022, p139), become places, through being imbued with significance. Although distinct or shared, both space and place often take on cultural significance and meaning (Tuan 1977).

The concept of a 'shared space' may be aligned to the notion of a 'third space', the idea of an inclusive space which provides a setting for culturally diverse citizenry to meet (Oldenburg 1989). Such spaces are 'repositories of shared memory, allowing for the mediation of conflict, which often appears in other societal spheres (Wohl, 2016). Citizens in Bradford share a home, a locality, but are diverse in religion, ethnicity, culture, politics and socio-economic advantage. Although not places where everyone subscribes to a shared set of values and beliefs (Wohl 2016), 'third spaces' provide a cultural platform for such diverse citizenry to recognise, value and navigate difference (Kingwell, 2001).

Because culture is not static but multifaceted, its many faces meet, diverge and blend, necessitating the ability for individuals and groups to learn how to operate in different cultural spaces and places (Massey 2005), switching behaviour and language codes when operating in 'different arenas' and with different people (Ballard 1994, p31). A 'third space' enables this process to be enacted in a space which is shared.

Culturally specific spaces exist gaining 'meaning through human action, through dwelling, through emotional attachments, through events and through memories attached to them' (Nairn and Kraftl 2016, p5). Religiously, culturally determined places (for example churches, gurdwaras, mandirs, mosques, synagogues and viharas) are 'invested with understandings of behavioural appropriateness, cultural expectations, and so forth' (Harrison and Dourish 1996, p3). They are inextricably linked to one group, and accessibility to outsiders is reliant on permission being granted, necessitating power geometries be negotiated (Massey 2005).

Where religious and cultural power geometries and boundaries exist, these are by no means universally accepted; they remain open to interpretation and shift and may be a cause of conflict (Massey 2005). During a multifaith gathering at Bradford Cathedral in 2019, a Muslim needed to perform namaz. I observed that this was encouraged by a number of Christians who were present, accepted by others and seen as wholly inappropriate by some. Although he had been granted access to a Christian space and welcomed, the complexity of the ways in which religious, cultural and social norms were interpreted, meant that the encounter was not without discord. This highlights, that diverse individuals and groups often remain relatively positioned in a culturally and religiously determined place (Kitchen 2016).

However, it is wholly possible for a space to be thought of as place, across cultural divides, to be shared and to assume importance to different groups and individuals (Wohl 2016). A young Muslim teacher visiting the Cathedral with his Year 6 class in 2019, explained that having visited himself as a child, the space had personal significance, he viewed it as a special place, a Christian sacred space, but common ground, not culturally, or religiously exclusive, but inclusive. A place for 'all Bradfordians'. This teacher's experience and his desire to replicate this for others, suggests that it is possible for a space to become a meaningful place across cultural divides and for emplacement to occur; the impact of the CHVP on participants (see chapters ten and eleven), reinforces this.

### Neutral or shared?

A common component across the retrospective projects (see chapter nine), is the use of 'neutral' spaces as venues where diverse children from across Bradford, could meet, play and learn together. The assumption being that there is the possibility of more meaningful contact and dialogue in a space which does not belong to one sector of the community and which is neutral in terms of not pertaining to the identity of the diverse individuals who are meeting.

Emplacement, other than in terms of allegiance to a shared locality, was not central to these projects. The 'neutral space' was a container where interaction occurred, but did not necessarily take on significance as a place. As I will discuss this is the major difference between these initiatives and the contemporary CHV project. In the latter the awareness of a sacred space as common ground, as a shared, third space (Oldenburg 1989) is central. In this instance *emplacement, the transference of space to place*, is as important as the interaction, processes and learning which occur in the space.

The idea of neutral space is interesting, as arguably if one situates learning in a space with no reference to identity, heritage or belonging then this is a false, or manufactured universality which necessitates 'losing one's self, not preserving it'. It may result in an 'empty respect for all', ignoring 'my particularity in the uniquely valuable project of living my life' (Kingwell 2001, p54).

The idea of shared space, however, focuses on both the self and the other, encouraging individuals to come together, to leave their solely private pursuits behind, interact, increase understanding and perhaps even arrive at consensus regarding the common good (Wohl 2016). The drive in both instances is to provide a space where agreement or a common language may evolve. However, as this seeks to:

resolve disagreements rather than simply eliminate them ..... at a fundamental level it is misconceived. Some ethical and political differences simply do not go away; some conflicts can never be resolved, only managed.

(Kingwell 2001, p 87)

### Alternative spaces

Whether situated in a neutral or shared space, LOtC is now a feature of education in the UK and central to successive multicultural projects in Bradford. Situating learning outside the classroom, enables curricular change; it exposes children to different people, worlds and experiences (Harrison 1970); in so doing employing a variety of 'objects' to aid learning, questions, tasks and activities (Ulich 2003). The 1944 Education Act supported a move towards child centred educational practice, championing learning outside the classroom and placing value on children having opportunities to learn in alternative spaces (Cook 2010).

Educators began to radically re-evaluate the purpose of education, moving away from an endeavour principally concerned with the acquisition of knowledge to a more holistic understanding that takes seriously the educational opportunities afforded outside the classroom environment: in the home; the youth club; and cinema; the museum; the library; and the church.

(Edwards and ap Siôn 2018)

Learning outside the classroom is often more practical and applied. It avoids overwhelming children with facts, or text based information (Harrison 1970), providing access to different worlds in an individualistic, immediate and intimate way. LOtC is experiential, a child may:

wander among strange and unfamiliar things and picture something of the life of those who use and make them: he can see things remote in time or obscure in purpose and enjoy them quite apart from their intellectual interest; he can thrill to the colours of a bird's wing or a fish's scales, to the craftsmanship of a fine pot or piece of glass, to the intricacy and power of a vast machine. All these can evoke a powerful response in the child.

(Harrison 1970, p13)

### Policy and guidance

Successive government policy and guidance, has encouraged learning outside the classroom, but stopped short of legislation, leaving the provision of such experiences for children firmly in the hands of schools and teachers:

It should be for schools to decide how to teach and what mediums to use to deliver that teaching. This includes learning outside the classroom which, like learning within the classroom, should be a matter for teachers' professional judgement and not something prescribed by central government or imposed on schools through bureaucratic requirements.

(Parliament UK, 2010:3).

Suggestions from the Council for Learning Outside the classroom and the Schools and Families Committee (2010), that an entitlement (in recognition of the importance of learning in alternative spaces) to one school visit a term for all children, should be built into the National Curriculum were rejected by the Government. However, teachers were encouraged to use activities outside the classroom, to provide a wide range of experiences to progressively build knowledge and understanding of subject disciplines and to systematically complement learning in the classroom (Parliament UK, 2010).

### Learning in sacred spaces

As discussed in chapter six, it is now relatively commonplace for teachers to switch learning from the classroom to a sacred space as part of the RE curriculum. Such spaces offer the potential for individualised and interpretive learning; for the virtual to be actualised, enhancing the acquisition of new knowledge and understanding, through contact with the phenomena of religion (Smart 1989, Semetsky 2010).

Visits to places of worship provide a point of encounter with religion. Centring learning on spaces, which embody the lived experience of religion, enabling imaginative engagement and contact with members of faith communities (Lundie et al 2022). However, it is not a given that visits are always positive and if they are poorly managed, passive or detached from experience, they can reinforce stereotypes (Kunzman 2006).

Arranging visits to local places of worship is not always easy for teachers. In primary schools non-specialist RE teachers may be uncomfortable and/or lack knowledge of protocols. Parents, for many reasons (personal religious conviction, antipathy, negativity towards religion, fear, prejudice, financial constraints, racism, Islamophobia) may be reticent to allow their children to visit places of worship. As with any LOtC experience, facilitators may not fully understand the purpose of a visit. They may fail to use appropriate language registers, or English language skills may be limited; some children may feel uncomfortable in a sacred space. Therefore, such visits are not a quick fix for community divisions; badly managed they might actually exacerbate existing difficulties (Kunzman 2006).

A successful visit to a sacred space requires a partnership between a school and a place of worship. Clear explanatory communication with parents (detailing purpose and content), effective preparation, the sharing of learning objectives and a willingness from children and facilitators alike, to confront challenging issues sensitively. It requires prior reflection and learning, providing a framework within which the space, may be understood as embodying aspects of human experience, culture and religion (Teece 2010). Such settings, have the potential to bridge an authenticity gap, to challenge preconceptions and misunderstandings. When interpretive learning occurs, when children are enthusiastic, keen to find out more about the motives for faith, encouraged to ask questions and to challenge and express their own views and beliefs, LOtC has the potential to be critically multicultural and to build bridges across cultural divides (Lundie et al 2022).

The importance of 'building bridges' through visits to places of worship and purposeful contact between children and adults was asserted by Cante (2001, 2015), in the DCLG Green paper (2018) and by the CRE (2023); Bradford's 1983 Agreed Syllabus pre-empted their recommendations. It included units on special places, places of worship and sacred spaces (the change in title and content reflecting age phase) and encouraged teachers to take children on visits to places of worship in the community (BMDC 1983).

Teachers who were nervous or found it difficult to organise such visits, were supported by the Interfaith Education Centre (see chapter six). A visit to a place of worship could be booked through the Centre; these were led by Faith Tutor facilitators. Consequently, visits to places of worship were not just identified as important, but were ‘actualised’, bringing RE content alive (Thomson 1997) and helping children to see commonality as well as difference in views, belief and practice (Hadwen 2006).

### Shared space

Wohl (2016) argued that shared spaces are important in achieving such understanding. She researched the importance of tea gardens in Turkey and found that these were held as special spaces and understood as common ground across religions and cultures. She observed that in the tea gardens, diverse identities occupied the same public sphere, suggesting possible coexistence (Secor 2004). This made it legitimate to imagine a peaceful multicultural future, with spaces acting as containers for social practice, including universal ones across religions (e.g., cathedrals which have a civic as well as religious purpose); helping to form bridges of understanding ‘between those who are otherwise at odds’. ‘In such spaces ‘if my’ belief and practice echoes ‘your’ belief and practice, if we are able to honour the same rituals and rites of everyday life, then it becomes increasingly difficult to identify you as ‘other’ (Wohl 2016).

Thus, situating learning outside the classroom is often a positive way to fulfil multicultural aspirations through intercultural means; providing opportunities for contact and to dissipate misunderstandings; space serving as a ‘container’ where unifying social practice may occur through contact (Oldenburg 1989, Wohl 2016).

### Changing spaces and changing places

Moving outside the classroom is not guaranteed to enhance learning, simply changing spaces is not enough. The way in which learning is framed is of the utmost importance. I argue that the extent to which normative classroom dynamics are altered and active, agentic participation is encouraged, matters (Hackett et al 2015, Hackett 2016).

In school, children are often cast in the role of passive listeners, learning from the expert adult, separated from reality by the artificial constraints of a classroom that is designed as a place for academic learning (Edwards and ap Siôn 2018, Illich 1971). Moving outside allows a shift in power between educator and learner (Brillante and Mankiw 2015). Any space is dynamic, a ‘sphere of

multiplicity' always under construction and reconstruction, this is as true of classrooms as of elsewhere. However, the binary teacher pupil power structure is perhaps more open to change in locations where power geometries are less rigidly structured (Anderson 2008).

Classrooms are hierarchical places, the authority of adults and the obedience of children being normative (Jobb 2019, Raby 2014). This limits children's agency and devalues previous experience. It often limits important contact and dialogue between children. Consequently, Edwards and ap Siôn (2018) state that a more fluid approach to the roles of those engaged in learning is advantageous and that stepping outside the classroom allows children to 'change places' in more ways than one (Waite 2017). LOTC can liberate children, power being more easily shared or negotiated, outside the classroom, making it possible for 'practices, discourse, rules and divisions of labour to change in ways that are desirable' (Waite 2017, p18).

Agency is strengthened when positive, purposeful interaction with the 'other' occurs (Cameron and Dewey 2021). This may involve child to child contact and child to adult contact, but also the process of interaction between children and the physical environment. This results in child led, agentic learning possibilities; through reconceptualising space as a co-constructed learning place, creating a shift in pedagogical stance and a vision of shared power, which allows the expert child to emerge (Brillante and Mankiw 2015). However, Jobb (2019) states such changes often meet with reticence on the part of both educators and policy makers; a statement supported by observations throughout SUTH, KSUSOMAD and the CHVP.

LOtC experiences which encourage a shift from the current prevalent culture of the 'expert teacher', (as championed in the government's current Initial Teacher Training Framework and Standards), are not always valued. In a system which emphasises modelling and teacher transmission of knowledge as the ideal (ITT Core Framework 2019, Teacher Standards 2011). There is little recognition of the importance of children having agency in their own learning. However, it is not just government policy or teacher training, which results in a positivist model of learning, but the ideology and normative expectations of teachers, who might see themselves as the sage on a stage.

Teachers are often reluctant to let power slip from their hands (Gundara 2000), particularly where outside perceptions of their professional practice, performativity and achievement of set targets, are important, primary considerations: 'I always worry about what people will think of me if my class misbehaves' (Primary Teacher, Bradford Cathedral, April 2024). Behaviour management,



safeguarding and the protection of children, may also be a concern, as these factors are harder for teachers to manage outside the classroom.

Co-constructed, agentic and child led learning, reduces predictability (in terms of learning, behaviour and outcomes) this is a worry for many teachers. When interpretive learning is encouraged, the presence of many views becomes obvious and a world of complexity and profound diversity is revealed (Pacitti-Ketchabaw and Pence 2005). This complexity needs to be navigated and negotiated and this is never straightforward. Teachers are often adept at 'silencing 'difficult' questions from pupils' (Lundie et al 2022, p 139). Changes in the pupil teacher power hierarchy restricts their ability to do so. This may be a concern for those who prefer to avoid confronting or discussing controversial issues, or taking a critical multicultural approach.

Langford (2010) noted that even educators who espouse a child-centred pedagogy often in reality enact teacher-directed ones; thus, making the traditional power imbalance explicitly observable due to the obvious contrast between what is theorised, and what is practised (Jobb 2019). This remains the case outside the classroom, undermining the opportunities presented for agentic and transformative learning (Lundie et al 2022).

In short, although arguably desirable, there is no quick fix to reconstruct power geometries, or to increase the confidence of teachers so that they feel able to instigate change. However, for those who dare to teach in ways which disrupt the binary teacher/child, power relationship, particularly when learning is situated in alternative spaces, the result is that children's interpersonal skills, confidence, knowledge and understanding (of the self, others and the place in which they live) are enhanced (Brillante and Mankiw 2015).

### Peer education and learning

The use of peer education (where children teach and learn from other children) is not new. The early nineteenth century monitorial system, involved a child, passing on basic knowledge to their peers (Turner and Shepherd 1999). This system of course did not challenge the power hierarchy, the monitors conveyed knowledge and modelled tasks, as received from the teacher, who was always in ultimate control.

This is a peer education model still employed in some instances. A number of Rewind, anti-racism sessions were observed in progress in Bradford in 2009. Throughout, teenage 'peer educators' read

from booklets provided by the youth worker facilitators (assuming the teacher role) to 'peer learners'. Although there was child to child contact, this remained little more than adult determined, knowledge transference. It left the traditional teacher/child power balance intact. There was a clear divergence between that which was theorised (the efficacy of participative, child led, child centred learning) and what was actually practised (Jobb 2019). Children teaching children, then is not always agentic. It is essential for the peer education process to have more than a veneer of difference, if the pupil teacher relationship is to be restructured and child led, agentic teaching and learning encouraged (Jobb 2019, Waite 2017).

### Informal and formal

Peer education may either be formal or informal. The latter involves children engaging in mutual learning through dialogue; sharing knowledge and ideas, playing and/or working collaboratively, to learn more about and from each other (Topping et al 2017). In informal peer education children experience a degree of agency because teacher exposition is minimised and dialogue between children maximised. This may encourage new friendships between children from different cultural and religious groups (Turner and Cameron 2016, Raw 2006). Mutual peer education provides purposeful opportunities at a basic level, for children to take responsibility for one-another and raises awareness of a shared humanity (Levinas 1964).

Formal, directional peer education is more structured but may still re-figure traditional approaches to teaching and learning. Where children are assigned a clear task, to 'pass on' learning to their peers (Topping et al 2017) and the purpose and process, although introduced by adults is participatory, this progressively shifts power and agency to the children involved. Designated peer educators collaboratively choose and mould detailed content and decide how best to engage other children. This process gives children choice and the experience of working collectively as part of a team with each other and alongside adults. Although the focus may be pre-determined, the detailed content is not dictated, there is no 'script to be learnt' and repeated. However, there is a structure and learning is not informal. The children are encouraged to see themselves as agentic learners, with power and control over their own learning and the ability to encourage these in their peers (Barrett 2012).

Directional peer education often creates 'a temporary or permanent disparity in information or skills' between peer educator and learner (Topping et al 2017, p2). However, as I will discuss presently, peer learners are usually still positively impacted by the experience (Barrett 2012,

Hadwen et al 2009). Although it is not a given that children will learn better as a result of peer education, peer educators are often able to pitch things at an appropriate level, employ engaging strategies and use shared language registers (Topping et al 2017).

Those who traditional teaching methods struggle to reach, often respond well not just to being taught by their peers, but when encouraged themselves to be agentic leaders of learning (Barrett 2012, Turner and Shepherd 1999). Placing them in a role with responsibility and kudos, gives value to their knowledge and experience, providing motivation for learning. Barrett (2012) stated about SUTH and KSUSMAD peer educators that:

The confidence and self-esteem, which grew in the most unlikely students in the group [from a Pupil Referral Unit] of peer educators was one of the lasting achievements. They thrived on the responsibility they were given and were able to interpret the exhibition to other school students in a creative way that teachers and adult guides would not have been able to do.

(Barrett 2012, p82)

Peer educators provide positive role models for children of the same age, younger or even older than themselves, encouraging their peers to want to take on similar agentic roles. For many it increases confidence in contact (Turner and Cameron 2016) and helps to develop the skills necessary to successfully navigate cultural difference (Barrett 2012, Hadwen et al 2009).

Peer education may of course be utilised in classrooms, but Waite (2017) suggests that there is more flexibility outside. Teachers' involved in multicultural LOtC projects in Bradford, have frequently asserted that the key to the success of peer education, is often locating it in an alternative space: 'They are amazing in this situation. They would never behave like this; they'd never be able to do this sort of thing in the classroom. They get so much out of this different experience' (KSUSOMAD Teacher, 2011).

I would argue that although there is little doubt that moving outside the classroom eases the disruption of the binary teacher/pupil power model and increases the possibility of children having agency, peer education may be just as successfully employed in school, if teachers have the will, the courage and the competency, to incorporate this into classroom practice.

Peer education constitutes a pedagogical shift which may be more powerful when it involves contact with spaces, places, things and people outside the classroom (Waite 2017), but this is not a prerequisite for its success, or the only way of facilitating children's agentic participation in learning. However, escaping the confines of school, gives children and teachers a licence to try something different, opportunities to be more autonomous and to reconstruct normative teaching and learning in a way which is profitable for all involved (Waite 2017).

### Choices

Learning outside the classroom facilitates autonomy, allowing children to 'take ownership'; 'field trips providing opportunities for free-choice learning' (Coll, Coll and Treagustc, 2018, p26). However, even beyond the school gates, learning takes place within certain parameters; free choice is rarely completely open ended or without boundaries. Particular spaces determine the level and nature of choice, the appropriateness of behaviour and activities; safeguarding and health and safety are understandably limiting factors. In addition, the external pressure for children to achieve the academic targets routinely used to classify children, their teachers and schools, all impinge on the possibility and practicability of offering children complete free choice (Ruddock 2004).

Choice and autonomy are important because they 'develop perspectives and capabilities which stand children in good stead beyond their schooling' (Ruddock 2004, p80), helping to develop the skills and understanding necessary to being active citizens (Roche 1999). Dewey argued that citizenship is important in formal education, because without emphasis on this, it is impossible to transmit the resources and achievements of a complex society (Dewey 1907, 1938).

Knowing what being a citizen means, the development of skills, values and attitudes and the application and active use of these in real situations is essential in multicultural communities, to move beyond passive coexistence, towards the change and agentic participation, as necessary to the restructuring of a just and cohesive society (Modood 2015, 2020, Cattle 2015). It is important that children acquire the attributes which will help them to be participative citizens. This includes making choices based on reason and experience, social agency and being involved in democratic debate for change (Gundara 2000). This experience enhances children's 'present and future ability to contribute fully to the 'common good of the whole human community and its environment' (Church of England 2016, p2).

## Performativity

The possibility of free choice and autonomy is severely limited by societal emphasis on academic achievement and measurable outcomes (Ruddock 2004). Successive governments have viewed structured learning outside the classroom as one way of raising achievement, a ‘powerful, approach to learning in which direct experience is of prime importance’; suggesting that LOtC should complement rather than challenge what happens in schools and be of use in ‘improving young people’s understanding, skills, values and personal development’ (DfES 2006, p1). ‘The quality of a school's learning outside the classroom should be judged by the results it helps the school to achieve’ (Parliament UK, 2010: 5). Ofsted has described learning outside the classroom as important in the provision of a ‘high quality, well-planned curriculum’ and in ensuring ‘quality and depth of learning’ (Ofsted 2008, p5).

Political and societal emphasis on achievement and academic attainment as the key purpose of education, wherever it is located, means that performativity is currently an undeniable feature of the education system (Peters 2004). External pressures (target-setting, Ofsted inspections, league tables, exam results, teacher performance management and accountability) often result in a failure to prioritise LOtC, or it being perceived as something impossible to implement, due to other pressures (Troman, Jeffrey and Raggl 2007).

Emphasis on results means that the dominant pedagogy ‘if it can be so described’, includes high levels of structured, teacher-led learning and whole-class activities; representing ‘a teaching method rather than a pedagogy informed by values and context’ (Waite 2011, p 65-82). Performativity culture is diametrically opposed to child centred, ‘holistic’ and experiential, education and learning. It is unconcerned with children’s power and agency (Brillante and Mankiw 2015), confuses ‘teaching with learning, grade advancement with education, and a diploma with competence and fluency, and with the ability to say something new’ (Illich 1971, p10).

Therefore, tension is evident between the largely child centred ideals of learning outside the classroom and externally controlled and directed education agendas (Jobb 2019). Teachers are caught between the ‘perceived risks of resisting a system judged by narrow assessment criteria and an apparent warrant to embrace self-determination and develop ways to enthuse learners in their particular context’ (Waite 2011, p65-82).

Situating learning in an alternative space is far from free of constraints, as LOtC is aligned to a deliberate, formal education system, with the power of prescription and control over what is learnt and an in built ability to inhibit innovation (Conteh 2003, Dewey 1938, Goodman 1971). Learning outside the classroom is, however, a step removed from the performativity agenda and therefore less concerned with interventions or the development of solely academic knowledge and attainment. It offers at least some degree of freedom for educators to encourage reflection, response and action and to focus on 'process' rather than 'product' (Hinchey, 2010, p42-43).

Teachers are often skilled at adapting to societal pressure and interpreting government policy and legislation; using existing narratives while drawing on earlier practice (Kastoryano 2018), in order to provide appropriate learning (Richardson 1992, Thomas 2016); in so doing negotiating 'the politically shaped educational landscape' (Waite 2017, p4). Teachers still have the ability to innovate and influence what is learnt, where and how (Stern 2018). Choosing, even when difficult to do so, to situate learning outside the classroom is one way in which teachers may be innovators, adding to their own pedagogical repertoire and acknowledging that 'schooling alone cannot educate the child' (Waite 2017, p4).

### Economics

Teachers may have the power to agitate for change and create opportunities, environments and relationships which remove barriers to learning, but they have much less control over socio-economics factors. For many children it is not just culture capital that influences access to education, but capital in the sense of disposable wealth. The possibility of poverty or a limited income, impacting on the equality of learning opportunity is real. Even when valued and seen 'as an integral part of the curriculum' learning outside the classroom is rarely free. Many schools have no designated funds for providing field trips and they are only too aware that some parents and carers do not have the means to pay.

Ofsted has asserted that schools need to manage their budgets to include the provision of learning outside the classroom, while schools argue for more funding (Ofsted 2008). Although successive governments have stated that LOtC is important, they have made it clear that central funding will not be forthcoming to help schools provide this (Parliament UK 2010).

We trust schools to make sensible and sensitive decisions about arrangements for visits which do not disadvantage children from less well-off families. Schools are free to subsidise

the costs of educational visits for less well-off families and may not, as a matter of law, charge for any visits that are being undertaken as part of the National Curriculum, or as part of preparing a child for a prescribed public examination. The school may, however, ask for voluntary contributions and may charge to cover the cost of board and lodging.

(Parliament UK, 2010: 4).

This has resulted in an impasse, which means that for many children, learning outside the classroom fails to be an option, thus, increasing not diminishing equality of access to education.

Ofsted's (2002) statement that Bradford is significantly more disadvantaged than most of England, with considerable variation in terms of affluence between families in the suburbs and surrounding villages and those on social housing estates and particularly 'in the inner city, where poverty, vulnerability to crime, and poor housing are significant features' (Ofsted 2002, p 5), still remains accurate. This means that there is the obvious possibility, which paying for children to participate in LOtC, is going to be difficult, even impossible for some families.

The disturbances in Bradford in 1989 and again in 2001, attracted some government funding to the city as did Prevent and the drive for 'stronger and safer communities'. BMDC partially funded successive multicultural learning outside the classroom projects through such sources (Hadwen 2009). This allowed children to participate free of charge. Organisations which routinely offer LOtC for schools in Bradford (e.g., The Linking Network, the Peace Museum, Bradford Museums and Galleries and Bradford Cathedral), have accessed funding via Prevent, the Arts Council, Ministry of Defence (MOD), Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), the Athena Swann, Gulbenkian and Pears Foundations (to name but a few); making it possible to keep costs to schools to a minimum.

Such funding reduces the possibility of a lack of finances being a barrier to children accessing learning outside the classroom (Barrett 2012), but fails to remove it all together. The Interfaith Education Centre (IEC) is now a BMDC traded service, so schools wishing to visit a place of worship, with a professional faith tutor facilitator, now have to pay. Bradford Cathedral currently has no fixed visit charge, however from September 2024, schools (so by default children), will have to pay to visit.

Most LOtC providers charge, but even when visits are well subsidised or free, schools still need to organise and pay for transport. This, combined with no central funding, government insistence that schools must manage already depleted budgets to include the provision of learning outside the

classroom and many parents struggling to make ends meet in a time of austerity, means that economic factors have a huge bearing on the possibility of children experiencing learning in an alternative space.

### Better or different?

If children are unable to access LOTC, they are excluded from experiences which have the potential to be different, less abstract, more applied and more real and alive for learners; opportunities which often increase knowledge and understanding at a deeper level than classroom activity alone (Waite 2017). Contextualisation makes learning outside the classroom distinctive and more effective, an adventurous endeavour for both teacher and child. One which has a powerful impact on those involved, adding something distinctive and meaningful to a child's education (Natural England 2022, Waite 2017).

This does not mean that LOTC is always superior to that provided in school; spaces having educational functionality is key to successful learning (Kellock and Sexton 2017), so if enough attention is given to appropriate pedagogy, in ways which maximise the potential of a space, classroom learning may be just as effective (Riegel & Kindermann (2016). It is not a given, that removing children from classrooms improves their ability to learn, although particular spaces are suitable for different kinds of learning, due to the functions and activities which they support. Successful learning still depends on the skills and competencies of educators (Raw 2004, 2006). Although it is possible for children to benefit from experiencing a range of locations, as appropriate to the educational aims, objectives and activities in which they are engaged, teacher and facilitator competency remains key to the success of such endeavours outside the classroom (Waite 2017).

There exists a profound qualitative difference in using primary resources in schools, and personally encountering a space, things, or real people. When exciting materials are brought into a classroom, or when a visitor is invited to work with children, learning occurs 'through direct experience', but this does not mean that children know or understand where these things or people are situated; they still have limited understanding of 'where they occur in the world' (Waite 2017, p3).

This necessitates experience and contact in authentic spaces, where through encounter and dialogue, personal, interpersonal and social skills, with transferable use may be developed (Michie 1998, Natural England 2022). This learning involves participation in the real world, theorising is replaced with knowledge gained through experience, which makes learning more engaging and



accessible for many (Kindermann and Riegel 2018, Wenger 2009). It allows real stories to be told, heard and understood (Gabriel 2019).

The way in which shared events influence ‘students’ learning attitudes, interests, and motivation’ varies (Nadelson and Jordan 2012, p1). For example, visiting a museum, gallery or cathedral may be a shared event, but each child’s experience and response will be personal and subjective. From the observer’s point of view, the experience may appear the same, but in fact it is specific to the individual, differentiated by outcome (Kindermann and Riegel 2018, p136). This does not just influence the acquisition of knowledge, but also emotional and affective learning outcomes (Ulich 2003).

The different space, ‘purpose, methods and subject matter’ which are often features of moving learning outside the classroom, offer alternative ways to engage children in the process of knowledge acquisition (Dewey 1938). This is important, because *if there is no change to normal classroom practice, then there is arguably no worth in stepping outside in the first place* (Waite 2017). Where LOtC is ‘different’, this results in learning being *better* than in the classroom for many children (Barrett 2012); contextualised, lived experiences resulting in transformative outcomes (Lundie et al 2022).

## Summary

Moving learning beyond the school gates, may be both different and better for children, but LOtC is not unproblematic. Success is dependent upon multiple factors e.g., appropriate space, theme or topic, teaching and learning strategies, socio-economic factors, parental opinion and the willingness (or reluctance) of teachers to step away from traditional classroom power structures. However, moving outside the classroom situates learning in authentic spaces in the real world; it encourages children to be curious about where they live, each other and about the wider world and its people, facilitating an understanding of continuity and change (DfE 2014). LOtC is not subject specific, it may be linked to learning across the curriculum and take place in a variety of spaces.

When spaces and content are carefully chosen, it is an effective intercultural strategy through which multiculturalism may be explored. Moving outside the classroom provides opportunities for exciting, transformative learning (Waite 2017), making it possible for children to engage in dialogue with difference (O’Grady, 2019) and to make inroads towards managing points of cultural divergence (Kingwell 2001). When it involves participation in local civic society, collaboration and the

negotiation of difference (Church of England 2016), learning outside the classroom has the potential to build belonging and promote community cohesion.

## 8. Learning in a Cathedral

As discussed in the previous chapter, moving outside the classroom situates learning in authentic spaces in the real world, in locations, which when carefully chosen, provide opportunities for children to ‘engage in dialogue’ with difference; learning to manage points of cultural divergence through exploring issues of existential and ethical interest and matters of personal significance (Kingwell 2001, O’Grady 2019). The Bradford model encourages this through situating learning in alternative spaces outside the classroom including museums, art galleries, the natural environment and places of worship.

Places of worship are often held by believers to be sacred spaces, geographical locations which instil and perpetuate a variety of feelings central to human experiences and activities (Finlayson 2012). These spaces offer a different sort of container for action (Massey 2005, Tuan 1977). Although not neutral, they have a unique capacity to encourage encounters with difference and to elicit powerful emotional experiences in those who visit (Finlayson 2012). Particularities may vary, but commonality of feelings extending beyond different denominational or faith lines are possible (Finlayson 2012, Riegel and Kindermann 2016).

As both a civic and religious building, a cathedral has an innate duality of purpose, it is both sacred space and common ground (Church of England 2017). Its inherent specialness as a Christian place of worship means it is identifiable with a single religion; a space which is separate to the everyday and mundane, one where spirituality and transcendence are to the fore (Muskett 2017). However, as a civic building, a cathedral also belongs to everyone in a locality, providing a space where collaboration, alliances, negotiation and ‘exciting, transformative aspects of learning outside the classroom’ may take place (Waite 2017, p27, Church of England 2016).

This chapter explores this further, considering the concept of sacred space and common ground, the changing role of cathedrals in a culturally plural society and the continuing relationship between cathedrals and education. It details the contemporary development, implementation and apparent impact of LOtC at Bradford Cathedral, suggesting that the form that this takes, is a response not just to national politics, social policy or discourse, but to the local context.

## Sacred space and common ground

The 2018 national cathedrals' conference 'Sacred Space, Common Ground' was held in Manchester. Its focus was on how cathedrals could remain wholly Christian, while also attracting people of all faiths and none (DCDP 2018). Cathedrals having multiple purposes is nothing new, as discussed in chapter six, they have a history of combining worship, local and national politics, education, social welfare and patronage of the arts (Colish 1997). This however has traditionally been in a Christian context. Increasing societal, cultural and religious complexity, means that the role of cathedrals, has become less straightforward (Reynolds 2018).

Although a well-used phrase, there is no one definition of sacred space; all space may be seen as equally sacred, because as God is everywhere His presence is evident in an indefinably special way wherever Christians gather. However, some spaces are sanctified, set aside for holy activity, usually the consecration and administration of the Eucharist. Because cathedrals are dedicated to a holy purpose, where transcendence is understood as a reality and worship, prayer, meditation and rituals are enacted (Smart 1971), they may be described as 'sacred spaces' (Church of England 2018).

However, this does not prevent cathedrals from also being understood as common ground, or being used by diverse citizenry as spaces where a meeting of cultures may occur. Cathedrals have a civic role; they are spaces where communities gather to commemorate non-religious events, anniversaries and where vigils take place; where diversity is evident and cohesion encouraged. Through this civic role, remaining socially active, with a clear purpose in a culturally and religiously plural society, cathedrals demonstrate that they not only contain history, but still have the capacity to produce it (Coleman and Bowman 2018).

More than just a 'shop window for the Church of England' where a passive majority become acquainted with religion performed by an active minority (Muskett 2016), cathedrals are places where both cultural difference and shared heritage may be explored; generating a sense of civic belonging and providing opportunities to maintain and value individual and group identities (Modood 2020). As both a special place where Christians worship and a civic space, a cathedral provides a useful gateway for multicultural learning, while still presenting Christianity as an important, extant religion, encouraging religious commitment in general to be seen, heard and taken seriously in both schools and the wider community (O'Grady 2019).

Increasing numbers of members of the general public visit cathedrals (Church of England 2017, 2018, 2019), for a variety of reasons (Platten 2012). The label Christian is not automatically attached to those who enter the space and anonymity is possible. To encourage those who do not usually interact with the Church, its buildings or Christians, many cathedrals hold non-religious events (Muskett 2016). These are important because 'the Church of England, perhaps Christianity as a whole' is increasingly seen as irrelevant (Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission 1985, p27) and ways need to be found to ensure that they are understood to be current, of interest and important.

Muskett (2017) found that visitor footfall increased when community activities were introduced, and that these didn't impinge on the spiritual purpose of the space. She observed that at a Christmas Tree Festival 'during the eating and drinking, music and dancing, and unabashed fun, clergy were perpetually in evidence.....mingling with the crowds, and plenty of use was made of the space set aside for quiet reflection and prayer' (Muskett 2017, p33).

Contemporary cathedrals increasingly offer activities pertinent to schools and the curriculum (particularly RWV), to general visitors (related to a broader religious and spiritual quest) and to the cathedral and diocesan community (related to church life and to faith development (ap Sion and Edwards 2012)). However, the menu of provision in many urban cathedrals and certainly at Bradford Cathedral, is much more varied than this summary implies.

Bradford's Cathedral recognising its duality as important and community engagement as essential, holds music events and vintage fairs and exhibitions reflecting life in Bradford. It takes part in national events such as Cathedrals at Night and Heritage Open Days. This increases visitor numbers, but also the possibility of 'a sense of common ownership and belonging' (Burrows 2016, p139), encouraging emplacement and shifting perceptions of the Cathedral from abstract space to significant place (Tuan 1977). The Cathedral's strong links with the non-religious heritage of the city, evident in the fabric of the building, its artefacts and artwork (e.g., William Morris windows, community memorials, the Khaki Alter Cloth, designs by Ernest Sichel and work by John Flaxman) is important, attracting people of all faiths and none to explore the building for their own purposes.

However, while actively and successfully encouraging non-religious engagement and also hosting multi-faith and civic events, the Cathedral remains more than just a heritage site, cultural venue or events centre. It is a place of Christian worship, fellowship and mission. Thus, the Cathedral is

involved in a complicated balancing act, straddling the spiritual, religious and the non-religious, in an attempt to be used and understood as both sacred space and common ground,

### A cathedral in a multicultural city

The need to achieve this is magnified by the location of Bradford Cathedral at the heart of a city where religion and religious difference is observable and important. The Cathedral is a very visible sign of the enduring presence of a Christian community in a city where over 30% of the population identify as Muslim. The first church was built in about 700 CE, near the broad ford across the Beck; a place where travelling people congregated and enterprising traders sold essential goods. Preachers had an audience and there was water for baptisms; making it a good place to erect a cross and build a church (Cudworth 1876). The market town of Bradford sprung up around the church; it became a city in 1897 and in 1919 the Parish Church became the 'Cathedral Church of Saint Peter'.

Today the majority of the congregation of about two hundred do not live in the surrounding multicultural, multifaith neighbourhoods (Church of England 1987, Bradford Cathedral 2022). However, the Cathedral continues to provide worship, bible study courses, training days for clergy, messy church for children, social events and fellowship groups, resulting in the Cathedral being a visible, active Christian presence, in a culturally and religiously diverse city.

The Cathedral is also involved in cultural, multifaith, social, civic and economic activity, reaching out to non-Christians (Church of England, 2017). It is 'well placed to exploit connections between the civic, cultural and spiritual' (Hansard 2012: 337) and to model 'fruitful encounters between faiths' (Church of England 2017, p3, Church of England 2023). Presence and engagement is important wherever a cathedral is located, not just in urban areas statistically defined as multifaith (Church of England 2016, Church of England 2023), but particularly so in the Bradford context. Engagement with people of all faiths and none is essential in supporting the creation of a strong integrated 'community of communities and a community of citizens' (Parekh, 2000, p56).

The Church of England recognised this when it designated Bradford as an 'urban priority area' back in 1985, highlighting the need for churches to work with others from across the district, to create a socially just community for people of all faiths and none (Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission 1985). In the 1990s the Bishop of Bradford had a multicultural advisor, whose main brief was Muslim and Christian relations; a Muslim, female Inter Faith Worker was employed in the early years of the twenty first century. The current Bishop of Bradford has a background in Islamic studies and has held

senior positions in the Church pertaining to interfaith relationships. Prominent in the Church's Presence and Engagement Strategy, he has been Chair of Trustees of TLN and Chair of Bradford's Stronger Communities Partnership. The previous Dean of the Cathedral had experience of working with Muslim communities locally and internationally.

The Cathedral was involved in building bridges across Bradford's communities, before and after the 2001 disturbances. Clergy and congregation members were part of the 'We Are Bradford' movement, who successfully worked together to avoid conflict, when the National Front and EDL targeted the city; presenting a united front against planned far-right anti-Muslim demonstrations in 2010, 2013 and 2015 (Hall 2013, Allchorn 2018).

Collaboration between different faiths in Bradford has been consistently evident (Bowen 1992, 1997, Thomson 1991, 1997), but 'We are Bradford', purposely involved dialogue and action, which transcended religious leaders, involving ordinary community members of all faiths and none, therefore mitigating previous failings (Bujra and Pearce 2011). The Very Reverend Jerry Lepine reflected that when he arrived in the city to take up his role in 2012, his predecessors had: 'worked really hard to deepen relationships between faiths. The Cathedral continues to work with faith communities across the city and we have a particularly strong connection with schools' (Lepine, Telegraph and Argus 2021).

Building bridges between communities is not straightforward; there is no fixed end point as the context is ever changing. It takes time to resolve disagreements and misunderstandings, so the idea that it is possible to simply eliminate them is misconceived (Kingwell 2001). In 2016 the Government's Green Paper on Integration and Cohesion, reinforced the importance of places of worship continuing to 'work in partnership with others to create strong, integrated communities, as well as to call out practices and behaviours likely to impede integration' (ICGP 2016, p16). This suggests that despite successive policies and interventions 'some ethical and political differences simply do not go away; some conflicts can never be resolved, only managed' (Kingwell 2001, p 87). In short, the management of diversity in multicultural contexts is an ongoing process.

### Dialogue with difference

Cathedrals provide opportunities for the management of this ongoing process, particularly when used as alternative learning spaces where children may engage in dialogue with difference (Kindermann and Riegel 2018, Muskett 2017, O'Grady 2019). Visiting a place of worship involves

contact with religious people and the different dimensions of religion (Smart 1989). It provides opportunities to address, widely held incorrect assumptions and misunderstandings about certain religions and concerns about religious segregation. It actualises the aspiration for children to learn about multiple religions and world views in an authentic setting (Jackson 2004, 2013).

The changing relationship between religion and education (see chapter six) has invigorated LOtC in cathedrals, casting them in a new and exciting (if challenging) role and involving a major shift in 'emphasis and expressions relating to education provision, leading to the emergence of a broader and more inclusive portfolio of activity' (ap Sion and Edwards 2012, p5).

Locating learning in a Cathedral provides opportunities to consider the possibility of a spiritual dimension and often engenders feelings of awe, wonder and mystery (Education Reform Act 1988, Education Act 2002, Morisy 2004). As a result of sitting quietly, 'chilling' and soaking up the atmosphere, children often respond in ways which suggest that they are aware of an otherness (Hull 1991). One year five child, sitting in the nave at the Cathedral, exclaimed in a stage whisper: 'Wow! I know why Christians come here now, its special'. Others commented: 'I love it, it feels er you know, um special', 'I feel really peaceful' (CHVs January 2022).

Such responses are a result of what Lundie et al (2022) describe as an authentic encounter. An open ended, personal, experience, which helps children to understand why someone might hold a place to be special; reducing the distance between the visitor and those for whom the Cathedral has religious significance. This is quite different to encouraging religiosity, or suggesting that Christianity (or indeed any religion) is to be aspired to; space for individual, responses to experiences providing opportunities for children to stand at the threshold of spirituality and worship of a transcendence, without ever being required or encouraged to step over (Hull 1989). This encourages engagement, provides a variety of opportunities for dialogue and to explore and clarify 'issues of existential and ethical interest and matters of personal significance' (O'Grady, 2019, p195).

Bradford Cathedral's LOtC programme aims to facilitate such individually enriching experiences and communally positive conversations (Hobson and Edward 1999). Through interpretative learning and the exploration of similarities and difference, fostering curiosity, a fascination with the world, its people and understanding of both continuity and change (DfE 2014, O'Grady 2019).



## Education

In recent years, the Cathedral has sought to engage with the ordinary members of Bradford's communities through establishing a strong connection with schools (Lepine 2021). The long established link between cathedrals and education has been reinvigorated by recent events, changes to curricular content and pedagogy (see chapter six). The Bradford District is 'dominated by younger age groups with the under-fifteen population forming 21.4% of the District's overall population, the fourth highest percentage in England (BMDC 2022, p1). A demographic which has informed the Cathedral's focus.

Post 2001 reports recognised education initiatives had already 'begun to break down parallel lives' in Bradford (Cantle 2004, p8). Multi-faith RE and children visiting places of worship, were cited as existing good practice. The Cathedral, then as now, offered visits to children, presenting itself as a living resource, where they could learn through authentic, situated, contact and encounter; not just a useful space in which to find out more about Christianity, but also one where diverse world views and religions could be explored; the emphasis shifting over the years from a limited focus on Christian belief and practice (learnt in isolation, to then be compared with other places visited) to reflect an increasingly complex, religiously and culturally diverse demographic; recognising religion as an integral part of the wider multicultural curriculum (Genc and Uddin 2023). This entailed using the Cathedral for much more than RE, using it to provide a space in which to explore the subjects of the National Curriculum (e.g., art, English, history, geography, music, citizenship) and to address cross-curricular themes and dimensions.

