



The Trojan Horse controversy: Mapping the construction of justice in UK media

Susan Divald

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About ETHOS

ETHOS - Towards a European Theory Of Justice and fairness is a European Commission Horizon 2020 research project that seeks to provide building blocks for the development of an empirically informed European theory of justice and fairness. The project seeks to do so by:

- a) refining and deepening knowledge on the European foundations of justice - both historically based and contemporarily envisaged;
- b) enhancing awareness of mechanisms that impede the realisation of justice ideals as they are lived in contemporary Europe;
- c) advancing the understanding of the process of drawing and re-drawing of the boundaries of justice (fault lines); and
- d) providing guidance to politicians, policy makers, activists and other stakeholders on how to design and implement policies to reverse inequalities and prevent injustice.

ETHOS does not only understand justice as an abstract moral ideal that is universal and worth striving for but also as a re-enacted and re-constructed 'lived' experience. This experience is embedded in legal, political, moral, social, economic and cultural institutions that claim to be geared toward giving members of society their due.

In the ETHOS project, justice is studied as an interdependent relationship between the ideal of justice and its manifestation – as set out in the complex institutions of contemporary European societies. The relationship between the normative and practical, the formal and informal, is acknowledged and critically assessed through a multi-disciplinary approach.

To enhance the formulation of an empirically based theory of justice and fairness, ETHOS will explore the normative (ideal) underpinnings of justice and its practical realisation in four heuristically defined domains of justice - social justice, economic justice, political justice, and civil and symbolic justice. These domains are revealed in several spheres:

- a) philosophical and political tradition;
- b) legal framework;
- c) daily (bureaucratic) practice;
- d) current public debates; and
- e) the accounts of vulnerable populations in six European countries (Austria, Hungary, the Netherlands, Portugal, Turkey and the UK).

The question of drawing boundaries and redrawing the fault-lines of justice permeates the entire investigation.

Utrecht University in the Netherlands coordinates the project, and works together with five other research institutions. These are based in Austria (European Training and Research Centre for Human Rights and Democracy), Hungary (Central European University), Portugal (Centre for Social Studies), Turkey (Boğaziçi University), and the UK (University of Bristol). The research project lasts from January 2017 to December 2019.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Trojan Horse controversy erupted in 2014 when an alleged plot by hardline Islamists to ‘Islamicise’ schools in Birmingham was made public. This occurred within the context of debates on British citizenship, terrorist attacks in Britain and France, and a shift away from policies of community cohesion towards the securitisation focus of the Prevent strategy. The response to the alleged plot was a media frenzy, several government investigations, professional misconduct hearings and the dissolution of an educational trust in Birmingham. On a societal level, it brought to the surface tensions concerning Muslim integration – whether in terms of the failure of Muslims to integrate or in terms of British society’s prejudice towards the Muslim community.

This report analyses the different claims to justice that were made by media sources across the right, centre and left sides of the political spectrum. It includes news media and blog posts, and it brings in a multimodal dimension by including an analysis of images and video clips. Once the articles had been identified, a process of inductive qualitative coding was used to identify four main discourse frames: the claim to truth, the role of education, security and societal trust, and trust in state institutions.

The four frames refer to different dimensions of justice. An analysis of the different frames has shown that the government and articles from media on the right generally see Muslim young people at risk of segregation and vulnerable to radicalisation, with hardline Islamists being the main threat. Official government statements stand by British values, and some on the right question the results of diversity promotion that had de facto encouraged segregation, intolerance and put the future generation at risk. In this sense, the ideal of justice as protection is very relevant to the right-wing debate, as is justice as recognition where the cultural values to be recognised are British values and tolerance. Another frequently alluded to concept of justice is that of representation or deliberation, focusing on the state institutions as legitimate representatives and capable assessors of ‘the truth’.

Articles from media on the left focus on the Muslim population as being unfairly victimised, and as victims of injustice in terms of procedure, redistribution, recognition and representation. Through the play *Trojan Horse* (Lung Theatre 2018) and its coverage, as well as other articles, writers intend to give the Muslim minority a ‘voice’ amidst a portrayal of the community that is deemed an unfair and inaccurate and thereby a violation of justice as recognition and representation. There is little trust in government institutions siding with the Muslim community, especially after the flawed National College for Teaching and Leadership hearings and the move on the part of Ofsted to place previously ranked ‘outstanding’ schools into special measures. Among the left-wing media the presence of biased and untrustworthy actors brings into question the presence of representative justice and also raises the issue of procedural justice. Finally, the ideal of redistributive justice is found in the left’s discussion of the importance of education as a means to alleviate social inequality and to fight poverty.

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What was in the letter? It outlined a five-point strategy to remove headteachers and put in place leaders who would enable schools to run in line with strict Islamist principles. The target schools were those underperforming with a large Muslim student intake. Salafi parents¹ would then be identified and encouraged to turn against the headteachers. Muslim governors would be brought in and the local council asked to investigate the school with the hope of turning it into an academy.² Different tactics would be used to try to make the headteachers resign so that those sympathetic to a conservative Muslim ethos would be leading the school (Clark and Osborne 2014; Oldham 2014; Shackle 2017; *Huffington Post* 2014).

Following the media furore, West Midlands Police, the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted), the Department for Education and Birmingham City Council investigated 25 schools in total. At the heart of the investigations were five schools in particular – Park View Academy (along with Nansen Primary and Golden Hillock, which were part of the Park View Educational Trust), Oldknow Academy, Saltley School, Adderley Primary and Regents Park Primary. Birmingham City Council commissioned former headteacher Ian Kershaw to write a report on his investigations, and the Department for Education commissioned Peter Clarke to also lead an investigation and publish a report on his findings. The latter was a controversial figure because of his counter-terrorism background, which quickly framed the controversy as one of security and extremism (Holmwood 2017). Ofsted also led emergency inspections in 21 schools, placed five in special measures and controversially changed its 2012 ‘outstanding’ rating of Park View to inadequate and placed it in special measures (Shackle 2017). There was also a Review Group set up of MPs, councillors and faith leaders which was led by Stephen Rimmer, who been director of Prevent at the Home Office (Miah 2014). The National College for Teaching and Leadership’s (NCTL) Professional Conduct Panel also investigated several teachers for professional misconduct (Iqbal 2017).

After the wave of investigations, which took place amid government infighting between the Home Office and the Department for Education, conclusions rejected claims of radicalisation and extremism. However, the Kershaw and Clarke Reports – from the Birmingham City Council and Department for Education respectively – did find evidence of an effort to ‘Islamicise’ state schools (Shackle 2017), although what this actually meant given the murky waters of the English education system of faith and non-faith schools is up for debate. The NCTL hearings were discontinued due to procedural errors on the part of the Department for Education and its delayed disclosure of witness statements. Consequently, charges were dropped against headteachers Lindsey Clarke and Razwan Faraz and others (Pells 2017). However, governor of Park View, Tahir Alam, was banned from teaching and former acting headteacher of Oldknow Academy, Jahangir Akbar, was sanctioned (Homer 2018).