The current aspiration at the Cathedral is to provide inclusive, learning experiences; to acknowledge and utilise learners' prior experiences, knowledge, beliefs and views of the world; where possible orchestrating intercultural contact and exploring the shared values, heritage and history of Bradford. Its learning offer aims to promote equality, community cohesion and respect for all (Bradford Cathedral Website, March 2022), breaking down perceived and real barriers between culturally and religiously diverse people (CHVP Planning Document 2021, Turner and Cameron 2016).

The challenge inherent within this is to find ways to maintain the original purpose of the Cathedral, while welcoming those who see the world differently (Reynolds 2018); responding appropriately to the changing needs of the wider society, while remaining unapologetically rooted in the Christian faith. Consequently, since the 1990s the Cathedral has appointed salaried, part time education practitioners. Their role has been to develop and implement learning for schools, colleges and the

wider community. In 2018 two qualified teachers, with extensive experience of working in multicultural schools, colleges and universities were appointed. The Cathedral's then governing body, Chapter, wished to grow the number of schools engaging with and visiting the Cathedral and to strengthen relationships with the community through providing quality LOtC.

### 'This is your cathedral'

As will be discussed in chapter nine, an integral component of TLN, SUTH and KSUSOMAD is the relocation of learning, in an alternative, *neutral space, which belongs to no one*. This is common across the projects and points to the existence of a model. When LOtC is situated in a Cathedral, the space is obviously not neutral, it is culturally and religiously specific. However, because a Cathedral is a *shared* civic building, it may also constitute a 'third' space (Oldfield 1989). This is very different to a neutral one *denoting the space is of importance to many, rather than to none*. Although a point of divergence from the Bradford model, the purpose of the space remains the same, to allow contact and provide opportunities for individuals and groups to navigate difference (Kingwell, 2001); a physical inclusive space which becomes a valued place, for people of all faiths and none.

Unlike TLN, SUTH and KSUSOMAD, (where developing a local sense of place was important, but little emphasis was placed on particular settings), emplacement, feelings of ownership of and being at home are encouraged at the Cathedral:

Always remember Bradford Cathedral is your cathedral; it's an important place for everyone who lives in Bradford, not just for Christians; it's your cathedral. Do not forget, you are welcome here anytime!  
(Director of Education, October 2019)

This inclusive approach has been well received. In 2019 a total of 3,250 local children visited, compared to five hundred the previous academic year, in 2023 3,400 were engaged in LOtC at the Cathedral (Bradford Cathedral Annual Report, 2019, 2023). It should be noted that the number of school visits to cathedrals across the country grew in 2018 (Church of England 2018) and visits continue to increase, but even when viewed in this context, Bradford Cathedral's success in increasing engagement has been significant.

### Who visits and when?

LOtC currently takes place on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday during term time. The majority of children who visit are not Christian, most are Muslim (Booking Forms 2021). For example, from three

year three and four classes (thirty two, thirty five, and twenty five in each class) who visited the Cathedral in one week in October 2021, only eight children (when asked by the Cathedral educator) did not identify as Muslim; local Muslim independent schools regularly visit the Cathedral. Reflecting a third of Bradford's wider adult population, a large number of children who visit have no religious belonging or experience (other than that which they have encountered in school). A local Church school's 'Faith Council' visited in 2023 and one child confidently announced that he was not religious 'just so you know!' (Year 5 Child, June 2023). A number of local church schools (a high proportion of which have a majority non-Christian population) regularly visit.

The majority of schools are primary, smaller numbers of secondary and post sixteen colleges also visit. A small number of Early Years Foundation (EYFS) children experience the Cathedral, particularly at times of festival and celebration. Alternative education providers and schools for children with special educational needs and disabilities (SEND) also visit (Booking Forms 2019, 2020, 2021). In December 2021, the Director of Education recorded that over a ten-week period (October to December) 500 children and young people with 140 accompanying adults visited the Cathedral.

We had visits from fourteen different institutions - nursery, primary and secondary schools - with the children and young people enjoying their first trip out of school since the Pandemic struck. (Cathedral News, December 2021)

Aware of possible financial constraints, the Cathedral has always operated a pay as you feel scheme (guide £2.50 per child), which in reality is pay if you can. This is in an attempt to ensure that no child is excluded: 'The Cathedral aims to be accessible to all, regardless of financial circumstances. There is no fixed charge for group visits, but donations are always most welcome' (Bradford Cathedral Website 2023). Booking forms reveal that the majority of children who visited in 2018 -19, walked or used public transport, keeping costs to a minimum, suggesting that finance is at the forefront in schools' choices, when planning and organising excursions. It is possible that the Cathedral's inclusive pricing policy and accessible location in the inner city, has helped to increase footfall, preventing a lack of finance from being a barrier to learning outside the classroom.

Occasionally schools report reticence from some parents to allow their children to visit: 'We did expect to have more today (children), but some parents have not given permission. They didn't want them to come. We didn't want the others to miss out so here we are' (Primary School Teacher, November 2019). Usually, parents or carers who do not give permission are from the out-lying areas

and villages in the Bradford Metropolitan District, usually White and nominally Christian or non-religious. Opposition is not due to the fact that children are visiting a Christian sacred space, but that they are venturing into a multicultural (predominantly Muslim) locality. The view often articulated by teachers, is that the decision is based on prejudice and stereotypical views of Bradford's inner city communities (not least their perceived volatile nature); reaffirming that prejudice, misunderstanding and divisions, still exist across the city.

### What do they do?

LOtC content at the Cathedral includes aspects of the RE Agreed Syllabus, the Diocesan Syllabus, GCSE RE and post-16 programmes of study. Schools may choose from units of work specific to the Cathedral, the Christian religion and universal religious themes, for example signs and symbols, festivals and celebration, worship, call and response (Bradford Cathedral Website, 2022). Sessions with a focus on visual and expressive arts, literature, history and geography workshops are also offered. Bradford's successful 2025 City of Culture bid, has bolstered interest in children visiting the Cathedral as part of a multi-disciplinary, cross-curricular, district wide theme - 'Proud to come from Bradford' - (initiated by the local Galleries and Museums Service). Children also visit the Cathedral to explore aspects of citizenship, British values, SMSC and Prevent. The Cathedral offers themed sessions on Black History Month, International Women's Day, Holocaust Memorial Day, Interfaith-Week, Remembrance and Peace (Bradford Cathedral Website April 2022).

### Strategies for teaching and learning

A visit to any sacred space, has the potential to provide opportunities to explore humankind's experiments in living together; to help children to 'grasp the meaning and values of the plural cultures of today's world' and to learn something of 'the worldviews which underlie them' (Smart 1989, p9). However, the actualisation of this is dependent upon the teaching and learning strategies employed, by those leading the visit.

Contact with a place of worship and people who believe and do things which they may not, is not enough to increase children's self-understanding or knowledge of the other (Allport 1954). The exploration of questions from different perspectives is important, as is placing the child at the centre of the learning process (Bakhtin1981). Inclusive learning strategies are essential to move children beyond an academic study of the 'other' (Asare et al 2019, Jackson 1997, 2000). Interpretive strategies (drawing on a child's previous experiences to make sense of new ones) are essential in

removing distance and increasing familiarity with a previously unknown sacred space (Hackett et al. 2015, Hackett 2016).

However, very often visits to places of worship are led by faith representatives, e.g., clergy, faith leaders, volunteers, or in Bradford by 'faith tutors' from Bradford's Interfaith Team. Many are religious people first and foremost, providing valuable real experience of a religion in situ, but they are rarely teachers and ordinarily in their delivery, operate as the expert, expecting visiting children to be passive learners, relying on exposition to convey information about religious belief and practice, rather than using interpretive means.

Conversely, LOtC at the Cathedral is led by professional teacher practitioners, not faith representatives, it is interpretive and participatory. A multisensory approach is employed (Edwards and ap Sion 2018) and although trails around the building led by an adult form a part of most visits, these take place in small groups (a class usually being divided into three) and are interactive. The facilitators use child centred questions to encourage learning, to draw comparisons and highlight difference. They make links with religions and life stances other than Christianity, as appropriate.

**Child (A):** What's that called? Who goes in there? (pointing to the pulpit)

**Educator:** Good question. Does it remind you of anything else you have seen? It does me!

**Child (B):** It's like, erm, like where the man goes to, at mosque, on Friday.

**Child (A):** Yeah, that's it. Can I go in? Can I stand there? (child A climbs the steps and stands facing the nave)

**Educator:** Spot on, excellent; is the one at mosque called a minbar? (general agreement, although one or two unsure). This is called a pulpit. Can you say that? (all children repeat the word). It's where a priest stands to talk to the people out there (points to the nave and invites child B to go up into the pulpit, which they do). A priest's a bit like an Imam.

**Child (C):** It's like the same in't 'it? You know a bit like in mosque (general agreement); they're like the same, but a bit different!

(Year 4, RE visit, Signs and Symbols October 2021)

Visiting children dress up, handle artefacts, investigate, search for clues and help answer questions about the Cathedral and the city. There are opportunities to reflect, for self-expression through simple art and craft activities, to chat informally together and with Cathedral staff and volunteers. These strategies receive positive feedback from teachers and children alike:

A great visit that was hugely informative, led by welcoming and knowledgeable guides, who built great relationships with students and staff and who are clearly experienced at working with young people. (Secondary Teacher Feedback November 2021)

From start to finish our visit to the Cathedral was very interactive, useful and extremely enjoyable. Very age appropriate. (Nursery Teacher Feedback December 2021)

The session was really useful. It really helped with our topic on Bradford. The children learnt a lot about the city's history and loved doing the craft activity, with the feet, thinking about where everyone has come from, why people come here today and where they may be going. (Primary Teacher Feedback Spring 2019)

I'm an atheist, I still am, always will be, but its good here. Not what I expected. Everyone should do this. (Year 10, Secondary School Student 2020)

The way that Cathedral educators confidently talk about and use examples from other religions, is consistently recognised as valuable. Children's feelings of inclusivity and belonging and their development of cultural competencies, owes much to the confidence and expertise of those who plan, initiate and lead learning and their ability to skilfully navigate difference (Raw 2006). The cultural competency, religious literacy and ability to negotiate 'the politically shaped educational landscape' (Waite 2017, p4) of those facilitating learning, not only being the key to successful LOtC, but also providing a positive model for children:

My class were particularly impressed by the (staff's) knowledge of Islam (the religion of most of our children). This fascinated them and has led to many follow up questions. It also set a positive example, showing how people of different faiths can be respectful and knowledgeable about one another. (Primary Teacher Feedback 2019)

## Linking

In addition to its generic menu of learning, the Cathedral established a partnership with TLN, serving as a space in which children from different schools meet each other. Prior to Lockdown in 2020, 632 children and one hundred adults (twenty classes, from twelve schools) visited the Cathedral; engaging in dialogue based around the questions, 'Who am I? 'Who are we? , 'Where do we live? And 'How can we live well together?' (TLN Website 2022). Each Linking session involved pairs of children responding to the space and investigating the Cathedral. Together, collecting clues as to the history of the building, the city and its people. In pairs they then designed a heraldic symbol or shield for each other; discussing with their partner and as a group, what a city shield, representing twenty first century Bradford might look like; an idea that was then developed further back in school.



*Schools Linking at the Cathedral (c) TLN*

## Community Heritage Volunteers Project

The Cathedral also implements a stand-alone, longitudinal project in partnership with Lapage Primary School (see chapter ten). The Community Heritage Volunteer Project (CHVP) is currently in its sixth year. It developed as a result of the Cathedral's Heritage Lottery Funded (HLF) World War I Bells Centenary Project, which was intended to increase volunteers and local community engagement, including that of children and young people, in the heritage and life of the Cathedral (HLF Bells Project 2018). The aim being to promote inclusive educational values and citizenship, through volunteering; increasing agency, belonging, trust and cohesion (Liu et al 2021).



*Community Heritage Volunteers in Action*

The HLF Bells project, coincided with Lapage Primary School's citizenship lead teacher, approaching the Cathedral to see if children (aged nine and ten) could help at the Cathedral in some way, as part of a whole school active citizens project. Consequently, it was agreed to provide opportunities for year five children to act as guides at the Cathedral, initially for children from their own school and

then as volunteers at a community wide event. This was so successful that subsequently the project was extended to involve, volunteer guides from Lapage, working with different schools from across the Nurture Academies Trust - of which Lapage was a part - encouraging voluntary civic action and emplacement, through sustained interaction with the Cathedral.

### Informal learning and community engagement

The Cathedral offers informal trails and craft activities for children and adults, during school holidays. The vast majority who take part in these events, have no connection with the Cathedral (Director of Education statistics 2019, 2021, 2022); most are non-Christian, living in the area close to the Cathedral, many are Hindu and Muslim (Family Activity Sign in Sheets 2019, 2021, 2022, 2023). Each day attracts on average over seventy children and adults e.g., in February 2020 a total of seventy two individuals attended and in February 2022 eighty four (Director of Education Statistics 2020, 2022).

Families often visit because a child has already been to the Cathedral with their school and talked about what they have experienced. Conversations with adult participants revealed that:

He wanted to come; he was desperate to show me his Saxon cross and the stairway, something secret? He came with school. I've never been in a church before. It's lovely.

She loved it here, er when she came with school. I'm not religious me, but I can see why she liked it; it's a lovely building, really warm and welcoming. It's quite special.

I've lived in Bradford all my life and I've never been here, but they loved it, so I thought we'd come and have a look round. It's really nice.

(Children's Parents and Carers, Half Term Activities, February 2020, 2022, 2023)

These responses suggest that children's involvement in LOtC encouraged intercultural parental (and therefore community) contact and engagement with the Cathedral, helping to mitigate the possibility of multicultural education stopping at the school gate (Gundara 2008, Cattle 2001, 2014).

### Online presence

The Cathedral has a vibrant online presence, with a well-used website which contains dedicated education pages, digitised resources and downloadable material which may be used for pre and post



visit work. The Discover Bradford Cathedral Blog provides information about different parts of the building, artefacts and artwork linked to QR codes; there is an online 'virtual' tour. Additional online resources were produced during the Pandemic and good use was made of these during Lockdown. For example, website statistics for February 2021 recorded over 200 downloads of the 360-degree virtual Cathedral tour, in a single day (Communication Officer's Report to Chapter 2021).

### Lockdown

Before the 2020 Pandemic, the numbers of children visiting the Cathedral in 2019-20 looked set to exceed the previous year; 1,500 children visited from September to December 2019 and a further eight hundred from January to March 2020 (Education and Visitor Records 2019 -20), but LOtC had to cease due to the Pandemic in March 2020. Post Lockdown the need to reinstate a process which brought different people together, after an enforced period of segregation, seemed even more essential.

When schools reopened initially, the possibility of taking children 'out' into the community to learn in alternative settings, was just not possible. It was the autumn term 2021, before children could visit the Cathedral again. However, Lockdown provided an opportunity for the cathedral educators to reflect on what post pandemic times might mean for children. This led to new sessions being introduced to support wellbeing (Bradford Cathedral Website, 2021), to provide opportunities for reflection on the Covid-19 Pandemic and its aftermath, as both a collective and personal experience. This 'reactive' provision demonstrating a willingness to respond to real and immediate events and resultant potential needs (Cathedral Website 2022).

### Recognition

The design and significant use of the Internet, digital and online resources for children across key stages during Lockdown, resulted in the Cathedral being shortlisted for the Museums and Heritage National Award for the use of Digital Media (March 2022). Prior to this when Lord Bourne (then Minister for Religion) visited Bradford in 2018, he met with Cathedral staff (at the Central Mosque and at the Cathedral) to discuss current learning provision, with a specific focus on the Community Heritage Volunteer aspect of the Bells Project. This had been identified as a distinctive and positive initiative, successful in encouraging intercultural encounter, integration and cohesion (Hadwen 2018). Ofsted judged the project as outstanding in terms of active citizenship and SMSC (Lapage Primary School Ofsted Report 2020).

In the same year, the Council for Learning Outside the Classroom, awarded the Cathedral its Quality Mark. The Cathedral was also the White Rose, Yorkshire Small Visitor Attraction of the Year:

Despite the challenges a place of worship faces in engaging with a younger audience as well as the wider community, Bradford Cathedral has achieved this and more, through a variety of creative initiatives.

(White Rose Awards 2020: Visit Bradford 2020)

The CHV (2021-2022 cohort) were runners up in BMDC's Community Stars Active Citizenship Awards, due to their success in presenting 'the Cathedral as both sacred space and common ground' to other children and adults. 'The pride of the children in having an active role in their community is a joy', demonstrating that Bradford Cathedral 'is for all, no matter your background, faith or spiritual beliefs' (Telegraph & Argus, November 2022). In 2024 the Cathedral was showcased by the National Trust as being particularly successful in encouraging community participation through its Heritage Open Days; it was the only place of worship to be featured.

## Mission

This all produces a very positive picture of current multicultural learning outside the classroom at the Cathedral, but this must not be seen as evidence of universal acceptance of this approach. In any alternative learning space, negotiation is necessary in order to successfully navigate professional and personal ideologies and to achieve a common understanding of purpose. In a Cathedral there are a multiplicity of views about the content and delivery of education. Clergy deliver activities for the children who are members of the Christian community e.g., linked to festivals and special times, messy church, worship and also events for church schools. This is missional religious education and instruction, by Christians for Christians. It aims to propagate Christian belief and practice, the teaching of the 'national religion' remaining imperative (Silver and Silver 1974). In the recent past Cathedral missional education, has not impacted on the provision of non-confessional learning outside the classroom, or vice versa.

This said, with changes in staffing and leadership an increasing lack of universal understanding about roles, responsibilities and the purpose of cathedral education, have become obvious and consequently tensions are evident. Understandably there is an expectation among some, that education should be evangelical (or at the very least faith specific), playing a part in the 'mission of the Church' (Archbishop's Commission on Cathedrals 1994, Shaw 2013). Some believe Cathedrals to

be well-placed to respond to the rise of secularism and non-religious world views, to awaken in and assist people in recognising their sense of God (Morisy 2004). For many the idea of being inclusive, in the light of a changing demographic is an alien concept:

I'm sorry I don't understand. Surely the information would be the same for everyone.

As a professional Christian, I see my purpose as sharing the Christian faith. Isn't that the Cathedral's primary role?

(Member of Clergy, 2021)

Although on the whole, education for audiences who have different purposes and destinations in mind, remain separate, there are occasions when this important distinction becomes blurred. A primary school leavers' service exemplified this.

Two of the schools who attended were majority Muslim (one attending the event for the first time – they didn't return); others were mixed in terms of religious belonging. Non-Christian parents often choose to send their children to a school with a particular religious' character and accept the Christian ethos of the school, understanding that children will be involved in some overtly Christian religious education; that they will be taken to the threshold of worship, but will not be required to step over (Hull 1989). However, the two schools in this instance are the only ones in their area; the local communities they serve, are majority Muslim, hence the schools' populations; there is no choice for parents. This means that the dynamic is different, necessitating a shift in the way the institution's religious character is demonstrated and shared.

The leavers' event was in essence a Christian children's religious service, it assumed Christian knowledge and allegiance, making no reference to the diverse belief and practice evident among the participants. It was led by an evangelical band. Stories, prayers and communal hymns referred to following Jesus and Jesus accompanying the children on their new journey. Four Muslim children read out their own prayers (no mention of Jesus here); when they finished no reference was made by the person leading, to the similar use of Ameen and Amen, or to the centrality of God in both religions. On leaving, each school was offered a bag of New Testaments, one for each child and each teacher. Although this was at the instigation of an outside organisation, members of clergy and Chapter had internally decided that this was acceptable.

Christian bias in a service for Church of England Schools, although not unsurprising, was in the circumstances inappropriate. The education team pointed this out before and after the event. Most children did not join in with the prayers and hymns and were obviously uncomfortable. The experience was exclusive not inclusive; it was reminiscent of colonial 'missionary work' when conversion to Christianity was 'at the epicentre of the British Empire' (Gearon et al 2021, p1). This approach simultaneously ignored and devalued 'the other' (Bartlett and Burton 2012, p282-283). It demonstrated clearly, Allport's (1954) observation that not all contact between diverse groups or individuals is positive. Poorly conceived and managed, such encounters may reinforce rather than bridge divisions (Cameron and Dewey 2020).

This incident exemplifies a lack of synergy in aims and sensibilities between professional educators and professional Christians with ecclesiastical power; the idea of the space offering a place of welcome, hospitality and encounter for all, being interpreted completely differently by the latter and the former. This suggests a need for dialogue between those with legitimate ownership of the space (Chapter, clergy, the congregation) and educators, in order to arrive at a negotiated, shared vision of good practice.

## Summary

Bradford Cathedral's involvement in district wide community cohesion initiatives and its success in bringing diverse people of all faiths and none together in one place, for a variety of purposes, illustrates that there remains an important role for cathedrals in religiously and culturally plural societies. As a Christian place of worship, it is identifiable with a single religion, however, it also belongs to everyone in the city, providing a space where collaboration, negotiation and transformative aspects of learning outside the classroom may take place (Church of England 2016, Waite 2017).

For the majority of children walking through the doors of Bradford Cathedral, begins an encounter with difference; an experience which encourages them to explore 'issues of existential and ethical interest and matters of personal significance' (O'Grady, 2019, p195); making inroads towards establishing a common language and the management of cultural divergence (Kingwell 2001). LOTC at the Cathedral is currently firmly grounded in the local context, reflecting the multicultural city in which the building is located. The provision of community, contact based learning is overtly intended to help children to develop a sense of place, to build belonging through interaction with others and encourage participation in the local civic society.

The continuing multicultural narrative has resulted in a cathedral curriculum which reflects ‘a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races that make up our society’ (Banks and Banks 2007, p5). This is a response to societal change and an observable increase in religious and cultural diversity (Thomson 1991); it recognises and addresses the realities faced by children growing up in a confused, troubled and sometimes dangerous world (Banks and Banks 2007); increasing the possibility of community cohesion, through bringing diverse citizenry together (Cantle 2004, Hoskins et al 2012, Liu et al 2021, Wohl 2016).

Because of its emphasis on local context and bringing children together from across the city, education at the Cathedral is aligned to a wider Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom. Its provision (particularly the development and implementation of the CHVP), points towards the existence of a distinctive framework for learning, which in the main is shared with the projects detailed in the following chapter. Contemporary learning outside the classroom at the Cathedral is innovative and transferable, supporting Bowen’s claim that Bradford has something of importance to share with the rest of the world (Bowen 1997).

## Part Two – Case Studies

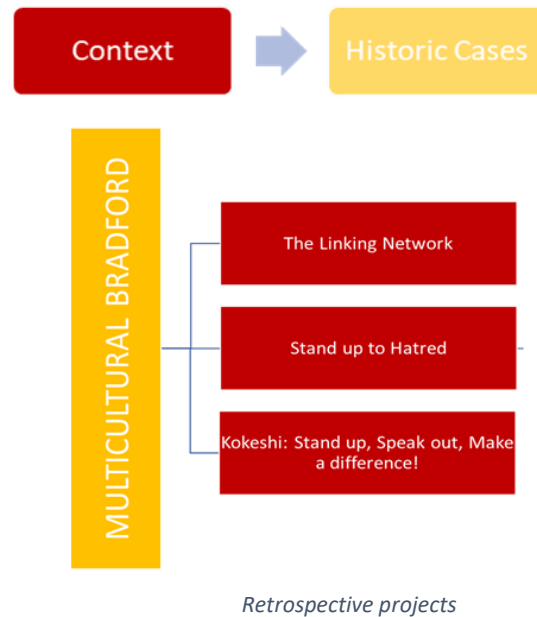
In this section, I story the development, implementation and impact of four projects, considering each one separately and chronologically. I explore three retrospectively and the fourth, a contemporary initiative, through qualitative, interpretive research in the field. Through an iterative process, I use the recurring themes identified in my literature review, as a lens through which to view and analyse these cases, allowing comparisons and generalisations to be inferred and highlighting the possible implications of my findings, for future praxis and further research. In so doing providing new knowledge and insights into the concept of a Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom.

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### 9. The Retrospective Cases

Learning outside the classroom (LOtC) although not unproblematic, through situating learning in authentic spaces in the real world, may provide opportunities through contact and interpretation, to establish common understandings and to help children to manage points of divergence (Kingwell 2001). Therefore, it is a useful component of a critical multicultural curriculum. Community based learning, helps develop a sense of place, building belonging through interaction with others and participation in local civic society. It increases the possibility of community cohesion (Cantle 2004, Liu et al 2021, Hoskins et al 2012), through encouraging ‘collaboration, alliances and negotiation of difference’ (Church of England 2016, p2). Carefully managed, it may reduce prejudice between majority and minority group members (Allport 1954), enhancing understanding of the self and others and allowing new meaning to be constructed (Wohl 2016).

This chapter stories the development, implementation and impact of three historical multicultural LOtC initiatives - The Linking Network (TLN), Stand up to Hatred (SUTH) and Kokeshi: Stand up, Speak out, Make a difference! (KSUSOMAD). These innovative projects, like education at Bradford Cathedral, may be understood as constituting informed responses to the local Bradford context and the city’s experience of cultural and religious pluralism.



I consider each of these initiatives chronologically; drawing heavily on existing information and on personal knowledge gained through involvement, as an observer and a participant observer. I referred to personal notes made at the time, teachers' resources, children's work, planning documents, reports, feedback and evaluations (see page 38-39). In each case the storying of the project has resulted in a 'thick description' (Geertz 1973); making it possible to identify shared codes and themes, highlighting similarities and differences across cases (Clarke and Braun 2006, Goodrick 2014, Starman 2013, Silverman 2000).

TLN, SUTH and KSUSOMAD, were partially designed and implemented in response to the findings and recommendations of the three main reports (Cantle 2001, Denham 2001, Ousley 2001), into the causes of the community disturbances in Bradford. Originally all three were funded through BMDC and Education Bradford (a private subsidiary of SERCO, tasked with acting as the Local Education Authority). They used money from central government sources to fund education projects and curriculum initiatives, which the aim of removing barriers and building bridges between individuals and groups, perceived (particularly by external observers) to be living 'parallel lives' (Cantle 2001).

The projects were in rooted multicultural education, but their shared emphasis on contact and dialogue between culturally diverse people, 'face to face' contact ('rapport face de face') to increase both knowledge about others and self-understanding (Levinas 1964), was loosely based on Allport's (1954) Contact Theory. Therefore, they employed intercultural means, to effect change (Meer and

Modood 2012) and to encourage individuals and groups from 'contrasting backgrounds to live together harmoniously' (Bowen 1997, p116), as a thriving community of communities (Parekh 2000).

TLN, SUTH and KSUSOMAD built upon initiatives which had gone before (see chapters five and six), therefore, they may be understood as part of a multicultural education continuum in Bradford. Although conceived and implemented as individual projects (Raw 2004, Hadwen et al 2009, Hadwen et al 2010) the initiatives were not developed in isolation and several members of the teams who designed them, were aware of, or worked on all of the projects. Barrett (2012) described all three, as examples of 'peace education' in practice.

The projects' content and strategies were not just affirming and inclusive of cultural diversity, they were critical of inequality, prejudice and discrimination, encouraging children to envisage solutions, rather than to take sides. The aim was to make children feel accepted and valued, but to move them beyond this point, to a position where they critically confronted the less than positive realities of pluralism, through providing opportunities to respond to inequality and prejudice, through words and action (Gundara 2000, Guzman et al 2016). Straddling legislation, policy and the moral purpose of education (Richardson 1992), the three projects attempted to piece together fragmentary, often presented as opposing (Kastoryano 2018) yet related discourses, to create positive, child centred, multicultural content while utilising intercultural strategies; thus, demonstrating in practice the interrelatedness of multiculturalism and interculturalism (Boucher & Maclure 2018, Kymlicka 2016, Meer and Modood 2012, Modood 2015, 2017, 2018).

Initially, post Cantle's (2001) identification of communities in Bradford living 'parallel lives', segregated due to differences in culture and religion, emphasis was placed on bringing Pakistani heritage Muslim and White non-Muslim children together in neutral spaces, outside the classroom. The early Schools Linking Project received criticism for excluding children from Black and ethnic minority communities and members of other religions (Kerr et al 2010). The later projects SUTH and KSUSOMAD, widened participation. However, they did not ignore the importance of the possible consequences of Muslim and non-Muslim misunderstanding in the city, the link between religion and racism, or the need to reduce the possibility of future conflict; these remained central to the purpose of the initiatives (Hadwen et al 2009). Each project had an implicit focus on religious education, providing opportunities for children of all faiths and none, to interact and learn about and from each other.



## The Linking Network (TLN)

The Schools Linking Network (2001 – current) started life as the Schools Linking Project; it is the earliest of the three cases and a direct response to the 2001 disturbances and the suggestion in the Cantle Report (2001), that school ‘twinning’ would help reduce polarisation. However, ‘school linking’ actually predates these events by almost twenty years. The idea of partnering schools was a feature in Bradford as early as 1982, with schools pairing up across the district and across towns and cities in the Yorkshire and Humber region.

The Schools Linking Project formalised an extant way of working in primary schools. It was based on an existing successful linking model. Two primary schools one located in Girdlington, a predominantly Pakistani, Muslim area of the inner city, the other in Eldwick, a small nearly exclusively White, rural, village, had formed a link (initiated by the schools’ head teachers). This involved children corresponding, then meeting each other, playing and learning together. Education Bradford’s Diversity and Cohesion Service set up a team to develop a pilot scheme based on this. The idea was to provide opportunities for contact and interaction between children from different school across the city, who otherwise would be unlikely to meet; it was an attempt to decrease prejudiced attitudes and misunderstandings and increase community cohesion (Brown and Hewstone 2005, Cantle 2001). The purpose of Schools Linking, was to address the problem of ‘monocultural schools’ (Home Office 2001, 35), which in Bradford were also usually ‘religiously divided’, majority Muslim or majority non-Muslim. Cantle (2001) highlighted the absence of interfaith contact, as a significant problem in the city contributing to social divisions (Casey 2016). Linking then had its roots in a policy discourse surrounding school segregation and ‘community cohesion’, which imposed a single view of what was needed ‘in all communities to enable different groups of people to get on well together’ (DCLG 2008, 10, Peacock 2023).

It implied the failure of and a move away from multiculturalism, towards interculturalism, with an emphasis on a universal approach, contradicting the latter’s usual insistence on the need to focus on the particular rather than the general (Armstrong 2020). This approach also ignored the fact that communities are rarely neatly divided (even in Bradford) into two opposing camps. The reality is that people ‘come together in different formations depending on the issue at hand – much like the pieces of coloured glass in a kaleidoscope which cluster in different patterns as the instrument rotates’. This helps inoculate ‘against one of the most dangerous dimensions of polarisation, which experts describe as ‘conflict extension’ – when members of a group converge across a range of issues’ (Juan-Torres, Dixon and Kimaram 2020, p3). Taking a universal approach fails to acknowledge the huge

range of cultural differences which exists even across one district. It ignores that where we live (even within one city) makes a difference to the way we see the world and skews our ideas about people. (Shannahan 2018).

As Smart (1989) argued, understanding different religions and non-religious views is essential if myths, misinformation and stereotypes are to be challenged; Bradford's successive Agreed Syllabi for Religious Education and its Interfaith Education Centre were attempts to help children to learn more about the wide range of religious differences and commonality in the city (Thomson 1997). However, taking a narrow focus on just Islam and Christianity, as inferred in the Cattle Report (2001), does not reflect the range of world views or the reality of the 'demography of religion and belief' (Cooling 2020, p 403). Contact-based linking with such a narrow base, even when intercultural friendships were reported (Raw 2006), or an increase in religious knowledge demonstrated, failed to accurately capture the religious and worldview plurality of the programme's participants. Contact is better when decategorised and not limited by the idea of bringing two named groups together (Peacock 2023). In fact, the idea of mono-cultural schools is in itself problematic, based on a false premise, ignoring those which do not fit this model and excluding many children who are equally in need of contact with others from across the city (Kerr et al 2010).

However, despite such criticism, in general the early Linking Project pilot was judged a success (Raw 2004, 2006). It provided a structured framework, aims and objectives, resources and set way of working for Linking Schools, supported by a designated team of advisory teachers. These support mechanisms meant that the idea was actualised quickly, with the minimum of disruption to schools.

### A framework for Linking

Essentially the basis for Schools Linking was Contact Theory (Allport 1954, Turner and Cameron 2016), the premiss being that children could best learn about each other through interaction and dialogue. Initially, the Linking Project focused on children in Year 5 and classes from two different schools, linking across a whole school year. Each 'pair' worked with Bradford Museums Service, who provided a neutral venue, a facilitator and creative activities (Raw 2006). This later expanded to include other 'neutral venue' providers, for example outdoor centres, civic buildings, the Cathedral and independent museums. The work outside the classroom was initially funded by Education Bradford and Arts Council grants, which meant that the issue of cost did not impinge on school participation (see page 146).

Children (after initial written contact) met along with their teachers and support staff outside school, at a neutral venue, in order to work and play together. This meeting always had a clear shared purpose (e.g., participation in a workshop at Cartwright hall resulted in the creative retelling of the story portrayed in the painting the Emigrant Ship, by C J Staniland). Children were engaged in 'mutual peer learning', where they had a degree of agency, not least because teacher exposition was reduced and dialogue between children maximised (Topping et al 2017). The use of an alternative learning space, not only exposed children to different people, worlds and new experiences (Harrison 1970), it encouraged contact across cultural divides, encouraging interaction in a community space which did not belong exclusively to any one group.

Through work and play with a partner from another school, it was hoped that new friendships would be established. In an attempt to mitigate a multicultural 'sheep dip' approach, contact (after the initial meeting) continued over time; children were involved in written correspondence; they spent a day in each other's schools with their new 'friend' and then finally a community celebration event concluded the year's Linking experience, with parents and carers being invited. The Linking Project was reviewed yearly and judged a success; evaluations claimed that Linking had a positive impact on many aspects of children's skills, attitudes, perceptions and behaviours, particularly their respect for others and self-confidence (Kerr et al 2010, Raw 2004, 2006); positively broadening the social groups with whom children interacted. Consequently, Linking continued to be expanded across the district over the next five years (TLN 2023). Four key linking questions, Who am I? Who are we? Where do we live? How do we all live together? were introduced, but other than this addition, the basic linking framework remained consistent until Lockdown in 2020, when it temporarily became a virtual experience.

### Changing with the times

In 2007 the Schools Linking Project became the Schools Linking Network (SLN), an independent charitable organisation. This allowed a variety of funding streams to be accessed, including funds held by the Department for Children Schools and Families (DCSF) and the Pears Foundation, making it possible to launch a national Linking programme, overseen by the SLN.

Bradford's experience of context influenced multiculturalism, highlighted that a universal way of working 'in all communities to enable different groups of people to get on well together' (DCLG 2008, 10, Peacock 2023) was unlikely to work. Consequently, TLN's approach was to a focus on the particular, not the general (Armstrong 2020); accepting that when transferred to a different location

and context, Schools Linking needed to reflect the local communities' needs and wants. Consequently, Linking was adapted to fit the situations of the participating authorities and led by local teams, rather than governed centrally.

In 2012, the SLN changed its name again, becoming The Linking Network (TLN) (Kerr et al 2010). The number of participating schools steadily increased. By September 2019, 226 primary and secondary classes and 3,000 children were engaged in Linking across the Bradford District. By 2021 schools in a further 29 LAs were involved (TLN 2021). Although the government pledged to continue to support 'approaches that promote social mixing between young people in schools and colleges, such as the Schools Linking Programme' (HM Government 2019, p13), in recent years the level of central funding has decreased as has local financial support from BMDC.

However, the TLN's offer to Bradford schools and others across the UK, seems set to continue due to an £800,000 'Community First' Lottery Grant, secured in May 2024. This grant funding is in no small part due to the fact that TLN has been consistently identified as a form of successful 'contact theory based work' and as progressive practice, which has had 'impact at ground level' (Thomas 2017, p3). The TLN has been reflexive and reactive, responding to changing societal factors – the media, screens, local, national and global events; all of which influence children's lives and their receptiveness to meeting those who are seen as being different (Busher et al 2017).

Popularist politics, world events, Brexit, nationalism, the London Bridge attack, the Manchester bombing, perceived refugee crises and conflict in Ukraine, Israel, Palestine and Afghanistan, continue to influence children's perceptions of others, relationships and the effectiveness of contact. Raw (2006) noted that in the aftermath of the 2005 July 7<sup>th</sup> London terrorist attacks:

Children who had generally positive feelings about their link partners were more attuned to the impacts of the bombings on cross-cultural relations, and these children's openness to mixing was heightened accordingly. On the other hand, children who already had any fragile or negative feelings, doubts, fears, insecurity or hostility towards their link partners, found that these fears intensified their negativity or fragility, and their openness to mixing was diminished accordingly (Raw 2006, p 14).

TLN's response has been to provide CPD and resources to support teachers; adapting the Linking focus so that it addresses current issues; continuing to provide valid opportunities for exploration,

discussion and the expression of different perspectives, in an increasingly confusing and volatile world (Ajegbo 2007).

### Evaluation and impact

Early evaluations of the TLN found that outcomes were variable; not all children changed their attitudes or behaviour as a result of Linking, 'where prejudice was originally the strongest is where it has remained the strongest' (Raw 2006, p37). Encounter alone didn't guarantee confidence in contact (Turner and Cameron 2016) or that children would be more receptive to diversity or building new relationships (Allport 1954). Children often struggled to transfer a positive Linking experience to new situations (Raw 2006).

Poorly performing Linking and negative experiences were usually due to limited teacher understanding, commitment and involvement, influencing the quality of interaction (Raw 2006); implying that teachers' professional and multicultural competencies were the key to success (Davidson et al 2018, Lynch 1986). Linking is a participatory process, so teacher negotiation and discussion is essential. There is much to consider, for example, which space to use and why, how to encourage contact, interaction and how to pair children. Raw (2006) identified that when neutral venue facilitators were not competent cultural navigators themselves, outcomes were often far from positive (Kerr et al 2010, Raw 2006). Teacher feedback highlighted concerns about relinquishing control to facilitators (Jobb 2019). Teachers identified the reasons for this as being fear of poor quality provision and a lack of knowledge about the purpose of Linking among facilitators (Turner and Cameron 2016, Raw 2006).

I observed Linking sessions outside the classroom, prior to and during the course of this research. Where there was little positive interaction between children from different schools, this was always distinguished by a lack of teacher involvement and facilitators failing to encourage children to interact, or to intervene when negative attitudes or behaviours surfaced. One White child pointedly, folded their arms and turned their back on a Pakistani heritage child when asked to sit with them. The facilitator ignored this and at no point did any teacher from either school intervene. My observations reaffirmed not only that teacher commitment and involvement is essential, but that contact alone is not enough to break down barriers (Allport 1954, Turner and Cameron 2016); bringing children together in an alternative, neutral space, is not a given for success. Learning outside the classroom, requires initial thought and careful engineering on the part of teachers and facilitators if it is to have other than superficial impact (Waite 2017).

Many schools now link in Year 3, rather than Year 5, due to SATs, performativity and external pressures, holding sway in upper key stage two. Thus, the level of interaction and discussion may not be as deep, contact remaining at a more superficial level. This is not to suggest that it is unimportant or lacks value; it is just different, offering what Thomas (2017) calls a 'soft approach' to community cohesion through contact. However, secondary schools are now also involved in Linking and there is a programme for schools with a religious character (Hadwen 2020, Interfaith Network 2019), plus intergenerational community Linking has recently been successfully introduced.

Positive evaluations of TLN are often framed within contact theory (Peacock 2023). They conclude that Linking increases 'knowledge and understanding, skills, attitudes, dispositions and behaviours, particularly those concerning self-confidence and self-efficacy' (Kerr et al 2010, p7). In schools where one cultural or ethnic grouping predominates, there is often a marked 'increase in the number of cross-cultural friendships' that children are able to identify (Raw 2006, p15). Linking's positive impact has been described as 'multidimensional', with children demonstrating 'greater levels of self-confidence, empathy and appreciation of diversity' (Shannahan 2018, p39) through participation. This is particularly the case where contact is sustained and longitudinal, (Ajegbo 2007, Cameron and Dewey 2020, Kerr et al 2010, Raw 2006). TLN aids social cohesion amongst young people, through allowing children to mix with others 'from different backgrounds (and) many different religions'. This opens up the possibility of a 'wealth of different conversations' and greater understanding of the self and others (Cameron and Dewey 2020, p 9).

### Postscript

Learning outside the classroom in an alternative, neutral space remains an important component of the TLN process, as does an emphasis on religiously and culturally diverse children, from different schools playing and learning together. TLN has responded over the years to different political and social agendas, which has allowed it to draw on a variety of funding sources and influenced content (e.g., prompting a focus on SMSC, British Values and citizenship). TLN has pragmatically and successfully, used different language and responded to contemporary research and policies, while continuing to implement the original multicultural model of linking. Its purpose has remained constant for over twenty years: *'to develop and deepen young people's knowledge and understanding of identity, diversity, equality and community'* in order to find ways to *'live together well'* (TLN Website, January 2023).



*Linking at the Peace Museum © Ben Chalcraft*



*Linking Celebration Event 2013 © Ben Chalcraft*

### Stand up to Hatred (SUTH)

Stand up to Hatred (2008-2009) was developed in partnership with the Anne Frank Trust UK and designed around their exhibition Anne Frank + You (Education Bradford 2009). Its multicultural content, looked specifically at difference and how perceptions of this may lead to prejudice, discrimination and even to acts of genocide. It overtly explored the causes and results of radicalisation and violent extremism (Barrett 2012). SUTH focussed on encouraging children to take a position where they critically confronted the less positive realities of pluralism and responded to inequality and prejudice, through words and action (Guzman et al 2016). In particular it asked children to reflect upon issues that they felt were centrally important in Bradford and to suggest what they might be able to do to effect change.

The project acknowledged the government directive for schools to actively promote Community Cohesion (DCSF 2007). This centralised emphasis on community cohesion, was a result of the findings of the reports into disturbances in Bradford and other northern towns (Cantle 2001,



Denham 2001). Through its critical, multicultural focus, SUTH acknowledged 7/7, the relatively recent 2005 terror attacks in London (perpetrated by four young men from West Yorkshire) and the Prevent strategy. However, its starting point remained the local Bradford context, interpreting recent government policy and guidance for schools through this lens. Consequently, it focused on community cohesion, developing a strong respect for diversity, promoting equality of opportunity and inclusion, and acknowledging inequalities; in so doing, exploring shared values and encouraging children to actively engage with others to understand what they have in common (DCSF 2007).

This was not a 'soft' approach to community cohesion or Prevent (Thomas 2017). It was transparently a vehicle which exposed, rather than obscured, divergence of opinion; stressing through multicultural content, explored outside the classroom, that to discuss, resist, confront and appropriately challenge, is as important as reaching agreement (Bakhtin 1981).

### A different demographic

Like TLN, SUTH placed emphasis on the importance of positive cross-cultural contact. It involved children from different schools meeting together, in neutral spaces outside the classroom, but the schools involved were representative of those across the whole district. It did not just involve mono-cultural schools, it engaged a more diverse population, a 'kaleidoscope' of children, young people and adults (Juan-Torres, Dixon and Kimaram 2020). This said, some of the lead schools were identified by Education Bradford, as being in need of targeted multicultural work. One had failed an Ofsted inspection due to inadequacies in preparing children for life in a multicultural society, another was experiencing high numbers of racist incidents and one was a fee paying, private co-educational grammar school, isolated from the local community in which it was situated (Hadwen et al 2009).