The scandal touched the lives of many people in different subgroups of the population. Media coverage mentions as victims the accused ‘teachers’ and ‘governors’, ‘pupils’, ‘parents’ and the ‘Muslim community’, as well as ‘girls’, ‘homosexuals’, ‘white people’ and ‘Christians’. This report goes through media sources from different sides of the political spectrum and identifies four main frames

¹ The Oxford dictionary defines Salafism as a ‘strictly orthodox Sunni Muslim sect’ [accessed via <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/Salafi>].

² Under UK education law, academies are schools governed by private foundations but regulated and funded by the state rather than local authorities.

of discourse through which claims to justice were made. The work of Nancy Fraser (2003, 2005, 2009) is used as the point of reference for justice claims, namely justice as redistribution, justice as recognition and justice as representation. The next section outlines the choice of media and methodology. Section 3 delves into the four discourse frames identified: the claim to truth, the role of education, security and social trust, and trust in state institutions. The final section brings together the findings and how they relate to Fraser's tripartite conception of justice.

2. CHOICE OF MEDIA, SAMPLING AND METHODS³

The media sources covered by this study were chosen based on their ideological profile, target audience and format. In particular, an effort was made to balance the representation of political views on the left and right end of the spectrum as well as the centre. (In the British context, the political centre usually identifies as liberal and the right as conservative. The left comes in a greater variety of ideological variants, most of them gravitating around the Labour Party.) Attention was paid to the diversity of target audiences in terms of educational level (upper/middle/lower), age, profession (for example, researchers, activists, teachers), cultural background and geographical distribution (national, regional and local). The media sample includes both specialised and generalist newspapers, tabloids and broadsheets, dailies and weeklies, online and printed. Governance structures are mainly corporate but also not-for-profit, sometimes linked to the state or universities. Background research was carried out to ensure representation of market leaders and less widely read publications alike.

A total of 23 media clips were analysed and categorised into right, centre and left categories. The 'right' category covered articles from centre-right, neoconservative and populist sources including the *Daily Mail*, the *Birmingham Mail*, *The Sun*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Spectator*, *The Sunday Times* and the *Daily Express*. News sources for the 'left' included pieces from *The Guardian*, *Huffington Post*, *openDemocracy*, *Discover Society*, LSE Blogs and *The Conversation*. The remaining 8 fell under the political 'centre' category and covered analysis written by *BBC News*, *The Independent*, *BBC Asian Network*, *Optimus Education*, *Metro* and the *Teaching Times*. The analysis aimed to be multimodal. As such, it covered the text of the news articles as well as visual elements such as images. It also incorporates video interviews and video clips alongside comments from the articles when applicable.

Once the media articles were chosen a process of inductive coding was employed to identify the discursive frames being used. This was done in several steps. The first included a cursory reading of the material to gain familiarity with the topic and angles being portrayed. A second more detailed reading of all the material included organising the material under categories including 'victim', 'problem', 'key actors', 'perpetrator', 'fairness-justice' and 'key issues'. The discourse frames and sub-frames were then finalised by looking through this material. The articles were then moved to NVivo and coded according to the four frames identified and their different sub-categories. Other categories emerged from the data such as those topical in nature relating to education reform and fell under their

³ The choice of media and sampling were conducted by Dr Shireen Walton, ERC Postdoctoral Researcher at University College London.

own category. The images were also captured and coded according to who and what they were portraying.

3. RESULTS

Four main frames were identified across the different sources: the claim to truth, the role of education, security and societal trust, and trust in state institutions. The frames tie into Fraser's dimensions of justice as redistribution, recognition and representation and also highlight other ideals of justice linked to deliberation and protection.

3.1 THE CLAIM TO TRUTH: WHAT REALLY HAPPENED?

A striking characteristic of the debate surrounding the Trojan Horse controversy is the fixation on the 'truth'. This covers different dimensions such as the authenticity of the Trojan Horse document itself, the 'facts' of its claims, who the real victims are, which actor has the authority to judge 'what really happened' and the vindication of those who feel the truth has 'come out'. Although more than four years have passed since the controversy hit the press, there is no clear consensus of the extent to which the claims were true. The quest for truth and the different accounts given come to a head in the interpretation and reactions to the *Trojan Horse* play performed at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival in August 2018.

Was the Trojan Horse document authentic? The document was generally agreed by all sides of the political spectrum to be a 'hoax', 'forgery', 'fake', not 'genuine', a 'fraud', 'unauthenticated', 'unverified' and 'debunked'. Initially, however, on the right side of the spectrum, articles analysed from the *Daily Mail* and *The Sun* did not question the authenticity of the papers and the plot (Clark and Osborne 2014; Pollard 2016). However, the *Birmingham Mail* qualified that it was an '*alleged plot*' and the documents '*purport to show Jihadists are targeting schools...*' (italics added). The *Birmingham Mail* was the only news source that showed photos – albeit blurred, which gave an aura of secrecy – of the Trojan Horse document, giving an element of credibility to the document and its claims (Oldham 2014). That said, by the time the investigations were carried out by different state actors such as the West Midlands Police, the Birmingham City Council and the Department for Education, the right-wing media accepted that the document was a fraud, thus implicitly yielding to the authority of government institutions to establish the truth (Murray 2014a; Timothy 2018).

While the document itself was agreed to be a hoax, what about its claims? Across all segments of the press, there is a clear distinction made between the authenticity of the actual *document* (which, as mentioned above, was agreed to be a fraud) and the veracity of its *claims*. Regarding the latter, there is no consensus in the press over the truth of the allegations. The key question is: was it the case that there was an organised effort to gain control over a small number of schools in Birmingham and

promote a hard-line version of Islam?⁴ In general, the newspapers from the right point to the conclusions of official government investigations and from government leaders across the political divide at the local and national levels to demonstrate the veracity of the claims. For example, an article by Nick Timothy (2018) in *The Daily Telegraph* argues:

School inspectors, an education expert, and an experienced police investigator all reached the same conclusions about Trojan Horse. So did the then government – a coalition between Tories and Lib Dems – and Birmingham’s Labour council. As Brigid Jones, its deputy leader, says: ‘Kershaw and Clarke made clear what happened.’

Indeed, the government authorities have the credibility to establish *what really happened* and to establish the facts of what happened. Neoconservative author Douglas Murray (2014b), a long-standing critic of Islam, argues in *The Spectator* (italics added):

Granted, the ‘Trojan Horse’ story started strangely and plenty of us were uncomfortable about writing or speaking about it until we knew what the *facts* were behind the allegations in the original document. But, once *the press* and then the *official investigations* got underway, it became clear that, whatever the origin of the document, what it *alleged* was *true*. It has now been repeatedly found to be *true*.

The truth of the Trojan Horse case is disputed with Murray in a video debate with Conservative writer Matthew Parris. Parris insists that ‘the Trojan Horse does not exist’ and that there has been ‘no evidence’ of a Trojan Horse (Murray 2014a). In a separate video link from Katie Mansfield’s (2016) article in *The Daily Express*, Liberal Democrat MP John Hemming from Birmingham asserts that the ‘overall Trojan Horse thesis *has proven not to be true*, there is no organised plot across the whole of the south and east of the city.’ This stands in contrast to Timothy (2018) who claims: ‘It’s a fiction to suggest that there was no plot by Islamist hardliners to take over state schools.’