A total of fifty nine children (spanning years 6 – 10) plus a drama group of twenty, from these four Bradford secondary schools (three comprehensive, one private) and two primary schools (one rural, one inner city), became the key players in SUTH, working with numerous children from other schools, over one academic year. All the schools involved were representative of the considerable socio-economic variations evident across the Bradford wards (see page 95), located both in areas of affluence and in those known for economic poverty, crime and poor housing (Ofsted 2002). The children involved captured the religious and worldview plurality of Bradford, therefore decategorising contact and presenting an accurate picture of diversity and religion across the district (Peacock 2023).



### Key features

Multicultural content was a key feature of SUTH, but intercultural strategies, were employed, as evidenced by the emphasis on contact and dialogue. The *majority* of contact between children, occurred in alternative community and civic spaces; containers where events occurred and interrelations, influenced by interaction, could be observed (Harrison and Dourish 1996, Harvey 2009, Massey 2005). Moving outside the classroom made it possible to progressively shift multicultural education away from subject based learning, conveyed via a third party, towards a more process driven model, involving children as agentic learners (Brown and Halverson 2005).

SUTH was constructed around peer education, some of this, as in TLN, was informal, 'mutual peer learning', but predominantly involved directional peer education and learning (Topping et al 2017). Children were tasked with passing on knowledge to others. The process involved power and agency being transferred from teacher to child. The volunteer peer educators collaboratively chose and moulded content, deciding how best to engage peer learners and where appropriate, adults.

### Volunteering

The schools from which peer educators were drawn were predetermined by Education Bradford, the children who took on the role were not, they volunteered. However, the final decision about which volunteers were allowed to become peer educators (where there were more volunteers than places), remained with individual schools. Altintas Namli and Karaaslan (2019) state that in Western cultures effective citizens are often defined by a willingness to improve society through volunteering (Liu et al 2021). Research suggests that there exists a 'virtuous circle' between volunteering and cohesion, each promoting the other; helping or supporting others appears to increase feelings of cohesion; volunteering to stop harm or negative behaviours (as in Prevent) is associated with perceptions of a lack of cohesion (Abrams, Horsham and Davies 2023). When volunteers interact and negotiate within a community, doing things together toward a common goal, they negotiate new meanings and learn from each other's experiences (Liu et al 2021). SUTH encouraged children to voluntarily engage in conflict resolution, develop respect, and balance self-interest with the common good; in so doing exploring identity, heritage and belonging and engaging in civic participation and political socialisation (Hoskins et al 2021).

## Anne Frank + You

SUTH deviated from TLN in its focus on a single, cross curricular theme - Anne Frank and the Holocaust - and was based around the Anne Frank + You multi-media, travelling exhibition. The exhibition focused on the Nazis' rise to power across Europe in the 1930s, racism, extremism and the persecution and murder of Jews and many others. It also had a contemporary focus, exploring the experience of child soldiers in Rwanda, the murder of Stephen Lawrence, Johnny Delaney and racism in football; challenging children and young people to think about issues not just then, but now.

The Anne Frank Trust UK encouraged the LAs which hosted the exhibition, to produce locally appropriate resources for teachers with clear links to the National Curriculum and RE, to encourage schools to engage with the challenging subject matter. Bradford's Diversity and Cohesion Team worked with local teachers to design and produce resources (Stand up to Hatred 2009), which were distributed free to all Bradford schools. There was also no charge to visit the exhibition, enabling schools with depleted budgets and parents struggling to make ends meet, to take advantage of the opportunity for their pupils to learn in an alternative space (see chapter seven).

Teachers influence the experience of children, they 'cannot be separated from the curriculum' (DES 1985a, page 11). Those who 'dare to teach' (Richardson 1992) need to be confident and competent, able to bridge 'impermeable, cultural, ethnic and religious borders, envision new possibilities, invent novel paradigms and engage in personal and visionary action' (Banks and Banks 2007, p5). If children are to learn about multiple cultures, beliefs, values, religious traditions, world views and the importance of a just society, then it follows that teachers need this knowledge too (Arday 2020). To this end CPD was provided prior to the Anne Frank + You exhibition, again at no cost to schools.

## Process

The volunteer peer educators came together initially at the Interfaith Education Centre (IEC) for two days, to get to know one another, share experiences, ideas and knowledge and to explore the life of Anne Frank. Critically evaluating the experiences of growing up in Bradford, allowed them to voice concerns about racism, which they associated with religious identity: 'People don't like Muslims in my school. They call them Pakis' (Year 9 Peer Ambassador 2009). One of the biggest debates was around Gypsies and Travellers and the murder of Johnny Delaney (a contemporary link to the Nazi genocide of Roma Gypsies).

Many of the peer educators, although against racism, were still negative about Travellers and Gypsies. The Anne Frank + You exhibition, featured a newspaper report which stated that one of Johnny Delaney's murderers had said that Johnny's life didn't matter, because he was 'only a Gypo'; this proved to be a catalyst in challenging such views. One peer educator was very anti Traveller, but discussion about this story with his peers (mutual peer education) had impact, helping to change his attitude and increase his understanding of racism:

It's just as bad to be racist to Gypsies isn't it? It's no different to when people call Xxxx names. I get annoyed then. I didn't know 'Pikey' was racist. It's the same though. Just wrong. You can't be 'only a Gypo'. (Year 9 boy, Ambassador Training 2009).

The exhibition was divided into zones and the peer educators were tasked with deciding which one would be theirs and who they would work with. In pairs they were asked to decide for themselves, how to present information about the content to peer learners, in a way that would resonate and have meaning. The peer educators met for a second time at the City Learning Centre and then again in one of the secondary schools, to produce short videos based on the Anne Frank + You questions: Who are you? Free? H8U! Wanna Fight? The video clips formed part of the teachers' resource. They compared and contrasted, Anne's experiences then, with the experience of growing up in multicultural Bradford, focussing on human rights, responsibilities and violations. Finally, they spent a day at Cartwright Hall Museum and Art Gallery, to familiarise themselves with the exhibition in situ, to try out and refine their ideas.

In TLN, on the whole, the traditional adult/teacher, child/pupil relationship remains unchallenged, proving frustrating for some participants: 'The teachers get in the way. They're stealing our precious time for getting to know each other!' (Raw, 2006, p26). SUTH attempted to shift power and control towards the peer educators, increasing agentic and transformational possibilities (Brillante and Mankiw 2015). The adult team were facilitators, they had a supporting, rather than leading role. Referred to by first names, they were part of an intergenerational team; decisions about the main task - preparing and presenting ideas and information to other children and adults - were negotiated (Barrett 2012). Peer educators and facilitators met regularly to reflect, share experiences, achievements and to decide what needed to happen next.

### Anne Frank Ambassadors

The peer educator volunteers, officially became Anne Frank Ambassadors in January 2009. Their work began with adult members of the community at the Anne Frank + You exhibition launch at Cartwright Hall. They spoke or performed, at the opening event and then acted as exhibition guides, to 200 invited guests. Subsequently, they worked with a minimum of two classes a day (often four, plus visiting members of the public) for a least two days, over the exhibitions one month run (Tuesday to Friday). Peer learners took part in a workshop led by a facilitator and then visited the exhibition (or vice versa). The peer learners moved from one zone to another, to be taught by pairs of Ambassadors.



*Primary school children with Anne Frank Ambassadors, visiting Anne's room at the exhibition Spring Term 2009.*

### Peer learner and visiting teacher feedback

There appeared to be a disparity in the acquisition of information and skills between peer educators and learners (Topping et al 2017). However, peer learners were positive about the exhibition experience and articulated their desire to be peer educators: 'How do they know this stuff?' 'They were really good. I loved Anne's room, that bit was great, they made it fun'. 'How do you get to be an Ambassador?' 'Can I do this?' (Peer Learners 2009). When younger children taught older children (e.g., Year 6 leading learning for Year 8) this unusual dynamic further challenged the perceived image of the expert teacher (Barrett 2012) and met with praise from peer learners. One Year 8 pupil remarked (referring to a Year 6 boy explaining about the Franks being forced to hide), 'He's really good. I don't think I could do that. I need to up my game!'

Teachers who attended were asked to complete a questionnaire on the efficacy of the project. Their responses indicated that peer learners were subsequently keen to talk about issues around equality,

diversity and cohesion back in the classroom, and that participants' knowledge was enhanced (Hadwen et al 2009). Teacher praise for the Ambassadors was universal:

They were able to relate issues of today's society along-side the life of Anne Frank and encouraged them (the children visiting) to think about their own lives and their actions.

They listened attentively (visiting children) and were more interested because other children were doing the teaching. I'm amazed how well they did.

(Teacher Feedback Anne Frank + You 2009)

### Speakers' corners

SUTH concluded with combined Speakers' Corner events held in a number of schools. The Ambassadors acted as comperes, children from schools across Bradford, shared music, drama, artwork, dance and poetry, inspired by their experiences at the exhibition. The peer learners took centre stage to share their ideas and knowledge, balancing the tendency for peer educators to benefit disproportionately from the SUTH experience (Topping 2017). These community hub events made it possible to continue to explore the SUTH themes; multicultural content and intercultural contact, creating feelings of joint enterprise and cohesion. Through civic participation, children didn't just acquire knowledge *about* citizenship (Hoskins et al. 2012, Hoskins and Janmaat 2019), they were empowered to suggest ways and means in which real-world problems might be addressed and to put these ideas into practice. As agentic learners, they were able to act and to be effective citizens, in their schools and local communities (Pontes et al. 2019).

### Impact on peer educators

Peer educators expressed feelings of enjoyment, empowerment and transformation. Their subject knowledge increased, in history, religion and citizenship. They stated that they knew more about the causes of conflict, inequalities and prejudice. According to both verbal and written feedback, they valued most the skills they acquired through the process (BMDC 2013), their increased confidence in their ability to engage with and talk to children and adults in school and the broader community: 'I feel that I can stand up in front of the whole school now and tell them about this. They need to know!' 'I was nervous at the launch and didn't stand up to speak. Having done this if the launch were tonight, I'd stand up and do it!' 'I now have a lot more confidence with people I don't know', 'This is important, I'm feeling it', 'I made new friends from different schools'. It was just great; we'll stay friends now. I've never met so many people!' 'It's important to speak out, to say what we feel and to tell others about it' (SUTH Evaluation, 2009). The Ambassadors expressed the belief that as Bradford

citizens they had the power to effect change (Liu et al 2021). Perhaps most tellingly they wanted to continue the work: 'I want to teach others how to be an Ambassador', 'I want to pass it on' (Anne Frank Ambassadors 2009).

The Ambassadors were invited to speak at Bradford's Holocaust Memorial Day event 'Bradford Remembers' and at the University of Bradford's 'Rosa Parks Symposium'. Thus, addressing with some success, Gundara's assertion that multicultural education must have salience for the wider community (Gundara 2000). A Civic Reception for the Ambassadors was held at the end of the 2009 academic year at City Hall. I was introduced by a small group of Year 10 children to their parents at this event. The children from the private grammar school (near Manningham) had been socialising with others from one of Bradford's comprehensive schools (near Holmewood). They had visited each-others' homes and consequently their parents already knew each other and were socialising at the civic reception; forging links between children, outside school in the wider community, had impact across the generations, successfully reinforcing and extending multicultural learning beyond the school gates (Gundara 2000).

Education Bradford reports and evaluations claimed SUTH demonstrated the worth of a model of multicultural learning outside the classroom, which involved *purposeful and social contact* between children who would not normally meet, involving them in active and therefore effective citizenship (Altintaş and Karaaslan 2019). Peer education with content and delivery determined by children not adults, proved to be an incredibly powerful tool (Barrett 2012, Topping 2017). It successfully removed the teacher as intermediary, the process itself allowing collegiate working and genuine intercultural (and intergenerational) relationships to develop (Barrett 2012, Raw 2006, Cameron and Dewey 2020).

SUTH like TLN, was sustained, there was continuity over time and the participants valued this. Learning was enhanced by the longitudinal nature of the project and prolonged contact between children. This resulted in lasting friendships, and an increase in personal and collective confidence. The latter meant that the peer educators felt at ease in and were able to navigate successfully, different cultural situations (Raw 2006, Ang et al 2007). Through their actions, they showed civic

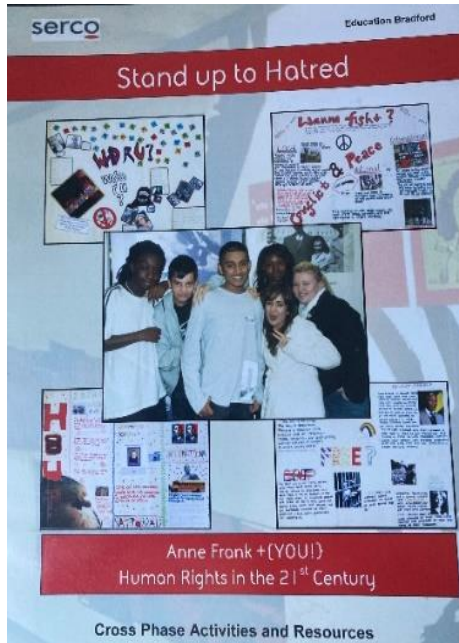


Ambassadors at the Exhibition 2009



responsibility and a willingness to work for the benefit others. They demonstrated a desire to make a positive contribution to society, to assume leadership and help their peers (Altıntaş and Karaaslan 2019), successfully effecting change proportionate to their ability to do so (Liu et al 2021, Miller 1999, Modood 2015, 2020).

## Recognition



*The Anne Frank +You Teachers' Resource*

In recognition of the Ambassadors' work the Anne Frank Trust UK gifted an offspring of the 'Anne Frank' tree (mentioned in Anne's diary, one of her few links with the outside world), to the people of Bradford. The sapling was planted in the grounds of Cartwright Hall (Education Bradford

The Ambassadors were invited by the Anne Frank House, in Amsterdam, to spend a day there as VIP visitors. They presented the Stand up to Hatred resource pack to the curator. They received a national award for their work, from the Anne Frank Trust UK, presented to them at the Houses of Parliament in London. The Ambassadors received a civic reception at Bradford City Hall, attended by local VIPs, their parents and community members (Education Bradford 2009).



*Ambassadors at the Civic Reception with the Lord Mayor (c) T&A, Summer 2009*

2009).

## Postscript

Stand up to Hatred was shaped by the Bradford context and generic discourse around multiculturalism, interculturalism and community cohesion. It shared The Linking Network's focus on helping children to find ways in which to live together well (TLN 2022). Taking a critical and developmental approach and drawing on what had already been learnt (Dewey 1938), it synthesised aspects of previous practice into a new project. SUTH through multicultural content and the provision of opportunities for intercultural contact outside the classroom, encouraged positive 'dialogue with difference' and allowed participants to explore multicultural content and 'matters of

personal significance' (O'Grady, 2019, p195). It helped peer learners and educators, to recognise commonality and to manage points of divergence (Kingwell 2001); encouraging them to see themselves as citizens, with agency; able to speak out for their sense of belonging, interests, democratic values and equality (Altıntaş and Karaaslan 2019).

Situating learning in alternative spaces provided opportunities for new and exciting shared experiences, allowing children 'from different backgrounds (and) many different religions' and none to meet and interact, thus, opening up a 'wealth of different conversations' (Cameron and Dewey 2020, p9) and benefitting both individuals and the wider community.

### [Kokeshi: Stand up, Speak out, Make a difference \(KSUSOMAD\)](#)

In June 2009, as SUTH drew to a close, the Anne Frank Ambassadors submitted a written request for the project to be extended, stating 'more people should do this' (Ambassador Letter to the Diversity and Cohesion Team, June 2009). This demonstrated that their confidence extended beyond the confines of SUTH and their role within the project, showing their willingness to lobby those in power, and to operate as active citizens (Liu et al 2021). This supports the idea of a 'virtuous circle', a causal relationship between volunteering to help, helping, and offering to help again; volunteering had engendered a desire to continue to participate in civic action and to encourage others to volunteer to do the same (Abram, Horsham and Davies' 2023).

However, extending SUTH was no simple matter. The Anne Frank + You exhibition, was booked in other localities and therefore was not available for use in Bradford. Funding was also an issue, as arguably part of SUTH's success was that it was free to schools at the point of the delivery (see chapter seven) and was supported by quality free CPD and resources (Barrett 2012). That said, Education Bradford's evaluation of SUTH was positive (Hadwen et al 2009); the model had impact on teachers, peer educators and learners; it also successfully encouraged Bradford's religiously and culturally diverse people to come together in shared spaces, as a community of communities (Parekh 2000); challenging the image of Bradford popularised by Cattle (2001, 2004) of polarised communities, divided by culture and religion, living parallel lives. Arguing this, Education Bradford managed to secure funding from local and central government sources, including Prevent.

The adult team of facilitators was extended to support this new work; three out of this five strong contingency, had also participated in TLN and SUTH, ensuring continuity of purpose and enhancing the potential to build productively on what had already been learnt (Dewey 1907).



Consequently, the idea was conceived for new a project, using a similar model to SUTH, with the same purpose, but with different content. This idea coincided with a suggestion from Brenda Thomson (the retired instigator of the original 1983 multi-faith Agreed RE syllabus, and Chair of Bradford City for Peace), that Education Bradford might profitably focus their new diversity and cohesion work on the story of Sadako Sasaki.

Sadako was a Japanese girl, who died aged eleven, ten years after, but as a direct result of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. She was buried with her kokeshi (a small Japanese doll). After her death her friends formed a school's council Kokeshi-no-kai (the Little Doll Association). They campaigned successfully, locally and nationally, for a statue in her memory, and also for nuclear disarmament.

### A new exhibition



*'How will you make a difference? Kokeshi exhibition 2010.  
Children's artwork and display boards*

The project content lent itself to a focus on how difference and prejudice might lead to divisions, conflict and even violence, where hatred starts and where it might end (Kokeshi Teachers' Resource, EB 2010). The initial plan was to stage an exhibition which used items from the Bradford Peace Museum's collection and the Hiroshima Peace Museum (which donated materials free of charge). However, the latter's display boards were not fit for purpose in their original form and needed to be adapted. As a result, the team set about designing and making their own, Bradford specific, multi-media exhibition which they called Kokeshi. This consisted of heavily image orientated A0 display panels, interspersed with artwork and protest banners designed and made by David Hockney's father and campaign groups, alongside installations and art created by local children.

The exhibition made use of and an instant, online feedback questionnaire for peer learners, using handheld learning devices. An important immersive feature was the 'Big Picture Show', which was projected onto the walls of the exhibition space (narrated by two of the original Anne Frank Ambassadors). This told the story of the 6<sup>th</sup> August 1945, and of Sadako and Kokeshi-no-kai, challenging those watching to stand up, speak out and make a difference, just as Sadako's friends had done after her death.

Funding meant that as with TLN and SUTH, resources for teachers, with clear links to the National Curriculum and RE could be produced, to encourage schools to engage with the challenging subject matter (Barrett 2012). The KSUSOMAD materials were distributed free to all Bradford schools. There was also no charge to visit the Kokeshi exhibition, meaning that all schools could take advantage of the opportunity to allow their pupils to learn in an alternative space (see chapter seven). Those teachers who dared to attempt to bridge 'cultural, ethnic and religious borders' and 'engage in personal and visionary action' (Banks and Banks 2007, p5), were supported by the provision of free CPD, helping them to know more about and teach about, the importance of a just society, then and now (Arday 2020).



*The Kokeshi Exhibition and peer learners and educators 2010*

### Key features

KSUSOMAD, was multicultural like SUTH and TLN, and employed intercultural strategies. It was constructed around mutual peer learning and directional peer education and learning (Topping et al 2017). The project was designed to provide a purpose for culturally and religiously diverse children from across the city, to come together to work and play; there was a continuing emphasis on contact and dialogue in alternatives spaces; venues outside the classroom, where events, actions and interrelations, could be influenced by interaction (Harrison and Dourish 1996, Harvey 2009, Massey 2005). KSUSOMAD in practice, was process driven, encouraging children to be agentic learners (Brown and Halverson 2005) and active citizens (Modood 2015, 2020, Roche 1999).

KSUSOMAD asked children to explore a number of questions: What mattered to Kokeshi-no-kai *then? Why?* What did *they* do? What matters to you *now? Why?* What can *you* do? It also posed others, connected to concepts of identity, heritage and belonging: *Who am I? Who are you? Who are they? Who are we?'* (Kokeshi Teachers' Resource, EB 2010). These pre-dated the TLN questions and differed to SUTH's text questions, but they shared the same purpose, to encourage reflection, dialogue and action, an exploration of differing points of view and realities, while not insisting that it was necessary to always agree (Bakhtin 1981, Nesaria 2015). Like the Anne Frank + You questions, these were displayed prominently around the Kokeshi exhibition space.

### Volunteering

Participation in Kokeshi, was wider than in TLN and SUTH and open to all Bradford schools. Peer educator volunteers were sought from upper key stage two and key stages three and four. All bar one of the original schools were involved. KSUSOMAD placed an increased emphasis on the need for children and young people to *volunteer*, but the way of choosing peer educators from those who did, was again left to individual schools. Through encouraging volunteers to interact and negotiate, to do things together toward a common goal and learn from each other's experiences, KSUSOMAD aimed to facilitate children voluntarily engaging in conflict resolution; helping them to develop respect, and to balance self-interest with the common good; in so doing exploring identity, heritage and belonging, engaging in civic participation, political socialisation (Hoskins et al 2021) and negotiating new meanings (Liu et al 2021).

### Process

The Anne Frank Ambassadors reconvened in the autumn term of 2009, to research the reasons and consequences of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, the story of Sadako Sasaki and

Kokeshi-no-kai. Two of the peer educators, worked with the Diversity and Cohesion Team to script, the 'Big Picture Show' and provide the voice over. The Anne Frank Ambassadors' images featured as overlays, inserted over the images of children killed in Hiroshima 'Imagine if this happened here, now'. They went back into their own schools to 'pass on' the story, and then into other schools to do the same. They placed emphasis on Kokeshi not being a story of 'of victimhood, but [one] about being able to bring about change, to stand up, speak out and make a difference' (Barrett 2012, p79). The result was a hundred KSUSOMAD volunteers. Divided into two groups, these 'Kokeshi Ambassadors' spent a day at the Yorkshire Craft Centre getting to know each other, familiarising themselves with the exhibition materials, working with a partner and teaching each other about their zones.



*Above, Kokeshi Ambassadors at the Launch and educators and learners at the exhibition*

These children's tenure as Kokeshi Ambassadors, commenced with a launch event at the Yorkshire Craft Centre, split into two sessions, each one attended by over a hundred people. As with SUTH, during the exhibition's month long run (which was fully booked), they were in charge for at least one day, helping general visitors and peer learners, to understand their section of the exhibition. In the summer term, Speakers Corner events were held in hub schools, where children who had visited the exhibition and worked with the Kokeshi Ambassadors, came together to share their ideas about how to make a difference and to showcase what action they were already taking.

In July a community celebration was held in Bradford's Centenary Square, with two of the original Anne Frank Ambassadors compering the event and KSUSOMAD peer learners performing live on the large stage. The BBC big screen, played footage filmed at the Speakers' Corner events, including children providing their answers to the KSUSOMAD questions. This was an intergenerational event, involving both children and adults from different cultural and religious backgrounds, meeting and

interacting. It opened up a 'wealth of different conversations' (Cameron and Dewey 2020, p9) and strengthened feelings of cohesion (Barrett 2012).



*Primary Kokeshi Ambassadors on the BBC Big Screen in Bradford's Centenary Square, 2010.*

### Continuation

The positive impact of KSUSOMAD (Barrett 2012, Hadwen et al 2010) resulted in Education Bradford taking the decision to roll the project over into the next academic year. The 2010 Kokeshi Ambassadors led the 'hand over' procedure in their own schools and members of the original Anne Frank peer educators, (at their own request), led the pre-exhibition new peer educator orientation sessions, working with 130 children over two days. The impact of this student initiated and led development was immediately clear to the adult team. The new cohort of Kokeshi Ambassadors listened intently, making notes, asking questions and hanging onto every word, not least to one peer educator facilitator's comment that '..... we feel we've made a difference, now it's your turn to make a difference'. Adult team members viewed this change in power dynamics positively, one commenting 'I became redundant. This was at their request and it was fantastic' (Barrett 2012, p 84).

The new Kokeshi Ambassadors, began their work at the public launch event, going on to lead learning at the exhibition for one or two days over its month long run, again being given 'great autonomy to interpret and pass on' their knowledge as they felt appropriate (Barrett 2012, p84). The year climaxed with Speakers' Corner events and a community wide celebration in Centenary Square held in the summer term.



*Peer educators meet Bradford's Lord Mayor, at the Community Celebration Event held in Centenary Square  
©Ben Chalcraft*



## Inclusivity

The KSUSOMAD team made a decision to exclude no child on grounds of ability, because they had a record of being challenging or were deemed hard to reach. Volunteers from a pupil referral unit were welcomed as Kokeshi Ambassador, peer educators. The exhibition used lots of visual imagery, therefore, children who had difficulty with written text could still become expert guides and have their say.

Although it is not a given that children will learn better as a result of peer education, peer educators are often able to pitch things at an appropriate level, employ engaging strategies and use shared language registers (Topping et al 2017), all of which may make learning more inclusive. Those who traditional teaching methods struggle to reach, often respond well not just to being taught by their peers, but when encouraged themselves to be agentic leaders of learning (Barrett 2012, Turner and Shepherd 1999). Placing them in a role with responsibility and kudos, gives value to their knowledge and experience, providing motivation for learning. It was noted that during KSUSOMAD:

The confidence and self-esteem, which grew in the most unlikely students in the group of peer educators was one of the lasting achievements. They thrived on the responsibility they were given and were able to interpret the exhibition to other school students in a creative way that teachers and adult guides would not have been able to do.

(Barrett 2012, p82)

Children, described as 'hard to reach by their teachers, appeared to be motivated by being allowed agency. One child explained that he had 'nagged' family members to see him in action.

My mum, my aunty and my sister came, I wanted them to. I wanted them to see what I'd learnt at school (cos sometimes I come to school in a bad mood). I asked them 'Please can you come, and see? I haven't been skiving. I've learnt, I've got talent, I can tell people.'

(Hadwen et al 2010)

His family did attend: 'We had to come to shut him up, to see what it's all about. He won't stop talking about it' (Parent 2010). The child's headteacher felt the project and transference of power from teacher to child, touched both him and his family in a way that six years of classroom-based schooling had failed to do; previous to KSUSOMAD, his family members had never attended any school event.

I would say that two boys who did the Ambassador aspect were hard to reach and I have seen a remarkable turn-around in them, a big part of which the topic and work that surrounded it played. (Headteacher, KSUSOMAD Feedback, 2010)

Moving outside the classroom is not guaranteed to enhance learning, simply changing spaces is not enough, reframing learning is of the utmost importance in doing so; the extent to which normative classroom dynamics are altered and active, agentic participation is encouraged, matters (Hackett et al 2015, Hackett 2016). In school, children are separated from reality by the artificial constraints of a classroom that is designed as a place for academic learning (Edwards and ap Siôn 2018, Illich 1971). Moving outside allows the dynamics to change and a shift in power between educator and learner (Brillante and Mankiw 2015). Although any space, including a classroom, constitutes a 'sphere of multiplicity', constantly under construction and reconstruction, the binary teacher pupil power relationship is more open to change in locations where power geometries are less rigidly structured (Anderson 2008).

KSUSOMAD feedback and evaluations suggested that a child centred, agentic, peer education approach, employed in an alternative space, aided inclusivity and enhanced learning (Barrett 2012, Hadwen et al 2010).

### Impact on Kokeshi Ambassadors

The Kokeshi Ambassadors were vociferous in their praise, and clear about the personal impact of the experience of being peer educators: 'It has made me realise I can change things', 'Violence starts with ordinary people, so we can stop it. They did, so we can', 'People will listen to me and I can do something about racism', 'I loved being an Ambassador and teaching people', 'I am more confident now. I didn't think they would listen to me. You know the kids who came, but they did. Now I know it's worth saying what I feel' (Kokeshi Ambassador Feedback, 2010). They ascribed value to volunteering and to being 'agentic participants in their own learning' (Brillante and Mankiw 2015).

In the evaluation process they talked about feeling nervous when working with children 'I wouldn't normally', but asserted 'I've gained loads of confidence. I've got new skills', 'It's done it all for us. Sadako's friends spoke out so we can' (KOKESHI Ambassadors 2010). They talked of their pride in being able to speak to strangers and their surprise that 'They would actually listen, even when I couldn't read the writing on the boards, so I had to remember it all' (Kokeshi Ambassador 2010). They talked with confidence about the importance of mutual respect and the need to resolve

difference, without resorting to violence. This suggested that they were operating as effective citizens (Altıntaş and Karaaslan 2019), volunteers who enjoyed ‘helping others’, working with ‘new friends’ and making a difference to life in their city (Kokeshi Ambassadors 2010). Davies 2023).

KSUSOMAD provided authentic opportunities for children to experience contact across cultural, ethnic, religious and social divides, allowing the exploration of misunderstandings, difficulties and possible tensions which otherwise would have been ignored. This could be interpreted as moving forward community relations (Bowen 1991, Thomas 2017). It built upon previous multicultural education endeavours, helping to mitigate events in the distant and recent past, which damaged the reality and perception of social cohesion in the city (Alam 2006, Bowen 1992, McLoughlin 2014). The Kokeshi Ambassadors expressed positive feelings, of belonging, articulated positive perceptions of diversity and were involved in the actualisation of cohesion (Abrams, Horsham and Davies 2023).

#### Peer learner and teacher feedback

Peer learner feedback was recorded online and on a graffiti wall at the Yorkshire Craft Centre. It was overwhelmingly positive: ‘Can I do this?’, ‘I’d like to be one of them!’ (Peer Learners 2010). They consistently commented on the Big Picture Show, with its commentary provided ‘not by an authoritative male adult, but by local high school students with their distinctive Yorkshire accents’ (Barrett 2012, p84). Visiting teachers confirmed that this had lasting impact: ‘They loved the videos and multi-media stuff. They’ll never forget the Big Picture Show’, it was ‘not only really interesting, but a great hook for our children and a super platform to develop them on several levels’ (Teacher KSUSOMAD Feedback, 2010).

It appropriately made links with events of the past and the present time, it encouraged my class to think what they could do to improve things in Bradford and elsewhere. Great that it was made by children, for children.

It made them (the children) think about violence, hate crime and stuff and how ‘demonising’ someone else might lead to violence, even war. It made them think about Bradford and what we need to do if we are going to get along and what not to do.

(KSUSOMAD Teacher Feedback, 2010)

Visiting teachers stated that they didn’t believe that peer education would work; they expressed surprise when outcomes were positive. Although worried about handing control to the children,



when able to step back and observe them in action, many realised that the shift in power was beneficial to both peer educators and peer learners (see page 194). Teachers also acknowledged the value of the Kokeshi CPD and the accompanying resources: ‘well researched and highly practical teachers’ pack (s)’, with lesson plans, which tackled important issues and curriculum content ‘that teachers would have had to address in any case’ (Barrett 2012, p 78). These enhanced teacher knowledge and competencies, helping them to acquire the understanding and skills, needed to implement a multicultural, critical ‘equity pedagogy’ (Banks et al 2001).

### Recognition

KSUSOMAD received a SERCO Global Award (presented to representatives of the Kokeshi Ambassadors at the Ivy in London) for innovation; they Kokeshi Ambassadors won a Bradford Stars Community Award for their work in improving cohesion in Bradford; a number presented a synopsis of Kokeshi at the annual Rosa Parks Symposium at the University of Bradford, and spoke at Bradford Remembers - Holocaust Memorial Day.

### Postscript

KSUSOMAD, like TLN and SUTH, focused on helping children to find ways in which to ‘live together well’ (TLN 2022). Taking a critical and developmental approach, it drew on what had already been learnt from earlier initiatives, merging previous practice with new (Dewey 1938). It continued to encourage ‘dialogue with difference’ and an exploration of ‘matters of personal significance’ (O’Grady, 2019, p195). It provided a platform for children to speak out as active citizens for their sense of belonging, interests, democratic values and equality (Altıntaş and Karaaslan 2019). Learning outside the classroom provided purposeful opportunities for children from different backgrounds, many religions and none, to meet and interact. In short KSUSOMAD successfully opened up a ‘wealth of different conversations’ of benefit both to individuals and the wider community (Cameron and Dewey 2020, p 9).

### Space and emplacement – TLN, SUTH and KSUSOMAD

Situating learning outside the classroom in an alternative space, enables curricular change; it exposes children to different people, worlds and experiences (Harrison 1970); in so doing employing a variety of ‘objects’ - questions, tasks and activities (Ulich 2003). It is an interpretive, child centred educational practice, which places value on children having opportunities to learn outside the classroom (Cook 2010).

Space becomes place, through the process of emplacement. This may be influenced by, but is not dependent upon culture, religion or world view. Spaces which provide ‘an embodied encounter with identity and difference, inviting interaction, which is managed, but not fully controlled by, the usual pedagogical norms of the classroom’ (Lundie and Conroy 2015, in Lundie et al 2022, p139) (as in TLN, SUTH and KSUSOMAD), become places, through being imbued with significance. All the retrospective projects storied in this chapter, located a significant amount of learning outside the classroom in alternative spaces, but emplacement was not identified as important, or as an overt aim of any of the projects.

They all placed emphasis on the importance of Bradford as a shared locality, but did not explicitly ascribe significance to the neutral venues in which learning was situated; they were unconcerned with ensuring that space, became place (Tuan 1977). Spaces were used (and presumably consequently were viewed by participants) as useful, community or civic buildings, where cross cultural contact and dialogue could occur; they did not become significant places, even though the process of learning, enacted through repeated encounters with the space, was memorable (Hackett 2015).

However, the space in which learning was located was important; there was evidence (see pages 194 - 195) that some parents and carers were happier interacting with their children’s education outside the classroom; some children felt that they were able to participate more fully and achieve more, because they were not in school (Waite 2017). Moving outside the classroom into an alternative space, was therefore a contributory factor to the success and impact of all three projects.

### Emerging themes across cases

Through storying these three cases retrospectively, recurring concepts began to emerge aligned to those identified in my iterative literature review, inferring patterns of meaning (Braun and Clarke 2021, Ryan & Bernard 2003). I made a list of the themes which became apparent in each case (Appendix 14). As an iterative, qualitative, reflexive researcher, I was mindful of the framework suggested by Srivastava (2009) therefore repeatedly asking: What is it I want to know? What is the data telling me? What is the relationship between what the data tells me and what I want to know? In this way I refined my focus, cross referencing themes back to my key research questions, colour coding areas of commonality and divergence across cases, making notes and tentatively beginning to draw conclusions (Kiger and Varpio 2020).

My initial list of themes included:

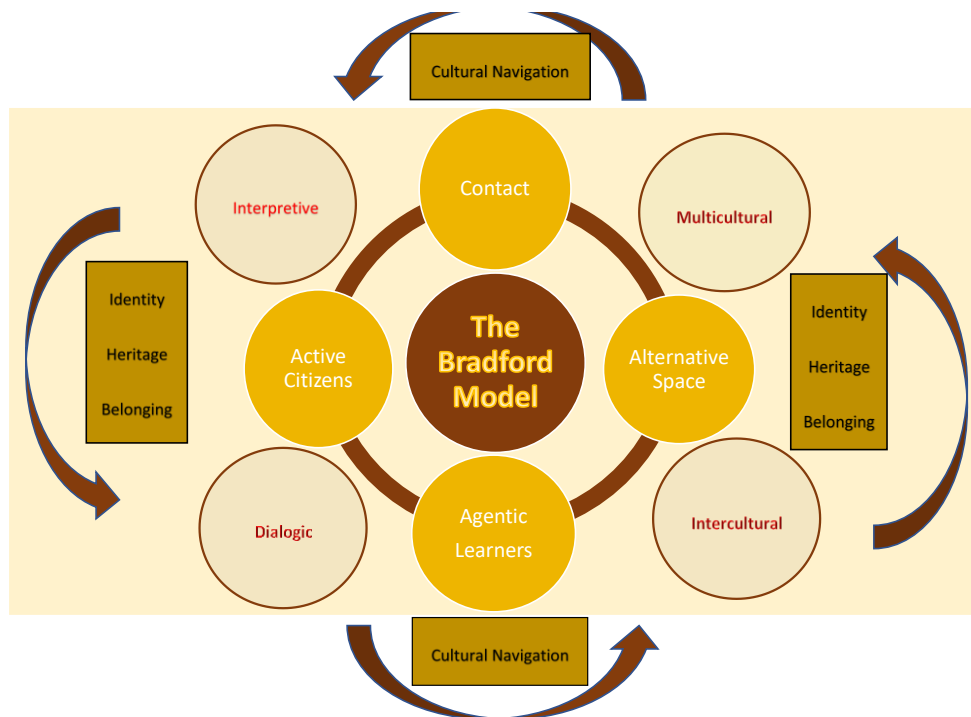
1. **Context:** focus on the experience of living and growing up in multicultural, multifaith Bradford
2. **Contact:** between individuals and groups who might not ordinarily meet or interact
3. **Alternative spaces:** situating a significant amount of learning outside the classroom
4. **Agentic learning:** the disruption of normal classroom power hierarchies and the use of peer education (Topping et al 2017)
5. **Active citizenship:** the development of skills, values, attitudes and the *application of these to real situations* (Modood 2015, Liu et al 2021, Hoskins et al 2012)
6. **Multiculturalism:** reflecting and exploring diversity and commonality, maintaining individual and group identities (Modood 2020); critically confronting the less positive realities of cultural pluralism through words and action (Gundara 2000, Guzman et al 2016)
7. **Interculturalism:** as an 'essential multicultural tool' (Meer and Modood 2012) relationships, contact, dialogue, action and focus on the local community (Kastoryano 2018),
8. **Cohesion:** managing responses to difference, encouraging positive attributes and behaviours, social relations, identification or belonging; an orientation towards the common good; minimising disparities and avoiding marginalisation (Moustakas 2023)
9. **Dialogue:** discovering various realities; increasing understanding of divergence and the identification of shared points of reference, yet not necessarily arriving at an agreed or universal truth (Nesaria 2015)
10. **Interpretative learning:** using previous experience as key to learning (Chia and Goh 2016, Jackson 1997)
11. **Identity:** self-representation, interests, relationships, social activity, beliefs and values; confidence in contact, cultural navigation (Ballard 1994, Turner and Cameron 2016)
12. **Heritage:** an inherited, sense of identity, reflecting tradition and culture (Marmion et al 2010)
13. **Belonging:** facilitating learning, preventing exclusion, fostering cohesion, agency and active citizenship (Healy 2019)
14. **Cultural navigation:** the progressive ability to decode intercultural interactions (Ang et al 2007, Ballard 1994) and to thrive in a 'diverse and complex world of competing and contradictory views' (Cantle 2017, p4).

The table below synthesises this list, and illustrates the process I went through in identifying the key themes for analysis.

1 - Initial concepts	2 – Developing concepts	3 – Emerging themes	4 – Themes
<b>Permeating Context - Multicultural, Multifaith Bradford</b>			
Multiculturalism <b>Bradford</b> Interculturalism	Culture Religion Conflict Cohesion Education	Contact Dialogue Conflict Religion Cohesion Community Understanding	Contact Alternative space Cultural navigation Agentic learners Active citizens Dialogue Interpretation
<b>Permeating dimensions cultural navigation, identity, heritage and belonging</b>			

*Grid mapping central themes for analysis*

Considered collectively, these recurring themes across the retrospective cases, suggested the existence of a Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom, which I have represented diagrammatically, thus:



*A Bradford Model of Multicultural Learning outside the classroom*

At the heart of the diagram is multicultural, multifaith Bradford, this context is the foundation on which the model is based and is denoted by the central dark *Bradford model* circle. The four orange

circles show the main shared *components* evident across all the projects - *contact, alternative space, agentic learners* and *active citizens*. The lighter coloured circles, show what I have called the model *descriptors* - *multicultural, intercultural, dialogic* and *interpretive*. Surrounding these are the cross project *dimensions*, integral to all the cases considered – *cultural navigation, identity, heritage and belonging*.

## Summary

This chapter has storied retrospectively the development, implementation and impact of three multicultural learning outside the classroom initiatives, The Linking Network (TLN), Stand up to Hatred (SUTH) and Kokeshi: Stand up, Speak out, Make a difference! (KSUSOMAD). Each of these projects represented an informed response to the local Bradford context, the city's experience of cultural and religious pluralism and the wider landscape of multicultural theory, discourse and government policy.

'Thick descriptions' of each case (Geertz 1973 ) identified shared features and themes (Clarke and Braun 2006, Goodrick 2014, Starman 2013, Silverman 2000), which suggest that the projects chronicled, are indicative of a dynamic, multicultural continuum. Collectively, they provide evidence of a successful model of multicultural learning outside the classroom, one which emphasises value in diversity, while recognising commonality and the importance of contact between children and adults from different backgrounds.

It employs intercultural means to explore multicultural themes and the ways in which it might be possible to create a thriving community of communities (Modood 2015, Parekh 2000). Individually and collectively the cases storied and analysed, suggest that Bradford has developed an innovative, transferable way of working, one which if disseminated, could contribute to the improvement of wider educational practice.

## 10. The Contemporary Case

The previous chapter I considered three cases retrospectively and argued that these impactful, projects, with shared features and a consistency of purpose, situated in a variety of neutral spaces, provide evidence of a distinctive Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom. Here, I consider the development and implementation of this model when transferred to a cathedral setting.

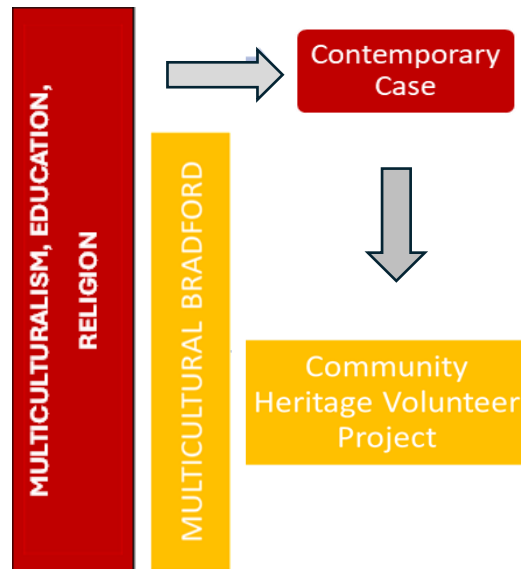
A cathedral is not a neutral space, but a sacred one, normatively associated with a single religion and culture. However, it has a unique capacity to encourage encounters with difference and to elicit powerful emotional experiences in those who visit (Finlayson 2012). Although particularities may vary, a sacred space often instils a variety of emotions central to human experiences and activities; eliciting a commonality of feelings of belonging, which extend beyond different denominational or faith lines (Finlayson 2012, Riegel and Kindermann 2016).

I suggest that this is particularly true of cathedrals, buildings with an innate duality of purpose, which constitute both sacred space and common ground (Church of England 2017). Although identifiable with the Christian religion and a spiritual dimension, which make them separate to the everyday and mundane (Muskett 2017), they have a civic purpose. They belong to everyone in a locality, constituting spaces where dialogue with difference, through 'collaboration, alliances and negotiation' may take place (Church of England 2016, p2).