Media from the left are less adamant about asserting the ‘truth’ of the claims and more critical of the role of the press and of how authorities investigated the case. In a critique of how the press covered the controversy, the left argues the debate quickly lost sight of the truth as ‘allegations took on a life of their own’ (Shackle 2017) and took ‘its own meaning of truth’ (Miah 2014). Muslim communities are portrayed as the victims, with concern over their future in Britain. Shamim Miah (2014) argues in his piece in *Discover Society*:

[The story] is seen to confirm existing pre-conceived ideas of Muslim communities undermining a secular liberal consensus in Britain [...] The fact that an unauthenticated document has had such a huge impact on public discourse sets worrying precedents for the future, as it potentially frames future allegations of Muslims setting up Trojan Horses to infiltrate politics, local authorities and even the NHS.

Ideas of truth, facts and credibility are also drawn upon to question the role of government authorities in their capability to assess the ‘truth’. In some instances, it is not authority per se that is the problem,

⁴ There are different ways the media phrased the question, some of which will be discussed under the ‘securitisation’ section of the paper. I have attempted to phrase the allegation of the plot as neutrally as possible.

but rather its inability to assess the truth. For example, in *openDemocracy*, John Holmwood (2017) argues that the Clarke Report was ‘explicitly one-sided’, ‘did not test witness statements for their veracity’ and did not investigate contradictions in testimony. Moreover, the ability of the independent inspection agency, Ofsted, to remain impartial and insusceptible to political pressure in its inspection reports of the Trojan Horse schools was challenged by Jacqueline Baxter (2014) in an article in *The Conversation*.

In addition to questioning the authorities, other media stemming from the left look at the accounts of the accused. The *Guardian* article by Samira Shackle (2017) gives a more personal account of some of the accused of the Trojan Horse controversy to look at the ‘real story’. She interviews and gives insights into how Razwan Faraz began teaching and how he lived through the accusations, the effect it had on his family and on him. Shackle describes the lives of others affected including the children of the school, others accused, and Muslim educator Tahir Alam who had done much work to increase diversity in education and address Muslim disadvantage in schools.

There is also a focus on the unjustly accused, which surfaced early in the coverage of the controversy from the right-wing press. However, the ‘accused’ are not Muslim educators or the Muslim community but rather those whom the Trojan Horse plot had deceitfully, wrongly, accused. Articles in the *Daily Mail* and the *Birmingham Mail* highlight the false accusations that were pitted against different headteachers who were forced to resign before the Trojan Horse document emerged (Clark and Osborne 2014; Oldham 2014). For example, principal Balwant Bains of Saltley School resigned due to Ofsted criticism of a ‘dysfunctional’ relationship with school governors felt ‘vindicated’ that the situation was now ‘exposed’. Regents Park Primary Headteacher Tina Ireland resigned the year before due to allegations of students cheating on SAT exams, which was also supposedly a part of the Trojan Horse plot to sow fake allegations. The sense of truth being brought to light pervades the articles, as does the sense of injustice for the headteachers at being accused of cheating and of dysfunctional relationships. These victims of the controversy did not later re-emerge in discussions in different media articles. Rather, the victims in later media from the right are British Muslim children while in the media from the left the victims are the Muslim community and the accused Muslim educators.

The different accounts of truth, of who the ‘real’ victims are and of the role of government authorities come to a head with the performance of the drama *Trojan Horse* by Lung Theatre at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival in August 2018. It was shown favourably in certain segments of the press, such as *The Guardian* and the BBC, who described it as an ‘ambitious drama’ by a ‘critically acclaimed’ play company (Weale 2018; @bbcasiannetwork 2018). In contrast, others from the right in *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sunday Times* questioned the account given by the play. The criterion of judgment on both sides was precisely the veracity of the play’s account (Timothy 2018; Gilligan 2018).

The theatre company prided itself on over 200 hours of interviews with about 90 witnesses giving their ‘real-life testimonies’. Actors met with those affected and heard their ‘real stories’ and one actor says ‘I learned a lot from hearing his side of events’ (@bbcasiannetwork 2018). The play was defined as a documentary, again drawing on the notion that it is providing the truth. It wanted to make the Muslim community’s voice heard, which had been overshadowed in the media:

Trojan Horse made Muslim communities look bad. I think the media does manipulate how the truth is presented and it's really important to take into consideration other voices that have been drowned out (@bbcasiannetwork 2018).

Media clips and photos addressing the play showed young, brown-skinned British women and men who did not look out of the ordinary. One image in Sally Weale's (2018) *Guardian* article is of a young Muslim female student, veiled, holding her notebook and looking into the camera, with three white hands on her, pulling her headscarf, jumper and shoulder. The victim in these accounts – in the play and also in images used – is the Muslim community, which did not have a voice during the controversy because the media did not give them one. In these accounts, their voice is the authority on what 'really' happened.

On the other hand, Andrew Gilligan's (2018) article in *The Sunday Times* questioned the veracity of the play's account and argued it was 'nothing more than an attempt to rewrite history.' Gilligan questions calling the play a 'documentary', arguing that such a category cannot apply to an account that distorts the truth. To back up his claim, he argues that while some testimonies were included others – including those from senior education officials – were not if they did not fit the overall story the play was aiming to portray. He cites one Muslim parent saying his daughter was 'brainwashed' at school but that this testimony did not make it into the play. As their source of authority, Gilligan and, in a different article, Timothy (2018) draw on the weight of several government 'official investigations', which confirmed the 'truth' behind the Trojan Horse controversy. Timothy argues that not recognising the truth of what happened as found in the official investigations 'undermine(s) faith in the authorities [...]. Left-wingers in the arts and media risk playing the extremists' game' (Timothy 2018). Comments on the Twitter post for the *BBC Asian Network* also question the 'depth of research' by the play and the truth of the allegations.

How does this discussion of truth feed into justice? The implementation of justice depends on knowing the truth of 'what really happened'. In the truth debate identified here, much of the controversy surrounds who has the authority to claim the truth. Is the source of authority the voice of the Muslim community and Muslim teachers or is it the government official investigations or rather the headteachers and governors such as Tina Ireland who resigned due to 'unjust' accusations mentioned in the Trojan Horse document? Generally, government authority is recognised as legitimate in terms of it carrying out investigations; however, it is *how* the investigations were done that led some sources, particularly on the left, to question whether or not the conclusions reached about 'what really happened' were fair or not and if it could claim to present 'the truth'. If there is not an unbiased arbitrator of truth then arguably justice cannot be brought about. This same criticism was brought against the *Trojan Horse* play by media from the right: the writers of the play were not seen as impartial – especially when accused of disregarding certain witness testimonies – and therefore the play's version of events was questioned in its authority to portray truth and enact justice.