A cathedral, like other spaces, is a container for action (Massey 2005); an appropriate setting for innovative multicultural learning outside the classroom, where children from different backgrounds may develop strong and positive relationships, through an exploration of religious and cultural diversity; acknowledging tensions, conflict, but also celebrating the positive attributes of multiculturalism, through involvement in agentic community participation. In so doing enhancing children's 'present and future ability to contribute fully to the 'common good of the whole human community and its environment' (Church of England 2016, p2).

This chapter focuses on a contemporary cathedral initiative, the Community Heritage Volunteer Project (CHVP). This project is part of a multicultural continuum, context driven, it is framed by Bradford's distinctive experience of religion and multiculturalism. Like TLN, SUTH and KSUSOMAD, it constitutes an informed response to this *distinctiveness*, and endeavours to help communities of

‘contrasting backgrounds’ to learn to live together well (Bowen 1997, TLN 2022). This chapter stories the CHVP’s development, implementation and impact, comparing and contrasting this contemporary case with the retrospective ones, and evaluating the extent to which it reinforces the existence of a Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom.



*The Community Heritage Volunteer Project (CHVP)*

The CHVP is a longitudinal, joint project between Bradford’s Anglican Cathedral, the Nurture Academies Trust, and in particular one of its schools, Lapage Primary. The latter as an almost exclusively Muslim school, seeks to promote community cohesion; to this end it has established a whole school citizenship scheme (see page 204) of which the CHVP is now an integral part; the former, aspires to work with people of all faiths and none (see chapter eight), in order to support the creation of a strong integrated ‘community of communities and a community of citizens’ (Parekh, 2000, p56). This strategy of ‘presence and engagement’ is important wherever a cathedral is located, not just in urban areas statistically defined as multifaith (Church of England 2016, Church of England 2023), but it is particularly important in the Bradford context (Church of England 2005).

### Lapage Primary School profile

The CEO, of the Nurture Academies Trust (NAT), requested that Lapage Primary School be identified in this research, as the school instigated the project. Located in Bradford’s inner city, a mile from the Cathedral, the school serves a majority South Asian heritage, Muslim demographic, but in recent years has welcomed increasing numbers of children from new migrant communities, particularly

from Eastern Europe. The school is oversubscribed. In 2020 it had 698 children on roll aged 3-11 (Ofsted 2020), this number increased to 703 in 2023; the 1990s building's capacity is stated as 630 (Gov.uk 2023). In 2023 31.9% of children were eligible for free school meals and 29.88% were in receipt of pupil premium (Lapage Statutory Information 2023-24), suggesting a high level of socio-economic deprivation in the catchment area.

Lapage lower and upper schools are currently led by female, Muslim headteachers. Although teachers in the school are representative of a cross section of Bradford's communities, the majority mirror the ethnic, culture and religious background of the pupils. In 2017 Lapage became part of the Nurture Academies Trust, which was led by a dynamic, male, Muslim CEO. At the time of writing, the NAT comprises six primary schools spanning the Bradford District, with schools in semi-rural Denholme, the town of Keighley and inner city Bradford.

#### Whole school citizenship at Lapage

The idea of being a 'good citizen', someone who 'does things' for the good of others, proportionately to their ability to do so (Miller 1999) is important at Lapage. Each year group focuses on a different way of getting involved in the local community, to: 'equip our pupils to be thoughtful, caring, and active citizens in school and in the wider society' (Lapage Headteacher 2020). In the lower school, children grow their own fruit and vegetables with a co-located school, learn and play with students at a nearby special school; visit, talk and listen to older people in a retirement home and raise funds and awareness for Childline. Older students are involved in running a Fareshare food stall, in Linking activities, and Year 5 work at Bradford Cathedral as Community Heritage Volunteers (Lapage Website 2022).

The Community Heritage Volunteers meet diverse people, children and adults, from across Bradford, at the Cathedral. 'It was good to talk to them. Everyone should do this, it's good. It feels good' (Year 5, CHV March 2022). There is no theorising here about the other, this typical comment is grounded in experience, positive contact and dialogue (Allport 1954, Bakhtin 1981, Levinas 2003); children learn what *being* a 'citizen' entails, rather than passively learning facts. Through *voluntarily* giving up time to help others, children contribute to society and progressively develop the practical skills and knowledge, necessary to solve 'real-world problems' in their local community (Cantle 2015, Modood 2015, Pontes et al. 2019).



### Fieldwork, location and methods

My fieldwork was located mainly in the Cathedral, but also to a lesser extent in Lapage. As a part time member of the Cathedral education team (2018-2024) I was, closely positioned to the research, taking multiple insider and outsider positions (Clarke 2013). Although problematic in terms of objectivity, this increased my understanding of the essence of participants' experiences (Savin-Baden and Howell Major 2013) and allowed me to provide rich and colourful descriptions (Smith et al 2009). Although close to the research, I attempted to be reflective and reflexive and to refrain from pre-judging outcomes. In so doing striving for authenticity and honest results (Waring 2017).

This element of my research spanned one academic year (2021- 2022). It focussed in particular on the experiences and responses of initially twenty four and ultimately 23, primary school volunteer peer educators. There were five key adult participants (three staff from Lapage and two Cathedral educators). Peer learners, teachers from visiting schools, children's significant adults, members of the Cathedral congregation, clergy and the wider community were also involved.

As a qualitative, reflexive researcher my fieldwork involved an iterative set of processes. It was inductive, allowing patterns, themes, and categories of analysis to emerge, rather than these being imposed prior to data collection and analysis (Patton 1980). However, patterns, themes, and categories did not emerge on their own; their identification was driven by what I wanted to know (see page 39 ) and how I chose to interpret the data collected (Hopwood and Srivastava 2009). I acknowledge that this was not an objective application of analytical procedures, but rather an interpretive, reflexive and essentially subjective process.

On the whole I amassed data in the field, from sources routinely produced by children and adults, using mosaic methods. Taking a mosaic approach is useful when focusing on learning outside the classroom, because such experiences routinely generate multi-media, individualised responses to a shared experience (Waite 2017). I attempted to be as unintrusive as possible, in order to compile an authentic picture of participants' experiences (Clarke and Moss 2005, Hale 2001, Vaughn et al 2020). In school and in the Cathedral, I used participant observation and a semi-structured observation schedule. Conversations with adults and children were both informal and semi-structured (Appendix 1). In meetings (with children and adults) I made and later transposed notes. Primary sources of evidence (see page 38) included project reports, children's work, planning documents, digital sources, written and oral feedback, evaluations and personal notes (Appendix 4, 5 and 6).

The recurring themes identified in the literature review and the retrospective cases (see chapter two) were used as a lens through which to view the CHVP, allowing me to make comparisons, infer generalisations, and highlight the possible implications of my findings for future praxis. A synopsis of my findings is presented in chapter eleven and my conclusions in chapter twelve, along with the areas identified as worthy of further research and investigation.

### The Bells Project 2018

The Community Heritage Volunteer Project, developed out of a Cathedral, Heritage Lottery Funded (HLF) World War I 'Bells Project' (see chapter eight). The HLF determined success criteria for this, included evidence of an increase in 'volunteers and local community engagement, including that of children and young people, in the heritage and life of the Cathedral' (HLF Bells Project Bid 2017). A teacher from Lapage approached the Cathedral about the possibility of partnership working, as part of their whole school active citizenship project. An idea was jointly conceived, which involved Year 5 children (aged nine and ten), becoming peer educators and guides at the Bells exhibition held at the Cathedral in the summer of 2018.

At the exhibition launch, when the Cathedral's refurbished World War I bells were rung for the first time. '... the guides for the day were Muslim school children, who told surprising facts to elderly worshippers about their own cathedral' (Pacitti, 2020, p110). Approximately two hundred and fifty people attended the launch. A Cathedral congregation member stated:

The children explained their participation in the project with confidence and enthusiasm.....which was a pure joy. I hope that they will cherish the role they played in the life of the Cathedral. They have their place in its history.

(Letter to the NAT CEO and Cathedral Education Team, June 2018).

The Bells Project was judged successful by the Cathedral. When Lapage was inspected, Ofsted noted that the children had made a 'valuable contribution to the Bradford Cathedral Bells Project' and were 'excellent ambassadors for the school', whose learning offer extended 'beyond the well-planned curriculum' (Ofsted 2020). Representatives from the DCLG, with the Minister for Religion visited Bradford in 2018. At the Cathedral they spoke to CHVs and the staff involved in the exhibition and project, recognising both as vehicles for positive multifaith, intercultural contact and useful in encouraging community cohesion and reducing polarisation (Cantle 2001, 2004, 2018).



*CHVs and visitors at the Bells Exhibition*



### The Community Heritage Volunteer Project 2018 – 2020

The success of the Bells Project resulted in the Cathedral and Lapage partnership continuing. The focus was widened to involve the CHVs exploring the Cathedral as both a Christian sacred space and a civic place for all of Bradford's religious and non-religious communities. There was an overt emphasis on encouraging positive, purposeful contact and dialogue between diverse children, on agentic, peer education and learning and on children being active citizens (CHVP Planning Document 2018). It can be seen that this mirrored aspects of TLN, SUTH and KSUSOMAD. The CHVP like them was essentially a multicultural learning outside the classroom initiative, which employed intercultural strategies to deliver its content and achieve its aims.

The new Community Heritage Volunteer Project, commenced in October 2018, with the children, who had been involved in the Bells Project, introducing the year five children at Lapage to the concept of volunteering at the Cathedral. This took place in school. They explained what they had done, which bits they had enjoyed the most and why they believed the role to be an important one: 'I learnt that not only Christians go to the Cathedral. It's for everyone. It's ours too'. 'It (the Cathedral) tells stories about Bradford and if you're a volunteer you have to make sure other people

know these stories'. 'When you are a volunteer you are being a good citizen, you help other people' (Year 6 Children, Lapage, October 2018).

Working with small groups in the school hall, they used pictures and artefacts to illustrate their points, demonstrating significant levels of retained subject knowledge, posing as well as answering questions: 'I can't believe how confident they are and how much they have retained. Just shows how good this project is for them' (Year 5 teacher Lapage 2018). Year six, impressed and motivated year five: 'They're really good. They know lots. I'd like to go to the Cathedral and find out more'. 'I'd feel excited to be doing this. I'd be very proud to be a volunteer, but a bit nervous' (Lapage Year 5, October 2018). The impact on peer educators and the response of peer learners during these sessions, again closely mirrored SUTH and KSUSOMAD; children were inspired to action by seeing others in action (Ponte et al 2019). Agency and power appeared to be something sought and valued. Active citizenship and skills development (as opposed to abstract knowledge about citizenship), in a context beyond the classroom, evidently aided the development of practical skills and the retention of knowledge (Brillante and Mankiw 2015, Topping et al 2017).

Unlike in SUTH, TLN and KSUSOMAD, in the CHVP emplacement (Massey 2005, Tuan 1977) was to the fore. The Bells CHVs clearly felt that the Cathedral was an important place; it had taken on personal significance (Hackett et al, 2015, Hackett 2016), being understood as both distinctively Christian and a civic, community shared space. The CHVs described the building as 'their cathedral', demonstrating feelings of ownership and a shift in their perception from abstract space to concrete place. This emplacement, appeared to be a result of sustained contact and action (Hackett 2016, Tuan 1977) and transcended religious belonging (Finlayson 2012).

The remainder of the year followed the pattern of the Bells Project. The CHVs worked with four NAT schools and the year culminated in a celebration at the Cathedral as part of Volunteers' Week. The CHVs guided their parents, friends, adult Cathedral volunteers and community members around the Cathedral; they received a certificate of thanks for their work from the Dean and shared a celebratory cream tea, with the adult volunteers.

### Lockdown

It was the CHVP in this format, which I intended to formally research. The plan was that my fieldwork would begin in October 2019. Twenty eight children volunteered to be peer educators and Cathedral guides. I produced an on line pre-project questionnaire for the staff and NAT trustees,

which was completed; I began to gather data from the CHVP planning meetings, the year six to year five handover and the volunteers' initial visit to the Cathedral. The after school club commenced, but two weeks away from the first CHV takeover day, the Pandemic struck and Lockdown was enforced. This led to the immediate closure of the Cathedral and then Lapage. What was expected at first to be a short pause in proceedings, became a gap in the CHVP cycle of over twelve months and delayed everything by an academic year. This meant I had to start the fieldwork process again with a new cohort of children.

The experience of Lockdown shifted the starting point for peer educators and learners. When the project recommenced, the emphasis placed on dialogue, collegiate working and interaction with the 'other' was very different from the children's isolated existence of the previous twelve months (Mazrekaj and Witte 2024). Teachers were working with children who were in year five, but to all intents and purposes had missed year four. The pressure to make up for 'lost time' was immense (Ofsted 2020).



It is a mark of how valued the CHVP was, that immediately some sort of normality was restored, the CHVP swung back into action. Post Lockdown the need to reinstate a process which brought children together after an enforced period of segregation, seemed essential to all concerned. When the peer educators and learners finally visited the Cathedral in 2022, this constituted their first experience of learning outside the classroom since 2020, for some since 2019.

*Lockdown stained glass window  
designed by children from Lapage*

Mindful of the impact of Lockdown on children and how isolation and home schooling may have affected social skills, academic development and personal well-being (Mazrekaj and Witte 2024), Ofsted 2020), there was a desire to include as many children as possible in the CHVP. This led to the inclusion of a multi-media art element, which focused on the recent experiences of people both in Bradford and nationally. It provided opportunities for every child in year five to express themselves and their feelings, through art and digital media and to have their work displayed in the Cathedral.

## The Community Heritage Volunteer Project 2021-2022

Planning for the post – Pandemic CHVP began in October 2021. This involved three Year 5 teachers (one new to the project), two support assistants (one also new to the project) and two members of the education team. Due to promotion, there was a change of project lead teacher. However, the new teacher in charge had considerable prior knowledge of the CHVP having worked as part of the team since 2018; she was Christian, one teacher was agnostic, one Muslim (not present at the meeting) and the support staff were Muslim. The aims and objectives for the project were agreed (see appendix 4):

To provide opportunities for children to learn outside the classroom; to encounter and work collaboratively with others from across Bradford; to explore values, heritage, history and the experiences of Bradford's diverse people; promoting cohesion, active citizenship and respect for all; resulting in participants making a positive contribution to the wider community.

Evident in these aims was the importance of the local context and a perceived need to learn about difference and commonality, through contact and dialogue (Allport 1954, Levinas 1964, Turner and Cameron 2016), in order for people to live together well as a community of communities (Parekh 2002).

The stated objectives mirrored these sentiments, but unlike the retrospective projects there was an overt focus on religion and world views and on encouraging emplacement.

By the end of the project, it was intended that the children should:

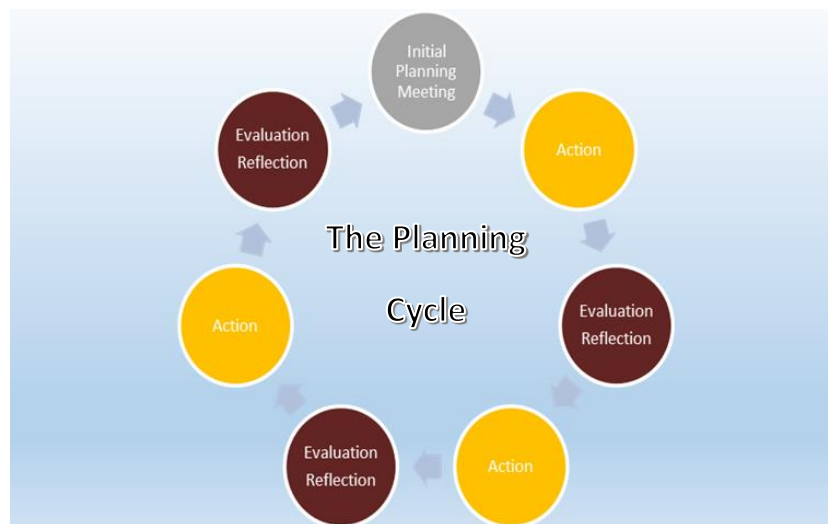
- Have an increased knowledge and understanding of Christian belief and practice.
- Be able to compare and contrast different religions and world views and reflect upon their own.
- Know why the Cathedral is important to Christians and all the people of Bradford.
- Be able to articulate information and stories about the Cathedral and Bradford's diverse people and communities, past and present.
- Identify appropriate ways in which information may be shared with their peers and adults.
- Develop dialogic skills and the confidence to be agentic learners, cultural navigators and effective peer educators.
- Contribute to, interact positively and work with members of, the wider community.



- Progressively see the Cathedral as a place of significance and as accessible to people of all faiths and none.

(CHVP Planning Document 2021-2022)

The agreed planning cycle suggested the importance of reflective and reflexive practice (Dewey 1938) and the structure employed in previous years, was agreed (Appendix 7). This involved an introduction to the project in school, ‘training’ and practice days for CHVs at the Cathedral, an extra-curricular CHV club led by teachers in school, an inter-generational school practice session, followed by three CHV Cathedral take over days and finally a community celebration event held at the Cathedral, during Volunteer Week 2022.



*CHVP planning cycle 2021-2022*

### Introduction to the CHVP

There was no peer handover in 2021, as the CHV alumni had moved on to secondary school. The introductory sessions in school was instead led by members of the Cathedral Education Team. It focused on visual images, artefacts and Bradford and Cathedral timelines (Appendix 4). The three year five classes worked independently. Each session began with a consideration of the diverse nature of the city, stressing that in Bradford everyone has come from somewhere else. The children were asked to talk to the person on their left and to find out one thing about them. They then had to tell the person on their right, about the person on their left. Several questions were posed: ‘How are we different?’ ‘How are we the same?’ ‘What do we share?’ ‘Is it important to know about these things?’ ‘Why?’ The meaning and importance of the words community, heritage and volunteer were discussed.

The focus turned to the Cathedral: ‘Where is the Cathedral?’ ‘What *do you* know about the Cathedral?’, ‘Who do you think it belongs to?’ ‘What do you think you might find there?’ In groups the children looked at and handled artefacts from the Cathedral (e.g., a paten, chalice, communion wafers, St Peter’s keys, mitre, and cope). They looked at pictures of the font, pulpit, lectern and the women’s window. Guessing what things might be, interpreting this new experience in the light of prior knowledge (Jackson 1997, Nesbitt 1998, 2004), e.g., ‘It’s a Bible. It’s their Qur’an’, ‘Christians pray there’ ‘ I think someone special must wear that hat!’ ‘They get baptised, it’s like a sink thing’ ‘ (Year 5 Children, November 2021).

### Observations

Children in all three classes expressed surprise at the idea that the Cathedral was a place for all the people of Bradford, not just Christians. They listened attentively to an account of a Jewish memorial service at the Cathedral, attended by Christians, Hindus, Jews, Muslims, Sikhs and people of no religion. This was an obvious challenge to some - the idea of Jews and Muslims in particular, together and in a church. A number expressed surprise that some people had no formal religious belonging. This appeared to be an alien concept in all three classes; suggesting that the ‘complex demography of religion and belief’ (Cooling 2020, p403), an essential area of study if children are to be prepared for life in a world where inaccurate information and controversy over such matters is pervasive, (CfRE 2018, p 3), had not been addressed in school.

The level of teacher engagement differed across classes, as did the children’s prior knowledge and expectations. There was a positive response in class two and three, to the question ‘Who would like to volunteer?’ There was a less enthusiastic response in class one, only a handful of children raised their hands. This corresponded to the level of commitment of the class teacher, who seemed reticent to engage in what Banks and Banks (2007) identified as the personal and visionary action, necessary to effecting curricular change and helping children to learn how to operate in a multicultural society (Banks et al 2001, Cantle 2015).

### The importance of learning in the classroom

The demographics at Lapage are complex, children are diverse, coming together in classrooms and elsewhere, ‘much like the pieces of coloured glass in a kaleidoscope’ clustering in ‘different patterns’ (Juan-Torres, Dixon and Kimaram 2020, p3). To see the school as cohesive, as exclusively Muslim, or mono-cultural (Cantle 2001, 2004, Denham 2001) is too simplistic; difference is a reality and misunderstandings are potentially present. Likewise, to presume that children occupying the same



classroom, know each other or about each other, is a false premise. Contact and learning in an alternative space will not increase cross-cultural understanding or community cohesion, unless relationships and the complexity of identity, heritage and belonging is addressed in school first (Raw 2004, 2006). The school based work elements of the CHVP (TLN, SUTH and KSUSOMAD), were/are essential in preparing the way for positive, productive multicultural learning outside the classroom.

One relationship observed, illustrates the importance of starting such work in school. Three children (a Muslim boy, a recent arrival from Poland, an English, Christian girl and a British Pakistani Muslim boy) were in the same class. Their first conversation was in the CHVP introductory session. They talked about themselves, listened and learnt about each other. They went on to work closely together at the Cathedral and a new friendship developed. They were observed eating lunch and playing in the Cathedral precinct and created a shared piece of artwork.

When talking to visitors at the Cathedral, one confidently explained 'I'm a Christian I go to church and he's from Poland and (gesticulating to the third child), well his family, they came from Pakistan'. Another stressed 'BUT we all live in Bradford now!'; explaining that 'The first Christians came from somewhere else. Aidan lived in the north, er near Scotland, but he came from Ireland'. In all probability this confidence in contact (Cameron 2016, Turner and Cameron 2020) and their friendship would not have developed without initial contact in the classroom; knowing differences didn't preclude their friendship, increased their confidence when meeting children from other schools. Although most intercultural contact occurred in an alternative learning space, the foundations for the success of these encounters were laid in school.

### Review point one

The lead teachers and the Cathedral team met in school a week after the introduction. On the whole the sessions were judged a success, but with the variable preparation of children noted. Although the introduction lacked the power of the established peer to peer handover, there was a great deal of positivity in the sessions.

The lead teachers had designed an advertisement and application procedure for the 2021 cohort (Appendix 9) and held 'interviews'; in so doing encouraging the development of generic life skills, and increasing functional citizenship knowledge (Hoskins 2020). The completed applications provided a range of information about the children's understanding of the work they were volunteering for: 'I found it very cool I am really interested because even though it's a church all

religions are welcome'. 'I want to learn about other aspects of life; to celebrate the diversity and embrace how special we all are'. 'It will encourage my confidence and I will learn things) that I can't learn in school. 'I really want to help at the Cathedral because my brother and sister went and they said great things about it' (Year 5, Lapage Primary, November 2021, see Appendix 10)

The latter comment is interesting, because it demonstrates that at Lapage, being a CHV was increasingly something to be aspired to in year five, an experience which resulted in alumni encouraging others to take part in (Abrams, Horsham and Davies 2023, Liu et al 2021). Evidence of a consistent eagerness to engage with difference was evident in the applications, as was an interest in finding out more about and also 'helping' other people through volunteering. They suggested that the children saw being a CHV as personally beneficial, particularly as a means to increase confidence in interacting with others; 'I would like to better myself and improve my social skills. I want to build up my confidence in communicating with others and working as part of a team with others' (Year 5, CHVP Application, November 2021).

### A cathedral encounter

The CHVs first visit to the Cathedral took place in February 2022. They were initially quiet and respectful, looking around intently. Once they were sat in the nave, they started asking questions 'Why are there angels?' 'Are the candles real?' 'What's that lady doing?' (pointing to the south transept where a woman was lighting a votive candle). 'Is he a priest?' (as a verger walked past waving and smiling), 'Who is that man with the keys?' (pointing to a statue of Saint Peter above the chancel). They were given a few minutes to jot down anything that they were feeling on a 'thoughts and words' sheet (Appendix 11).



*CHV Lanyards*

The children were excited when the all-important lanyards were given out, making them identifiable as part of the Cathedral team. The children were also given clip boards, a simple questionnaire and asked to be detectives, to collect clues, to find out about the history and heritage of the building, the city, its people, plus key aspects of Christian belief and practice. In two groups they joined their teachers and Cathedral staff in an exploration of the building.

Adult and child interaction was relaxed, the children communicating with the Cathedral staff using first names.

In the first instance there was considerable adult exposition, storytelling and questioning and limited opportunities for the children to lead learning or to demonstrate agency; it was a hierarchical, binary model of teaching and learning (Jobb 2019, Raby 2014). However, authentic contact and dialogue provided opportunities for children to use their previous knowledge to interpret new experiences, increasing understanding of themselves and others (Jackson 1997, Nesbitt 1998, 2004) and providing exemplars of engaging ways in which CHVs might later engage their peers.

The content was both multicultural and interfaith. It explored cultural and religious diversity (Banks and Banks 2007, Cole 1991, Hull 1991, Jackson 1997, Nesbitt 1998, 2004, McLaren 1994, Modood 2020) and multiple identities and perspectives. It also emphasised what groups and individuals share, raising questions about social justice. Teachers and students consciously engaged in the interpretive construction of knowledge, while critiquing various forms of inequities and injustices (Alismail 2016, Jenks 2001).

Activities allowed discussion, and the sharing of ideas; the children were encouraged to ask questions, pose hypotheses and shape the pattern of learning. For example, they found the memorials to children who died in Georgian and Victorian times really interesting. This stimulated unsolicited and unplanned discussion, leading the children to draw parallels with their experience of the Pandemic. As their confidence increased, they asked searching questions. 'Diane are you a Muslim? You look Christian (because I am White), but you know a lot about us!' This led to discussion about whether it is possible to know what someone believes or where they come from, just by how they look. Children slowly began to realise that being White was not synonymous with

being Christian and that being Pakistani does not automatically equate with being Muslim; an inaccurate, common expectation of Bradford's communities, reinforced by the likes of Cattle (2001, 2004, 2018) and Denham (2001), which has proved hard to dispel (Alam 2006).

The font prompted discussion about the rite of baptism. The children were asked, 'Do Muslims do anything similar?' The practice of whispering the adhan in a baby's ear became a talking point. Links were also made between the minbar in a mosque and the pulpit in the Cathedral, the content and importance of the Qur'an and the Bible and how these are handled. In the East Window the Old Testament prophets were located and the Muslim/Judeo-Christian name game played - Abraham/Ibrahim, Isaac/Ishmael, Moses/Musa - drawing out similarities and differences across multiple religions (Cole 1991, Hull 1991, Jackson 1997, Nesbitt 1998, 2004, Smart 1989). This approach supports Genc and Uddin's (2023) post-confessional, inclusivist religious education model, in which children learn to better understand plurality and humankind's experiments in living. A way of working which informs personal views of reality, helping children to 'grasp the meaning and value of the plural cultures of today's world' (Smart 1989, p9); an example of religion in the service of the child (Hull 1996, Stern 2018).

Lapage staff interjected as appropriate, supporting children with additional needs and making good use of interpretive strategies (Jackson 1997, Nesbitt 1998, 2004). A Muslim support assistant asked a group of children discussing the role of a bishop, 'Is an imam and a mufti the same? No, that's right, he's not. So, a bishop is a bit like a mufti, he's more than just a priest. Like a mufti is more than an imam' (Support Assistant, February 2022). They encouraged the CHVs to pull the bell ropes, sit in the cathedra and try on the stoles, choir robes, cope and miter. The exploration of the social dimension of religion, as manifested through art, objects and the building combined with the comparisons made with Islam, suggested a universalist approach to the teaching of religious and world views. It presented religion as a single entity, one which is legitimately expressed and experienced differently (Cole 1991, Smart 1989).

Migration and settlement were identified as recurring themes in Bradford's history (Bowen 1991, McLoughlin 2014). The children traced the patterns on the Saxon cross. They learnt the story of the Broad-Ford and how the city got its name, about the first Christians who came from faraway places (e.g., a Saxon called Stenaulf, Paulinus the monk from the Mediterranean, a French lord from Normandy, Ilbert de Lacy and the church's first patron Alice de Lacy). They were asked to look for traces of why Bradford was once known as Little Germany (McLeod 2014, Priestley 1934).

The World War I bells, window and memorials encouraged interesting discourse about Bradfordians of German descent and others, who fought on the British side; 'Look at the flags! There's a Japanese flag. Were they on *'our'* side?' 'Is it called a world war because it was everyone?' The children were keen to talk about conflict and friendship and the desire for peace in Bradford, during and also post-World War I. They talked about the importance of not fighting and being friends. 'Not everyone in Bradford wanted to fight, Some kids (the Bradford Pals) joined in just because their friends did' (CHVs February 2022). They commented that it is important for people to know about each other to live together 'without falling out.' One child asserted 'We need to talk to each other, like this' (CHV February 2022).

Towards the end of the visit time was designated for reflection and for informal peer discussion. Collaborating with a partner, wherever they felt comfortable, the CHVs designed Cathedral posters, focusing on one aspect of the space. This area would become the focus for their peer educator roles. Although an element of choice was allowed, some aspects of the Cathedral are more difficult to understand and explain than others, therefore the teachers did steer some children towards certain areas in order to facilitate success. The adults took a step back, supporting and helping children when asked, but allowing them to move around the space as they wished, to chat to each other and the vergers and welcomer.

The children talked freely and commented on their experience. 'I liked the history, the bit about the wool'. 'Can't wait to be the teacher; *this is my bit of the Cathedral*' (showing the welcomer his poster). 'The stairs to nowhere are interesting. I want to go up!' 'I have learnt a lot about the Jesus stories'. 'I've never talked to Christians before. I can't believe it's similar. Er you know, the religions, what we do and stuff'. 'I like that anyone can come here. I always thought it would be just for Christians' (CHVs February 2022).

In the plenary the children said that they had 'learnt new things' and were 'more confident', 'I can't wait to be the teacher', 'I feel excited' 'I think I can do it now'. They wanted to know how quickly they were returning: 'When do we come again?,' 'What are we doing next time?'. The thoughts and word sheets (Appendix 11) reaffirmed these verbal comments, demonstrating a shift from the children feeling nervous, or worried at the start, to feeling 'proud', 'excited', looking forward to 'teaching', 'helping people' and 'learning more about the Cathedral' (CHVs February 2022).

Interaction with the social dimension of religion (Smart 1989) and involvement in a shared event, resulted in common and varied 'learning attitudes, interests, and motivation' (Nadelson and Jordan 2012, p1); each child's experience and response was personal and subjective, specific to the individual and differentiated by outcome (Kindermann and Riegel 2018). Knowledge and emotional and affective learning were influenced by interaction with the space and its people (Ulich 2003) and through exploring the 'values, heritage, history and the experiences of Bradford's diverse people' (CHVP Planning Document 2021).

'It's our cathedral isn't it? If you know about the Cathedral, you know about Bradford. That's important like, cos its where we all live' (CHV February 2022).

The children's reluctance at first, on entering a Christian building, soon gave way to their engagement with the heritage and the wonder at how many links there are between religions and their confidence grew. (CHVP Lead Teacher March 2022).

### Review point two

At the second review meeting the children's applications were shared and their responses to visiting the Cathedral discussed. The feeling was that the encounter had been positive. A child obviously needed support; he was experiencing significant problems at home, which were manifesting in quite extreme and challenging behaviour in school. He'd been easily distracted at the Cathedral. It was suggested that he became the 'official photographer', playing to his interest in technology (see page 230). Another child had decided that he did not want to continue, he did not want to commit to the after school clubs. It was agreed that as a volunteer his wishes should be respected (see page 46). It was agreed that the none CHV year fives' would create a 'Lockdown' memory window on acetate, which would be hung as panels over the clear glass window in the West End of the Cathedral. Bradford banners 'Our place, Our Time', would also be created and then digitally transferred from paper to three pop up banners for display in the Cathedral.

### Work in school

Throughout March and April 2022, the CHVs had timetabled sessions with the lead teacher. They took part in an after school CHVP club once a week. In pairs they researched their Cathedral station and the things that they would focus on when peer educating. They used photos, sketches and poster notes from their visit and the 'Discover Bradford Cathedral Blog' and online '360 Degree Trail' (see Appendix 4).



*Year five children working on the banners April 2022*

The children who were not CHVs began work on the banners and stained glass windows. These activities constituted a form of mutual peer education (Topping et al 2017), allowing children to work collaboratively, to reflect on their experiences during Lockdown, to talk about growing up in Bradford, the things which they liked, their favourite places and to suggest, what might make it a better place to live.

### Peer educators and learners

In March the CHVs returned to the Cathedral. They exuded confidence, waving at myself and other Cathedral staff as they entered: 'Hiya, we're back!' 'What are we doing today?' 'Can I go get our stuff?' 'I'm looking forward to this. I know more now!' 'It's lovely that we're back isn't it? I'm dying to do my bit!' (CHVs March 2022). The volunteers felt they had the ability to 'pass on' what they had learnt about a space, which to them was increasingly imbued with value: 'It's important for people to know about *our* cathedral' (CHV March 2022); emplacement had taken place, as result of sustained contact (Hackett 2015, Hackett et al 2016). Chatting with each other, the Cathedral, teaching and support staff, the CHVs sorted their own name badges and lanyards, artefacts and any other equipment they needed. They were divided into two groups, educators and learners, they then swapped roles.

This session was child led, only the initial organisation of groups and the way of moving clockwise around the Cathedral, prescribed by adults. Child interaction, dialogue and decision making were to the fore. They employed the use of techniques modeled during their initial visit; consequently, the peer learners were active learners, interpreting new information in the light of their own experience (Nesbitt 1998, 2004). The volunteers had agency, managing their own learning and that of their peers. Within the confines of their roles and the setting, they were quite autonomous, making choices collegiately and independently, based on democratic principles, reason and experience (Gundara 2000). This experience influencing their 'present and future ability to contribute to the common good of the 'community and its environment' (Church of England 2016, p2).





*CHVs working on their presentation skills at the Cathedral.*

The adults provided challenge: ‘How can you get other children to talk to you?’ ‘What might you ask them to do?’ ‘How will the visitors know that it is their Cathedral?’ They also offered positive feedback: ‘Wow well done; I never knew that!’ ‘What a great idea to let them dress up’. ‘I bet they will enjoy looking for the elves. I would!’ (Cathedral Educators, March 2022). The lead teacher stressed that not knowing wasn’t a problem: ‘No one knows everything. If you don’t know, someone else might, so what should you do?’ This received a unanimous response ‘Help each other!’

When assuming the role of peer learners, the children made notes on the detective sheet used by visiting children (Appendix 12). This gave the peer educators a feeling of what it would be like to be asked questions and to have to wait for notes to be taken. At the end of the session, the intention was to recycle the sheets, but it was evident from a cursory glance that they needed keeping. They provided an interesting insight into how well peer educators had got their message across to learners and their depth of knowledge. This was a salutary reminder that even incidental things may provide data, which help to create an overall mosaic picture, adding much to the richness of qualitative research (Clarke and Moss 2005).

The detective sheets showed that the majority of peer educators had used correct, specialist vocabulary. Interestingly most focused on religious belief and practice e.g., the Eucharist, baptism, call and response. This was interesting, reflecting personal interest and confidence in explaining a religion different to their own. The sheets also made it clear that one pair were very confused, they

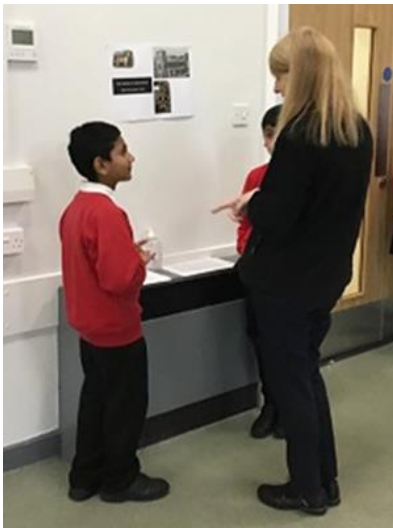


had muddled up the actions of King Charles I and Oliver Cromwell. Consequently, every single pair of peer learners had incorrect information on the detective sheets. This was addressed back in school and all was well by the first takeover day.

In the plenary the children stated that they had enjoyed ‘being in charge’ and ‘helping each other’ (CHVs March 2022); their actions demonstrated increasing confidence in contact (Turner and Cameron 2016). Every child said they felt more confident. They commented that it was ‘really good’, and that after the first group ‘it was easier’ (CHV March 2022). They observed that it was difficult not to end up with two groups at a station. This led to discussion about working as a team, looking after each other and watching what was going on elsewhere. Teamwork in voluntary participation is important, involving interaction, negotiation, doing things together and working toward a common goal. Through being open and learning from each other and working as a team the CHVs showed respect for each other; balancing self-interest and the common good; engendering feelings of belonging and increasing confidence (Liu et al 2021).

### Review point three

It was agreed that the artwork project and extra-curricular CHV club would continue. The latter focussing on the evidence gleaned from observations and the children’s comments from the last visit. It was noted that the CHVs demonstrated an increasing willingness and ability to discuss experiences, identity and belonging and confidence in navigating religions and cultures. The



*CHVs delivering to Year 4 and staff in school.*

detective sheets, however, highlighted a need for more balance in content. It was agreed that the work in school would consequently steer the children’s focus towards history, as well as religion.

### Work in school

The CHVs led a session for the whole of year four and all staff. They were stationed in the hall, next to images of the area or things of interest that they were specialising in at the Cathedral. They introduced these, to both children and adults, explaining the stories associated with them. This was an

opportunity to practice interacting with a variety of people, re-affirming the partnership between the Cathedral and Lapage and signposting this as an integral part of the curriculum.

Moving outside classrooms, undoubtedly increases the possibility of learning being different, open to change and less rigidly structured in terms of power geometries (Anderson 2008, Brillante and Mankiw 2015, Jobb 2019, Massey 2005). However, such shift in the prescribed roles of teacher and pupil, may also occur in school. Any space is constantly under construction and reconstruction, therefore reconceptualising space as a co-constructed learning place is possible (Brillante and Mankiw 2015). However, this does require a shift in pedagogical stance and the actualisation of shared power, to allow the expert child to emerge (Brillante and Mankiw 2015, Jobb 2019). If attention is given to appropriate pedagogy and a space has appropriate educational functionality, then agentic peer education and learning in schools and classrooms is possible (Kellock and Sexton 2017, Riegel & Kindermann 2016).

### Takeover days

Three Cathedral takeover days were scheduled for 2022. Two Cathedral staff worked in partnership with the lead teacher, one adult volunteer (an ex teacher), the class teachers and support staff from Lapage. The high staffing levels and the child led nature of the sessions enabled me to step back, to take notes and talk to peer educators, peer learners and adults, using a semi structured observation schedule in each session (Appendix 1). Each day began and ended with reflection time for the peer educators, allowing their participation in the evaluation of the experience and their views and ideas, to be used to inform future action. They recorded their feelings on thoughts and words sheets. These were collected and any significant, or reoccurring comments noted. The CHVs had the run of the Cathedral precinct at lunchtime to relax and play.

### School A - Lapage - visit- April 2022

The first takeover day took place during Ramadan two of the support staff and some of the children were fasting. It was also the first day back in school after the Easter holidays. The CHVs arrived thirty minutes before the visitors and were noticeably quieter, apprehensive about the task ahead: 'I'm scared I'm going to forget things', 'What if they don't listen?' 'I'm nervous' 'I'm a bit worried' (CHVs April 2022). The lead teacher and I reminded the CHVs of how competent they were.

The peer learners were the rest of year five from Lapage. The group consisted of thirty-six children, one teacher and two support assistants; none had visited a church previously. The adult team explained what was going to happen. The accompanying adults were asked to 'let the CHVs speak, please don't be tempted to take over. The children are in charge!' (Lapage Lead Teacher, April 2022). Time was spent by the teacher and Cathedral educators on emphasising shared, civic ownership of

the Cathedral: 'It doesn't matter what religion you are, or if you have no religion, this is your Cathedral' (Cathedral Educator April 2022); encouraging the space to be seen as a significant shared place (Tuan 1977).

The visitors were divided into small groups and followed a pair of CHVs to their station. The role of the facilitators and CHV teachers was purely to encourage (thumbs up, being the shared message if everything going well) and to help movement from group to group. This was initially an issue, but as the CHVs steadily grew in confidence (about the third group in) they began to chaperone peer learners around the building. As the morning progressed, the thumbs up signal was used more and more, the peer educators, were spending longer with the learners, who were trying on the mitre and cope, the stoles, handling the wool sack and pulling the bell ropes. One pair of CHVs decided to hide the Cathedral's resident chorister (elves on a shelf) dolls, in the choir stalls for the visitors to find. This was very popular 'I liked searching for the dolls best' (Peer Learner 2022). In the plenary the visiting children's comments suggested they were impressed with the CHVs: 'Miss how do they know so much?', 'It was better than I thought it would be', 'I wish I was a volunteer' (Peer Learners April 2022). When the lead teacher asked how many now wished that they had volunteered, most hands went up immediately.

The afternoon group consisted of thirty-five children and four accompanying adults. The CHVs seemed confident and were very keen to get started. The peer learners were mainly from the class identified as ill-prepared for the school sessions. The children didn't know why they were visiting the Cathedral. The class teacher struggled to explain and even to divide them into groups, the CHV lead teacher took over. This suggests that teachers remain key to the success of learning endeavours outside the classroom (Raw 2004, Waite 2017) needing, as in the classroom, to demonstrate an irrefutable commitment to such initiatives, if children are to benefit from the experience (Banks and Banks 2007). Interestingly, the class teacher explained at different points during the visit, that many of the children 'were not as able' as the rest of year five, demonstrating low expectations, and shifting the blame for the children being ill-prepared, from adult to child.

The CHVs had to work to get visitors to talk to them, to look, listen and ask questions. A few told me how hard it was and that some children 'didn't know how to behave in a church' However, they told them how and why 'It's a special place for Christians, you have to respect it'. 'Don't make so much noise people might be praying' (CHVs April 2022). The CHVs were supported by the adult CHV team appearing at strategic moments, praising their efforts and reinforcing their status as leaders of

learning. Two Muslim boys made it clear that they felt that they shouldn't be visiting a church 'It's not what we do, it's for Christians'. This attitude had not been apparent in previous years when the school lead was a Muslim teacher. This may suggest that she provided a model (Arora 1992, 2005, Richardson 1992, Demi and Huat 2022). Her involvement suggesting that cross-faith contact was normal and acceptable.

The new CHV lead teacher was aware of the changed dynamic and the boys' reticence, therefore she had talked previously to the children in school and their parents, who were wholly supportive of the project. The boys still started off quite belligerent, but surprised by their peers' knowledge, they soon became more positive (showing a particular interest in the WWI window and the Battle for the Steeple). Accompanied by a Muslim student teacher, who modelled respect and interest, their reticence vanished as they progressed around the building. In the plenary one ventured, 'It was good, better than I thought', then gesturing at the CHVs, 'They were good' (Peer Learner April 2022).

When the visitors were asked at the end if they had the chance again would they volunteer, the overwhelming response was in the affirmative. This was an interesting shift in the class where initial engagement was poor, possibly indicating (SUTH and KSUSOMAD suggested) that peer education has a positive impact on learners (Barrett 2012, Topping 2017, Turner and Shepherd 2019). Although it is not a given that children will learn better from other children (Topping et al 2017) through providing a role model, pitching things at an appropriate level and using shared language registers, peer education often works for those children, whom traditional teaching methods struggle to reach (Turner and Shepherd 1999).