The type of justice that is most fitting of the truth debate best fits under justice as representation. The inclusion – and exclusion – of certain voices over others in the investigations, along with any claims of bias, effects the legitimacy of the conclusions. This accusation was made at both the government investigations and the Edinburgh *Trojan Horse* play. Both instances question the ability of these actors to include the voices of different views to assess the truth and to therefore deliver representative justice. However, truth finding also seems like an important condition for the

identification and resolution of other injustices, such as those addressed below. In this sense it is closely related to more procedural ideals of justice as deliberation, which are not explicitly included in Fraser's three-dimensional framework.

3.2 THE ROLE OF EDUCATION: EDUCATION FOR ATTAINMENT AND PASSING ON VALUES

Another frame through which we can better understand the debate that emerged following the Trojan Horse controversy is education. What is the role of education: is it to improve test results, reduce socioeconomic inequality, and/or pass on values? Whose values are to be passed on – the values of the minority community or the values of the greater society? Do the two types of values complement each other or conflict? The debated answers to these questions touch on the role of the state in the provision and oversight of education, and draw on the different responsibilities of the actors involved – parents, teachers, children, government officials – in the provision of education.

We cannot fully understand the Trojan Horse controversy without situating it first into the context of government reforms of the education sector led by the then Secretary of State for Education, Michael Gove. When Gove was head of the Department for Education, he significantly expanded the academies programme, which was first developed by Labour in 2000. By becoming academies, schools have more say over curricula and pay, and are no longer under the oversight of the local council but of the Department for Education. Gove saw the academies programme as a way for a religious school to 'be true to its religious traditions' (Easton 2014). Between May 2010 and November 2013, the number of academies increased from 203 to 3,444 in England. This also meant, however, that the Department for Education became responsible for more than 3,000 schools in a span of three years (Easton 2014; Shackle 2017).

One of the schools at the centre of the investigation was Park View Academy and the Park View Education Trust. These were state-funded schools but, as academies, they did not have to follow the national curriculum. Park View received academy status in 2012 and approximately 99% of its students were of Muslim background. Due to its high educational attainment levels, it was asked to take two other schools under its wing – Golden Hillock and Nansen Primary – which had a similar intake of primarily Muslim students from deprived neighbourhoods, and the Park View Education Trust oversaw all the schools.

All schools in England must have a form of collective worship and religious education. Prior to becoming an academy, Park View received a 'determination' that allowed for Islamic worship. However, once it became an academy and shifted to the responsibility of the Department for Education, the system for renewals of determinations was not yet in place and was not renewed. This meant that the form of collective worship had to be Christian, despite the 99% Muslim intake. This detail is an important one because, as some authors point out, the Islamic nature of the religious education would not have been an issue, had it not been for the determination technicality (Holmwood 2017; Easton 2014). Moreover, the *Teaching Times* (n.d.) argues 'cultural confusion, allied to the systemic confusion of modern English education, is much more likely to be to blame for the controversy in Birmingham's inner-city schools than any organised conspiracy.'

3.2.1 EDUCATION FOR ATTAINMENT

One strand of the debate saw educational attainment as the enabler for mobility and integration into British society. Indeed, this overarching goal of education was the standard to which some held Gove's academies project: it would 'lead to a more equitable and fair system of education and raise achievement across the board' (Baxter 2014). The link between educational attainment and poverty reduction is not mentioned in right-wing sources but is emphasised in centre and left-wing articles that highlight the disadvantaged position of the Muslim community in Birmingham. For example, the Park View Academy had a very high number of students receiving free school meals at 72.7% in 2012, and it also had only 7.5% of its students for whom English was a first language (Holmwood 2017). Miah (2014) in *Discover Society* article bemoans the 'discursive shift away from educational attainment and social inequality to securitisation of education.' As a way forward, another article in *Optimus Education* calls for 'a vision of education that helps to raise the standards for all our disadvantaged young people' (Iqbal 2017).

The different subgroups within the Muslim community are also unpacked, namely the children of the schools, the parents and their engagement with the schools, and the teachers themselves. The Pakistani Muslim population is mentioned explicitly. For example, Karamat Iqbal (2017) in *The Optimus Blog* quotes the Regional Schools Commissioner for the West Midlands, Christine Quinn:

Some of the demands made (by Muslim parents) were entirely reasonable and based on the premise that Pakistani Muslim children had previously been very poorly served by the city's schools until the new millennium.

A key concern of parents was the educational attainment of their children. As the article continues, more than 1,000 Pakistani children leave without the necessary benchmark qualifications from their GCSEs and parents were demanding better standards of education. Moreover, Shackle (2017) in *The Guardian* highlights that there was a grassroots push to have more Muslims trained as teachers. Park View teacher Mazhar Hussain saw this as a good way for the community to be engaged in the improvement of education for the Muslim children.

What helps lift educational attainment? Two key factors identified in articles on the centre and the left were parental engagement and a sense of community. The *Teaching Times* (n.d.) stresses the vital role parental engagement had played in improving the performance of the schools. The author contrasts this to those of the white working class in Birmingham:

It's also true that the Muslim population has led to a revival in the performance of the city's inner-city schools because of their commitment to education. Many of them are faring much better now than the white working-class schools in the outlying council estates – what are euphemistically called the 'White Highlands'. In educational terms, they are really the 'White Lowlands'. Muslim parents, especially the leaders in their community, are much more involved in education than their white counterparts and see it as critical to the health of their community. If such were the case in other schools in the city, teachers would be gleeful about more committed parental involvement.

Moreover, promoting a sense of community was argued to raise educational attainment. According to Tahir Alam, governor of Park View, 'incorporating their home culture into their school lives not only

helps behaviour, but improves educational attainment’ (Shackle 2017). Ofsted also initially supported the Islamic ethos which ‘enabled parent and pupil integration with the school and support for its academic objectives’ (Holmwood 2017). Reaching out to the community was done not just by Muslims in the school but also by Christian teachers. One Christian headteacher explained how he would go to the mosque and tell the men to feel free to contact him if there are any concerns he can help the community with (Iqbal 2017).

The focus on education as a vehicle for lifting disadvantaged communities out of poverty is less evident in the right-wing media sources reviewed. This is perhaps less surprising since the prevalence of the idea of redistribution and inequality is supported by those on the left side of the political spectrum. Instead, in the right there is a greater emphasis on the values taught in education as well as the securitisation of education. The former will be discussed below and the latter in Section 3.3 on security.

3.2.2 EDUCATION AND VALUES

One key result emerging out of the different government investigations and reports was that ‘British values’ were not respected. For example, Tahir Alam was banned from teaching by the Department for Education because of ‘undermining fundamental British values’ (Shackle 2017). Jahangir Akbar – the acting principal of Oldknow Academy – was banned for five years from teaching by the NCTL panel because he ‘undermined fundamental British values of mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs’ (Mansfield 2016).

British values are cited by many, but the actual content in the different articles is not very clear. Government authorities deemed ‘British values’ important enough to openly support them – Prime Minister David Cameron is quoted as endorsing the promotion of British values in schools (*Huffington Post* 2014) as was Michael Gove (Murray 2014a) – and they were also important enough for the NCTL and Department for Education to issue judgments banning several individuals from the education sector. At the same time, while these government actors may have found British values to be lacking, other individuals, such as one of the Muslim characters in the *Trojan Horse* play, believed that ‘British values are Islamic values!’ (@bbcasiannetwork 2018) and one director of Lung Theatre, the play’s production company, said that the city of Birmingham was a vibrant multicultural city (Weale 2018).

What are British values? Education Secretary Nicky Morgan argued in 2015 that ‘tolerance and respect’ were part of British values (Garner 2015), as is ‘diversity’ (Murray 2014a) and democracy and the rule of law. It is the respect for diversity that the Trojan Horse controversy seems to have questioned. In a video clip of Nicky Morgan, a BBC article shows her in Parliament discussing the findings of the Clarke Report (Coughlan 2014):

Teachers have said they fear children are learning to be intolerant of difference and diversity. Instead of enjoying a broadening and enriching experience in school, young people are having their horizons narrowed and are being denied the opportunity to flourish in a modern, multicultural Britain.

In addition, this lack of diversity was highlighted in the NCTL judgment against Mr. Akbar:

By decreasing the diversity of religious education and eliminating a diverse range of cultural events, there was a failure [by Akbar] to promote the spiritual, moral, cultural and mental development of pupils at the school (Mansfield 2016).

A tension arises, however, between the respect for diversity on the one hand and the promotion of diversity on the other where the latter necessitates some form of separation to enable the community to pass on its own values. The latter is justified by many sources from the centre and the left. They highlight how more Muslims were encouraged to become teachers and how greater support for community cohesion was the goal of Birmingham City Council (Shackle 2017; Coughlan 2014). Certain distancing, or setting apart, is a necessary component of Muslim education, as it is for other religious minority education such as for Catholic schools. One BBC article argues that if Park View would have been a faith school then the Islamic character would not have been considered a threat to the students (Easton 2014). Moreover, the idea of single-sex education, hiring same-faith staff and taking in same-faith students is what happens in many Catholic schools and is considered as 'normal multicultural practice' (*Teaching Times* n.d). In which case, the author of the *Teaching Times* article asks:

Is there anything wrong in parents of children in Muslim majority schools campaigning for their cultural values to be reflected in single-sex classes, calls to prayers [...] or for the staff to be mainly Muslim?

It was precisely the parental involvement and link to the Islamic faith that had helped the young students improve their test scores and for Park View to rise out of the ranks of a badly performing inner-city school.

However, from the government's point of view, as well as those on the right, the victims are the school children who have not been able to 'flourish' in these schools, and as the Wilshaw report argues, with a narrow set of values they are 'vulnerable to segregation and emotional dislocation from wider society' (Murray 2014a). In an interview with Albert Bore of the Birmingham City Council following the release of the Clarke Report, he emphasised working for the good of the children of Birmingham as the prime concern of moving ahead and learning from mistakes (Coughlan 2014). Murray from *The Spectator* argues for a 'duty of care' to British children and in a linked video interview hammers home the point that segregation is a real issue for young people who are a 'generation at risk' (Murray 2014a):

We mustn't be afraid of asserting some values. One of the things that the Islamists who have been exposed in this investigation I think share is the knowledge that they will have to cut off their young from the wider society if their young are not going to join the wider society. That's why the effort is to stop the mixing [...] There are some parts of this country where they have been succeeding [...]. What does exist is the reality which Michael Wilshaw's report has exposed, which is an attempt to cut off Muslim children in parts of this country from the rest of society and to inculcate in them separatist values.

The criticism of 'separatist values' implicitly posits loyalty to Britain as one of the values that should be transmitted by schools.

Other victims highlighted by the press are those at whom the intolerance of the Trojan Horse school actors is aimed. For example, investigations criticised the homophobic comments of Faraz and a passive attitude to homophobia as acknowledged by a gay teacher in one of the schools (Shackle 2017). Other accusations included unfair treatment of non-Muslims and discrimination against girls (Garner 2015) with some children being told that white teachers who are non-believers do not have the students' best interests at heart and that they should also beware of 'white prostitutes' (Timothy 2018). These types of comments, often found most problematic in the centre and right-wing press, are used to question the extent of integration and tolerance of the Trojan Horse schools and illustrate the undermining of British values. The emphasis on 'diversity' had de facto encouraged separate values and segregation, according to Murray (2014a), who quoted a woman he had interviewed describing her experience in a sharia court: 'I have been told what my rights are as a Muslim woman. No one ever told me what my rights are as a British woman.'

There is also a difference across the articles in how Muslim school children and the Muslim schools are portrayed. Images of school children across the mainly centre and left-wing articles such as *Optimus Education*, *Discover Society* and *BBC Asian Network* are of smiling, well-groomed, brown-skinned, uniform-wearing young people who did not look out of the ordinary, with some young girls wearing veils and others not. Other images, coming mainly from *The Spectator*, *The Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Express* often show veiled women with foreign dress taking children to school, giving the impression of a parallel world. The most common type of photo, however, was of the school buildings of Oldknow, Nansen, Park View and other schools, shown in all segments of the press.

The proposed way forward differs across the articles analysed. One solution is institutional and includes acknowledging the difficulties of Gove's academies project and the lack of oversight. Frontbench Labour MP Tristram Hunt said that 'the chickens had come home to roost' with the Birmingham controversy, given the lack of oversight of the 'free market policy' of how schools were run, and there was a need for increased accountability of academies (Coughlan 2014). Those on the right also blame the government for allowing a 'tolerance of anything and everything' (Murray 2014a) and argue that more needs to be done to make sure narrow 'anti-Western' ideas are not spread. The solutions are linked to a greater securitisation agenda, which will be discussed in the next section. Others on the left such as *The Guardian* focus on how Muslim leaders have passed on community values and promoted diversity in school governing bodies, even receiving recognition from Tony Blair (Shackle 2017). To better serve young people, LSE blog writer Paul Thomas argues for better citizenship education that covers democratic structures, building resilience against extremism, and understanding the rights and responsibilities of democratic citizenship in a diverse society (Thomas 2015).

3.2.3 DISCUSSION

This discursive frame on education ties into justice in different ways. The first focuses on educational attainment as a way to reduce social inequality and lift a particular vulnerable community out of poverty. This is an argument generally absent on the right and prevalent in left-wing articles. It also links to Fraser's idea of justice as redistribution. The second framing of justice is along the line of recognition of culture. This is where a great tension is played out between the media from the right and from the left. Similar to the findings of the 'Muslim education and values' section in the 4.3 ETHOS report on *Political Discourses on Educational Justice and Muslims in the UK* (Dupont 2018), this analysis

shows a concern of the right about the passing on of extremist values. Values deemed 'separatist' or 'extremist' should not be recognised by the state. Unlike in the previous report however the discourse of Islamophobia is not found to be used explicitly by the left media in its discussion of education. Instead, findings show a focus on educational attainment and community cohesion. Embracing Muslim identity, supporting parental and community involvement are ways to encourage the recognition of the Muslim community in Britain and a way to support educational attainment. This difference in findings is likely due to the Islamophobic discourse being almost exclusively linked to Muslim stakeholders in the 4.3 report and their lack of coverage generally in the press analysed here.