In the CHV feedback and plenary, the children were praised for their conduct and excellent work. They thought the afternoon had been harder than the morning, 'I know how Miss feels now when we don't listen' (CHV April 2022). It was interesting that they judged certain children as having behaved inappropriately, but they stated they had the confidence to challenge this 'I told her, no, please don't run. You are in a special place!', 'I said it's all our cathedral, its special, so you should look after it' (CHVs April 2022). The responses on the thoughts and words sheets suggested increased confidence: 'It got better, I could do it'. 'The best bits were: 'helping them learn', 'teaching', 'being in charge', 'how much they liked the elves. That bit really worked, it was fun', 'helping people to try stuff on and taking their pictures' (CHVs April 2022). The CHVs also suggested how they might change things next time 'I need to go slower', 'I am going to practice more, so I feel

more confident', 'Not be so worried, we know more than them', 'I'm just looking forward to doing it again' (CHVs April 2022).

### School B visit – May 2022

The CHVs knew that they were going to meet and work with children from another school, and were more nervous. The Lapage art work was on display and this caused some excitement 'Diane where's our art stuff? Can we see it?' (CHV May 2022). The girls whose station was in the vicinity decided to incorporate the Lockdown stained glass windows, into their content and delivery 'Because it's about what happened where we live' (CHV 2022).

The peer learners were from Keighley, an interesting dynamic. Although part of BMDC, Keighley people view their town as distinct and separate. Muslim communities are quite different across the District (Bowen 1991, Lewis 2002, 2007). Keighley has a large Bangladeshi community, Bradford's is majority Mirpuri Punjabi, so although sharing a Muslim identity, there are significant national, cultural and linguistic differences. These were reflected in the life experiences of children from the two schools. The peer educators and learners discussed these: 'Do you go to mosque?', 'No girls don't go', 'Well I do! We do in Keighley. Why not?', 'Do you learn Urdu?', 'No Polish, but I can read Arabic' (Peer Educators and Learners May 2022).

Such discussion again highlighted that difference goes beyond Cantle's (2001) simplistic categorisation of people into Christian and Muslim, White and Asian; such 'labels' offering a limited and stereotypical reading of the complex reality of multicultural Bradford (Bagguelly and Hussain 2016, Bujra and Pearce 2011, Phillips 2006). A shared identification with Islam, far from negated the value of this Bradford-Keighley encounter. If anything it helped to develop further an authentic, community wide narrative (Zapata Barrero 2017).

The visiting teacher was under the impression that the CHVs were presenting a piece of drama or music. The programme for the day had been sent by the CHV lead teacher to the Headteacher. The detailed information had at worst failed to be passed on, or at best, had not been read and understood. The group consisted of thirty-eight children, two teachers and four support assistants. Although nervous, it was interesting to watch the CHVs begin to interact with them; they relaxed and really owned the process. Thumbs up were prevalent and peer educators adapted content to suit the needs of the children they were working with (none of whom had ever been in a church before), splitting, combining and chaperoning groups as necessary. One highlight was when the

boys, who had got their story so wrong when they did the preparation session back in March, came to let me know that ‘Two groups are together now (eight children) so we’ll do them together, it’s okay (big smile). We can do it!’ (CHV 2022).

Two of the visiting supporting adults found it difficult to stop teaching and to let the children lead, even when asked to do so ‘We know it’s hard to step back, but please do’ (Lapage Lead Teacher, May 2022). They interfered and posed questions which were inappropriate. The Volunteers in Saint Aidan’s stood in silence as one teacher made the visitors write sentences on their detective sheet, spelling out words and not allowing the CHVs to help or deliver; the aide memoir, turned into a formal worksheet in one fell swoop; child to child discourse and contact was minimal. This was a classic case of teachers taking away the children’s ‘precious time to get to know each other’ (Raw 2006). One of the CHVs shrugged and held her hands up when I popped in to check that they were okay. No thumbs up. One young Muslim teacher was everywhere, excited and supportive. The class teacher was incredibly impressed with Lapage, but also convinced that his children were too ‘passive’ to do anything similar.

In the plenary the peer learners were keen to praise the CHVs and clapped to show their appreciation. The class teacher expressed surprise at how good they were, saying they were ‘a credit to their school and teachers’ (Visiting Teacher May 2022). When the peer learners were asked if they would like to be a volunteer, every hand went up. In their feedback, the volunteers said that engaging the children had taken some effort. One said pointedly ‘The teacher wouldn’t shut up!’ (CHV May 2022). All the same the recurring comments were: ‘It was okay once we got going and they could talk to us’, ‘When are we back again?’, ‘I’m looking forward to doing it already’ (CHVs May 2022).

The way in which the visiting children had been prepared and their expectations managed, impinged on the quality and quantity of the interaction and learning that ensued, again suggesting that the success of such encounters, owes much to teachers’ attitudes and personal philosophy (DES 1985a, Richardson 1992, Jobb 2019, Waite 2017). Where this favours the expert adult and passive model of teaching and learning (Edwards and ap Siôn 2018, Illich 1971), LOTC is inhibited from positively disrupting normative classroom practice. If adults are not prepared to allow power dynamics to shift as appropriate to the space and activities undertaken (Jobb 2019), then there is little worth in stepping outside in the first place (Waite 2017).

### School C visit - May 2022

This was the CHVs final takeover day. They entered the Cathedral smiling and waving at the facilitators, finding their seats in the nave and stowing away their possessions in the correct places, without prompting, no sign of nerves. According to the three accompanying staff, they had walked smiling and waving at passersby 'sharing the love'. The CHVs checked their stations. A number decided to make adjustments; one pair decided to talk about the shell symbol at the font; another to use a picture from 1931, a mock-up of the wool sacks hung on the steeple in 1642. One pair said they had found it hard to stop visitors leaning on things when writing and asked if I would remind peer learners to only use their clipboards. I agreed. Such requests suggesting that they knew that the adults in the team, valued and were willing to act upon their feedback.

In Saint Aidan's Chapel there are symbols of the Trinity. Pointing to one of these I asked the CHVs who were getting ready to work in there: 'So, do Christians believe in three Gods then? Unanimous response 'No! One!' A child interjected, 'Of course it's one, Christianity is a monotheistic religion'. This was use of correct, specific vocabulary, which I had never used with the CHVs. I checked with others on the team, neither had they. The child had come across this word when doing personal research and was using this specialised vocabulary in encounters with others. Placing the child in a peer educator role, provided motivation for independent learning and resulted in new knowledge and understanding (Barrett 2012, Nadelson and Jordon 2012).

Before the visitors arrived the CHVs reconvened in the nave and were asked by the lead teacher, if they could explain the meaning of the three words, which made up their title - community, heritage and volunteer. One child suggested that community meant 'all of us, you know living together, getting on', another that heritage was to do with 'things from the past, history, which influences us today, or we've inherited', another explained that volunteering was 'doing something to help people, because you want to'. When the visitors arrived the CHVs remained quietly confident. The teachers and facilitators were working fairly seamlessly as a team. The CHV teacher stressed to the visiting adults the need to step back and let the CHVs teach. 'Think of it as a day off'. She also made much of the need for the visiting children to both listen to and talk to the CHVs. 'Ask them questions, talk to them, make friends and tell them what you know already' (Lapage Lead Teacher, May 2022).

The peer learners (a big group of 45) had already done work in school about the Cathedral and were well prepared for the experience. They were already divided into groups and ready to set off with the CHVs to their stations. The whole atmosphere was purposeful and the visiting children tackled

the detective tasks with as much focus as the CHVs; asking insightful and appropriate questions, discussing, comparing and contrasting this new learning, with what they already knew. They were really enjoying the experience and were keen to get fully involved. The lead teacher from the visiting school was transfixed and asked if her children could be CHVs in future years.



*Peer learners trying on the mitre, cope and cathedra for size.*

The peer learners were heavily resourced with five teaching assistants and a teacher. One teaching assistant was as enthusiastic as the class teacher, three sat in the nave. One was quite perplexed by what she was observing and approached me to say what a shame it was that the CHVs were not older; in her opinion that would have worked better. This was an interesting comment, particularly as the engagement, contact and dialogue between the children was excellent. The learners were keen to ask questions interact and take part in activities suggested by the CHVs. This member of staff was unable to recognise this, she did not see the value in peer education, or the opportunity afforded by moving outside the classroom to encourage the emergence of an expert child (Brillante and Mankiw 2015, Jobb 2019, Waite, 2017).

In the plenary the peer learners expressed their surprise at how much the CHVs knew about the Cathedral, Bradford and its people and said how much they had liked working with them. They indicated that they would like to volunteer at the Cathedral. The teacher thanked the CHVs and said how impressed she was. The session ended with a reminder that the Cathedral belongs to everyone in Bradford and that the visitors were welcome back anytime. The CHVs were very buoyed by the



morning's experience: 'It was great' 'They really listened' 'They asked loads of questions', 'I liked these children!', 'I liked helping them' (CHVs May 2022).

After lunch the second group of the day arrived. The difference in demeanour and level of preparedness was obvious. There were forty-four children, two teachers and two support assistants. The children were not divided into groups and it took a while to organise them so that they could go off with the CHVs. The lead CHVP teacher did much of the organising. Although the introduction and welcome were exactly the same as in the morning, it took at least 20 minutes for the visiting children to settle down to the tasks, but they did. Realising that what the CHVs were doing was interesting, their behaviour and level of engagement improved as the session progressed. The CHVs were confident enough to help the learners stay on task and if they had any concerns to ask for adult back up, which generally took the form of low level policing. After a slow start, dialogue flowed and the visitors asked questions and shared their ideas; by the end of the session there was a positive, collegiate working atmosphere.

In the plenary the visitors thanked the CHVs and asked a range of really interesting questions, prompted by their interaction with the CHVs. 'Why are there angels?', 'What are the shields for?', 'Who was the first person to build a church here?' 'Why did the Cathedral's name get changed?', 'How many people come here on a Sunday?' (Peer Learners May 2022). The lead teacher and I redirected the questions to the CHVs, who answered in front of the whole group. All but two of the visiting children suggested that they would like to be CHVs 'I want to learn even more about the Cathedral' (Peer Learner May 2022). The visiting teacher praised the CHVs. It is interesting that the feedback from the CHVs was that they found this group challenging initially 'but they got better' and 'they were nice, they really talked to us and asked loads of questions' (CHVs May 2022).

Again, the visitors had arrived ill-prepared. It is interesting that this lack of preparation was not institution specific, two schools each had one well prepared, and one ill-prepared group, meaning for both children and adults, the impact from the same experience and outcomes differed (Kindermann and Riegel 2018). This again highlights the importance of teachers being not only informed, but also personally invested in LOTC, understanding the purpose of multicultural learning outside the classroom, its value in bridging 'cultural, ethnic and religious borders' and being able to 'envision new possibilities .... and engage in personal and visionary action' (Banks and Banks 2007, p5).

### Responding to individual needs

It's easy to assume from the feedback, that the experience of being a CHV was universally affirming and straight forward, but just as in classrooms, some children needed more support than others. A very gregarious, able boy volunteered immediately, but found it difficult to behave appropriately, or to accept that he would be trusted. He was loud, drawing attention to himself and attempting to disrupt others. This was initially dealt with by adults insisting that he could do the role, behave responsibly and model good behaviour for visitors.

At school this child's problems were escalating, he would regularly challenge authority and often arrived upset and angry. He seemed to hold me in some awe, so this helped prevent his behaviour becoming inappropriate at the Cathedral, but at times it was close. On one particular takeover day he arrived at school upset, didn't settle and when challenged, ran out of the school grounds, followed by staff who gave chase. He eventually returned and maintained that he wanted go to the Cathedral. To allow him to do so was risky, but it was decided that he could go, accompanied by a behaviour support assistant and on the understanding that if he couldn't do his role, this would result in him returning to school immediately. All this was conveyed to the Cathedral staff on arrival and strategies discussed. The child was given the responsibility of keeping the iPad safe and recording aspects of the morning. As a result, he was calm, engaged and on task. He left happy, which allowed both facilitators and teachers to make much of his contributions.

Another takeover day found the child arriving at school distressed. Hugging the teacher on arrival, he talked about being upset and asked the teacher to explain to me that he was angry. He was scared that I might 'tell him off' for being 'in a mood'. He entered the Cathedral sullen and obviously unhappy; I 'misplaced' my phone, the lead teacher suggested that the child would be able to find it. He did, almost immediately. Much laughter and the rest of the morning went well, with the child on task and interacting appropriately with children he had not met before; asking and answering questions, helping them try on the cope and mitre and recording this on the ever present iPad.

As with SUTH and KSUSOMAD, the CHVP seemed to resonate with children such as this, those often labelled hard to reach. As Barrett (2012) stated, placing children in a peer educator role, ascribed value to their knowledge and experience, providing motivation for learning and resulting in raised self-esteem. Volunteering has also been shown to increase feelings of belonging, building trust and connections between individuals and groups (Abrams, Horsham and Davies 2023). This particular child, thrived on responsibility and interpreting the Cathedral for 'other school students in a creative

way' (Barrett 2012, p82). LOtC meant that the facilitating adults were able to be more flexible in terms of responding to his individual needs and wants, than was perhaps possible in the more restricted and formalised school environment. This child thrived outside the classroom in the Cathedral space, with the help of his iPad and CHV status (Barrett 2012, Harrison 1970, Waite 2017). The tangible outcome of his volunteering was his iPad footage, which the CHV lead teacher used as a basis for a short video; affirming the importance of his contribution and placing his work centre stage (Appendix 4).

### Communities celebrating together



*Lapage artwork on display at the Cathedral*

The 2022 CHVP year culminated in an after school community celebration event, which took place at the Cathedral. Invited guests, parents and friends (50 plus adults, approximately 20 younger children and 4 teenagers) attended. Only two families were non-Muslim. The teenagers were CHV alumni. Senior NAT officials, Lapage's Chair of Governors and members of the senior leadership team were in attendance. A number of the Cathedral's adult volunteers were also present



*Celebration event, last minute discussions before the visitors arrived*

The event commenced with children and adults in the nave and a welcome from the Dean: 'You are all very welcome, it is lovely to have you here, because this is your Cathedral' (Acting Dean June 2022). The lead teacher then sent the CHVs off to their stations to first guide their own family and friends; they were confident, assured and without prompting, moved their guests onto the next station before engaging with another group. Teachers, Cathedral staff and governors moved around and many were encouraged to try on the stoles, mitre and cope. The Chair of Governors and Headteacher both found themselves photographed wearing these.

I talked informally to the adult visitors and the unexpected returning CHV alumni, now in years 7 and 8 respectively. Each of the teenagers had chosen to attend, they were excited to be back. They could remember their bit of the Cathedral; one going over what he recollected about the masons' marks, another the World War I Window and another the bells. They moved about confidently and listened to the current CHVs. What was obvious was their eagerness to share what they knew and their genuine pleasure at being back in the building; the relationship, friendship and mutual respect still existed with the Cathedral staff; they demonstrated emplacement, moving naturally around personally significant place in which they felt comfortable (Massey 2005, Tuan 1977).



*One of the alumni listening intently*



*Explaining about the Broad-Ford*



*CHVs in action at the Celebration Event*



The children and adults returned to their seats in the nave. Certificates were presented. The guests gave the CHVs a round of applause. Refreshments were served and there was an opportunity to socialise and return to parts of the Cathedral which were of interest. To the Cathedral educators' surprise without any prompting, the CHV alumni helped serve the food. They tidied tables, and removed dirty cutlery and plates, demonstrating through voluntarily taking care of the space, that for them it was a significant place (Tuan 1977).



*The presentation of certificates.*

The parents and carers who attended valued the children's experience (Appendix 6).

I want to say thank you, this is just amazing. She would never have learnt all this in school. Thank you for letting her have the opportunity. She's loved it. I'm so proud.

I've never been in a church before, it's just beautiful. Do you have a Bible? I've never seen a Bible (I suggested she talk to the two girls at the lectern). Well, they're amazing and it's got pictures. I never thought it would have pictures. Some of the stories are the same in the old bit. You know as in the Qur'an.

I'm Bradford born and bred but I've never been in here. We'll be back!

(CHV Parents and Carers, June 2022)

Parents and teachers, parents and clergy, parents, alumni, governors and cathedral educators, were involved in conversations. Young adult volunteers were also in the mix serving food and drink and the CHVs were busy mingling with and organising everyone. A measure of success was the reluctance of children and their visitors to leave the Cathedral. They dispersed around the building after refreshments, 'Just to have a second look, cos we never got to see that bit' (CHV Parent June 2022). One of the vergers found a child in the building after everyone else had left, collecting prayer cards at the behest of his Mum. He was escorted to his Mum who was waiting outside. She was very pleased, her only complaint was that they had to leave: 'There was not enough time!' (CHV Parent June 2022).

The celebration event was evidence of the CHVP's positive influence on cohesion. Like TLN, SUTH and KSUSOMAD, its intergenerational aspect was a success. It extended an exploration of multicultural content and actualised intercultural contact, creating feelings of a joint enterprise heritage, belonging and cohesion. The Cathedral space serving as a 'container' where unifying social practice occurred through contact (Oldenburg 1989, Wohl 2016). The building itself, its sharedness, as much as its specificness having an impact of this; the emphasis on emplacement across faith and cultural boundaries, adding something important. Through civic participation, the CHVs didn't just acquire knowledge *about* citizenship, they were effectively engaged in it as volunteers (Hoskins et al. 2012, Hoskins and Janmaat 2019), not just in school, but also in the wider local community (Pontes et al. 2019). By bringing non-Christian adults and children together, the CHVP community celebration helped to develop an authentic, community wide narrative (Zapata Barrero 2017).



## Final review point

The final review of 2022 was held in school and involved a meeting between teachers and myself (representing the Cathedral), followed by a second meeting with the lead teacher, myself and a cross section of CHVs. The focus was on what went well and what could have been better. The meetings themselves were a normative part of the CHVP annual review cycle. The consensus at the final staff review meeting was that the CHVP had a positive impact on all involved, the Cathedral, school, teachers, educators, peer educators, peer learners and members of the community.

## Outcomes:

- *For the peer educators* - a completely new experience, resulting in in depth learning and new relationships; an increase in confidence and dialogic skills; problem solving with a real purpose and goal in mind; working across cultures and generations; increased ability to navigate difference appropriately; a positive shift in the normative pupil teacher power dynamic allowing an element of choice and autonomy; the engendering of feelings of civic belonging (through volunteering and an exploration of identity, heritage and belonging); an authentic experience of active citizenship, resulting in evident enjoyment and a sense of achievement; understanding the Cathedral as Christian, sacred, but also as a shared space, common ground. This emplacement moving beyond faith boundaries, reinforcing and valuing personal identity (Finlayson 2012) and engendering feelings of shared heritage, belonging and cohesion.
- *For the peer learners* –personal identity valued, positive contact with diverse children; accessible learning; motivation to engage themselves, as agentic learners; increased knowledge and understanding of Bradford, its history and people; a beginning knowledge of the Cathedral as both sacred space and common ground and the possibility of emplacement; increased knowledge of Christianity and similarities and differences across religions (particularly Christianity and Islam); feelings of shared heritage, belonging and cohesion.
- *For teachers and support staff* - increased knowledge about a Christian sacred space and the Christian religion, the history and heritage of Bradford; awareness of the links that exist between cathedrals and the civic life of an area; for some a realisation that children were capable of leading learning and being agents of change; meeting and working with new people and useful collegiate, partnership working with another organisation and importantly across the NAT.

- *For the community* - access to a place which they thought was out of bounds (due to it being perceived as culturally and religiously specific); an opportunity to see children in action applying new skills and knowledge to a real situation in the community, doing their bit as citizens and demonstrating civic responsibility. A chance to ask questions, share their ideas, socialise and mix with people who they might not do normally, in a space to which children attributed value and significance; the development of an intergenerational, inter-faith and intercultural, authentic, community wide narrative (Zapata Barrero 2017).
- *For the School* - partnership with an outside organisation and an opportunity to be involved in a resourced LOtC project, requiring staff time and commitment, but placing no financial burden on the school; learning closely linked to the needs of the children (across the NAT); collegiate, participatory, shared planning, implementation and evaluation, constituting informal CPD for participating teachers; evidence of achievement of the NAT vision and the school's generic aims and objectives; learning across a number of subjects (history, geography, RE, Art, English, PSHE, citizenship and SMSC); a means of addressing the requirements of the Prevent duty (2015), Community Cohesion (2006) and the Government's current integration and cohesion policies (MHCLGUK 2018).
- *For the Cathedral* - a strengthening of community links and partnership working; an increase in footfall from schools across the Bradford district; intergenerational and community involvement; emplacement at various levels for children and for adults; an opportunity to provide multicultural education, through intercultural encounter; recent and relevant updating for Cathedral education staff; an opportunity to promote the Cathedral as an unapologetically Christian presence in the city, but also a place of welcome and common ground for all (Church of England 2016). Evidence of aspiration in practice, helping to ensure that children do not live parallel lives in the same city (Cantle 2001, Ouseley 2001) (see page 216), *demonstrating that the Cathedral takes seriously the need to promote community cohesion, prevent extremism and violence and promote integration and cohesion* (Hadwen 2018).

Several areas for future action, were identified. Evaluations of TLN, SUTH and KSUSOMAD suggested, headteacher and SMT support was essential for success, this was a strength of the CHVP; they also argued that equally (more?) important, was the need for participating teachers to have a good grasp



of the aims and objectives of the project, the process and prior knowledge of the space in which learning was located. Consistent teacher commitment and understanding was an issue during the CHVP. Therefore, it was suggested that in future teachers would be required to attend a CPD session at the Cathedral before the commencement of the project and that a simple teachers' guide to the CHVP for all NAT schools, with links to supporting resources would be produced and distributed (Appendix 4). Also moving forward, it was agreed that the peer handover needed to be re-instigated and that takeover days needed to be avoided straight after a holiday or during Ramadan.

Recognising the impact of the longitudinal nature of the project, and the ongoing interaction with the Cathedral on learning (Harrison 1970, Hackett 2016), it was decided to introduce the CHVP earlier in the autumn term, allowing work to be consolidated over a longer period of time; the CHV club would run at lunchtime instead of after school, meaning that those children who attended madrasah (supplementary mosque school), would not be excluded from volunteering. To increase intercultural contact, it was also suggested that in the 2022-23 academic year, two schools in the NAT with majority White populations, would be encouraged to visit on the takeover days, as in previous years. A whole NAT wide reminder about the project, led by the school and Cathedral lead was suggested as a possible way of increasing engagement.

### The last word

The last and arguably the most important word, was the children's because what the adults thought is all well and good, but what the children felt about being involved in the CHVP for such a length of time, is more important in creating a true picture of the experience and its impact. As part of the normative, annual review cycle, a group of the CHVs were invited to talk to the lead teacher and myself about their experiences, what they thought worked well and what would make it better for the next cohort. Thus, not only drawing upon the perceptions, experiences, feelings, values and emotions residing in the minds of participants (Mishra and Dey 2022), but extending their agency beyond the context of their own experience.

Fourteen children met in school (a cross section of those involved as timetable restrictions meant it was impossible to get the whole group together). It was an informal meeting. I explained that I would like the CHV's opinions, to help make the project even better in the future. I asked the children's permission to take notes. The discussion was loosely framed by a number of key questions, with children given the opportunity to chat with the people they were sat with, before sharing their ideas. The questions posed were:

- What did you enjoy the most about being a CHV?
- What do you think you learnt?
- What would make it better for future CHVs?
- Are you happy to help us tell other children about the CHVP in the future and prepare them for taking over your roles?

The children were still buoyed by their experience as CHVs and eager to chat about the 'best bits'. They struggled with choosing what they enjoyed the most, but high on the list was: 'talking to lots of different people', 'meeting new people', 'having like a proper job, like work experience', 'being responsible, you know being given responsibility', 'doing my job well and meeting people' (CHVs June 2022). One aspect which was greatly valued was the opportunity to handle and use artefacts and real things both in school and in the Cathedral, for example the stoles, vestments, chalice, patten and wool sacks. They suggested that there could even more use made of 'real stuff' to improve the experience further (CHVs June 2022/Appendix 5).

In terms of replies to the question 'What do you think you learnt?' initially responses highlighted substantive knowledge gained: 'I learnt about the history of the Cathedral', 'more about Bradford', 'that everyone comes from somewhere'. Surprisingly, (as this was very evident in the Cathedral sessions) they did not initially mention religion. They only referred to this after talking about knowledge they acquired about the city, people and the Cathedral's heritage. All the CHVs present identified learning how to talk to other people as important and valued gaining confidence: 'I can talk to people now and feel excited, not scared', 'I enjoyed 'helping other people learn and I feel more confident now' (CHVs June 2022); comments which mirrored those made by SUTH and KSUSOMAD Ambassadors (see pages 185 and 195).

The children found it difficult to say what would make the experience better: 'Nothing! I'd do it again now if I could', 'I'd love to do it again!' This meant I had to probe a little deeper 'Yes, great, but how could Miss Xxxxx and I make sure it was even better next time for the new volunteers and for visitors?' The children were given five minutes to discuss this amongst themselves. They then suggested a range of possibilities including: 'Have more stations. Do more of the Cathedral'. 'More time at the Cathedral', 'Getting to know more than just your bit. I knew my bit really well, but I wanted to know more about other bits, so swapping over and things, like we did when we practised' (CHVs June 2022/Appendix 5). All the CHVs affirmed that they were more than happy, to be involved

in handing over to the new year five in the autumn term. They all agreed that they would recommend volunteering 'I really enjoyed it. I'd do it again if I could' (CHV June 2022). The enjoyment of participation in the CHVP and the impact of this on learning, cannot be underestimated (Hernick and Jaworska 2018).

### The handover



*Year six 'passing on the parcel' to year five, October 2022*

The 2022 CHVs final action as peer educators, was as year six children. They handed over to the 2023 year five children in October 2022. This followed the pattern of the pre-Lockdown handovers. Without any teacher input, or formal preparation, the retiring CHVs worked as equals with the adults present in the classrooms. Working with three different classes, they explained why they had enjoyed the CHV role and then took over and demonstrated what this entailed, using a variety of pictures and artefacts to educate their peers. The child who had struggled due to personal reasons, was keen to share his thoughts; his sister volunteered as a result of his testimony. The CHVs enthused about their experience and left their peers excited and interested. This brought the CHVP full circle, preparing the way for the next cohort, resulting in thirty-two new volunteers, ready to pick up and pass on the CHVP parcel and demonstrating the motivational impact of this way of working (Barrett 2012, Topping et al 2017, Waite 2017).

### A Bradford Cathedral model?

There are obvious similarities between the CHVP and the projects storied in chapter nine, not just in terms of context, aims or process, but in terms of observable outcomes. I have summarised these below. Highlighted in yellow are the themes identified in my review of literature, and which were

observable as central to TLN, SUTH and KSUSOMAD (see chapter nine). The themes highlighted blue are additional outcomes, distinctive of the CHVP.

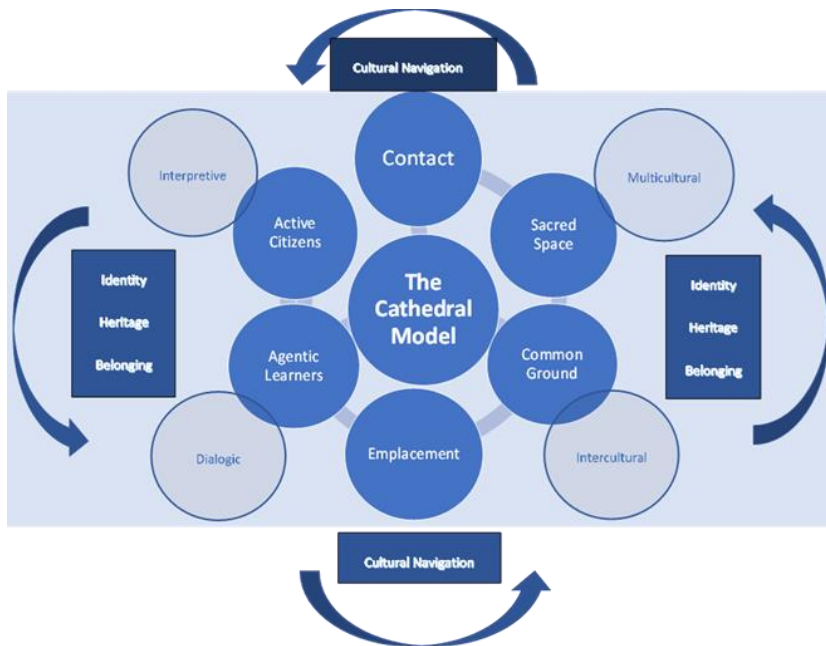
OUTCOMES - CHVP 2021 - 2022	
Children (CHVs)	Teachers/Support Staff
Increased confidence	Partnership, participative working valuable in increasing professional confidence
Developed a willingness to 'speak out'	
Demonstrated awareness that change may be affected through words and actions	
Operated successfully as active citizen's (proportionate to their age and ability)	
Viewed volunteering as a positive, adding value to society.	Viewed volunteering as a positive, adding value to society.
Saw value in agentic learning; the positive disruption of the teacher pupil power structure.	More aware of teacher/pupil power structure dynamics; tensions; performativity and external drivers
Increased confidence in using interpretive skills	
Increased knowledge and understanding of cultural and religious commonality and difference in Bradford	Raised awareness of the importance of cultural competency, religious literacy; importance of CPD/ITE
Increased substantive multicultural knowledge (particularly history (local), geography, RE and English)	Increased substantive multicultural knowledge; history and heritage of Bradford; human geography; knowledge of religion
Had an increasing ability to navigate cultures and demonstrated confidence in contact.	Increase in confidence, through and in contact; across cultural divides and with people from across the city
Valued learning outside the classroom (in some cases, over learning in the classroom); increased confidence, knowledge and understanding	Increased recognition of the importance of 'stepping outside'; the impact of this on children's knowledge, skills and attitudes; an increase in confidence; influence of performativity, finance and resources
Valued contact and dialogue with others	Teachers' valued collegiate and cross district working; contact resulted in shared aims, objectives and understanding
Felt that intergenerational learning and community contact was positive	Found involvement in intergenerational learning and community contact positive
Demonstrated enjoyment and a sense of achievement	Enjoyment – demonstrated that they valued participation
Familiarity with, care for, and feelings of ownership of the Cathedral; emplacement. Sacred (Christian) space and common ground.	Feelings of emplacement - a religious space became a shared significant place. Sacred (Christian) space and common ground.
Ability to discuss aspects of personal and collective identity, heritage and belonging.	

This synergy of outcomes suggests that the CHVP is part of Bradford's multicultural continuum. A soft approach to community cohesion (Thomas 2016), which attempts to reduce misunderstandings, cultural divisions, conflict and to create a strong, integrated 'community of communities and a community of citizens' (Parekh, 2000, p56). Although a standalone project, it too evolved as a result

of the local Bradford context and consequently shares a purpose, a process and outcomes with the cases which were considered retrospectively, adding weight to the concept of an extant Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom. The CHVP's focus on religion and world views, local history and heritage, and the use of the Cathedral as a space for multicultural learning outside the classroom, suggests the adaptability and the transference possibilities of the Bradford model. However, the latter also provides a point of divergence.

The CHVP presents the Cathedral as a shared space, a container for action (Massey 2005), which belongs to *everyone*, rather than a neutral space which belongs *to no one* (Wohl 2016). The Cathedral is not neutral, it is religiously and culturally specific, but also has an innate duality. Not only is it a sacred space, as a civic building it is common ground (Church of England 2017) and has the capacity to encourage encounters with difference. It elicits powerful emotional responses (Finlayson 2012) and feelings of belonging, which because of the civic role of the space, extends beyond cultural and faith lines, making emplacement possible across these divides (Finlayson 2012, Riegel and Kindermann 2016).

So, does this divergence mean that this contemporary project actually stands outside the Bradford model? At the heart of the CHVP is Bradford, its *different* and *particular* experience of multiculturalism, which emphasises religious difference as a potential problem in terms of establishing community cohesion. The essential elements of the Bradford model are evident in the CHVP, but instead of five *components*, there are six - *contact*, *sacred (alternative) space*, *agentic learners*, *active citizens*, *common ground* and *emplacement*. The features of the model – the *descriptors* - *multicultural, intercultural, dialogic* and *interpretive* and the cross project *dimensions* – *cultural navigation, identity, heritage* and *belonging*, remain the same.



*A Bradford Cathedral model of multicultural learning outside the classroom*

The points of divergence between the retrospective and contemporary cases, lie in the specific use of a Christian sacred space, as an alternative space for learning outside the classroom and the emphasis on common ground, the positivity of a shared (rather than neutral) space for learning; an overt focus on emplacement, encouraging participants to see Bradford as a place imbued with value and the Cathedral as a microcosm of this, a place where everyone is welcome, the space being understood as ‘Our Cathedral’ rather than ‘Their Cathedral’.

## Summary

The Community Heritage Volunteer project is more than a consequence of national politics, social policy or discourse (Cantle 2001, 2004, 2015, Hull 1989, Little and Willey 1981, Home Office 2015, Home Office 2021, Jackson 2019, Modood 2015, 2020). It is a response to the local complex religious, cultural and social context. Its content is multicultural, it reflects the wider curriculum and the move towards a focus on religion and world views, rather than Christian instruction or education (see chapter six). These factors have necessitated a major shift in emphasis in cathedral education, resulting in the emergence of a broader and more inclusive portfolio of activity (ap Sion and Edwards 2012). As a result, Bradford’s Cathedral currently provides an effective gateway to multicultural learning, through intercultural encounter (Reynolds 2018).

There is a national aspiration for all cathedrals to have a visible *presence* in the locality in which they are situated and to *engage* with people of all faiths and none (Church of England 2016, Church of England 2023). The Community Heritage Volunteer Project is a practical embodiment of this

aspiration. The CHVP, was developed and implemented in a Christian sacred space, in the centre of a culturally and religiously diverse city, with a distinctive past and a dynamic present. It is unlikely to have emerged in quite the same way elsewhere. Consequently, this contemporary case suggests that rather than a completely distinct Cathedral model, the CHVP provides evidence of how the Bradford one may be adapted and used across spatialities. A Cathedral model exists, but it is hybrid rather than separate, and firmly rooted in the Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom.

## Part Three – Findings and Conclusion

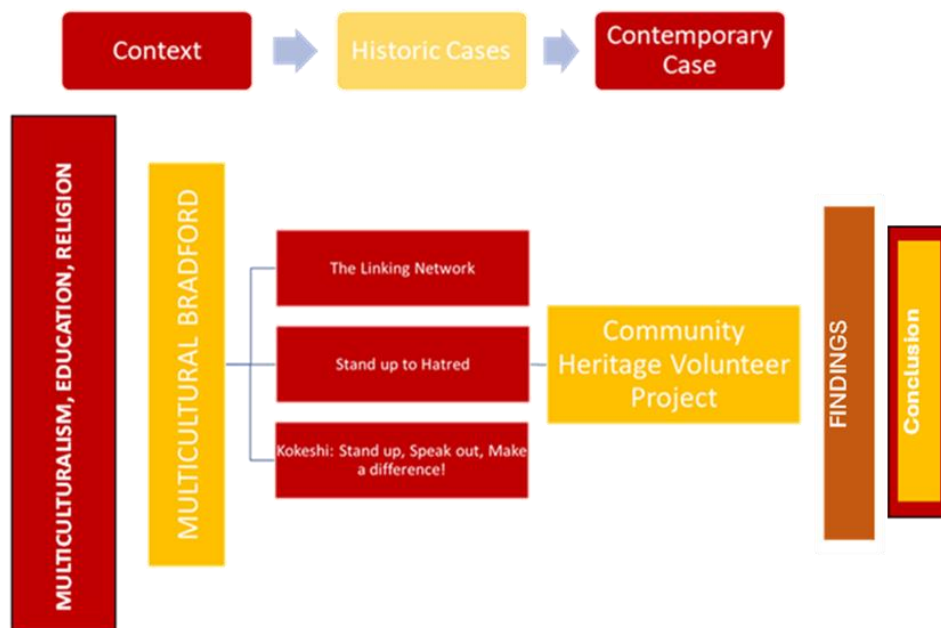
In this section I attempt to synthesise my findings, using an iterative process, identifying and analysing recurring themes, as identified in my literature review and across the retrospective and contemporary cases explored. Through making comparisons, I infer fuzzy generalisations (Bassey 1999) and highlight the possible implications of my findings for future praxis and further research.

### 11. Synopsis of Findings

Although not unique, multiculturalism in Bradford is *different*. As suggested in the previous chapters, the Bradford context, the city's experience of cultural and religious diversity, resulted in informed responses to this difference, including the design and implementation of separate, yet interrelated, multicultural education initiatives. Although distinct, these had a shared purpose; to reduce polarisation, increase cohesion and help diverse communities to live together well (Ajegbo 2007, Barrett 2012, Bowen 1997, Cameron & Dewey 2020, Kerr et al 2010, Thomson 1991, 1997). Collectively these projects (identified as best practice, both locally and nationally), demonstrate the existence of an arguably unique 'Bradford' model of multicultural learning outside the classroom. A model which constitutes something important that Bradford has to share with the rest of the world (Bowen 1997).

Through an iterative research process, keeping in mind the study's purpose and key questions (page 246), recurring concepts and themes were identified, in literature, primary written sources and across the retrospective and contemporary cases (see pages 38 and 39). Through locating, examining and interpreting recurring patterns of meaning (Kiger and Varpio 2020), it became possible to infer generalisations and draw conclusions. The process undertaken and the reoccurring themes which emerged, are synthesised in the diagram on the following page.





*Structure, foci and process of this research*

## Key questions

### 1. **Why and how did a Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom evolve?**

- How and why, does multiculturalism remain a valid sociological, philosophical and educational discourse?
- What makes Bradford's experience of multiculturalism distinctive and why?
- How and why has religion influenced education and curricular content?

### 2. **What are the model's key features?**

- What does the model look like in practice and why?
- Does learning outside the classroom in alternative spaces, have value and why?

### 3. **Is it possible to use the model in different spatialities?**

- Why and how, is this model employed in a Cathedral setting?
- Is the model adaptable to the space in which learning is situated? How and why?

### 4. **Is there evidence that the model has impact?**

- Is participation transformative, how and why?
- How far does it counteract divisions and aid community cohesion. Why?
- Does the model help people to live together well? How and why?

## Methods

Multiple methods were used, including participant observation, semi-structured interviews and questionnaires. This provided contextually bound information, which was broad enough to capture multiple aspects and narrow enough to convey generalised meaning (Mishra and Dey 2022). The focus was on collecting authentic information in normative situations, disrupting the children's learning experience minimally (Hale 2001) and increasing understanding of participant experience (Savin-Baden and Howell Major 2013). Different examples of children's responses to experience (e.g., examples of written, creative and digital work), were collected, noting their responses, actions, behaviour and feelings. This helped create a mosaic which, although never quite complete and missing a tile or two, presented an authentic picture of the phenomenon under investigation (Braun and Clarke 2021). The gaps in the mosaic are not problematic, they highlight areas for further research and investigation (Clark and Moss 2005).

Considering the projects as case studies acknowledged the central importance of context (Day-Ashley 2017) and allowed a rich and colourful storying of phenomena (Smith et al 2009). Employing case study methodology and methods meant that the focus was on the 'voices' of participants and allowing what they said to be heard (Clark and Moss 2005); the child was at the centre of things, their experience and lives lived (Clark 2005). Comparing multiple cases, retrospective and contemporary, provided triangulation, aiding validation and allowing movement between the past and the present, the particular and the general. The identification of common trends and themes through a repetitive process, resulted in new knowledge and understanding. It suggested principles, allowing 'fuzzy generalisations' (Bassegy 1999) to be made, while acknowledging that the phenomenon researched, may be productively explored and understood further (Stake 1994).

## Thematic analysis

Through reviewing literature, it was possible to identify concepts and themes pertinent to the research purpose and questions, which were worthy of more detailed consideration (Mishra and Dey 2023). This involved considering textual sources around multicultural, intercultural and educational discourse, the local context and religion. Keeping these in mind, the next step involved the same process, focussing on retrospective case evidence and then the contemporary case. The concepts, which emerged and re-emerged (often described as codes (Braun and Clarke 2021)), through this iterative process, indicated developing themes (Ryan & Bernard 2003), which influenced my focus evidence base and findings (Kiger and Varpio 2020).

1 - Initial concepts	2 – Developing concepts	3 – Emerging themes	4 – Themes	* Additional CHVP
<i>Permeating: context multicultural, multifaith Bradford</i>				
Multiculturalism <b>Bradford</b> Interculturalism	Culture Religion Conflict Cohesion Education	Context Contact Dialogue Conflict Religion Cohesion Community Understanding	Contact Alternative space Cultural navigation Agentic learners Active citizens Dialogue Interpretation	Common ground  Sacred space  Emplacement
<i>Permeating: identity, heritage and belonging</i>				

*Grid mapping iterative central themes*

These recurring themes were tabulated and plotted across cases (Appendix 14), their replication in multiple projects, suggesting the existence of a transferable and replicable framework, a Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom.



*The Bradford Model of multicultural learning outside the classroom*

As well as the reoccurring components, descriptors and dimension evident in this model, there was also a clear recurring process across cases (see table on the following page); a generic pattern of action (whatever the content or specific focus). This was not rigid, or static, it was a reflexive and

dynamic process; its adaptability and fluidity highlighting the transference possibilities inherent within, an essentially contextual model.

The Bradford Model Process				
Activity	TLN	SUTH	KSUSOMAD	CHVP
Planning, Teacher CPD, production and dissemination of supporting resources	✓	✓	✓	✓
Peer handover/introduction	X	✓	✓	✓
School based work – contact and dialogue, identity heritage and belonging	✓	✓	✓	✓
Learning outside the classroom in an alternative space neutral/shared; contact, dialogue, action	✓	Longitudinal	Longitudinal	Longitudinal
Teacher reflection, evaluation planning – reflexivity	✓	✓	✓	✓
School based work	✓	✓	✓	✓
Community, intergenerational events in alternative spaces outside the classroom	✓	✓	✓	✓
Teacher, reflection, evaluation planning – reflexivity	✓	✓	✓	✓
Peer handover/introduction	X	✓	✓	✓

## Context

Bradford could be seen as a microcosm of the wider society, its experience central to understanding the development of multicultural education policy and practice, locally and nationally. Specific population changes in the mid-twentieth century, the continuing importance of religion (particularly Islam) to large numbers of people in the city, the conflation of this with race, ethnicity and nationality, combined with events over the years (see chapter five), has resulted in a perceived local imperative, to find ways in which to minimise conflict and increase cohesion (Bowen 1991, 1997, Bujra and Pearce 2011, Cattle 2001, 2004, Thomson 1991, 1997, Zriba 2014).

This desire was heightened in the aftermath of the 2001 disturbances in Bradford, and subsequent far right political activity (Allchorn 2018, Bujra and Pearce 2011, Hall 2013). Increased emphasis was placed on the importance of contact between individuals and groups, particularly children (Cattle 2001, Ouseley 2001, Raw 2006, Turner and Cameron 2016). This interaction it was hoped would

increase cross cultural friendships and understanding, providing opportunities to positively reconstruct an equitable, cohesive community of communities, through the negotiation of difference (Kastoryano 2018, Modood 2020, Parekh 2000). Thus, helping individuals to 'become comfortable' and thrive, in a culturally 'diverse and complex world of competing and contradictory views' (Cantle 2017, p4). Through the currency of knowledge exchange (Sze and Powell 2004), enabling all people to make productive contributions to society (Gundara 2000, Modood 2020).

This then is the context instrumental in the emergence of a Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom; a testimony to multiculturalism, being an important social reality and a valid sociological, political, philosophical and educational discourse (Armstrong 2020, Modood 2020). A study of the planning documentation, content, ways of working, evaluations and feedback across cases, demonstrated that each project was a response to Bradford's contextual difference, while recognising the importance of national and international events, government legislation, guidance and policy.