A moral dimension is highlighted by the *Teaching Times* (n.d.) when it asks if 'there is anything wrong in parents of children in Muslim majority schools campaigning for their cultural values to be reflected?' With the confusing 'rules of the game' of the English educational system, it is not surprising that some members of the Muslim community do not understand this element of British culture and 'when it comes to education who, frankly, could blame them?' On the other hand, the moral dimension mentioned by Murray (2014a) is of a 'duty of care' towards British Muslim children, and Birmingham City Council leader Sir Albert Bore emphasises responsibility towards the 'children of Birmingham' (Coughlan 2014). This shows that the recognition of some elements of Muslim culture is perceived to be at odds with a broader sense of justice linked to well being and safety, which are the responsibility of the state toward citizens. However, it is only Muslim culture that is perceived to be at odds with justice, not British culture.

3.3 SECURITY THREAT AND SOCIETAL TRUST

The third frame of discourse identified is that of security and societal trust. The language of threat and security pervades the articles, whether to debunk the idea of a Muslim threat or to give credence to it. Government institutions – local councils, Westminster, the police, state-funded education institutions – are seen as responsible for both assessing the threat and protecting the population. The government's policy of viewing the Muslim community through a lens of security and threat also has ramifications for the relationship between broader British society and the Muslim community.

An examination of the content of the Trojan Horse document itself gives the impression of a state of war. Excerpts such as needing to 'parachute in' Muslim governors to the targeted schools, advice to 'remember this is a 'jihad' and as such all means possible to win the war is acceptable', and that actions are to 'operate under the radar' all give a sense of secrecy and invasion as is indeed befitting of the name of the operation – Operation Trojan Horse. Moreover, the security threat is also not just local. The author of the Trojan Horse document was writing to someone in Bradford, with the goal to extend the tactics to Bradford as well as to Manchester.

What were the responses of state institutions? The West Midlands Police were approached by the Birmingham City Council. When there was nothing criminal found, the case was handed over to the Department for Education and the Birmingham City Council, with the police remaining updated on developments. Government institutions were seen as the holders of authority to investigate the matter and different statements from representatives on their behalf show they see themselves as the protector. The Department for Education would take 'firm action' and reiterated that schools have a 'tough inspection framework'; Birmingham City Council 'investigated' the issue, with the police also

involved (Clark and Osborne 2014; Oldham 2014). The inclusion of the Home Office and the police implicitly framed the issue as one of security. The government's response was to guard against an 'extremist agenda'. Mr. Gove argued:

It's a free country and we're not going to attempt to police what people believe, but we are determined to ensure that those who receive public funding – and especially those who are shaping young minds – do not peddle an extremist agenda (Easton 2014).

The government reaction also needs to be placed within the Prevent strategy, which started after 2007. Prevent is a counter-terrorism strategy with a component focusing on educational institutions to prevent radicalisation. The appointment of the previous counter-terrorism chief Peter Clarke to lead the Department for Education's investigation also shines light on how the government viewed the Trojan Horse controversy through the lens of security. The *Guardian* author Shackle argues it 'removed any ambiguity about how the government viewed the affair' (Shackle 2017).

The portrayal of the security threat in the media is done in several ways. The perpetrators of the threat in the right-wing media accounts are Muslim extremists, or Salafist Muslims. The Trojan Horse threat is framed as a growing Muslim population at risk of becoming radicalised if 'overtaken' by Muslim extremists (Clark and Osborne 2014). In Murray's (2014b) article in *The Spectator*, he uses the image of 'people who are trying to make little Talibans of British children in Birmingham'. In another piece, he argues that the victims are children to whom 'we owe a duty of care' and who need to be protected from those who wish to indoctrinate them with 'a reconstituted version of that medievalism' (referring to the Muslims who came to Britain to flee the 'religion's medievalists') (Murray 2014a). The *Birmingham Mail* article also highlights the physical threat to children by explaining that religious classes were moved to after school as a 'safeguarding issue' because the children were being 'hit in local madrasas' (Oldham 2014).

Other victims of Islamic extremism are teachers and headteachers from the schools implicated in the Trojan Horse controversy who were receiving death threats and dead animals in playgrounds because they were countering homophobia. At a meeting of the National Association for Headteachers in Liverpool, the teaching union wanted the government to crack down on extremism (Garner 2015). In addition, victims of the security threat posed by Islamic extremism portrayed are homosexuals, whites and Christians, as well as girls who, for example, were told that marital rape was allowed (Clark and Osborne 2014; Murray 2014b; Gilligan 2018). Murray also paints the threat of Muslim extremism as not just for non-Muslims but also for Muslims who are moderate, and states that 'those who teach hatred and suspicion of the wider society must be opposed' (Murray 2014b).

Sources mainly on the centre and left, along with the right-wing *The Daily Express*, focussed on the government's response to the threat posed by the Trojan Horse scandal in a critique of its securitisation agenda. Their criticisms are in essence a way to 'de-securitise' the issue. The appointment of the counter-terrorism chief Peter Clarke to investigate the scandal was described as a 'sledgehammer to crack a nut' in a video interview with Liberal Democrat MP John Hemming (Mansfield 2016). In an interview with Shackle (2017), Labour MP Shabana Mahmood from Birmingham Ladywood said:

There is no doubt that a small group of people in our city went on a massive power trip and behaved completely inappropriately – going way beyond the remit and the parameter

for governors. *But counter-terrorism?* What is the community supposed to think when their children's education is viewed as a matter of national security? (Italics added.)

Other criticisms focus on the government's Prevent strategy (Miah 2014; Thomas 2015). These articles argue that the victims are the Muslim communities – and in particular Muslim youth – who become stigmatised through Prevent's securitisation focus. Thomas (2015) in particular argues that the exclusive focus on Muslim communities in the Prevent strategy was inherently problematic. The previous 'community cohesion' policy of the government, adopted in 2001, was a ground-up non-stigmatising way to engage with questions of extremism. The first phase of Prevent focused exclusively on Muslims and Thomas criticises the securitisation approach as lacking in the 'building of resilience against extremism and support for democratic citizenship.' Moreover, Miah's (2014) article argues that the use of the Prevent strategy by Ofsted and embedding Prevent within a counter-terrorism strategy is problematic, leaving Muslim children as the victims of questionable governmental practices. He poses several normative and ethical questions:

Firstly, it seems that the indiscriminate use of Prevent measures is used to frame young Muslims, some of them as young as 4 years, through the lenses of counter-terrorism. Secondly, one of the most significant moments in a child's memory of attending nursery starts, as far as Ofsted is concerned, with a deficit, or a label, which implies they are potential 'terrorists'. Thirdly, from a practical point of view how does Prevent operate within the context of early years education? How are teachers to identify signs of radicalisation within nursery children? Finally, surely there is a moral and an ethical case for nursery children to be safeguarded against the Prevent strategy?

Even though the perpetrators are the extremists, media on the right is still critical of the government. Its criticism, however, is mainly that the government is not doing enough to fight extremism. The victims of extremism are Muslim children, as well as different subgroupings within society such as gays, Christians, teachers and young girls. The centre and the left focus on children and the Muslim community as being the main victims of the Trojan Horse scandal and the subsequent investigations. Those guilty are the government and an unhelpful securitisation approach to the Muslim population and young Muslims in particular.

The focus on securitisation and the portrayal of Muslim extremism as a threat had ramifications on societal trust between the Muslim population and the majority. This is depicted in the media in two ways. The first examines how the Muslim community experienced the controversy and how it felt demonised and scapegoated. This dimension is covered mainly in the centre and left-wing media and generally treats Muslims as a homogeneous group. The Twitter video advertising the *Trojan Horse* play also mentions that 'Trojan horse made Muslim communities look bad' (@bbcasiannetwork 2018). *The Guardian* depicts the Trojan Horse controversy as 'perhaps the best known and most polarising story about Britain's relationship with its Muslim citizens' (Shackle 2017):

It remains impossible to separate the way that the Trojan horse allegations were treated from the wider context of how Muslims are viewed in British society: as a potential threat, a fifth column.

Furthermore, *Guardian* author Samira Shackle uses the analogy mentioned by accused teacher Monzoor Hussain of Lord Voldemort's return in Harry Potter to depict an 'atmosphere of terror and

suspicion that sweeps through Hogwarts in the fifth Harry Potter book, as the teachers are unceremoniously sacked or replaced.’ Teachers described the investigations as a ‘witch hunt’ (*Huffington Post* 2014) and were placed in a difficult situation not knowing what to tell parents: ‘You either say, ‘Your child is at risk of becoming extremist’, or you say, ‘The community you belong to is being demonised and scapegoated and misrepresented’’ (Shackle 2017). Interestingly, however, the *Teaching Times* (n.d.) article is the only one which differentiates the Muslim communities across the West Midlands:

Except that something strange is happening in Small Heath, Saltley and Alum Rock districts where the allegations are centred. More and more women are wearing Arabic dress that has little to do with ethnic cultural traditions, more restaurants are demanding segregation of the sexes and refusing all alcohol, more incidents of radicalisation leading to police intervention are being reported and there are more suggestions of Wahabi money flowing in. They are becoming very different communities to other Muslim communities in the West Midlands.

The brokenness of the Birmingham community is also highlighted in articles by Weale (2018) in *The Guardian*. Helen Monks, meanwhile, interviewing the writer of the *Trojan Horse* play described the affair as a ‘trauma that has left its mark on the city’ and perceived the people of Birmingham as still ‘incredibly divided’ over the controversy. Lung Theatre depicts itself as a company ‘who make work with communities, for communities and about communities’. The sense of broken trust across the community is also highlighted in the *Teaching Times* (n.d.), which describes reaction of the (non-political) Chief Constable of the West Midlands to the appointment of Peter Clarke as the chief investigator as ‘a disaster for community relations in the city’. Moreover, Thomas (2015) emphasises how the government’s Prevent strategy is one of ‘stigmatising surveillance’ of the Muslim community compared to a previous government policy of community cohesion.

The second standpoint of societal trust stems from Murray’s article (Murray 2014b), which asks the question: where are the moderate Muslims in their response to the controversy? He argues their silence has not been good for society as a whole and that a ‘failure to face up to this problem now will lead to far greater problems down the road’ and that ‘the unwillingness of more than a tiny number of Muslims to actually stand up and speak out as well as push out the extremists is very noticeable to non-Muslims.’ He extols two Muslim moderates – Labour MP Khalid Mahmood and possible Liberal Democrat candidate Maajid Nawaz – for their bravery in speaking out against Islamic fundamentalism. Therefore, media on the right view the issue of societal trust as one that needs to acknowledge the presence of Muslim extremism for non-Muslims to trust moderate Muslims, while the media on the left argue that the Muslim community has been the victim of scapegoating and as such societal trust between non-Muslims and the Muslim community is strained.

The discussion above about security and trust best ties into Fraser’s idea of justice as recognition. If the Muslim minority population is held as a threat, the recognition of its cultural identity is fundamentally in question. The fact that the Muslim community is ‘demonised’, victim of a ‘witch-hunt’ and seen as a security threat, as often cited by media on the left, is an element of injustice linked to its recognition. An examination of the images in the different media sources also illustrates this: does the Muslim community ‘stick out’ as a parallel society in terms of its dress or is it as easy to relate to as with photos of smiling children?

On the other hand, the right thinks in terms of another ideal of justice: justice as protection. Government authorities are the providers of security. Injustices and moral duties are mentioned in relation to victims who are not protected from Islamic extremism – Muslim children, subgroups such as gays, Christians, whites and girls. The main points of criticism are against government authorities who are not doing enough to protect the general population and stop radicalisation. This is in contrast to those on the left who view authority as part of the problem in not granting justice of recognition.

3.4 TRUST IN STATE INSTITUTIONS

Linked to the theme of security is the notion of trust in state institutions. Within the media collected, the different sources acknowledge and implicitly accept that the institutions of the state are legitimate and have authority. Different inspections had taken place – by Ofsted, Birmingham City Council, the Department for Education – and the actors themselves are seen as legitimate. Similar to Section 3.1 on truth, what is debated is *how* the different institutions exercise their authority and the direction that is taken. Across the articles, different betrayals of trust and disappointment in the government are highlighted. The way state institutions responded to the controversy – namely through breaches of confidentiality, government infighting, questionable Ofsted inspections and the NCTL enquiry – led to a decreased sense of trust by both the majority and Muslim minority populations.

Early on in the investigations, *The Sun* reported the betrayal of anonymity that whistle-blowers and witnesses were promised by the government. Peter Clarke criticised the government, “Why would anyone come forward in similar circumstances in future if their trust is to be betrayed in this way?” And a witness underlined the lack of trust: ‘If this happens, no government will be able to act against a repetition of this plot because nobody will ever talk to them again’ (Pollard 2016). Another criticism in the handling of the Trojan Horse affair is linked to the infighting between the Home Office led by Theresa May and the Department for Education led by Michael Gove. The two ministers were criticising each other for weeks, with the Department for Education controversially criticising Theresa May’s approach to extremism: ‘It has been characterised by others in government as just beating back the crocodiles that come close to the boat rather than draining the swamp’ (*Huffington Post* 2014). Prime Minister David Cameron eventually stepped in and Michael Gove apologised, while May fired one of her aides. The situation questioned the extent to which the central government can be trusted in handling controversies with an element of professionalism.

On the other hand, those accused by the Trojan Horse controversy say they are facing ‘a ‘coordinated and vicious’ attack from the government’ (Coughlan 2014). Different sources from the left such as *The Guardian*, *Huffington Post* and *Discover Society* mention how Muslim communities and leaders felt ‘demonised’ (Weale 2018) and the subject of a ‘witch hunt’ (*Huffington Post* 2014). Government actors were not to be trusted. In response to this angle, Timothy (2018) in *The Daily Telegraph* argues the Islamophobic arguments made against the government actually undermine its authority and cause division:

Telling the affected communities – poor, isolated and vulnerable to extremism – that it was instead an Islamophobic plot by government is wrong. Doing so will cause division, undermine faith in the authorities, and promote behaviour that is antithetical to British values.