Although the cases considered in this research were developed and implemented independently, each one added to rather than disparaged that which had gone before (e.g., they built on school twinning, the Schools Language Project and the 1983 Agreed Syllabus for RE). In their content and delivery demonstrating the entwined and complementary relationship, between multiculturalism and interculturalism and an increasingly employing a pragmatic use of terminology and language.

TLN's focus on four key questions, (see chapter nine) placed the experience of living in Bradford clearly to the fore. SUTH and KSUSOMAD with their use of international stories and events, may seem to have had less local emphasis, but both addressed experiences rooted in the Bradford context (e.g., radicalisation, racism, Islamophobia and inequalities). They sought positive ways to address these, drawing comparisons between there, then and here, now. The CHVP, with its emphasis on moving people, a sacred space as shared space 'common ground', citizenship, agency and religion, was overtly informed by the Bradford context, not least the local emphasis on education and religion. In its focus and implementation, normalising diverse ways of looking at the world (Bakhtin 1981, Nesaria 2015).

Each initiative placed emphasis on an exploration of shared and individual identity, heritage and belonging. Encouraging children to value the positive aspects of cultural diversity, while (to differing degrees) confronting its more negative connotations. They reflected the reality of cultural pluralism -

divisions, inequalities and misunderstandings - alongside the rich, positive aspects of life in a multicultural society (Little and Willey 1981, Banks and Banks 2007, Arday 2020); challenging children to be active citizens and to help make Bradford a place where people 'live together well' (TLN 2022).

As examples of effective multicultural education in practice, the subject content of the retrospective and contemporary projects explored different cultures, religions and ethnicities, inside and outside the classroom. Their purpose being to:

1. Help all children access education, learn and achieve
2. Increase understanding of cultural diversity in order to minimise misunderstandings and conflict
3. Address inequalities, prejudice and discrimination.

(Banks and Banks 2007)

In each case intercultural strategies were employed to bring diverse children (and adults) together, involving them in purposeful contact, dialogue and activity. Children didn't just learn about multiculturalism, they experienced it. This was more than a superficial shuffling of curriculum content; it entailed a paradigm shift (Cooling 2023). It reduced the possibility of multicultural education being criticised as tokenistic, through minimising the distance between learner and subject.

Learning was experiential, involving first hand interaction between children and the content which they were studying (Grimmett 2000, Vince 2021). For example, participants didn't just learn *about* Nazi policies in Europe in 1938, they talked to a Holocaust survivor. Rather than watching a video of Christians in a church, they visited one, instead of reading about Islam, they met and talked to Muslims. The authentic experience first-hand, of different people and realities engendered a depth of understanding which exceeded that which could have been learnt at a distance (Vince 2021). The transformative potential of such multicultural education was demonstrated by the children's consistent assertions, across projects, that they had acquired new skills, knowledge and most importantly confidence: 'I learnt how to talk to other people' and 'to be more confident' (CHVs 2022).

Experiential multicultural education and intercultural encounters are rarely straightforward. They entail a bold leap into the experience of the other (Buber 1923, Waite 2017), but the cases studied demonstrate that this is worth the risk. Through experience and contact individuals in the Bradford context, in the locality in which they lived, got to know each other better. The exploration of difference and commonality was a source of individual enrichment (Nesbitt 2009); an example of critical multicultural education, employing intercultural means. Situating learning outside the classroom was transformational for many participants, influencing behaviours and attitudes and creating positive change through human interaction (Nesbitt 2009).

## Features

The retrospective and contemporary cases shared many features – not just the Bradford context. These dovetailed with the main themes identified earlier and are listed in the following table.

Common iterative features across the retrospective and contemporary cases	
1.	<b>The Bradford context</b> (identity, heritage and belonging)
2.	<b>Multicultural education</b> (appreciative and critical content, how to live together well)
3.	<b>Intercultural</b> (means used to implement the former)
4.	<b>Religion</b> (impact on racism, inequalities, divisions, Islamophobia, education)
5.	<b>Contact</b> (intercultural, interfaith, non-religious world views, intergenerational)
6.	<b>Dialogue</b> (intercultural, interfaith, non-religious world views, intergenerational))
7.	<b>Interpretive</b> (teaching and learning)
8.	<b>Agency</b> (challenge to existing models of teaching and learning, peer education, pupil power, child centred)
9.	<b>Active citizenship</b> (including volunteering)
10	<b>Community and cohesion</b> (limiting misunderstandings, exploring how to live together well)
11	<b>Learning outside the classroom</b> (alternative space, neutral and shared, emplacement).

Similarities were also evident in the process; in the way the projects were transformed from an idea into practice. This structured reflexive process, followed a common pattern, suggesting a blue print, or a framework and again pointing to the existence of a replicable model.

### Common iterative features of the design and implementation process across projects

1.	Team planning, production of planning documentation and supporting resources	Reflection - formally with adults across projects; replicated with children at specific points in SUTH, KSUSOMAD and the CHVP. The pattern varied, but reflexivity remained a feature.
2.	CPD/information for teachers, sharing of supporting resources	
3.	Peer handover (where possible/applicable)	
4.	Activities in school	
5.	Activities in an alternative space	
6.	Activities in school	
7.	Community wide event/s	
8.	Reflection, evaluation and forward planning (adult and child).	

This simple table shows the nuts and bolts, the practical ways in which the projects unfolded. It signals a shared educational philosophy, which emphasised collegiate working, reflection and reflexivity and the importance of work both inside and outside the classroom. It demonstrates recognition across projects of the importance of teacher participants being invested in the work, the need to support teachers in carrying out their responsibilities well (Chia and Goh 2016) and to increase practitioner understanding of the complex, changing characteristics of cultural and religious diversity (Banks et al 2001).

### Contact

Emphasis across all the initiatives was placed on finding ways to encourage purposeful contact between children (and adults) who might not normally meet, particularly in spaces in the community. For Turner and Cameron (2016) the key to positive contact is confidence, which evolves as a result of successful encounters (Raw 2006). Confidence in contact enables the exploration of the cultures of others and honest reflection on one's own; under *appropriate conditions* reducing prejudice between majority and minority groups (Allport 1954).

The efficacy of contact was demonstrated in the multicultural, collegiate teams, which encompassed a variety of religious belonging and none, who worked together across cases. Regardless of pupil demographics, this shared feature, brought a rich cultural diversity to the learning experience (Demi and Huat 2022); demonstrating that people with different perspectives and life experiences could be both friends and co-workers. This exposed children to the variety of cultures, ethnicities and religions evident in the wider local communities and society at large (Chia and Goh 2016), presenting intercultural contact as normative.



The findings of this research suggest that *purposeful* contact and face to face dialogue (Allport 1957, Cameron 2020, Lévinas 1964, Kastoryano 2018, Turner and Cameron 2016), was a successful feature across projects. This helped to facilitate the skills pertinent to navigating different cultural contexts (Ang et al 2007, Ballard 1994, Bhamra 2016, Vors et al 2018) and establishing positive cross-cultural relationships (Cantle 2001, 2004, 2015, Raw 2006). The efficacy of contact in achieving the latter, was demonstrated by the unsolicited, continuing out of hours contact between Anne Frank Ambassadors from different schools, and the enhanced relationships which were evident among children as a result of participation in the CHVP.

The resulting 'confidence and self-esteem, which grew in the most unlikely students in the group of peer educators was one of the lasting achievements' of the projects (Barrett 2012); as a result of contact the CHVs were amazed to discover many links between religions and religious people, consequently their confidence grew (CHVP Lead Teacher February 2022). The child participants repeatedly expressed feelings of confidence: 'I now have a lot more confidence with people I don't know' (SUTH Ambassador 2009); 'I can talk to people now and feel excited, not scared', 'I enjoyed 'helping other people learn and I feel more confident now' (CHVs June 2022). All the projects placed emphasis on agency, this was one of the main factors which led to children expressing an increase in personal and collective confidence: 'It's okay we can do it!' (CHV April 2022)

Dialogue is obviously essential in contact, this is a social action skill which may be used to improve the world (Grant and Sleeter 1986, Suzuki 1984). However, listening is as important as speaking and having a voice is different from being heard (Allport 1957). The importance of listening to the stories and experiences of others was stressed across the cases. Ofsted (2020) noted that the CHVs always listened carefully to and respected each other's views; demonstrating well-honed dialogic skills, which they used appropriately in different situations. The lead teacher from Lapage asserted that the CHV's listening and oral language, particularly their ability to express their own ideas, developed as a result of their involvement in the project (Teacher Feedback June 2022). Interestingly if the CHVs had anything negative to say about their experience as volunteers, it was occasionally that some of the peer learners didn't 'know how to listen' (CHV, May 2022).

Another shared feature across cases, were intergenerational events, which encouraged adults to come together alongside children: e.g., for TLN's 'Big Sing', the Anne Frank Ambassadors' Civic Reception, the KSUSOMAD Speakers Corners/ Centenary Square Event, and the CHVP Community Celebration. They provided multicultural experiences and opportunities for positive intercultural

contact. They increased knowledge and cross cultural understanding, limiting the reinforcement of 'narrow ethnicised identities' and the likelihood of parents undoing the work of formal multicultural education beyond the school gates (Gundara 2000).

Look at this! I never knew I could come here. I didn't know I could come in. Look at the architecture. I have lived in Bradford all my life. I pass this place. I know nothing about it, well I didn't. I do now and it's all because of her (gesticulates towards his daughter in the Peace Chapel).

(CHV Parent June 2022)

Successful cross-organisation contact was another shared feature; schools reaching out to community organisations and vice versa; resulting in a better understanding of aspirations and purpose, encouraging shared aims and working across organisations representing different groups and communities.

### Learning in the classroom

Contact in the classroom – speaking and listening to each other - is important. A feature of all the cases storied, was the intertwining of work inside and outside the classroom. The CHVP for example commenced with encouraging dialogue about identity, heritage and belonging, in a classroom setting. Lapage is majority South Asian, Pakistani Muslim, in terms of the heritage of both staff and pupils, but this does not mean that the school community is homogenous (see chapter five and ten). Diversity exists and divisions and misunderstandings are potentially present; those who occupy the same classroom do not necessarily know each other well, or know about each other.

It is possible for children to live 'parallel lives' within one school. If the exploration of diversity does not begin in classrooms, then school 'twinning' (Cantle 2001) and learning outside the classroom, is likely to have only limited impact (Raw 2006). Attempts to increase understanding of difference, within a child's existing sphere of contact, getting to know the familiar other, before moving outside to meet the unfamiliar other, are essential and were an observable feature of practice across projects.

### Learning outside the classroom

Learning outside the classroom (LOtC) was central across all four Bradford initiatives. This was not only a response to wider education policy and theory, which since the 1944 Education Act, had

upheld LOTC as good practice (Harrison 1970, Waite 2017), but was without doubt due to the recommendations of reports on community relations in Bradford post-2001, the Community Cohesion Education Standards, Prevent and more recently the Integrated Communities Strategy.

Responding to these government policies had implications for funding, as evidenced by the strategic renaming of BMDC departments and teams, who on the whole continued their previous work under a different guise. A change from the Multicultural Education Service to the Diversity and Cohesion Team serving a political function (Levey 2012), because the 'M-word' had become tarnished (Vertovec 2010). The aims and practical work remained the same, even though the terms and titles changed, making this a war of words (Joppke 2018), a matter of semantics and pragmatism, rather than a paradigm shift.

However, in moving outside the classroom, the projects provided greater opportunities for 'dialogue with difference', for children to meet and to clarify 'issues of existential and ethical interest and matters of personal significance' (O'Grady, 2019, p195, Halvarson - Britton 2014). Children were involved in 'collaboration, alliances and negotiation' (Church of England 2016, p2) and transformative learning outside the classroom (Waite 2017). Working, playing and socialising with those previously viewed as 'the other' under appropriate conditions, helps reduce prejudice between majority and minority group members (Allport 1954).

Moving outside the classroom, allowed the traditional default position of the school curriculum to be challenged and reconceptualised (Asare et al 2019). Situating learning in spaces which were embodied with aspects of culture, religion and human experience (Teece 2010) e.g., the Cathedral, Kala Sangam, the Anne Frank and Kokeshi exhibitions, encouraged children to be agentic learners; searchers, partners, designers, explorers, investigators, and thinkers (Chia and Goh 2016). It also provided opportunities for teachers to become less didactic (where there was the will to do so - and there wasn't always - see chapters nine and ten) and more facilitative in the learning process (Chia and Goh 2016). There was scope to reimagine and positively disrupt the binary teacher pupil relationship (Asare et al 2019, Jobb 2019). Real stories were shared and heard sometimes 'disrupting the comfort and ignorance of others' and encouraging children to 'talk back to power' (Gabriel 2019, p28).

For many children moving away from the classroom and from a focus on academic, written work, allowed increased access to learning and provided opportunities to achieve. Barrett (2012) observed

that children thrived when allowed the agency to be creative outside the classroom. Children who teachers struggled to reach, often responded well when learning was situated in an alternative space (Barrett 2012, Waite 2017). This was observable with the child who was causing concern in school (see chapter ten), but was determined to fulfil his role as a CHV, right to the end, passing on to the new cohort with confidence and accuracy. One KSUSOMAD Ambassador said this transference of power helped him to learn new things; something he was desperate to share with his family: ‘I asked them ‘Please can you come and see? I haven’t been skiving. I’ve learnt, I’ve got talent, I can tell people’’ (Hadwen et al 2010).

### Neutral and shared space

TLN, SUTH and KSUSOMAD all situated LOTC in ‘neutral’ spaces, those perceived as not belonging to one sector of the community, or reflecting the identity, heritage and belonging of any one cultural group. Emplacement (other than in terms of allegiance to a shared locality – Bradford) was not central to this idea of meeting in an alternative setting. The ‘neutral space’ acted as a container for interaction, without taking on the significance of place. Neutrality is not always a positive; it necessitates ‘losing one’s *self*, not preserving it’, potentially resulting in an ‘empty respect for all’ (Kingwell 2001). Meeting in a shared space, on common ground, allows a consideration of the self and the other, increasing the possibility of understanding one’s own and others’ identity, heritage and belonging, potentially arriving at some form of ‘consensus regarding the common good’ (Wohl 2016).

The CHVP was set in a building that is undeniably religiously and culturally specific, even potentially exclusive. However, the Cathedral was presented and increasingly understood as an inclusive, shared, rather than neutral space; one where diverse identities were valued and people were encouraged to come together (whatever their culture, religion or ethnicity) to occupy the same public sphere (Wohl 2016); to explore the possibility of coexistence and a peaceful multicultural future (Secor 2004). The cathedral acted as a container where unifying social belief and practice (including those identified across religions), helped to form bridges of understanding between those who might otherwise have been at odds; encouraging a realisation that: ‘my’ belief and practice echoes ‘your’ belief and practice’ and therefore, ‘if we are able to honour the same rituals and rites of everyday life, it becomes increasingly difficult to identify you as ‘other’ (Wohl 2016).

LOTc in the Cathedral space constituted a completely new experience for most children, leading to in depth learning, through ‘the opportunity to work collaboratively, to have contact with and meet new

people' (Lapage Teacher 2022). This led to new relationships and friendships being formed and (as self-proclaimed by the peer educators) a marked increase in confidence. Through situating LOTC in a new, community, civic, space, children said they 'learnt how to talk to other people' (CHV June 2022), mirroring what participants said about their involvement in TLN, SUTH and KSUSOMAD: 'I was nervous at the launch and didn't stand up to speak. Having done this if the launch were tonight, I'd stand up and do it!' 'I now have a lot more confidence with people I don't know' (SUTH Evaluation 2009).

All four of the cases through bringing children (and adults) together outside the classroom, provided scope for both teaching and learning to be different, making experiences less abstract, applied and more 'real' and 'alive for learners', increasing knowledge and understanding at a deeper level than classroom activity alone (Waite 2017). The community contextualisation adding something distinctive and meaningful to children's education (Natural England 2022, Waite 2017).

### Interpretive learning

The use of interpretive learning strategies were central across the cases explored. The subject matter was chosen so that reflection on personal and collective experiences became possible; the exploration of different ideas and realities encouraged responses to commonality and difference, through words and actions (Guzman et al 2016). Children were encouraged to share their own stories, to listen to accounts of other people's lives, to compare, contrast and extrapolate meaning (Mirza 2019). Key questions and statements were used as starters, but central to the interpretive process was children being encouraged to pose questions of personal relevance and to suggest ways in which real life problems might be solved.

Participating children were encouraged to identify connections between new situations, people and things, with those already in their personal history (Bruner 1957, McKenna, Ipgrave and Jackson 2008). Applying their knowledge of schools councils to Kokeshi-no kai, the racism experienced by Jewish children in Amsterdam, to that experienced by children today in Bradford, their knowledge of the purpose of a minbar in a mosque, to grasp the use of a pulpit in a cathedral. In so doing previous experience was both valued and used to develop new knowledge and understanding.

The tactic of drawing on the Volunteers' (differing levels of) religiosity in the CHVP, was observed to be useful in helping them to understand a religion and the features of a sacred space, initially outside their experience. Muslim children (and their non-Muslim friends who lived in the proximity

of several mosques) reflected upon their knowledge of the adhan, helping them to comprehend the use of bells in the Cathedral; the Bible on the lectern was compared with the Qur'an on a rahail; the Cathedral canons' roles were understood in terms of that of an imam, a bishop's with that of a headteacher. One visiting child commented 'It's like the same in't 'it? You know a bit like in mosque; they're like the same, but a bit different!' (Year 4 Child, October 2021).

Far from being problematic the 'centrality of religiosity' (in this case Islam) in the majority of the participants' own lives (Kindermann and Riegel 2018) allowed access to knowledge and understanding of Christianity; interpretive learning, aiding cultural and religious navigation. Different starting points (including ones where the concept of religiosity was alien), adding to the richness of interaction, learning possibilities and aiding the negotiation and understanding of multiple cultures (Nesbitt 2004). A teacher observed that the CHVs developed a sense of community through connecting with the Cathedral and 'making links with their own culture and religion' (Lapage Teacher March 2022); suggesting that interpretive strategies, provide an important, realistic, contemporary lens to help 'young learners to understand their own beliefs and those of others in the communities around them' (Bolton, in BBIWY, p4, 2021).

### Peer education

Another shared feature of both the retrospective and contemporary projects, was a focus on identifying ways in which children could take action to celebrate positive aspects of life in Bradford and address issues, through operating as 'active citizens' (Barrett 2012, Miller 1999). Consequently, TLN focused on informal, mutual peer education; SUTH, KSUSOMAD and the CHVP, on directional peer education (Topping et al 2017). This allowed normative models of teaching and learning to be disrupted, transferring responsibility and power from adult to child; thus, increasing agentic possibilities.

In SUTH and KSUSOMAD directional peer education was incorporated as a means of involving children in voluntary action, but in the CHVP even more emphasis was placed on children as volunteers. Agency is often inhibited when individuals and groups are marginalised and lack power (Modood 2015, Rawls 1971); children are often marginalised in schools (Jobb 2019). The retrospective and contemporary projects, all reimaged this position, placing children centre stage and positively disrupting the normative model of teacher and pupil (Raby 2014); increasing children's ability to effect change and their belief that they had the power to do so.

Learning (although initially guided by adults), was informed and led by children. There was no 'script' to be read, learnt or repeated; the detailed content and related activities being on the whole child initiated. 'I became redundant and it was wonderful' (KSUSOMAD Educator, in Barrett 2012, p88). Children effectively involved their peers through 'powerful pathways to learning' (Edwards and ap Sion 2018), e.g., encouraging them to try on a costume, play 'I Spy', search for the chorister dolls, listen to music or a testimony on an iPad, tiptoe across Ann Frank's room, or make a paper crane; encouraging their peers to talk about what they already knew and comparing and contrasting this with new experiences. Choice and decision making were ever present, developing apace with the children's continued involvement.

The project developed team work and leadership skills; the children particularly enjoyed being 'in charge' of the Cathedral when guiding visitors around. They also thoroughly enjoyed themselves and have gained in confidence when speaking publicly.

(CHVP Lead Teacher June 2022).

Passing on learning resulted not just in an increase in peer learners' substantive knowledge, but in them desiring the agentic power which they had witnessed: 'I want to be one of them!' 'How do you get to be a CHV?' 'Can we do this Miss?' (Peer Learners March 2022).

### **Ambassadors and volunteers**

The Ambassadors involved in SUTH and KSUSOMAD provided 'role models' for other children and adults. They were ambassadors in the sense of sharing their knowledge, understanding and key messages with others. In so doing increasing awareness of the problems and possibilities posed by living in diverse communities. They were involved in taking positive action to improve their world, encouraging others to do the same. Stating clearly 'If I can, make a difference, you can'. 'Now it's your turn to make a difference' (Super Ambassadors 2011).

To an extent the Ambassadors were volunteers (particularly in KSUSOMAD 2009 -2011). However, although there was often no compulsion to take part (and once involved as Ambassadors, participants enjoyed a considerable amount of autonomy and agency) schools and particular children were often targeted. This was due to a perceived need by the Local Authority (as in SUTH) for a school to improve its performance in preparing children for life in a multicultural society and some teachers deciding the experience would benefit particular children. In such instances the ambassador role became an intervention, rather than a voluntary activity. The emphasis on free

choice although presented as desirable, lacked consistency across (and sometimes even within) schools.

The CHVP purposefully, emphasised participation as being a totally voluntary activity. The increased focus on volunteering was new and partially a result of Lapage's whole school active citizenship policy and aspiration to foster feelings of belonging, trust and community cohesion (Liu et al 2021). It was also a result of teacher innovation (e.g., the introduction of a formal volunteer application procedure, Appendix 10) and the Cathedral's commitment to attracting young people as volunteers. For the year five children at Lapage, participation was a matter of completely free choice; *it was an individual's decision to be involved* in the project, no one else's. This had great impact and highlighted the potential of genuine volunteering.

Evidence from the CHVP supports the idea of a 'virtuous circle' between volunteering and cohesion, each one promoting the other (Abrams, Horsham and Davies 2023). Through interacting and doing things together toward a common goal, negotiating new meanings, and learning from each other's experiences (Liu et al 2021), children balanced self-interest with the common good; increasing their confidence in their own ability to engage and effect change.

### Points of divergence

Although the contemporary and retrospective cases have many features in common, there are also a number of points of divergence. These constitute a subtle shift in emphasis, or variations in the central theme, rather than substantive differences in the model or process. They clearly shared a general aim or purpose, but specific objectives (although related and similar) and the implementation of the projects, were somewhat different. Both TLN and the CHVP could be criticised for skirting big issues, taking a 'soft' multicultural approach, but as Thomas (2016) suggests, this way of working is often successful and both projects stressed that diversity should not be a barrier to societal participation and should be seen as a strength.

Attempting to balance social policy, law, multicultural discourse and education practice, they involved an exploration of language, customs, traditions, religions and identity, heritage and belonging; exploring the reasons for migration, how diverse people have lived together in the past and how we might be able to live together well now. SUTH and KSUSOMAD mirrored this, but were more overtly concerned with increasing understanding of racial injustice. They involved a beginning investigation and critique of politics and power, as necessary to constructing a just society. The projects collectively, contrary to Christopher's (2021) claim, demonstrated that multicultural



education deals with both the internal and external, it is nuanced; being particularly effective when opportunities are provided for new knowledge to be applied to real situations.

The points of divergence between the retrospective and contemporary cases are summarised below:

Points of divergence		Project
1.	Central emphasis on individual friendships	TLN
2.	Variety of topics, and subject foci dependant on neutral venue	TLN
3.	Predominantly adult directed; limited peer education	TLN
4.	Targeted at specific schools and children – based on the idea that some needed intervention more than others	SUTH
5.	Subject focus human rights and responsibilities, overtly raising issues about, racism, hate crime, inequalities and addressing these	SUTH
6.	Purposefully designed to be longitudinal (for the same children) and to move with children across phases	KSUSOMAD
7.	Subject focus active citizenship, activism and societal change. Although I have claimed all the projects to some extent have this feature; the idea of ‘pupil power’ was central and overtly actualised in KSUSOMAD	KSUSOMAD
8.	Emphasis on volunteering as free choice and central to positive active citizenship	CHVP
9.	Emplacement; a sacred space as common ground; a shared rather than neutral space in the community, for the community	CHVP
10.	The use of a religious building; sacred space and common ground; subject focus explicitly religious (as well as cross curricular).	CHVP

### The model in a cathedral setting

Distinctive features were particularly evident in the CHVP. As already intimated, part of this difference was demonstrated in the emphasis on voluntary participation as peer educators and the introduction of a formal volunteer application procedure; *it was an individual’s decision to apply* and then perhaps more importantly to *commit* to a longitudinal involvement.

Emphasis on emplacement was a point of divergence from the retrospective projects. This aspiration to encourage children, whatever their faith background or world views, to understand the Cathedral as both a living Christian place of worship and one belonging to all the people of Bradford (sacred space and common ground) was overt. The Cathedral was presented as shared, a space in the community, for the community, where multiple identities positively co-exist (Modood 2022, Wohl 2016) and where people, with varied destinations in mind may meet to explore the universalism of

being human (Hobson and Edwards 1999, Oldfield 1989, Wohl 2016). Emplacement was not left to chance it was constantly encouraged: ‘Remember this is your Cathedral, a place for everyone who lives in Bradford, you don’t have to be a Christian. This is your cathedral’ (Director of Education and Visitors, 2022). A key objective was for children to ‘progressively see the Cathedral as a place of significance, accessible to people of all faiths and none’ (CHVP Planning Document 2021). It is therefore unsurprising that the CHVs consistently talked about ‘our cathedral’, describing it as ‘a special place for everyone’ and impressing on peer learners their responsibility for stewardship of the building, regardless of their background.

The CHVs responses suggest that emplacement occurred, and that this was not dependent on being an insider, a Christian, but rather on feeling a sense of belonging as a result of an embodied encounter with identity and difference. Over time children became comfortable in a space, that although managed by adults, was ‘not fully controlled by, the usual pedagogical norms of the classroom’ (Lundie and Conroy 2015, in Lundie et al 2022, p139). Learning, which was originally located in space, was enacted in place (Harrison and Dourish 1996).

In their implementation, all the projects recognised the importance of religious difference and the impact of this on community relations and misunderstanding, focusing both on learning about and from religion (Hull 1991). However, although not exclusively an RE driven initiative the CHVP was the only project which placed religion centre stage; particularly (due to the religiosity of the children involved), exploring Christianity and Islam, but also on other religions and world views.

Situated in a specific religious setting and in theory a project conceived independently, the CHVP still had much in common with the generic Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom. Although a distinct initiative, it remains recognisable as conforming on the whole to the wider framework, with a number of distinctive features, therefore constituting a hybrid Bradford ‘Cathedral’ model.

### Indicators of impact

As previous discourse exemplifies, the Bradford model as exemplified by the retrospective and contemporary cases, has impact on children, teachers, members of the wider community; on schools and organisations (see chapter nine and ten). Although consistent, themes are evident, the variable ways in which shared events influenced learning, attitudes, interests and motivation (Nadelson and Jordan 2012) and the participants’ very different previous experience, meant that for both children

and adults, impact was often specific to the individual, resulting in different outcomes from the same experience (Kindermann and Riegel 2018). Therefore, although it is possible to make generalisations, it is sensible to stop short of suggesting universalism (Bassey 1999).

The following grids, one for children and one for adults, summarises impact across cases. The areas shaded green show that there was evidence to suggest impact, the darker green suggests that this outcome predominated in a specific project. Where an area is shaded yellow, this implies that although evident in primary and secondary evidence, observable, or implied through participant's perceptions, experiences, feelings, values and emotions (Mishra and Dey 2023), this was not as much to the fore. Where an area is shaded red, this was not evident in a particular case. The descriptions in the left hand column describes briefly, the impact of involvement on participants.

## Adults

COMPARITIVE IMPACT AND OUTCOMES ADULTS				
Evidence of:	TLN	SUTH	KSUSOMAD	CHVP
Teachers: partnership, participative, collaborative working				
Reflective, reflexive practice; teachers as research practitioners.				
Professional confidence in implementing LOTC supported and enhanced				
Willingness to disrupt the normative teacher pupil relationship and allow children to have agency				
Teachers: substantive knowledge enhancement - history and heritage of Bradford, human geography, history religion				
Teachers: recognition of the value and importance of 'stepping outside'				
Intergenerational learning and community contact				
Developing confidence in contact, through encounters between diverse groups and individuals				
Positive partnership working across organisations.				
Enjoyment – value in participation				
Emplacement				
A sacred space, being understood as common ground; shared not neutral; religiously specific, civically communal.				

## Teachers

Involvement in the projects appeared to have impact on teachers on a number of levels. They were involved in the planning and organisation of learning both inside and outside the classroom. The projects involved working across schools and with representatives of other organisations in the

wider community e.g., Bradford Museums and Galleries, the Anne Frank Trust UK or the Cathedral. The details of how children's experiences would be managed was open to negotiation, rather than imposed. Teachers became research practitioners, trying out ideas, reflecting on these and acting on experience (Seidel 2001, Rinaldi 2006). Therefore, participation had an impact on practice.

The process encouraged contact and cross cultural dialogue, bringing together teachers from very different communities in the city. The teams were in themselves multicultural, providing a model for children of visibly different adults working together and enjoying doing so. Particularly observable in the CHVP was the impact on the Lapage teachers' knowledge and understanding of religious commonality and difference, resulting in teachers confidently and accurately teaching about religion, local history and enhancing children's learning in school and outside the classroom.

The provision of free, formal CPD and support for teachers had impact. It enabled teachers in schools to cover what for many was new curriculum content (Barrett 2012); TLN, SUTH and KSUSOMAD, provided resources which suggested a range of pre and post LOtC activities and were well used. However, involvement in the projects also constituted informal CPD, providing opportunities to observe (something rare in classrooms) a shift in teacher/pupil power dynamics in practice and to watch children engaging in learning (with each other). Described as 'inspirational' (Visiting Teacher 2022) this experience also challenged perceptions: 'I wouldn't have believed they'd be able to do this (Teachers SUTH 2009, KSUSOMAD 2011, CHVP 2022); 'Thank you for showing us what is possible' (CHVP Visiting Teacher March 2022).

As a result of observing agentic learning in operation, many teachers recognised the potential for their own practice, initiating the use of similar models in school e.g., the year four and five peer education event at Lapage 2022. However, others found it difficult to see the value in peer led learning, they demonstrated a reluctance to relinquish power and a failure to recognise the potential of agency to enhance learning (see chapter nine and ten). This prevented purpose from becoming action, inhibiting the potential for children to be change makers and from getting to know one another better (Brillante and Mankiw 2015, Turner and Shepherd 1999, Raw 2006).

Both the confidence and competency of lead practitioners were key to success and increased over the lifespan of the projects. For example, at the Cathedral, Lapage staff were observed to move from the position of visitors to one of confident, relaxed professional contributors. The 2022-2023 CHVP lead teacher, on hearing that a member of the Cathedral team was poorly, felt able to lead one

group around the Cathedral on the CHVs first orientation day, having been involved in the project the year before.

Participating teachers acknowledged impact on their practice in their feedback (Appendix 13); demonstrating considerable new knowledge and highlighting an increased understanding of cultural, religious, ethnic and social diversity; feeling able to draw comparisons and encouraging interpretive learning. Partnership working was both ‘personally and professionally enriching’ (Cathedral Educator 2022); reflexive practice, reducing any dichotomy between research and practice (Seidel 2001), informing future thinking, teaching and learning outcomes (Rinaldi 2006).

Collectively the cases suggest that participation in the projects, also impacted on teachers’ knowledge and understanding of the children in their care. It was noted that one of the CHVP cohort of 2021 - 2022 exceeded teachers’ expectations, by learning how to manage his emotions and behaviour and demonstrating his ‘ability to act responsibly’ (Year 5 Teacher, June 2022). As Barrett (2012) observed ‘the confidence and self-esteem, which grew in the most unlikely students in the group of peer educators’ (Barrett 2012, p 82) was a positive outcome of both SUTH and KSUSOMAD, leading to teachers positively re-adjusting their perceptions and expectations of certain children: ‘I always thought she was a bit of a wallflower ..... how wrong can you be?’ (Teacher, SUTH 2009).

### The community

Wider community engagement was an aim of all the projects and the fact that parents, carers and community members attended the exhibition launches, civic reception, community big sings, speakers corner and celebration events, demonstrated a measure of success in achieving this. Such events increased interfaith and intercultural contact and dialogue at grass roots level, meaning dialogue transcended local community and faith leaders, involving ordinary people and bringing them together in ‘direct local to local’ contact (Bujra and Pearce, 2011, Church of England 2005).

The CHVP community celebration events for example, encouraged people who had never previously entered a church ‘because it was Christian’ to do just that; allowing access to a space which many non-Christians believed to be out of bounds: ‘Can we come back? Any time? Really just with the kids like?, Look at this! I never knew I could come here.’ ‘I always thought it was just for Christians’, ‘I’ve never been in a church before. It’s beautiful’ (CHV Parents, June 2022). Such engagement and responses (of which there were many) challenging Cantle’s and Denham’s (2001) inference of Muslim self-segregation in Bradford and reinforcing Philip’s (2006) findings that in fact most people are

*happy to explore places beyond those traditionally associated with their own communities, as long as they feel welcome and unthreatened.*

The CHVP community celebrations raised the profile of the Cathedral with local Muslim communities, they also importantly increased knowledge and understanding among the Cathedral congregation, both of the space in which they routinely worship and the people who live in the local neighbourhood; feedback consistently suggested that they were both surprised and impressed:

It's so good to have the Cathedral so full and lively. There is a real 'buzz'. The children are all so enthusiastic. (Congregation Member February 2024)

This is my favourite thing. I don't like children, but this works. They respect the Cathedral. They treat it like it matters, just like we do. (Cathedral Staff Member 2022)

Through taking a 'bottom up' approach (Bujra and Pearce 2011) and encouraging intergenerational community contact through celebratory events, the retrospective and contemporary cases minimised exclusion and maximised opportunities for inclusion (Benoit 2021, Cheruvallil-Contractor et al 2021). They helped people to begin to grasp that which was previously seen as 'foreign' (Fennes and Hapgood 1997), breaking down barriers, thus promoting both diversity and community cohesion (Cantle 2004).

## Children

As already discussed at length, my findings suggest that the retrospective and contemporary projects had impact on children, particularly on those involved in peer educator roles and those who were volunteer participants. Impact was individualised, because of the variable ways in which shared events influenced learning attitudes, interests and motivation; each child's response to experience was subjective (Nadelson and Jordan 2012); specific to the individual and therefore differentiated by outcome (Kindermann and Riegel 2018). However, some consistency was evident, making it possible to suggest general impact. The grid which follows (using the same key as previously) tabulates this.

COMPARITIVE IMPACT AND OUTCOMES CHILDREN				
Evidence of:	TLN	SUTH	KSUSOMAD	CHVP
Increased confidence – in own agency, in interactions with others, in terms of talking about/expressing identity heritage and belonging				
A willingness to 'speak out' and voice personal ideas, concerns and possible solutions				
An increased awareness that change may be affected by words and actions				
Feeling that volunteering is a positive aspect of citizenship/increasing confidence and adding value to society				
Children being agentic learners and valuing this experience				
Ability to use interpretation (based on previous experience) to acquire new knowledge and understanding.				
Increased knowledge of cultural and religious commonality and difference, particularly in Bradford				
Increased substantive knowledge (history and RE in particular)				
A developing ability to navigate cultures and confidence in contact.				
Learning outside the classroom being valued; in some cases, over learning in the classroom				
Hard to reach children engaging positively with learning				
Engagement in intercultural contact and dialogue with others				
Positive attitudes towards intergenerational learning and community contact				

New relationships were formed and interactions resulted in an evident increase in participant's *confidence*, not least in their own belief that they had the ability to take action to create a just, democratic, multicultural community (King 2020). This was observable not just in the context of each project, but in subsequent voluntary intercultural contact (e.g., in the KSUSOMAD and CHVP handover and in the community events). This was evidenced by children's assertions, actions and behaviour and reaffirmed by teachers and community members.

All the cases suggested that the projects offered children a 'completely new experience', which 'led to in depth learning,' through 'the opportunity to work collaboratively and to have contact with and meet new people' (Lapage Teacher 2022). Teachers noted the projects forged 'brilliant cross-curricular links with R.E., history and citizenship' the 'children learnt a great deal' and the work 'really developed the children's retention skills' (CHVP Lead Teacher, 2022).

Impact was particularly evident in the SUTH, KSUSOMAD and CHVP hand over sessions. After a gap of several months, Ambassadors and Volunteers, were able to recall and use skills and subject knowledge gained during their tenure as peer educators, appropriately and accurately. Consequently, they enthused and ultimately recruited the next cohort. Teachers felt this showed 'how good the project was for the children' (Lapage Teacher 2019).

Observers and adult participants, overwhelmingly viewed the projects as having a positive impact on children:

Who ever thought this up is a genius. It really works. These children are just amazing. Just look (gesticulating to people all around the Cathedral at different stations, talking to each other). It's just brilliant!

(Dean of Bradford Cathedral, June 2018, Bells Launch)

The CHVP Volunteers, SUTH and KSUSOMAD Ambassadors, consistently stated that their confidence had increased; to them this seemed to be the biggest transformation which occurred through involvement 'I learnt how to talk to other people'. They repeatedly stated 'I can talk to people now, I'm confident. Erm well I feel excited, not scared'. 'I knew if I talked, they'd listen. When I showed them Christian things they were interested' (CHVs June 2022). 'I am more confident now. I didn't think they would listen to me. You know the kids who came, but they did. Now I know it's worth saying what I feel' (KSUSOMAD Ambassador 2011). This confidence, was linked to feelings of belonging, of being part of a team with a shared purpose and collective confidence, 'It's all right, we can do it!' (CHVP May 2022).

Across all the projects there was disparity in the information and skills acquired between peer educator and peer learner (Topping et al 2017). However, there was evidence that both experiences had impact, increased knowledge and changed attitudes e.g., the shift in position of the two Muslim boys who were initially adamant that they shouldn't be in a church, but who not only enjoyed the experience because 'It was better than I thought it would be', but who joined in fully and commented in the plenary that 'They (the CHVs) were good' (Peer Learners April 2022).

For the learner, the experience of being 'educated' by children appeared to increase engagement, prompting questions and a desire to find out more, mutual peer learning taking place alongside . directional. In the latter although peer educators, took on the traditional teacher role and were



often perceived as the expert, ‘How do they know so much?’ (CHVP Peer Learner 2022), they used language and activities which were appropriate for their peers. This influenced motivation and resulted in the recurring assertion by the majority of peer learners, that they would like to be peer educators (even those who had been offered the opportunity previously and declined): ‘Can we do this?’ ‘How do you get to be one of *them*?’ (CHV Peer Learner 2022).

## Transference

The retrospective cases successfully located LOTC in the natural environment, museums, galleries, theatre spaces and civic buildings. This suggests that the Bradford model is transferable in terms of the space in which learning is situated: its purpose always remaining constant (wherever learning was located), providing opportunities for learning and contact and encouraging ‘communities of contrasting backgrounds to live together harmoniously’ (Bowen 1997, p116).

The CHVP demonstrated that transferring the Bradford model to a Cathedral works, allowing for the discussion of religion, beliefs and practice to be contextualised and authentic. Although some adaptation was needed and additional drivers were evident, due to the Cathedral’s religious character (and the Church of England’s aim for cathedrals to be both sacred space and common ground), the CHVP on the whole replicated the main features of the Bradford model. It also seems wholly possible that the ‘Cathedral’ model of multicultural learning outside the classroom is transferable. The CHVP as a way of working, could certainly be introduced in other cathedrals, which begs the question could it be transferred to other places of worship, to spaces held sacred by other Christian denominations and religions? In theory, the answer to this question is ‘yes’, although in reality this may prove more of a challenge.

Discussions have already taken place about the possibility of transferring the project to a mosque. A recently created Methodist Heritage Chapel is also exploring the use of this model. However, most places of worship do not have a district wide, civic remit or the innate duality of a cathedral (although both the Central Mosque and the Grand Mosque are emerging as a focal point across communities in Bradford). They do not usually have designated education staff, remaining reliant on enthusiastic volunteers, who often have no teaching experience. Consequently, the Bradford Cathedral model in transference to different sacred spaces, although possible, needs careful thought, resourcing and adaptation in accordance with the specialness of the space in which LOTC is to take place.

In terms of transferring the model to a different town or city, the TLN experience suggests that this is wholly possible. However, in transference it would need to constitute an informed response to the new local context and be led by local people for local people (TLN Website June 2024). The Bradford model is transferable and adaptable, flexible enough to respond to different community contexts and could provide a useful process led, reflexive framework to help children and young people beyond Bradford, develop confidence in their own and others' identities, heritage and belonging; inspiring them 'to create welcoming, kind and connected communities where everyone can live well together' (TLN Website, June 2024).

## Summary

The findings documented in this chapter, conceptualise, synthesise and offer new insights into an existing phenomenon. They highlight, replicable good practice, with the potential to inform multicultural education praxis and to profitably enrich and enhance the wider curriculum. Successive projects have located, interpretive, autonomous learning beyond the school gates; increasing knowledge, understanding and transferable skills. Through providing opportunities for authentic encounters with difference, they have consistently developed in children confidence in contact and a progressive ability to navigate culturally diverse situations.

These projects are part of a continuing multicultural narrative. They value and reflect a sympathetic understanding of different cultures, while acknowledging and addressing the realities faced by children growing up in a confused, troubled and sometimes dangerous world (Banks and Banks 2007). They enhance the possibility of community cohesion, through bringing diverse citizenry together (Cantle 2004, Hoskins et al 2012, Liu et al 2021, Wohl 2016).

The findings suggest that a cathedral may be a productive setting for such encounters. The CHVP successfully brought diverse people together in a sacred space, which was also common ground; a shared space belonging to everyone, rather than no one; allowing collaboration, alliances, negotiation and transformative aspects of learning outside the classroom to take place (Church of England 2016, Waite 2017). The majority of children walking through the doors of Bradford's Cathedral were beginning an encounter with difference, embarking upon an exploration of 'issues of existential and ethical interest and matters of personal significance' (O'Grady, 2019, p195). Through intercultural contact and multicultural content, learning how to manage divergence (Kingwell 2001) and developing a sense of place and belonging.

To summarise, although much maligned for its divisions, poverty and social problems, over time, Bradford's diversity of culture, ethnicity, language and religion, has resulted in the development and implementation of innovative approaches to multicultural education, which have successfully encouraged 'communities of contrasting backgrounds to live together harmoniously' (Bowen 1997, p116).

This is evidenced by the existence of a contextual, distinctive, yet transferable, Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom, which owes much to the city's experience of multiculturalism. Collectively, the retrospective and contemporary cases studied, provide evidence of this model's positive impact on both children and adults, and its potential to transfer across spatialities, and possibly localities.

## 12. Conclusion

This research conceptualises and offers new insights into an existing phenomenon. A way of working which values and reflects a sympathetic understanding of different cultures, acknowledging and addressing the realities faced by children growing up in a confused, troubled and sometimes dangerous world (Banks and Banks 2007). It enhances the possibility of community cohesion, through bringing diverse citizenry together (Cantle 2004, Hoskins et al 2012, Liu et al 2021, Wohl 2016). Consequently, this research through conceptualising and highlighting existing, replicable good practice informs multicultural education praxis, in a way which may profitably enrich and enhance the wider curriculum.

### The local context – multiculturalism and interculturalism

Although often recognised as ‘progressive’ and ‘innovative’ in terms of its response to the existence of multiple cultures and religions (McLoughlin 2014), Bradford has also suffered derision for its failure to prevent misunderstandings and conflict between diverse people (Cantle 2001, 2004). However, there has been a continuing willingness to face this challenge. Although not always successful, the aspiration to value religious and cultural diversity and to promote cohesion in schools and across communities, has remained constant. It has resulted in successful, *informed responses to difference*, which somewhat against the current trend, have rejected minority cultures being absorbed into the majority. These responses endorse marginalised groups maintaining their distinctive identities, while achieving in and contributing to a cohesive society; adding weight to the argument that multiculturalism remains a valid sociological, philosophical and educational discourse (Armstrong 2020, Crowder 2013, Modood 2020).

As essential to multiculturalism, the response to religious and cultural difference in Bradford has involved recognition of the desirability of (re)constructing fair and equitable communities (Kastoryano 2018, Modood 2020). As multicultural initiatives, the cases storied, demonstrate a shared purpose: to help all children access education, learn and achieve and to increase understanding of cultural diversity. In so doing minimising misunderstandings, conflict, prejudice and discrimination (Banks and Banks 2007). Taking a critical, developmental approach, building upon earlier theory and practice, educators have (and continue to) navigate the ever shifting, politically shaped, educational landscape. Retrospective and contemporary practice has constituted ‘a constructive development of purpose, methods and subject matter’ (Dewey 1938, p22), ensuring that innovation has not just been a reaction *against* what has gone before.

This reflexivity has involved the pragmatic interpretation of theory, local and national policy, in line with a consistent professional and moral purpose (Richardson 1992); suggesting that a single-theory-oriented approach, is limiting and that multiculturalism and interculturalism have a complimentary relationship as evident in their shared purpose. Multicultural and intercultural practice are inextricably entwined and linked (Adler 1981, Kastoryano 2018, Nieuwenhuis 2005, 2010). Viewed together they provide an important narrative, their interconnectedness, being both complementary and useful (Joppke 2018). The difference between the two (certainly in the Bradford context), often being a matter of semantics rather than substance.

### Contribution to knowledge

#### A model for teaching and learning

All educational researchers are concerned with making an original contribution to knowledge, through exploring what they know and how they know it (Hancock and Algozzine 2017). The simple, but important, contribution of this research is the conceptualisation, identification and representation of a multicultural model of learning. One which although contextual, may be used in different situations, in different spaces and to deliver different curricular content, and which has the potential to transfer across both spatialities and localities.

The Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom, provides positive opportunities for children (and adults) to negotiate and understand multiple cultures, through moving learning beyond the confines of school. It is based on the premise, that where we live, even in one metropolitan district, makes a difference to the way we see the world, and skews our ideas about people (Shanahan 2018). In cities which are culturally, geographically divided, it is often difficult to move beyond one's personal views and to understand those of others. Therefore, authentic, positive encounters with difference are essential, to prevent misunderstandings and conflict. Confidence in contact is necessary (Turner and Cameron 2016), developing in participants a progressive ability to navigate culturally diverse situations. This research concludes that the Bradford model successfully provides opportunities for such encounters and that among peer educator participants, this intercultural contact, consistently increased confidence in multicultural situations.

The model's content is always multicultural, but the specifics may differ as necessary to curricular needs, or the particularities of the alternative setting. However, there are clearly reoccurring components, descriptors and dimensions (see page 202) which are always evident in this model and

a repetitive, clear process, a generic pattern of action (whatever the content), as evidenced across the cases studied. However, this should not be seen as static, it is a reflexive, dynamic process and there is a fluidity to the model in practice, which is highlighted in transference (see page 248-249).

The model may be understood as a social construct, constantly shifting and being reconstructed (e.g. in terms of content or space). It is not a rigid entity, truth or reality. Although contextual, the model provides a framework, a tool which may be used in a variety of situations, to generate (or allow the construction of) learning experiences and interactions, appropriate to differing needs and wants. It is a transferable, process led strategy, a replicable way of working, which may be used in varied social contexts.

### Learning outside the classroom

This research furthers understanding of the importance of learning outside the classroom in the provision of effective multicultural education. Moving into an alternative space, provides opportunities for authentic encounters with difference (particularly evidenced by the CHVP), allowing children to explore diversity, while maintaining and strengthening (see page 215), individual and group identities (Modood 2020). This research shows how the careful choice of space and content, enhances the process of exploring difference and commonality and (as in SUTH and KSUSOMAD), allows for the critical confrontation of the less positive realities of cultural pluralism.

Novel LOTC experiences, have the potential to positively disrupt normal classroom power hierarchies and increase children's agency. The Bradford model encourages children to be active citizens, proportionate to their age and ability, *developing* and *applying* citizenship knowledge to *real situations* outside the classroom (Hoskins et al 2012, Liu et al 2021, Modood 2015). Community contextualisation adds something distinctive and meaningful. It encourages words and actions which help minimise disparities and avoid marginalisation, providing opportunities for children to work together towards a common good (Church of England 2016). Such learning together outside the classroom, is more real and alive for participants, increasing knowledge and understanding at a deeper level than classroom activity alone.

Importantly, my research findings demonstrate that learning outside the classroom, has the potential for multicultural education and intercultural contact to be intergenerational. Where children's experiences of learning in alternative spaces, are extended to include adults, they have a positive impact on the wider community, providing opportunities for direct local to local encounters,

and successfully transcending political, community and faith leaders. When as in SUTH, KSUSOMAD and the CHVP in particular, diverse adults met in civic and religious settings, brought together by the shared reality, of loving their children (Thomson 1997), they left more aware that their beliefs and practices, were echoes of each other's, that they honoured the same rituals and rites in everyday life, helping to reduce misunderstandings and fostering feelings of cohesion (Wohl 2016). Such experiences minimised what Gundara (2000) identified as the constant risk of children's multicultural understanding and learning, being undermined by parents, because multicultural education usually stops at the school gates.

#### Containers for learning - sacred space and common ground

The initial premise of the earliest of the cases considered, TLN, was that contact and rapport face de face (Allport 1954, Levinas 1964), between children of different cultural and religious backgrounds, needed to be in a neutral space; one which didn't belong to either group. This was based on Cattle's (2001) simplistic assumption that Bradford was neatly divided into two segregated communities, South Asian heritage Muslim, and White (nominally) Christian.

Although emphasis was placed on recognising the importance of a shared Bradford heritage and belonging as something which transcended differences, emplacement was not a consideration. The spaces used were simply containers for learning. Like TLN, both SUTH and KSUSOMAD, while more realistic in recognising the kaleidoscope of diversity (Juan-Torres, Dixon and Kimaram 2020), also used 'neutral spaces' as containers for intercultural interaction.

This approach presumes that neutrality (like objectivity) is positive and dissipates tribalism. However, this is not always the case. Neutrality may necessitate ignoring or losing one's identity, the *self*, rather than preserving it (Kingwell 2001). A shared space enables a consideration of the self and the other, increasing the possibility of understanding and preserving one's own (and other's) identity, heritage and belonging. Using a shared space enhances the possibility of individuals and groups arriving at a deeper respect for all (Kingwell 2001, Wohl 2016). If a space belongs to everyone, rather than to no one, it becomes in itself a shared point of reference, and a significant place for people across cultural divides.

The study of the transference of the Bradford model to a cathedral setting, provided unexpected new and very interesting insights into the impact of this, and clearly highlighted a cathedral's innate potential as a building with a duality of purpose, both sacred space and common ground (Church of

England 2017), a shared space for people of all faiths and none. Although religiously and culturally specific and potentially exclusive, Bradford Cathedral was presented as shared, a space in the community, for the community. A space where multiple identities could positively co-exist (Modood 2022, Wohl 2016) and where people, with varied destinations in mind could meet to explore the universalism of being human (Hobson and Edwards 1999, Oldfield 1989, Wohl 2016).

A cathedral then, has the capacity to encourage encounters with difference and to elicit powerful emotional responses to these (Finlayson 2012). Because of the duality of the space, these responses extend beyond cultural and faith lines and make emplacement possible across divides (Finlayson 2012, Riegel and Kindermann 2016). The CHV's responses (see page 257 -258) to learning in the Cathedral, suggest emplacement is not dependent on being an insider, but rather on feeling a sense of belonging as a result of an embodied encounter with identity and difference. Over time, through sustained contact, the CHVs became comfortable in a space 'not fully controlled by the usual pedagogical norms of the classroom' (Lundie and Conroy 2015, in Lundie et al 2022, p139). Learning, which was originally located in space, was enacted in place (Harrison and Dourish 1996), forming bridges of understanding between those who might otherwise have been at odds (Secor 2004, Wohl 2016).

Although the Cathedral's primary role as a Christian sacred space was never ignored, through stressing that it was also common ground, a public sphere, where unifying social belief and practice (not least those identified across religions) could be identified and explored, emplacement was not left to chance. Consequently, for the children an abstract space, became an important place (Tuan 1977). This in no way had any missional intent or consequence; children demonstrated greater knowledge and understanding of values and beliefs other than their own, but also a willingness to speak about their own beliefs, religious and cultural identity, heritage and belonging.

The Cathedral proved to be a productive setting for multicultural learning and intercultural encounters. Successfully bringing children (and for that matter adults) together; encouraging collaboration, alliances, negotiation and transformative aspects of learning outside the classroom (Church of England 2016, Waite 2017). The majority of children who walked through the doors were beginning a new encounter with difference, embarking upon an exploration of 'issues of existential and ethical interest and matters of personal significance' (O'Grady, 2019, p195). Through intercultural contact and multicultural content in the Cathedral, they did not just increase their



substantive knowledge, but began to learn how to manage divergence (Kingwell 2001); in so doing developing a sense of place and belonging.

However, this positive interpretation of Bradford Cathedral's impact as a shared, sacred space *and* common ground, is no longer universally accepted. Changes in Church and those with ecclesiastical power, has meant that the vision for education is different and that less importance than previously, is being placed on engaging schools. Therefore, whatever the considerable merit (as evidenced through this research) of employing the current Bradford Cathedral model in the local context, or its obvious potential to transfer to cathedrals and greater churches, in other towns and cities, it is now a contested initiative and its continuation by no means assured.

### Religion and world views

In Bradford, since the nineteenth century, the centrality of religion and the increasing multiplicity of belief and practice (see chapters five and six), have consistently influenced the development of local social and education policy and practice (Adams et al 1970, Thomson 1997, Bowen 1997, McLoughlin 2014). It is also evident, in the Bradford context, that religion and race, prejudice and discrimination go hand in hand and that both Islamophobia and antisemitism have become increasingly prevalent in recent years (Busher et al 2017, Din 2017, Lipscombe 2024, McLoughlin 2014, Thomas 2016). Therefore, the importance of helping children to 'grasp the meaning and values of the plural cultures of today's world' and 'the worldviews which underlie them' (Smart 1989, p9) cannot be underestimated.

This importance is implicitly reflected in the Bradford model descriptors e.g., multicultural (content) and intercultural (strategies), interpretive (learning ) and dialogue (between religious and non-religious children). The permeating dimensions, identity, heritage and belonging, enable an exploration of religious and non- religious world views, in line with the locally agreed syllabus (BBIWY 2024). The retrospective cases all involved some focus on religion; TLN has trialled linking in sacred spaces (Hadwen 2006) and there is now a specific national TLN programme for schools with a religious character (Hadwen 2020). However, it is the contemporary project, the CHVP, which (unsurprisingly as situated in a cathedral) had an overt focus on religion.

The cathedral proved to be a productive setting for exploring religions and world views. Through multicultural learning and intercultural encounters, the CHVP encouraged children to collaborate, form alliances and negotiate; it was a transformative experience (Church of England 2016, Waite

2017). Through a new encounter with difference which explored 'issues of existential and ethical interest and matters of personal significance' (O'Grady, 2019, p195), participants' substantive knowledge increased. They learnt how to manage divergence (Kingwell 2001) and 'developed a sense of place and belonging in the community' (CHVP Lead Teacher 2022).

The CHVP content was wide, but involved a comparative consideration of Islam and Christianity, through the use of interpretive strategies and intercultural dialogue. This may have been successful, because of the 'centrality of religiosity' (in this case Islam) in the majority of the participants' lives (Kindermann and Riegel 2018); children were encouraged to use previous experience, to increase knowledge and understanding of Christianity, Islam (and to a lesser extent Judaism, Hinduism and Sikhism). This said, to some participants religiosity was alien, which far from being problematic, added to the richness of interaction, and aided the negotiation and understanding of multiple cultures (Nesbitt 2004). It provided a contemporary lens, through which to consider the wider world where religion no longer predominates, helping 'young learners to understand their own beliefs and those of others in the communities around them' (Bolton, in BBIWY, p4, 2021).

This research shows the effectiveness of interpretive, multicultural learning in a Cathedral setting, demonstrating that learning in such spaces offers much more than the possibility of learning solely about Christianity. The CHVP, rooted in the Bradford model, provides a useful blue print, a way of working which might profitably be employed not just in other cathedrals and greater churches, but possibly in mandirs, gurdwaras, mosques and synagogues.

### Peer education and learning

Children teaching children, is nothing new, but this research sheds light on the effectiveness of peer education and learning when situated outside the classroom. It demonstrates its particular worth as a vehicle for multicultural content and intercultural encounter. The retrospective and contemporary cases studied, all used peer education and learning. TLN mainly involved informal, mutual peer education. This involved a degree of agency, as teacher exposition was minimised and dialogue between children maximised. It encouraged new friendships across cultural and religious groups (Turner and Cameron 2016, Raw 2004, 2006) and provided purposeful opportunities, for children at a simple level, to take responsibility for one-another, raising their basic awareness of a shared humanity (Levinas 1964).

SUTH, KSUSOMAD and the CHVP all focused on the use of directional peer education. Although more structured, this re-figured traditional teaching and learning, through progressively shifting power and agency towards children and away from adults. Designated peer educators collaboratively chose and moulded detailed content and decided how best to engage other children in learning. Although the focus was pre-determined by adults, the detailed content was not dictated, there was no script to be learnt. The children were agentic learners; they expressed feelings of power and control, which led to an increase in confidence (Barrett 2012). This peer education process had more than a veneer of difference; the pupil teacher relationship was restructured and power orientated towards the child (Jobb 2019, Waite 2017).

Although it is never a given that children will learn better as a result of peer education (Topping et al 2017), there was a consistency across cases of peer educators being able to pitch things at an appropriate level for peer learners. They employed engaging strategies and used shared language registers, to engage and motivate. Those who traditional teaching methods struggled to reach, responded particularly well not just to being taught by their peers, but when encouraged themselves to be agentic leaders of learning (Barrett 2012, Turner and Shepherd 1999). Placing them in a role with responsibility and kudos, gave value to their knowledge and experience, providing motivation for learning (Barrett 2012).

The peer educators provided positive role models for children of the same age, younger or even older than themselves. Although there was disparity between the experience of peer educators and learners, the latter were usually still positively impacted by the experience (Barrett 2012, Hadwen et al 2009, 2010). Being a peer educator, appeared to universally increase knowledge and equally importantly confidence in contact (Turner and Cameron 2016), helping to develop the skills necessary to be effective citizens and to successfully navigate cultural difference (Barrett 2012, Hadwen et al 2009).

This research did not set out to explore the impact of volunteering on peer education and learning outside the classroom. However, one of its contributions to knowledge, is the discovery that there is power in volunteering. This is particularly the case, when the volunteer role takes children outside the classroom and when it is their decision to be involved and no one else's. SUTH, KSUSOMAD, but particularly the CHVP, emphasised that children had a right to choose to be involved; the latter emphasised participation as being a totally voluntary activity.

Being a volunteer fostered feelings of achievement and belonging. There was a 'virtuous circle' between volunteering and cohesion, each one promoting the other (Abrams, Horsham and Davies 2023) and positively impacting on peer education and learning. Children worked together towards a common goal, negotiating new meanings, and learning from each other's experiences (Liu et al 2021). The process balanced self-interest with the common good; increasing children's individual and collective confidence in their ability to act as citizens, effect change and help people in their community of communities, to live together well (Parekh 2000, TLN 2022).

Peer education then, necessitates a pedagogical shift, which is more easily attainable and powerful when it involves contact with spaces, things and people outside the classroom (Waite 2017). Moving outside is not a prerequisite for its success (the best LOTC starts with preparation inside the school gates) and it is not the only way of facilitating children's agentic participation in learning. However, escaping the confines of classrooms gives children and teachers, a licence to try something different. When it involves choice and volunteering, this generates more opportunities for children to be autonomous, and to reconstruct normative teaching and learning, in a way which is profitable for all involved (Waite 2017).

## Limitations

There are limitations to this research, not least my closeness to that which was studied. I am unapologetically positive about Bradford and its people and have firsthand knowledge of the projects studied. Although this could suggest a lack of objectivity in my storytelling, reporting and interpretation of evidence, I remain realistic about the challenges to the creation of a cohesive community of communities in Bradford and have striven to present an accurate account of my findings, interpreting these as objectively as possible.

However, complete objectivity is always untenable and the idea of neutrality a myth (Finlay 2002). There is always the potential for prior knowledge and experience to impinge upon the story reported, which is arguably a limitation of interpretive, qualitative, case study research. However, 'closeness' also allows a rich and colourful description of phenomenon (Smith et al 2009) and increases understanding of participants' experiences (Savin-Baden and Howell Major 2013).

Considering cases retrospectively and attempting to compare and synthesise data, integrating these and comparing them with findings about a contemporary case, was not without its challenges. The retrospective cases raised concerns ethically. There was a lack of opportunity to secure participant

agreement. Although acutely aware of the ethical implications of this (due to my closeness to the area of study), the sources I used were either already in the public domain, or had been collected on the understanding that they may be used in reports etc, in the future.

The retrospective cases involved a non-interventional process, an observational review and reassessment of evidence, to help analyse previous events of interest (Sanctis et al 2022). I had no control over the subjects, the collection of data, or (most of), its original interpretation. The contemporary case provided an opportunity for the first hand collection of primary evidence and to intervene as necessary to glean specific data. Synthesising retrospective and contemporary data, at first seemed to pose a challenge, but the use of an iterative, comparative, approach, grounded in thematic analysis, meant that it was possible to both draw comparisons and identify points of divergence. As a result, my findings allowed me to be able to generalise, but not to claim a rigid universalism in the conclusions drawn.

### Future research

Qualitative research often suggests further questions and identifies gaps in knowledge and understanding worthy of future investigation. This research certainly does. There are tiles missing from the mosaic presented here, and there remain important areas of for future study,

#### Children as volunteers

The importance of choice and volunteering in the success of SUTH, KSUSOMAD and in particular the CHVP, cannot be underestimated. However, the how and why of this, was only explored at a superficial level and although studies exist which look at young people and volunteering, there is a dearth of information about younger, primary school children as volunteers. I suggest that this is a productive area for further research, particularly with reference to the idea of a 'virtuous circle' of volunteering and the impact of this, on multicultural learning and the creation of community cohesion.

#### Disproportionate peer learning

Another area identified as important, but not singled out for in depth study here, was the evident disproportionate learning achieved, between peer educators and peer learners. It seems important that this is explored further. There is no doubt that being a peer educator had a positive impact on the children who took on this role (Barrett 2012). They were my focus in this study. Peer learners were observed to be engaged, they expressed enjoyment and motivation. However, other than at a

superficial level, their experiences, responses and the impact of being peer educated, were not interrogated. This then remains an important area for further research, if meaningful generalisations about the efficacy of peer education are to be made.

### Cathedral education and learning in places of worship

A cathedral has to balance being common ground, a place of welcome for those who see the world differently, with the maintenance of its original purpose as sacred space, a place of Christian worship, fellowship and belonging (Muskett 2017, Reynolds 2018). Bradford Cathedral's general education provision, but particularly the CHVP, demonstrates that this is achievable. Diverse people come to 'own' the Cathedral as a special place, without crossing faith lines in terms of personal commitment, identity and belonging. The coming together of diverse citizenry aiding understanding and engendering greater community cohesion (Wohl 2016). The challenge now is to discover how (and why) this model may be transferred to other cathedrals, churches and places of worship across religions; such an investigation would constitute important research.

### Postscript

Learning is important for adults as well as children; confident, skilled teachers and facilitators were central to the successful development and implementation of the projects storied in this research. Adults with knowledge and understanding of our multicultural society are essential, if children are to be adequately prepared for the realities of growing up in a culturally diverse, often confused, troubled and sometimes dangerous world (Banks and Banks 2007). Therefore, how to prepare educators for this role remains an essential area for future research.

## Summary

To reiterate, this research reflects my enduring belief that multicultural Bradford, with its diversity of culture, ethnicity, language and religion, offers the potential for the mutual enrichment of those living across the district. Although much maligned for its divisions, poverty and social problems, over time, Bradford's diversity has resulted in the development and implementation of innovative approaches to multicultural education. This is evidenced by the existence of a contextual, yet transferable, Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom, which owes much to the city's distinctive experience of multiculturalism.

Through conceptualising and offering new insights into this existing phenomenon, storying and synthesising retrospective and contemporary cases, the development, implementation and positive impact of this model became clear. The resultant findings highlighted replicable good practice, which profitably enriched and enhanced the wider curriculum, therefore suggesting future multicultural praxis.

In conclusion, the Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom, has met with success, not least in encouraging communities of contrasting backgrounds 'to live together harmoniously'. It constitutes something of importance, 'something vital' which Bradford has to share with the rest of the world (Bowen 1997).

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1 - Example of semi-structured observation schedule

#### Observation Schedule

**Date:** 15/5/22 First New School Peer Education/Takeover Day

**Location:** Bradford Cathedral

**Key concepts:** multicultural, intercultural, multifaith, Bradford us, them, power, relationships, interpretation, experiential, emplacement.

##### 1. Initial entry/introduction

Children's demeanor - Quiet, respectful, worried

Observable physical and verbal responses – Questions about the mornings visitors. How old? How many? Nervous!

Adjectives used to describe the cathedral N/A

##### 2. Progression

Role of facilitators – initial organization, badges, reminders, encouragement, praise. I know you are going to be wonderful. You have worked so hard. You can do it!

Role of teachers and comments/questions – reminded visiting school that today Lapage were the teachers (also reminded the teachers – which didn't work with 2 out of the 5

Key comments/questions children

##### 3. Key activity

Role of facilitators - Encouraging, keeping children safe, checking CHVs okay.

Role of teachers and comments/questions – as above except for two who took over the teaching in every group, much to the disappointment of the children. CHVs teacher intervened and asked them not to. Facilitator had to tell one that, as an adult she didn't know the answer to the question the visiting teacher had asked the Lapage children.

Key comments/questions children



#### 4. Plenary

Children's questions, response – Visitors - eagle material, coats of arms who physically built the Cathedral

Adults questions response – Lots of praise for Lapage amazed that such young children could do the CHV role; said their children too passive. Came un-prepared as they hadn't been told what was happening? Head arranged it. Thought they were coming to watch something, a performance.

EVIDENCE OF LEARNING, transformation, interpretation, emplacement

All Lapage children grew in confidence as the morning progressed (one station even very keen to teach two visiting groups together at the end and did so well - so a group of 8); most moved onto being able to say to the groups, please don't do that, any questions? In the plenary explained how some of the children had been inattentive or hard work. They had enjoyed themselves and were looking forward to coming back next time.

#### Things to be observed

Data collection focus	Evidence
Approaches/strategies used by facilitators	Lots of praise, encouragement, checking on progress, but not interfering.
Aids to teaching and learning used by adults/children	Children, artefacts, clothes, photos, books, the physical space
Interpretive learning	Children making comparisons with what they knew previously
Learning about and from religion	Evidence of learning about Christianity (visitors)
Adult interaction with children	See above. Minimal except to police, but two wouldn't step back.
Child interaction with child	Good, constant.
Multicultural learning	Christianity, history of Bradford, people coming from elsewhere
Intercultural learning	Bradford/Keighley

Participation and behaviour of children	Lapage excellent including Rehan! iPad and official photographer role saw to this.
Active citizenship	Yep, definitely – Lapage discussed volunteering and got on with it. I feel strange when I take my lanyard off.

## Appendix 2 – Consent forms adults

### Research Consent Forms - Teachers and Cathedral Staff

#### Title of Research

A study of the context, development, implementation and impact of a Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom.

**Name of Researcher:** Diane Hadwen

**Higher Education Institution:** York St John University

The purpose of this research is to discover if it is possible to claim that Bradford's experience of cultural pluralism, has resulted in a distinct model of multicultural learning outside the classroom.

i) The research will seek to investigate four questions:

- Why does a Bradford model exist?
- What are the features of this?
- What are the indicators of impact?
- Does it transfer across spatialities?

ii) Data collection methods – participant observation, observation, the collation of children's work, semi-structured interviews.

iii) The individuals who will be involved in this study are children from Lapage Primary Year 5 and Year 5 across the Nurture Academy Trust schools in Bradford and Keighley and teachers and teaching assistants. Additionally, the contributions and views of staff, volunteers and congregation members at the Cathedral may be described and sought as appropriate.

iv) All findings will be presented anonymously and submitted by the researcher as part of PhD thesis.

**Name of researcher:** Diane Hadwen

**Email:** diane,hadwen@yorks.ac.uk

**Signature of researcher:**

**Date:** September 2021

**Thank you for taking the time to fill in this form.**

**Please delete as appropriate and sign.**

I consent to taking part in this the study	YES/NO
I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any time by contacting the researcher in writing by email	YES/NO
I give permission for my words to be quoted if anonymous	YES/NO
I understand that no person other than the researcher and University supervisors will have access to the information provided	YES/NO
I understand that my identity will be protected and that no written information that could lead to my being identified will be included in any report	YES/NO

**Name of participant:** .....

**Signature of participant:** .....

**Date:** .....

## Appendix 3 – Letters to parents



Lapage Primary School  
Barkerend Road  
Bradford  
West Yorkshire  
BD3 8QX



### Community Heritage Volunteers

Dear Parent/Carer,

Your child has been chosen to be a Community Heritage Volunteer. This is part of our Active Citizenship project in which we visit Bradford Cathedral. Your child will act as a tour guide and give talks about the history of the building and historical facts about Bradford to other children and also in some cases members of the public.

The following dates are when your child will be visiting the Cathedral / is required to attend an after-school workshop:

14 <sup>th</sup> February	Children to spend the afternoon at the Cathedral. Arrival to school at normal time 3pm
10 <sup>th</sup> March	Children to conduct research after school 3pm – 4pm
17 <sup>th</sup> March	Children to practise delivery and oracy of presentations 3pm – 4pm
21 <sup>st</sup> March	Children to spend the afternoon at the Cathedral. Arrival to school at normal time 3pm
7 <sup>th</sup> April	Children to have a final practise of delivery and oracy of presentations before their sessions at the Cathedral begin. 3pm – 4pm
25 <sup>th</sup> April	Children to spend the day at the Cathedral. Their classes will visit them on this day. Children will be back in school by 3pm.
16 <sup>th</sup> May	Children to spend the day at the Cathedral. Children from another school will visit them on this day. Children will be back in school by 3pm.
23 <sup>rd</sup> May	Children to spend the day at the Cathedral. Children from another school will visit them on this day. Children will be back in school by 3pm.
6 <sup>th</sup> June	Celebration event which Parents can attend. 3.45pm- 5.00pm (Refreshments and a presentation)

Please complete the form overleaf if you are happy for your child to become a Community Heritage Volunteer.

Please make sure you are outside the school office at 4pm to collect your child on the days when there is an after school session

On the days when the children are visiting the Cathedral they will be doing a lot of walking. Please ensure they are wearing suitable footwear.



Telephone 01274669100, Email: [office@lapage.bradford.sch.uk](mailto:office@lapage.bradford.sch.uk), [www.lapageprimaryschool.co.uk](http://www.lapageprimaryschool.co.uk)  
Executive Head teacher: Mr Ballantine Head of school: Mrs S Khan & Mrs S Akhtar



Lapage Primary School  
Barkerend Road  
Bradford  
West Yorkshire  
BD3 8QX



By signing below, you give the school permission for your child to be a community Heritage Volunteer.

Name of child: \_\_\_\_\_ Class: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of parent/carer: \_\_\_\_\_ Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Please tick the box, if it is ok to use your child's image in school, out of school and on social media platforms.

Year 5 Team

 @LapagePrimary



Telephone 01274669100, Email: [office@lapage.bradford.sch.uk](mailto:office@lapage.bradford.sch.uk), [www.lapageprimaryschool.co.uk](http://www.lapageprimaryschool.co.uk)  
Executive Head teacher: Mr Ballantine Head of school: Mrs S Khan & Mrs S Akhtar

**Parent/Carer Research Information**  
**Community Heritage Volunteer Project**

Dear Parent or Carer,

Your child has volunteered to be a Community Heritage Volunteer at Bradford Cathedral. This year this project will form part of a research undertaking into the effectiveness of the project and its connection with a Bradford wide model of multicultural learning outside the classroom.

**Name of Researcher:** Diane Hadwen

**Higher Education Institution:** York St John University.

The research will seek to investigate four questions:

- Why does a Bradford model exist?
- What are the features of this?
- What are the indicators of impact?
- Does it transfer across spatialities?

I will use participant observation, collect children's work and talk to the Volunteers and their teachers. All findings will be presented anonymously and will be submitted as part of PhD thesis. No specific names will be mentioned. If your child does not wish to take part in the research, please let their class teacher know. There is no compulsion, your child may still be fully involved as a volunteer and not take part in the research.

I look forward to seeing you at the Community Celebration event in June.

Diane Hadwen

## Appendix 4 - Links to digital evidence

1. Kokeshi: Stand Up, Speak Out, Make a Difference Evaluation 2010.

[KSUSOMAD:2010 Project Evaluation](#)

2. Introductory Power Point for CHV Recruitment

[C:\Users\diane\OneDrive\Desktop\PhD May 2024 DH\1. Revised Whole PhD Doc May 24\Appendices\DH Intro to the CHVP.ppt](#)

3. CHVP 2021 – 2022 Project video. Filmed by children and edited by the Year 5 staff at Lapage Primary School

<https://youtu.be/qidblAPzOiM>

4. Bradford Cathedral Education Web Pages

[Education - Bradford Cathedral](#)

5. A 360 Degree Tour of Bradford Cathedral. Used by children in their research.

[Digital Resources - Bradford Cathedral](#)

6. Cathedral Blog/QR Code Links. Used by children in their research.

[Discover Bradford Cathedral - Bradford Cathedral](#)



## Appendix 5 – Examples of comments and feedback children

### **Bells Handover October 2018**

Notes made in the 2018 year 6 to Year 5 handover session.

It's important; schools come to learn about the Cathedral. You need to know about your bit, cos adults come too. It's good though.

I was nervous at first, but it was good. They listened.

I learnt that not only Christians go to the Cathedral. It's for everyone. It's ours too.

You meet loads of new people, other children and stuff.

You need to know that Christians worship at the Cathedral and to respect this.

It (the Cathedral) tells stories about Bradford and if you're a volunteer you have to make sure other people know these stories.

When you are a volunteer you are being a good citizen, you help other people.

(Year 6 CHVs, Lapage, October 2018)

### **CHVs First Visit to the Cathedral February 2022**

Can't wait to be the teacher; *this is my bit of the Cathedral'* (showing the welcomer his poster).

The stairs to nowhere are interesting. I want to go up

I have learnt a lot about the Jesus stories.

I've never talked to Christians before. I can't believe it's similar. Er you know, the religions, what we do and stuff.

I like that anyone can come here. I always thought it would be just for Christians.

When do we come again?

What are we doing next time?

It's sad about the Bradford Pals, friends got killed.

I didn't know about the way Christians welcome babies.

I want to tell people about the Jesus windows.

I didn't know you didn't have to be Christian to come here.

They felt that they had 'learnt new things' and were 'more confident', 'I can't wait to be the teacher', 'I feel excited' 'I think I can do it now', 'I want to come back', 'proud', 'excited', looking forward to 'teaching', 'helping people' and 'learning more about the Cathedral'.

(CHVs February 2022).

I feel excited to be doing this. I'm very proud to be a volunteer, but a bit nervous.

The best thing will be showing people around.

I want to be a staff member and have my own badge.

The best thing will be knowing more about the church. I can't wait to see the Cathedral.

### **CHVP Peer Education Practice March 2022**

Comments collected from the CHVPS detective sheets showed that those being taught by volunteers learnt that:

There are stairs to nowhere, they're blocked off. There used to be a platform that the priest used to stand on and the people listened to him preach.

The Saxon stone is 1,400 years old and this building is 500 years old.

The pelican is a symbol of sacrifice and caring for others.

The lectern is like an eagle. This is the symbol of a man called St John; he wrote a Gospel in the Bible.

The Cathedra is where the Bishop sits. That's why the church is a cathedral, because it has a Cathedra.

The pulpit is a raised platform where the clergy (priests) stands to preach his or her sermon.

Music and singing is a form of praying, it's different to namaz, but its praying to God.

Women were important in the war, but they didn't want war they wanted peace.

Lots of people got killed. It was not good.

People in Bradford worked together to get the peace bells.

(CHVs March 2022)

## Appendix 6 – Examples of comments and feedback parents/significant adults

### CHVP Celebration Event: Parents Comments June 2022

The parents and carers who attended the Community Celebration were incredibly receptive and valued the children's experience.

I want to say thank you, this is just amazing. She would never have learnt all this in school. Thank you for letting her have the opportunity. She's loved it. I'm so proud.

I've never been in a church before, it's just beautiful. Do you have a Bible? I've never seen a Bible (I suggested she talk to the two girls at the lectern who dutifully showed her a Victorian illustrated Bible and talked about the stories). Well, they're amazing and it's got pictures. I never thought it would have pictures. Some of the stories are the same in the old bit. You know as in the Qur'an.

Can we come back? Any time? Really just with the kids like? (gesturing to his CHV daughter CHV and her two younger siblings).

The CHV stepped in:

Yes, I keep telling you yes! (rolling her eyes).

That Saxon cross bit is ace. I didn't know that once there were no people here. It's been great. Thanks for letting us come and for letting her do this.

Look at this! I never knew I could come here. I didn't know I could come in. Look at the architecture. I have lived in Bradford all my life. I pass this place. I know nothing about it, well I didn't. I do now and it's all because of her (gesticulates towards his daughter in the Peace Chapel). She couldn't have learnt all this in school. It's amazing, just amazing. I never knew how long it had been here, the battle and stuff. It's great, great.

I wish I'd done this when I was at school!

They know so much, I am so impressed, it's so different to school but they've learnt loads.

I'm Bradford born and bred but I've never been in here. We'll be back!

(CHV Parents and Carers, June 2022)

**Postscript**

CHVP parents comment to myself, as a representative of the Cathedral Education Team, after the celebration event June 2024.

I just wanted to thank you from the bottom of my heart for what you are doing for our children. You are inspirational, you inspire them to do things that they wouldn't usually do. They need teachers like you. I can't believe how confident they are. When I was ten I couldn't have done what they do. It's because of teachers like you. I mean it, thank you from the bottom of my heart. I can't thank you enough. We are so proud of them.

(CHV parent's Father June 2024)

## Appendix 7 – CHVP annual programme

	Time	Venue	School/Year	Focus
<b>PLANNING AT THE CATHEDRAL LAPAGE AND CATHEDRAL STAFF</b>				
October/ November	TBC	Lapage	Lapage all Year 5 children, Year 6 CHVs	Introduction to the role of CHVs and the Project; handover activities.
February	TBC	The Cathedral	Lapage Year 5 Staff	Intro to the Cathedral, planning, dates decided etc. Learning about the Cathedral and deciding on areas e.g. the bells, Saxon stone etc.
<b>REFLECTION AND PLANNING/WORK IN SCHOOL</b>				
March	TBC	The Cathedral	Lapage CHVs Year 5	Revision; practise teaching each other about their areas.
May	TBC	The Cathedral	Lapage Year 5, guided by their CHV peers.	CHVs Takeover the Cathedral as volunteer guides.
<b>REFLECTION AND PLANNING/ WORK IN SCHOOL</b>				
June	TBC	The Cathedral	Lapage, + visiting Trust school/s Year 5/s guided by the CHVs.	CHVs Takeover the Cathedral as volunteer guides.
<b>REFLECTION AND PLANNING /WORK IN SCHOOL</b>				
June	TBC	The Cathedral	Lapage + visiting Trust school/s Year 5/s guided by the CHVs.	CHVs Takeover the Cathedral as volunteer guides.
June – Volunteer Week	TBC	The Cathedral	Lapage CHVs, parents, carers and Lapage staff, Governors, general Cathedral volunteers.	Community Celebration Event Celebration, tours for family and friends led by the CHVs, presentation of certificates and refreshments.
<b>PLENARY STAFF AND CHILDREN - REFLECTION AND FUTURE PLANNING</b>				

## Appendix 8 - Examples of notes post CHVP sessions

### 1. Introduction to Children 1/12/21

- Three classes 1 at a time; introduced with PP as visual and every class a chance to see, handle, try on: patten, chalice, bread (wafers), mitre, cloak, St Peters keys, stained glass window boards (the women's window), stoles/colours of the Church year. Each session started with Tell me what you already know about the Cathedral and allowed for the children to begin the process of teaching each other e.g. showing and telling using the artefacts from the Cathedral; sharing with each other what they already knew about churches/the Cathedral e.g. Christians pray there, They get baptised They have a Bible.
- CLASS 1. Assistant Head sat in and class teacher (supply) had not been on the teachers pre-visit so was unsure of what was going on and had very little control; children lively but quite engaged. All knew that the Cathedral was a church; all recognised the images (Its by Broadway!); none had ever visited before. No memory of previous children having been volunteers; understood the concepts of volunteering (saying you would do something because you wanted to, not because you had to), struggled with concept of heritage and community.
- CLASS 2. Well prepared and attentive from the off; keen to be involved; interesting that their supply teacher - a Sikh - a former RE student of mine (probably 15 years ago +). Very interested in the idea of everyone in Bradford coming from somewhere else, keen to share where their families originated from, although some were hazy as to exact place Somewhere in Africa (Somalia). Knew importance of wool in Bradford and that some peoples great, great grandparents had come to Bradford to work in the mills (a visit to Bradfords Industrial Museum helped with this); were quick to interpret in light of their own understanding e.g. Its like a mosque. Spotted friends and siblings on the photos of previous Lapage CHVs. Class teacher currently isolating, but had attended the meeting at the Cathedral and had clearly prepared the children well.
- CLASS 3. Really excited; very much as above; very well prepared. One child Muslim, came from Germany, very excited as were her classmates to realise that she was not the first German to settle here. Were already able to explain what the three key word community, heritage and volunteer mean, realised and could explain the range of communities they are each a part of really well - Lapage, BD3, the mosque, Bradford; voiced the need for us to

understand and know each other. One Christian (own labelling), White girl in the class, very excited and keen to talk about churches. One Muslim boy when the question was posed What do you think you are going to see when you come down to the Cathedral? said Things from the Quran This led to a murmur of derision from his class mates; the Muslim male support teacher and Cathedral staff, in unison said Why are you laughing? He's quite right! Talk turned to stories depicted in the windows of the Cathedral and the partner stories found in the Quran; the name game was played Anyone called Yusaf, Ibrahim, Ishmael, Isa, Maryam, Musa, Yah-Yah etc. ? These names were then linked to the Judaeo/Christian counterparts. Children enthralled - and surprised. The Christian child however somewhat disappointed and it was noted that in future sessions her experiences need to be drawn about more, in order not to diminish her experience of Christianity, while helping understanding of similarities and differences.

- GENERAL: all three classes expressed surprise at the idea that the Cathedral was a place for all the people of Bradford, as well as Christians. Listened attentively to a short description of the Facilitators Jewish friends memorial gathering at the Cathedral, attended by Christians, Hindus, Jews, Muslims, Sikhs and people of no religion. This was an obvious challenge to some - the idea of Jews and Muslims in particular, together and in a church. Overwhelming response to the question Who thinks they may want to volunteer to work at the Cathedral and help others learn more about its importance to the City and everyone who lives here? Such a response that the school is this year designing an application form and are going to hold interviews if totally over-subscribed, working on generic citizenship and life skills. It was stressed that those who didn't take on the CHV role, would still visit the Cathedral and be involved in the Art project, so would not miss out altogether. Considering no Year 6 to lead (due to the pandemic) went very well; compared to the 2019 handover, it lacked the peer education aspect, which was so powerful the year previously and really had a passing on the parcel of responsibility and knowledge feel, so to speak. However still a great deal of positivity in the sessions.

### **CHVP Final Review Meeting June 2022**

This meeting was with fourteen of the 23 CHVS and the lead teacher. The children were still buoyed by their experience and eager to chat about the 'best bits' and what should happen with the 'next lot'. They struggled with choosing what they enjoyed the most, but high on the list was:



‘Talking to lots of different people’, ‘meeting new people’, ‘having like a proper job, like work experience’, ‘being responsible, you know being given responsibility’, ‘feeling special, because it was an important job’, ‘showing round my parents and them being proud of me’; ‘learning about the history and about Bradford’, ‘doing the research using the computers and things’, ‘helping people’, ‘doing my job well and meeting people’ (CHVs June 2022).

All the CHVs present identified learning how to talk to other people as important and valued gaining confidence: ‘I can talk to people now and feel excited, not scared’, ‘I enjoyed ‘helping other people learn and I feel more confident now’ (CHVs June 2022); comments which mirrored those made by SUTH and KSUSOMAD Ambassadors.

The children found it difficult to say what would make the experience better: ‘Nothing! I’d do it again now if I could’, ‘I’d love to do it again!’ This meant I had to probe a little deeper ‘Yes, great, but how could Miss Heslop and I make sure it was even better next time for the new volunteers and for visitors?’ The children were given five minutes to discuss this amongst themselves. They then suggested:

‘Have more stations. Do more of the Cathedral’, ‘Even more stuff, artefacts, real things, they make it easier to explain’, ‘A permanent memory wall in school, pictures and information, to remind you’, ‘More time at the Cathedral’, ‘Getting to know more than just your bit. I knew my bit really well, but I wanted to know more about other bits, so swapping over and things, like we did when we practised’, ‘The banners we did could be up, to give you reminders about Bradford, they’d be good in St Aidan’s all the time’ (I explained that they were still up and had featured heavily on positive social media posts made by general visitors). ‘How about a guidebook? If we made a guidebook, it would help the volunteers *and* visitors’.

All affirmed that they were more than happy, to be involved in handing over to the new year five in the autumn term. They all agreed that they would recommend volunteering to another child ‘I really enjoyed it. I’d do it again if I could’.

(CHV Meeting June 2022).

## Appendix 9 – Advertisement for CHVs



You are invited to become a volunteer as part of the Lapage Community Heritage Volunteers. Each year, pupils from Lapage take part in this project, where they work with teachers and staff from Bradford Cathedral to learn about different aspects of the Cathedral. Once trained, volunteers will have the chance to take over as welcomers and guides peers, parents and general visitors at the Cathedral.



Becoming a volunteer will involve 2 half-day training sessions at Bradford Cathedral (these will take place during the school day). You will also be required to attend a few after school training sessions (to be confirmed, but will be no more than 5 sessions between now and April), where you will research your assigned aspects of the Cathedral and develop your delivery and oracy skills.