One of the trusted institutions of the state was Ofsted, which prided itself in its motto as inspecting schools 'without fear or favour'. The handling of the controversy drew its reputation into question on all sides, though for different reasons. Murray argues that Ofsted inspections had been failing to find clear instances of questionable practices and curriculum, such as in the King Fahad Academy and its textbooks which called Jews and Christians 'apes and pigs'. Ofsted had rated the teaching of Islam in this school to be 'mostly good' (Murray 2014a).

Other articles draw into question the impartiality of Ofsted itself and the lack of trust on behalf of the Muslim population in the inspection body. *The Guardian* shows the sense of dismay by those at Park View at being downgraded by Ofsted from 'outstanding' to special measures, with morale being 'terribly low' (Shackle 2017). Miah (2014) highlights the shift in focus from educational attainment to an agenda of securitisation by Ofsted, with the result of decreased trust and credibility on behalf of the Muslim community:

Prior to the Ofsted intervention with Birmingham schools, Ofsted used to carry a degree of trust, legitimacy and transparency within Muslim communities. Ofsted inspection reports were one of the many sources used by Muslim parents to inform choice and type of school for their children. Following the publication and subsequent debate over the 'Trojan Horse' in Birmingham schools, not only has Ofsted compromised its independence but also its credibility.

As Baxter's (2014) article in *The Conversation* highlights, the impartiality of Ofsted was challenged in the snap inspections and was left in a dilemma: decreasing the rating of the schools would not only question its impartiality but also the credibility of Park View's high ratings in 2012.

Another government institution that grappled with trust – particularly in its inability to carry out justice – was the National College of Teaching and Leadership (NCTL). The NCTL is an independent body within the Department for Education. Its Professional Conduct Panel heard the case of those accused by the Trojan Horse controversy, most of whom came from Park View Educational Trust. The panel had to discontinue the case because the Department for Education took too long to disclose 25 witness statements. *The Independent* (Pells 2017) quotes the decision:

In the particular circumstances relating to this case, there has been an abuse of the process which is of such seriousness that it offends the panel's sense of justice and propriety [...]. What has happened has brought the integrity of the process into disrepute.

Interpretations of the decision diverge. The centre and the left show the frustration and fatigue of those accused and their relief at the charges being dropped while also feeling that the victory is 'hollow' because they were not cleared of wrongdoing. Others on the left focus on the effect of the trial on those accused (Shackle 2017) and question the accuracy and impartiality of the Clarke Report which was used by the NCTL panel (Holmwood 2017). Other actors on the right, such as from conservative think tank Policy Exchange, emphasise that the case was dropped because of procedural errors rather than a lack of evidence (Holmwood 2017). In an email correspondence with *Guardian* writer Samira Shackle, right-wing journalist Andrew Gilligan (2018) emphasises: 'The collapse of the cases doesn't prove anything one way or another about the plot' [since] it collapsed on a 'technicality.'

The analysis above highlights two aspects of justice. The first is the procedural ideal of deliberative justice hinted at in Section 3.1. Media from the left questions the extent to which justice was attained in the Ofsted inspections as well as the NCTL panel hearings where victory was deemed 'hollow'. The NCTL hearings had to be discontinued due to procedural irregularities, which questioned its integrity. The stress on the 'technicality' of the matter in Gilligan's correspondence with Shackle also shows the emphasis on procedural justice.

The second is the ideal of justice as representation. Recalling the 3.1 discussion, government institutions are supposed to exercise their authority legitimately, impartially and competently for all segments of the population. The argument that state institutions could not fairly respond to the concerns of different groups – and in particular the Muslim population that found itself to be 'demonised' – questions the extent to which these institutions, such as Ofsted, can fairly arbitrate between communities. Arguably there is a strong link between procedural or deliberative justice and justice as representation. If procedural justice is breached, justice as representation is difficult to achieve since the voice of the minority community is not heard by the institution that is arbitrating.

4. CONCLUSION

The four frames of discourse identified across the different media sources – the claim to truth, the role of education, security and societal trust, and trust in state institutions – foreground different dimensions of justice. An analysis of the discourse frames has shown that the government and articles from media on the right generally see Muslim young people at risk of segregation and vulnerable to radicalisation, with the Islamic fundamentalists being the main threat. Official government statements stand by British values, and some on the right question the results of diversity promotion which has de facto encouraged segregation, intolerance and put the future generation at risk. In this sense, the ideal of justice as protection, or, what ETHOS colleagues have term 'ontological security' (D7.1), is very relevant to the right-wing debate, as is justice as recognition where the cultural values to be recognised are British values and tolerance. Another concept of justice frequently alluded to is that of representation or deliberation, focusing on state institutions as legitimate representatives and capable assessors of 'the truth'.

Articles from media on the left focus on the Muslim population as being unfairly victimised, and as victims of injustice in terms procedure, redistribution, recognition and representation. Through the *Trojan Horse* play and its coverage, as well as other articles, writers intend to give the Muslim minority a 'voice' amidst what is deemed an unfair and inaccurate portrayal of the community in a violation of justice as recognition and representation. There is little trust in government institutions siding with the Muslim community, especially after the NCTL hearings and the move on the part of Ofsted to securitise education at the expense of a focus on educational attainment (Miah 2014). The presence of biased and untrustworthy actors questions representative justice and also raises issues of procedural justice. Finally, the ideal of redistributive justice is found in discussions on the importance of education as a means to alleviate social inequality and to fight poverty.

Fraser's (2009) work *Scales of Justice* represents justice with two metaphors: the balance and the map. In the latter, there is a movement between the local, the national and the global. In the

discussions of the four frames above, we also find a movement and often a tense relationship between the local and national. This is seen in three ways. The first is in the government's response to the Trojan Horse controversy. The local Birmingham City Council was criticised by the national government in its Clarke Report for knowing what was going on in the schools and not doing enough to stop it (Coughlan 2014). Local and national political leaders argued with each other over who had to step in and exercise authority, which also ties into questions of adequate political representation. In Shackle (2017), the holder of the education portfolio for the Birmingham City Council, Brigid Jones, gives an account of the conversation between Michael Gove from the Department for Education and Birmingham City Council leader Sir Albert Bore:

According to Jones, Gove said 'We've had these allegations about Park View, what are you going to do?' Bore responded, 'No, actually, what are *you* going to do? The school is an academy. You're responsible.' This, Jones said, 'didn't go down remotely well'.

The second area of tension between the local and the national is in the portrayal of the threat of Muslim extremism. The Trojan Horse document itself mentions how the infiltration had begun in Birmingham and was being spread to other parts of the country such as Manchester and Bradford. Murray (2014a) also describes other instances of the threat in London schools to give the impression that the issue is not just local to Birmingham but happening in other parts of the country. Finally, the media takes the issue of Trojan Horse to question the integration of British Muslims across the country. The media on the right fundamentally questions the extent to which integration has happened whilst the media on the left uses the controversy as an example of how British Muslims face Islamophobia and prejudice nationally.

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ANNEXE – MEDIA CLIPS USED FOR ANALYSIS

With Shireen Walton

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