Once trained, you will have several sessions at the Cathedral acting as a welcomer and guide, where children from Lapage and other schools in the Nurture Academies Trust will visit. Your parents will also have the opportunity to visit at this time should they wish, as will any members of the general public who happen to visit the Cathedral during these sessions.

Not only is being a volunteer a great way to develop your confidence and your oracy skills., being a Community Heritage Volunteer also looks great on your applications for secondary school, college and university! Interested? Write a letter to Mrs. Heslop and Mrs. Fletcher explaining why you think you would make a great volunteer. All application letters to be handed in by the end of the day on Wednesday 2nd February. Places are limited.

## Appendix 10 - Examples of CHV application letters

These comments are taken direct from application letters, which were written by the 2021-2022 Community Heritage Volunteers.

I would like to become a volunteer at the Cathedral. I love to socialise with people and would love to meet people of different faiths.

I am good at helping people and would like to learn about different religions.

I really want to help at the Cathedral because my brother and sister went and they said great things about it.

I found it very cool I am really interested because even though it's a church all religions are welcome.

I want to learn about other aspects of life; to celebrate the diversity and embrace how special we all are.

It will encourage my confidence and I will learn things (as a volunteer) that I can't learn in school.

It will help with my shyness. I would love to talk to different people. Hopefully this will help me to be confident.

(Year 5, Lapage Primary, December 2021)

What follows are examples of a number of **application letters**, written by potential CHVs December 2021.

I would like to become a  
 Volunteer at the Cathedral. I love to socialise with people  
 and would like to meet people of different faiths.  
 I am also good at helping people, and I would like to  
 learn about different religions.

Yours faithfully,



Islam



Christianity



Sikhism



Judaism



Islam



Christianity

Dear Mrs Heslop and Mrs Fletcher,  
 (Application for Bradford Cathedral!)

I have a list of reasons to become a volunteer, such as:  
 (Why I want to do this?)

- Learn about other aspects of life.
- Appreciate the many cultures of life.
- Celebrate the diversity and embrace how special we all are.
- An amazing Earth that we all share and love.
- Personally I would LOVE to help others just like how other help ME!
- An inspirational speaker always says that the goodness that we put into this world, always finds a way of coming back to you. (I live by this quote!)
- This quote inspired me and fuelled my already love for helping others.

(What do I hope to get out of this?)

- I would like to better myself and improve my social skills
- I want to build up my confidence in communicating with others.
- Working as part of a team with others.
- I love to learn, and learning helps me to understand the world..

**BETTER!**

Kind regards ♥



I would like to go to the cathedral  
 because I think I would be a good  
 visitor and it would encourage my learning.  
 It also will encourage my confidence  
 If I go to the cathedral I will learn  
 more things that I don't learn in  
 school. I would also like to ~~have~~  
 go because I would have so  
 much fun. I would stay happy.  
 I would love to talk to different  
 people. I know I feel shy so  
 hopefully this will help me to  
 be confident.

I am wanting to go  
 to Bradford Cathedral so  
 that I can help people.  
 The reason I want to  
 help people is because  
 I can find things easily  
 and I'm helpful towards  
 other people. I have  
 found out that it is  
 big on the inside.  
 So it's tricky and  
 hard to find things.  
 Please can I go.

From

[Redacted]

Hello this is ~~Aim Khan~~

I would like to apply to be a volunteer at the Bradford Cathedral because, firstly I would like to learn alot about the cathedral and help people in my class and from other schools.

I would also ~~like~~ like to be a volunteer because, I absolutely love History and I like learning about the past. I also love learning about new things, and different cultures and religions.

I heard that this cathedral allows all religions to enter, not only christianity. I would love to have this job as a volunteer as I can help lots of people and I can learn myself!

## Appendix 11 – Examples of thoughts and words sheets

First visit to the Cathedral.

Community Heritage Volunteers  
Bradford Cathedral Church of St Peter – first visit

Questions	My thoughts and words
Can you write down three adjectives that you think describe the Cathedral?	Very decorated huge, beautiful
How do you feel about being a volunteer?	Really proud, excited. important
Why did you volunteer to help at the cathedral?	To help people. I am very shy so this might help me
Have you visited a church before?	No never
Have you visited any other place of worship?	yes - mosque
Write down one new thing you have learnt that you did not know before.	That the throne is called a Cathedra.
Write down one thing, that you would like to learn more about.	I would like to learn more about the music.
How do you feel now about being a volunteer?	Really good. Special.



## Community Heritage Volunteers

Bradford Cathedral Church of St Peter – first visit

Questions	My thoughts and words
Can you write down three adjectives that you think describe the Cathedral?	Large Decorated Interested
How do you feel about being a volunteer?	Important
Why did you volunteer to help at the cathedral?	I want to help people and I want to build up our confidence
Have you visited a church before?	No
Have you visited any other place of worship?	I've been to a mosque
Write down one new thing you have learnt that you did not know before.	I learnt that when Jesus was on the cross some people had a dice and he fought over Jesus' clothes
Write down one thing, that you would like to learn more about.	I would love to know more about the Jesus story
How do you feel now about being a volunteer?	I feel a little more confident



Second CHV visit to the Cathedral.

### Community Heritage Volunteers

Bradford Cathedral Church of St Peter

The Cathedral	My thoughts and words
How does it feel to be back in the Cathedral today?	I feel elated to be back in the cathedral as I can learn more.
What are you looking forward to doing most?	Helping my teammates.
Write down at least two words that describe how you feel about being a volunteer guide today.	I am feeling excited.
What do you think is the best thing about being a Community Heritage Volunteer?	Helping other children.
Have you learnt anything from listening to your friends today that you did not know before?	I have learnt that the Saxon cross is over 1300 years old.
Write down one thing that you might need to do before you come back to 'take over' for the day.	Learn more about the forty four cover and the balls

## Community Heritage Volunteers

Bradford Cathedral Church of St Peter

The Cathedral	My thoughts and words
How does it feel to be back in the Cathedral today?	Excited helpful
What are you looking forward to doing most?	looking after my team mates
Write down at least two words that describe how you feel about being a volunteer guide today.	generous happy
What do you think is the best thing about being a Community Heritage Volunteer?	teaching people new things
Have you learnt anything from listening to your friends today that you did not know before?	I have and it was amazing we were talking about Jesus.
Write down one thing that you might need to do before you come back to 'take over' for the day.	get along keeping others safe

Last visit to the Cathedral

## Community Heritage Volunteers

Staff-

## Bradford Cathedral Church of St Peter – final visit

Questions	My thoughts and words
What was the best thing about today?	Watching children lead
What has been the best thing about being a volunteer?	Sense of community
Do you think that you have helped other people by being a volunteer?	Yes
Is there anything that you didn't like about being a volunteer?	No
Write down one new thing you have learnt from volunteering at the Cathedral about Bradford, its people or the Cathedral	Pelican is symbol of Jesus
Write down one thing, that you would still like to learn about Bradford, its people or the Cathedral	History of Cathedral
Would you like to help next year's Year 5 learn how to be Community Heritage Volunteers?	Sure.

If you want to tell Diane anything else, please write on the back. Thank you ☺

## Appendix 12 – Examples of detective sheets



## Bradford Cathedral Detectives



Working with a partner find out as much as possible about the Cathedral.

Write down **1 thing** about each area.

Remember it is okay to ask the CHVs questions.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

School: \_\_\_\_\_ Class: \_\_\_\_\_

<b>Cathedral Station</b>	<b>Write down one thing that you have found out</b>
<b>1 Welcoming</b>	
<b>2 Call and response</b>	
<b>3 Memorials</b>	
<b>4 War and peace</b>	

<b>5 Bradford's Starman, Abraham Sharp</b>	
<b>6 The Battle for the Steeple and the Cathedral badge</b>	
<b>7 The Broad ford and an earlier church</b>	
<b>8 Bradford Dale then and now and Saint Aidan</b>	
<b>9 William Morris windows</b>	
<b>10 The Queen and Maundy Money</b>	
<b>11 Saint Peter and Bradford's Cathedra</b>	
<b>12 Communion, facing east and the Church's colours</b>	
<b>13 Music and worship</b>	

<b>14 Special books and angels</b>	
<b>15 The women in the windows</b>	
<b>16 The Jesus story in pictures</b>	

**If you wish to draw anything you have seen or make more notes, please do so here.**

## Appendix 13 – Examples of teacher comments and feedback

### **1. Stand up to Hatred 2009**

Excellent to have young people so willing to share their experiences. They did an excellent job, very professional and very informative, an inspiration to the younger children.

They were able to relate issues of today's society along-side the life of Anne Frank and encouraged them (the children visiting) to think about their own lives and their actions.

They listened attentively (visiting children) and were more interested because other children were doing the teaching. I'm amazed how well they did.

### **2, Kokeshi: Stand up, Speak out, Make a Difference 2010 - 2011**

It appropriately made links with events of the past and the present time, it encouraged my class to think what they could do to improve things in Bradford and elsewhere. Great that it was made by children for children.

It made them think about violence, hate crime and stuff and how 'demonising' someone else might lead to violence, even war. It made them think about Bradford and what we need to do if we are going to get along and what not to do.

### **3. Community Heritage Volunteer Project 2021 - 2022**

The staffs passion shone through and helped to enthuse the children. They were able to communicate their knowledge to the children in a way that was both engaging and accessible.

The visit set a positive example, showing how people of different faiths may be respectful and knowledgeable about one another.

The staffs knowledge of all religions surprised the children, provided a great model and gave the children lots to discuss back in school.

It was brilliantly organised, planned and delivered.

We could not attempt to deliver in school, what was covered during our visit. The children learned a lot and really enjoyed the day.

The activities were varied and allowed the children to be completely involved.

The awe and wonder the children experienced was evident, priceless and couldn't be achieved anywhere else.

The children learnt so much about where we live and it was great to think about how we could all live together. I learnt a lot too!

### **Lead CHVP teacher feedback June 2022**

#### Bradford Cathedral – Heritage Volunteers Project

The Cathedral project this year has been fantastic. The children have thoroughly enjoyed it and have gained in confidence when speaking publicly. Their reluctance at first, entering a Christian building, soon gave way to their engagement with the heritage, and the wonder at how many links there are between religions.

#### Strengths

- Brilliant cross-curricular links with R.E., history and citizenship.
- Confidence building.
- Development of the children's retention skills
- Teamwork and leadership skills, the children particularly enjoyed being 'in charge' of the Cathedral when guiding visitors around.
- Whole year group involvement with their visit to the Cathedral to be guided around and the art projects.
- Monday trips fit in well with our timetable and we were able to access the minibuses when needed.

#### To work on for next year

- Limited take up of the project in 5M – hopefully this will be rectified in the next academic year, as we will have past CHV's and the video to show the children and create more excitement and engagement with the project; more teacher involvement needed.



- New ideas needed for projects for whole year group for next year – some art work and some written work – maybe poems to celebrate the different areas of the Cathedral, so the children at school are learning about some of the Cathedral's rich history too?
- Kick-starting the project earlier – lead teacher to not be off in the Autumn Term!

## Appendix 14 – Plotting themes across cases

### Purpose of research

To discover if Bradford's experience of cultural and religious pluralism, has resulted in a distinct model of multicultural learning outside the classroom. Key Questions (see introduction)

Data collection/theme identification

#### 1. Literature

#### 2. Historic cases: TLN, SUTH, KSUSOMAD

1. Reflection on participant observation and observation, child and adult participation.
2. Data trawl of archival/historic documentation e.g., child and adult feedback and evaluations.
3. Project evaluations and reports.

#### 3. Contemporary case: CHVP

1. Observation and participant observation, using observation schedule (based on the codes emerging themes from historic cases), in classrooms and in the Cathedral.
2. Normatively generated written work (application letters, thoughts and words sheets, detective sheets).
3. Verbal responses and feedback (in school and in the Cathedral).
4. Digital responses to the experience at the Cathedral.
5. Art work.
6. Pre and post on line questionnaire for teacher practitioners
7. Semi structured interviews.

I began by listing the cases alongside the codes and themes identified. I cross referenced these to my key questions. I colour coded areas of commonality and divergence on a grid. Areas shaded green were evident across all cases, darker green means they were a particular focus), those shaded yellow although observable, or implied through participants 'perceptions, experiences, feelings, values and emotions' (Mishra and Dey 2023) were not to the fore. Where I shaded something red it was not evident at all. I added a 'comments column' where I made notes on the possible relevance of concepts and themes, tentatively, beginning to draw conclusions (Kiger and Varpio 2020),

BRADFORD PROJECTS CONTEXT, CONCEPTS AND EMERGING THEMES				
First level – context/concepts	TLN	SUTH	KSUSOMAD	COMMENTS
Bradford				Literature based discourse; observable as important in the reality of the local context and in the development and implementation of the cases considered.
Diversity				
Multiculturalism				
Interculturalism				
Religion/world views				
Conflict				
Cohesion				
Second level - concepts (emerging from the first)	TLN	SUTH	KSUSOMAD	COMMENTS
Bradford				
Diversity				A continuous context.
Community				Emphasis on local situation and responsibility for change.
Religion/world views				Conflated in Bradford with nationality; linked with racism and Islamophobia. A central component in formal education and in Bradford's multicultural policy and practice.
Conflict				Between communities.
Contact				Between individuals and groups.
Cohesion				
Prevent				Preventing radicalisation and extremism aiding cohesion in theory, if not in practice.
Agency				Power to effect change
Citizenship				As action, rather than just knowledge.
Curriculum				All of that which a child experiences in school.
Teachers				Impact, education, support and changing roles.
Alternative spaces				Learning outside the classroom.
Third level - themes	TLN	SUTH	KSUSOMAD	
Bradford				All 'features' of the learning experiences provided by TLN, SUTH, KSUSOMAD. Child centred learning. Observable outcomes, evidenced in behaviour and the perceptions, experiences, feelings, values and emotions verbally, in writing and through artwork and digital means, by participants (Mishra and Dey 2023).
Agentic learning				
Active citizens				
Interpretive learning				
Contact and dialogue				
Confidence				
Permeating themes				
Bradford				Cross model dimensions, integral to the cases considered and evident in content, the emphasis. Implicit within the third level themes.
Cultural navigation				
Identity Heritage Belonging				

THE COMMUNITY HERITAGE VOLUNTEER PROJECT CONTEXT, CODES AND EMERGING THEMES		
First level – context/concepts	CHVP	NOTES
Bradford		Central to the CHVP'
Diversity		Literature based discourse; observable as important in the reality of the local context and in the development and implementation of the project and in the response to inequalities and negative realities of cultural diversity (prejudice, racism, discrimination, violence), through legislation, policy and practice. The Church and Cathedral's role in education and social change.
Multiculturalism		
Interculturalism		
Religion/world views		
Conflict		
Cohesion		
Second level concepts (emerging from the first)		
Bradford		Consistently central to the project.
Diversity		A continuous context.
Community		Emphasis on a community of communities (Parekh 2000); commonality, difference, shared ownership, rights and responsibilities; working together for positive change.
Religion		Conflated in Bradford with nationality; linked with racism and Islamophobia. Need to address misunderstandings and ignorance about certain religions and cultures (Jackson 2013 and Thomas 2017). A central component in Bradford's multicultural policy and practice; links between education and religion important.
Conflict		Constant sub text, not explicit; rather than a focus on preventing harm or negative behaviours, emphasis on adding value to society to society (Abrams, Horsham and Davies 2023).
Contact		Essential to understanding difference and commonality;
Cohesion		Facilitated through purposeful contact, volunteering allowing children to be active effective, citizens; resulting in personal and societal benefit.
Prevent		Constant sub text, not explicit, but extremist views addressed and aim to prevent radicalisation or extreme views, through 'encounter with difference' (Rylands 2019) and adding value to society to society (Abrams, Horsham and Davies 2023).
Citizenship		Active; volunteering allowing children to be active effective, citizens; resulting in personal and societal benefit.
Agency		Power to effect change and changing roles.
Curriculum		Multicultural and multifaith content; LOtC different, for some better; positive disruption of power geometries, through stepping outside.
Teachers		Observation and feedback suggested that most teachers saw the experience as valuable for peer educators, learners and as increasing their own knowledge; challenging for some; variation in teacher commitment and competency influenced the quality of children's experiences and outcomes.
Alternative spaces		Emphasis here on a 'shared alternative space' as opposed to 'neutral' ones; interpretive exploration of identity, heritage and belonging in context, in a sacred space, leading to emplacement.
Third level – themes		
<b>Sacred Space</b>		

<b>Common Ground</b>		Points of divergence with the Bradford model; distinctive and aligned to LOTC in a Cathedral space. The Cathedral as sacred space and common ground; therefore, a space which may become a significant place for people of all religions and none. Linked to community and the concept of 'citenry' (Wohl 2016).
<b>Emplacement</b>		
Agentic learning		
Active citizens		
Interpretive learning		
Contact and dialogue		
Confidence		
<b>Themes which permeate</b>		
Bradford		Cross curricular, dimensions, integral to the CHVP evident in content. Implicit within the third level themes; focus (largely through interpretive means) on exploring individual and collective identity, heritage and belonging, helping children to navigate difference and identify commonality, with the aspiration of building bridges across divides; in particular addressing, what Jackson (2013) and Thomas (2017) claim to be widely held incorrect assumptions, misunderstandings and ignorance about certain religions and cultures
Cultural navigation		
Identity		
Heritage		
Belonging		

Therefore, themes for exploration and analysis are:

1 - Initial concepts	2 – Developing concepts	3 – Emerging themes	4 – Themes	* Additional CHVP
<i>Permeating: context multicultural, multifaith Bradford</i>				
Multiculturalism <i>Bradford</i> Interculturalism	Culture Religion Conflict Cohesion Education	Context Contact Dialogue Conflict Religion Cohesion Community Understanding	Contact Alternative space Cultural navigation Agentic learners Active citizens Dialogue Interpretation	Common ground  Sacred space  Emplacement
<i>Permeating: identity, heritage and belonging</i>				

These may be synthesised into a specific model of multicultural learning outside the classroom:

- Alternative space, contact & encounter, agentic learning, active citizenship – ***plus for the Cathedral sacred space, common ground and emplacement*** (components)
- Multicultural, intercultural, dialogic, interpretive (descriptors of practice)
- Cultural competency, identity, heritage and belonging (cross project dimensions).

## Appendix 15 – Examples of adult written responses to experiences at the Cathedral

Letter from a congregation member

(Dear Mr. Laman,  
 Last week I was present at the official opening of the Cathedral's W.W.I Bells Exhibition, Festa Evensong and reeducation of the restored bells. It was a memorable occasion. I am writing to congratulate the Year 6 (?) pupils from your school whom I met there. How smart they looked in their scarlet sweat shirts, very well behaved and polite. They explained their participation in the project with confidence and enthusiasm, which was for myself a retired primary teacher, pure joy and brought back a flood of happy memories. I had 31 years of working with mainly 8/9 year olds. Ill health caused early retirement in 1988. Education was very different in my day. Fortunately I was able to use my skills again for nearly 20 years as a part of the Cathedral's education team. I spoke to several of the teachers who accompanied the children and

complimented them, but please will you relay my thanks to them and the children. It was a job very well done and they should all be proud of themselves. I hope that like me, they will cherish the role they played in the life of the Cathedral. They have their place in its history.

... that the remain-

Extract from a letter from a visiting teacher

I am firmly of the belief that having a better understanding of other people's faith and religion can only be of benefit to society. I know that many of our children would never have set foot in a church or cathedral before, so this visit provides a great opportunity for them to explore more about Christianity, as well as their own city.

The volunteers that we worked with on our visit were exemplary. They showed tremendous patience, especially with the barrage of questions they faced. Their passion for what they do really shone through and helped to enthuse the children. Most importantly, they were able to communicate their impressive knowledge in a way that was both engaging and accessible for the children. My class were particularly impressed with the knowledge your volunteers showed about Islam (the religion for most of our children). This fascinated them and has led to many follow up questions since the trip. It also set a positive example, showing how people of different faiths can be respectful and knowledgeable about one another.

I have included the thank you letters that members of my class have written to you as part of their English work. They were delighted at the chance to show their appreciation for an experience they truly valued. I hope that many of them may now visit again and I will certainly encourage them to do so. I know that they all took a lot away from the experience.

Thank you once again for a wonderful afternoon. I hope to possibly be lucky enough to visit again with another class in the future and I wish you continued success in your education programme.



## Appendix 17 – Ethics Approval

## APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL

<b>Section 1: About you and the project</b>	
Title of research: (working title)	Intercultural Encounters in a Sacred Space: the impact of a Cathedral education programme on primary school children.
Researcher:	Diane Hadwen
Email address:	diane.hadwen@yorks.ac.uk
School:	Education
Telephone number:	07811 196595
Status	<input type="checkbox"/> Student: Undergraduate programme (e.g. BSc) <input type="checkbox"/> Student: Postgraduate taught programme (e.g. MSc) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Student: Postgraduate research programme (e.g. PhD) <input type="checkbox"/> Staff
Main supervisor: (for student applications)	Dr Charlotte Haines
Are there any internal collaborators on the project? If so please list their names here:	None
Are there any external collaborators on the project? If so please list here their names and institutions:	None
Start date of project:	PhD Feb 2020; fieldwork January 2021
Expected duration of the project:	PhD completion; fieldwork July 2022
Has the project been externally funded? If yes please state the name of the funding organisation, and amount of award.	No
Additional notes	<i>Revised June 2021; Covid restrictions impinged upon the original dates suggested (2020 - 21). Fieldwork, rescheduled for November 2021-June 2022. Working title adapted January 2020 'A study of the context, development, implementation and impact of a Bradford model of multicultural learning outside the classroom', incorporating the original focus.</i>

**Section 2: Brief overview of the project**

*Working title: Intercultural Encounters in a Sacred Space: the impact of a Cathedral education programme on primary school children.*

**Objectives of the investigation**

*This research is concerned with exploring ways in which primary aged children engage with a place of worship that is not a substantive part of their personal life or faith experience and with investigating they interact with others in this space. It aims to assess the impact of this experience on those involved and to evaluate the use of a sacred space, an Anglican cathedral, as a context for an interpretive, child centred pedagogy and how far this may facilitate intercultural learning in a plural society and encourage integration and cohesion.*

*This research will seek to investigate the impact of a cathedral-based education programme on primary school children, exploring:*

The research will adopt a case study approach, exploring children's experiences as they engage and respond to learning outside the classroom in a place of worship through their involvement with the Community Heritage Volunteers (CHV) Project.

Key Questions - set in the context of the area of investigation and the CHV project:

- What is the purpose of Cathedral Education?
- How does it differ from school-based education?
- How do intercultural encounters in the Cathedral encourage integration and cohesion?
- How do children learn in the Cathedral?
- What is it that they learn?
- Is this what teachers' think that they learn?
- Is learning more effective in this 'sacred space' than learning in school, or is it different?

Will the project involve....

Human participants

Human tissue(s)

Documents (e.g. for the purposes of systematic review/ meta-analysis (*upon completion of section 2 please go to section 6*))

Other, please state below

Will the research require the collection of primary source material that might possibly be seen as offensive or considered illegal to access or hold on a computer? (e.g. *studies related to state security, pornography, abuse, illegal behaviour or terrorism*).  Yes  No

Does your research concern groups which may be construed as terrorist or extremist?  Yes  No  
(If your answer to this question is "Yes", you must complete and submit the supplementary form available as an appendix to your Research Ethics approval form).

Will the research involve visual/vocal methods where participants may be identified?  Yes  No

Will the research involve the use of genetic data (inherited/acquired genetic characteristics resulting from the analysis of a biological sample e.g. chromosomal, DNA, RNA or other elements)?  Yes  No

If you answer "yes" to any of the four questions above, your project involves the collection of sensitive data and as such your application **may** need to be reviewed by the university research ethics committee.

### Section 3: Participants

Will the research take place outside the UK?  Yes  No

If Yes will the research take place outside the EU?  Yes  No

Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper to give access to, or to help recruit, participants?  Yes  No  
(e.g. *head teachers giving access to schools, ministers giving access to congregations, group leaders*).

Will it be necessary for participants to take part in the study without their knowledge or consent at the time?  Yes  No  
(e.g. *observations of group behaviour, or the use of data that was not intentionally collected for research*.)

Will the study involve recruitment of patients through the NHS?  Yes

	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
Will inducements be offered to participants? (e.g. the offer of being entered in a prize draw, or, for students, the offer of course credit for participation.)	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
Does the study involve participants who are particularly vulnerable or unable to give informed consent? (e.g. if any participants are under 18. Adults with learning disabilities, the frail elderly, or anyone who may be easily coerced due to lack of capacity. If you teach and you wish to research your own students, they should be classed as potentially vulnerable.)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Is there a possibility that the safety of the researcher may be in question? (e.g. lone working)	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No

### Participant recruitment

Please detail the nature of the participants.

- Year 5 primary school children involved in the CHV project (consent gained via the school gatekeepers; parental support and permission is sought annually by the school for the children's support in the project) 25 maximum (may be less due to Covid restrictions).
- Teachers (6)
- Support staff (6)
- Trustees (10)
- Cathedral (6)

Where will the research be conducted?

*In a three form entry, inner city, primary school, part of an academy trust and at Bradford Cathedral*

*Online (due to the present Covid restrictions): possibly email interviews, questionnaires*

Describe the method of recruitment

Approach to 'gate keepers' e.g. headteachers and trustees, known teachers in school and Cathedral staff, in person where Covid restrictions allow, via email and telephone conversations if not Covid safe. Actual and Zoom meetings with support staff, governors and trustees

### Participant consent

Via written consent form when interest expressed in response to electronic or face to face meeting approach:

Trustees consent - presentation at Trustees meeting

Headteacher and Executive Head consent - presentation at heads meeting

Consent of teachers

Dean's consent and consent of education team at Bradford Cathedral, including consent to access archival, raw data e.g.: planning, meeting notes, evaluation forms, children's formative assessment and feedback and images

At any online or face to face meeting purpose, consent and confidentiality will be explained again at the beginning by the facilitator as will the option to withdraw

Plus, letters home to parents via school for consent to take part in the project and an explanation of what this will involve (common practice in the school) see above. Note: the children will not be asked to undertake any task or activity that they would not normally undertake as part of the CHV project or as part of a visit to the Cathedral.

## Section 4: Methodology

Will the study require participants to commit extensive time to the study? (e.g. Single-session interviews or completing questionnaires once or twice would not be considered excessive, but long-term studies with multiple sampling, intensive data)	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
---	--

*gathering over a day or more, or long interviews and questionnaires that take some hours to complete might fall into this category.)*

Are drugs, placebos or any other substances to be administered to participants, or will the study involve invasive, intrusive or potentially harmful procedures of any kind?  Yes  
*(Even simple procedures such as tasting sessions might be dangerous if participants have allergies, so tick yes if the research involves any substance trials.)*  No

If there are experimental and control groups, will being in one group disadvantage participants?  Yes  
*(e.g. testing new teaching methods where pupils without the trial procedure may be disadvantaged, or trying a new procedure where the outcomes are uncertain.)*  No

Is an extensive degree of exercise or physical exertion involved?  Yes  
 No

Will blood or tissue samples be obtained from participants?  Yes  
 No

Could the study induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life?  Yes  
*(This might be because the subject area is sensitive, the nature of task (e.g. decision-making under pressure), or the participants are particularly vulnerable to stress or anxiety (e.g. those with a history of poor mental health).)*  No

Please describe the research methodology and procedure.

My research will involve three main focus groups, who take part in an extant multicultural project situated in a cathedral setting. This is an annual project.

School staff - Lapage  
 Cathedral staff - Bradford Cathedral clergy and lay staff  
 Children - from Lapage

Through semi-structured interviews, discussion and observation of interaction and children's work information will be obtained about issues pertaining to expectations, experiences and outcomes of education at the Cathedral, particularly the Community Heritage Volunteer Project.

Video footage (note this is routinely produced in this extant project, by the school and the Cathedral, for use in school, website and social media, permissions are always sought formally from parents) will be scrutinised, dialogue transcribed and themes analysed.

Letters are always sent home by the school asking parents' permission for them to take part in this project. This will be supplemented by an introductory letter explaining my research and the children's right to take part in the project as usual, but not take part in the research. The children will be informed verbally and reminded throughout that I am conducting research.

The emphasis is on gathering the data as soon as possible and I may use other analytical tools, at a later-date, including critical discourse analysis.

Planned dates for collecting data in school and the Cathedral have been influenced by Covid; this was the plan before Lockdown 3; I suspect that the pattern will stay the same. Initial plan was as follows:

Describe the research methodology and procedure, providing a timeline of activities where possible. Please use plain English.

Timeline:

- Initial survey of retrospective/archive material
- Approach to adults January 2021
- Letter home to parents re-the project January 2021
- Questionnaire's for staff involved
- Session in school (videoed) February 2021

- Online questionnaire for children (using Google forms as it allows for immediate visual feedback to children once it has been completed, also very useful for initially highlighting trends and themes) February 2021
- Sessions in Cathedral (videoed); formative sheet for participants; note due to Covid restrictions children will visit in groups of 4 or 5 March 2021
- Either (Covid dependent) second CHV visit to the Cathedral to lead learning for their peers or video footage rolled out to six academy schools as a peer led, virtual visit to the Cathedral April 2021
- Summative sheet of responses for CHV participants April 2021
- Online or face to face interviews with adults post work with the Cathedral April/May 2021
- Celebration event with summative online questionnaire for CHVs May 21
- Transcription as necessary June 2021
- Thematic analysis of written and pictorial data (the latter will evolve from work the children do in the Cathedral) July 2021
- Comparison with data from archive/retrospective materials July 2021

Note: schools not fully operational so fieldwork postponed, will commence in the autumn term 2021.

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Please provide details concerning what your participants will be required to do.

*The first in school meeting will be facilitated by the researcher named above, and participants will be asked to reflect on various thoughts and ideas they might have about the Cathedral and what their role as CHVs will be like; the children will be asked to identify issue that they would like to address and things they feel they need to know and be able to do, further in the next meeting. The format and content of future questionnaires and tasks will reflect the things raised by the children, so their content will be determined as research progresses. Note: this is routine in this project, which is very child led. This would be the start to the project, should it not be the subject of research.*

*Once approached staff will be asked to complete questionnaires and semi- structured interviews will be conducted at the already planned review points in the project.*

*The intention is to keep the experience as close to normal for all participants as possible, avoiding a sense of it being artificial and research driven.*

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## **Section 5: Ethical Issues**

*Research directly or indirectly involving or impacting upon human participants always gives rise to ethical considerations. The aim is to always obtain consent and for participation to be a voluntary experience and as least disruptive to the work of staff and the experience of pupils as possible.*

*Keeping children safe is of the utmost importance and the Cathedral and Lapage Primary School both have risk assessments which cover the project being researched, children's involvement and my own (as a participant observer and cathedral educator).*

*My research purpose and outcomes will be transparent from the outset and data gleaned from participants will be presented anonymously; they will be reminded of this repeatedly. The ethical principles that will guide this research, include anonymity of participants and the transparency at all stages, of the reasons for research and how the data collected will be used and disseminated.*

*It is ever important to recognise that as researcher you are often perceived to be in a position of power, particularly as a teacher (some of the teachers involved remember me as a teacher educator, which is another power dynamic I need to be aware of). Objectivity is essential and an attempt stem any undue influence and manipulation due to participants being 'recruited by individuals in a position of authority' (TCPS2, p.28). I acknowledge an element of risk in my research for participants (not least in being judged inadequate in provision or professional practice)*

which I will attempt to that needs to be mitigate with a clear statement of purpose and transparency at every stage about how data will be recorded, used and disseminated.

There is also risk to myself as a researcher dealing with what may be quite contentious areas of diversity and cohesion; I need to recognise that as a professional researching such areas, that my work may result in occasionally opposition from individuals and even in media interest (not always positive). A subject that is contentious can draw a researcher into a debate that is less than professional and this must be avoided by the researcher at all costs. Work around contentious issues will also always draw challenge from other academics and researchers; this is something that one needs to be resilient about and expect; always responding appropriately and professionally.

The main guide for my ethical stance will be The British Educational Research Associations (BERA) guidelines for researchers and I aim to carry out my research and collect all data with respect for:

- People/the person involved
- Knowledge
- Democratic values
- Quality of educational research
- Academic freedom

(BERA 2011)

As a researcher I am mindful that we have responsibilities to participants, policy makers, educational professionals and the general public (particularly so because of the area of my research which examines professional practice and its impact on children).

Consequential ethics are of particular importance. Therefore, I will re-visit my focus and research activities constantly to ensure my research is worthwhile and of value. Consequential ethical thinking is concerned with appraising research not only initially but as it progresses. The ethics of a piece of research must be re-evaluated as work progresses and develops, as part of the life cycle of the research process and I intend to do so regularly during the course of my fieldwork.

## Section 6: Data management plan & data protection impact assessment

These questions are intended to help you decide whether a DPIA is necessary.

Screening question	Yes	No
1. Will the project involve the collection of information about individuals?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
2. Will the project require individuals to provide information about themselves?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
3. Will you be using information about individuals for a purpose that it? is not currently used for, or in a way it is not currently used?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
4. Does the project introduce new or significantly change the way in which personal data about a large number of individuals is handled?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
5. Does the project introduce new or additional information technologies that can reveal an individual's identity and has the potential to affect that person's privacy?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
6. Does the project involve the use of systematic and extensive profiling or automated decision making to make significant decisions about people?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
7. Will you be processing special category data or criminal offence data on a large scale?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
8. Will you be systematically monitoring a publicly accessible place on a large scale?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
9. Does the project involve the use of new technologies?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

10. Does the project involve profiling, automated decision-making or special category data to help make decisions on someone's access to a service, opportunity or benefit?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
11. Do you intend to carry out profiling on a large scale?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
12. Will you be processing biometric or genetic data?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
13. Does the project involve combining, comparing or matching data from multiple sources?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
14. Do you plan to process personal data without providing a privacy notice directly to the individual?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
15. Do you plan to process personal data in a way which involves tracking individuals' online or offline location or behaviour?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
16. Do you plan to process children's personal data for profiling or automated decision-making or for marketing purposes, or offer online services directly to them?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
17. Do you plan to process personal data which could result in a risk of physical harm in the event of a security breach?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
18. Do you plan to carry out any other: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Evaluation or scoring;</li> <li>• Automated decision-making with significant effects;</li> <li>• Systematic monitoring;</li> <li>• Processing of sensitive data or data of a highly personal nature; Processing on a large scale; Processing of data concerning vulnerable data subjects;</li> <li>• Innovative technological or organisational solutions;</li> <li>• Processing involving preventing data subjects from exercising a right or using a service or contract.</li> </ul>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
19. Will the personal data be processed out of the EU?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

#### 6b. Why is a DPIA needed?

N/A a DPIA is not needed. Please go to question 6d.

#### 6c. The nature of your research data

6c.1 Are you collecting any of the following personal data as part of your research project?

Type of data*	Yes	No
Race	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ethnicity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Political Opinions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Religious or philosophical beliefs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Trade union membership	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Genetic data	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Biometric data (where this is used for identification purposes)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Health data	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Sex life	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Sexual orientation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Criminal convictions and offences	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

\* These categories are taken from the information Commissioners Office (ICO) categories of personal data, see: <https://ico.org.uk/for-organisations/guide-to-the-general-data-protection-regulation-gdpr/what-is-personal-data/what-is-personal-data/>

- Describe the scope of the processing: what is the nature of the data? There are three categories of data with regard to anonymisation:
- **Anonymised data** are data in a form that does not identify individuals and where identification through its combination with other data is not likely to take place is anonymised data and out of the scope of data protection legislation.
- **Pseudo anonymised data** are data where no personal information is included through the consent process, instead participant codes are used. Researchers/ participants generate a code (e.g. date of birthday and last three digits of postcode); this is then entered on the participant information sheet (so participants have a record), on the consent form as evidence of consent and on the data (e.g. on the questionnaire).
- Data where anonymisation is not possible, for example video recordings of interviews, personal information that has to be collected for safeguarding purposes.

What is the nature of your data?

- Anonymised
- Pseudo anonymised
- Data where anonymisation is not possible

#### 6c.2 Additional data on the anonymisation process

All forms and questionnaires are to be answered anonymously. Where vignettes etc. no names will be used. No individual will be identified in any written work or dissemination of findings. Note the two key organisations, Bradford Cathedral and Lapage Primary School will, at the request of the school and the agreement of the Cathedral.



## 6d. Research Data Flow

### 6d.1. What data will be collected?

Physical data studied will include paper archives and on line archives of responses made by teachers (collected anonymously) and children (also anonymous); on line information about education provision, planning and evaluation documents; samples of planning and programmes, children's work and questionnaire responses. Digital generated will include field-notes, spread-sheets and questionnaire response data.

Please use the table below to document all the research data you will collect or generate as part of the project. An example has been provided in red.

Data type	Original format	Preservation format	Estimated volume	IPR Owner	Active storage location	Completed storage location
Questionnaire data	On line Hard copy	Trends and key information transferred to Excel and Word doc  Tabulate trends		Diane Hadwen	Google doc, password protected  Password protected	
Interview notes	Handwritten Email	Transcribed to Word doc		Diane Hadwen	Password protected One Drive account	
Children's work	Written, pictorial, digital	Record trends and themes and unique comments or take - Word doc		Diane Hadwen	Password protected One Drive account	
Digital and video footage and photos – but only as normatively produced	Digital film	Record trends and themes and unique comments or take - Word doc		Diane Hadwen	Password protected One Drive account	

Archival, raw, anonymous data	Spread sheets, booking and feedback sheets and evaluations; teacher and children's comments	Transcribe to word doc.  Tabulate trends.		Diane Hadwen	Password protected One Drive account	
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Plans for data sharing and access in the short and long term

6d.2. Will anyone other than the named applicants have access to the data?

No

*If yes, please list their names and institutions and explain the reason for access here.*

6d.3. Will your data be made openly available upon completion of your project?

Yes

If no, please explain why you will not make your data openly available *and then go to question 6d.7.*

6d.4. What repository will you use? RAYE

6d.5. Can your data be released immediately

Yes

6d.6. If your research involves people, have you obtained appropriate consent for data sharing?

Yes

6d.7. How will data be documented and described?

In written form and vignettes will be used as appropriate.

Any diagrams or tabulation of information will be clearly labelled.

6d.8. How will data be structured and stored?

Hard copies of response sheets and questionnaires stored in files and dated

Transcripts of interviews stored electronically

Online questionnaire and interview data stored using Google forms and docs

Trends identified stored on excel sheets and using Google forms/docs

Examples of children's work collated and stored by date and activity

Feedback and evaluations collated and stored by date and activity

Note: all on line data will be anonymous and password protected.

6d.9. Are there any 'special' requirements for your data?  
N/A

6d.10. How will data be documented and described?

In written form and vignettes will be used as appropriate.  
Any diagrams or tabulation of information will be clearly labelled.

6d.11. How will data be structured and stored?

Hard copies of response sheets and questionnaires stored in files and dated  
Transcripts of interviews stored electronically  
Online questionnaire and interview data stored using Google forms and docs  
Trends identified stored on excel sheets and using Google forms/docs  
Examples of children's work collated and stored by date and activity  
Feedback and evaluations collated and stored by date and activity

Note: all on line data will be anonymous and password protected.

6d.12. Are there any 'special' requirements for your data?  
N/A

**Identify the privacy and related risks**

N/A DPIA is not needed. Please go to section 7.

Identify the key privacy risks and the associated compliance and corporate risks. Larger-scale PIAs might record this information on a more formal risk register.

Describe the source of the risk and nature of the potential impact in individuals. Include associated compliance and corporate risks	Risk to individuals	Likelihood of harm (remote, possible or probable)	Compliance risk	Associated organisation / corporate risk
<p>1. Judgement of professional practice - staff in school and the Cathedral</p> <p>2. Researcher</p>	<p><i>I acknowledge an element of risk in my research for participants (not least in being judged inadequate in provision or professional practice) which I will attempt to that needs to be mitigate with a clear statement of purpose and transparency at every stage about how data will be recorded and used and disseminated.</i></p> <p><i>There is also risk to myself as a researcher dealing with what may be quite contentious areas of intercultural education and diversity and cohesion; I need to recognise that as a professional researching such areas, that my work may result in occasionally opposition from individuals and even in media interest (not always positive).</i></p>	<p>Remote</p> <p>Possible</p>		

<p>3. Children</p>	<p><i>Work around contentious issues will also always draw challenge from other academics and researchers; this is something that one needs to be resilient about and expect; always responding appropriately and professionally.</i></p> <p><i>Stress or pressure caused by involvement in a project which asks them to plan and lead learning and interact with children that they have not met before.</i></p>	<p>Remote</p>		
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**Identify measures to reduce risks**

Describe the actions you could take to reduce or eliminate the risks identified, and any future steps which would be necessary (e.g. the production of new guidance or future security testing for systems).

<p><b>Risk</b></p>	<p><b>Solution(s)</b></p>	<p><b>Result:</b> is the risk eliminated, reduced, or accepted?</p>	<p><b>Evaluation:</b> is the final impact on individuals after implementing each solution a justified, compliant and proportionate response to the aims of the project?</p>
<p>Staff feeling their work is being criticised in the public domain.</p>	<p>Anonymity of all parties; continued reassurance that this is the case. Transparency of where and how any data will be stored and used.</p>	<p>Reduced</p>	<p>The likelihood of anything negative being ascribed to individuals is not possible; pseudonyms will be used for children.</p>

Children	Children volunteer from the project, but may withdraw, no compulsion to be filmed or to present in any way that they do not wish to do so.	Note: both the school and Cathedral have detailed risk assessments and safeguarding procedures already in place.	Unlikely that children will feel pressured or coerced.
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### Sign off and record the DPIA outcomes

Who has approved the privacy risks involved in the project? What solutions need to be implemented?

Risk	Approved solution	Approved by
Anonymity and confidentiality.	Staff; discuss in depth anonymity and confidentiality with staff at every meeting. Also include in participants info.	
Children participation School and Cathedral risk assessments in place.	Discussion from the beginning of the children's role as CHV and how any data collected will be used (using child friendly language). This is reiterated on formative and summative sheets.	

### Integrate the PIA outcomes back into the project plan

Who is responsible for integrating the DPIA outcomes back into the project plan and updating any project management paperwork? Who is responsible for implementing the solutions that have been approved? Who is the contact for any privacy concerns that may arise in the future?

Action to be taken	Date for completion of actions	Responsibility for action
As above in solutions	To continue across the research period.	Diane Hadwen
As above in solutions	To continue across the research period.	Diane Hadwen

### Contact point

Contact point for future privacy concerns (if this is a student project, this should be your supervisor).
Charlotte Haines

**Section 7: Declaration**

Declaration – I have read the ethics policy and guidance and the general data protection regulation information alongside abiding by the practice in place within my research discipline. The information supplied here is accurate to the best of my knowledge.

Staff Signature	
Name	
Date	

Student Signature(s) (if applicable)	Diane Hadwen
Name	Diane Hadwen
Date	Revised 5/6/21

**Appended material**

List here the material you have appended to the end of this form. This should include letters to gatekeepers, examples of informed consent sheets, copies of questionnaires, interview schedules, participant screening tools etc.). If you cannot easily append this material, email it as an attachment.

Checklist	Attached	N/A
Participant Information Sheet(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> x	<input type="checkbox"/>
Consent Form(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> x	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sample questionnaire(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> x	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sample interview format(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sample advertisement(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Security-sensitive material	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Any other documents (please specify below)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**SUPERVISOR'S SIGNATURE: Charlotte Haines Lyon**

**5/6/21**

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